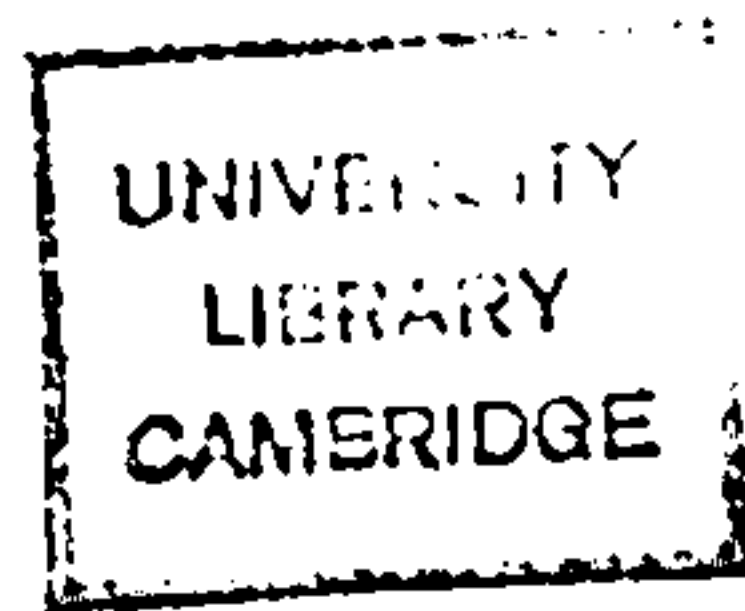


Mambila Traditional Religion:

Sua in Somié

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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June 1989

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This work is an analysis of Mambila religion based on fieldwork in Somié village, Cameroon.

An ethnographic and historical introduction to the Mambila is followed by an account of their religious concepts. It is argued that, despite their adherence to Christianity (and to Islam), traditional practices continue to be of great importance in everyday life. In order to examine traditional practice descriptions are given of divination and oath-taking rites. Translated transcripts of the different forms of the sua-oath form the empirical core of the thesis. The transcripts illustrate the way that Mambila experience and understand the meaning of sua. Descriptions are also given of the sua masquerades. Finally I examine problems inherent in the analysis of non-literate societies lacking a reflective tradition, and in particular, societies lacking precise, structured religious concepts. This allows for discussion of resulting implications on the relationships between religion, politics and 'symbolic power.'

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the result of work done in collaboration.

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Acknowledgements

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

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

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

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

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

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

A note on orthography

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

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

/e/ /ə/ /i/ /o/ /ɔ/ /u/

/y/ = /j/ voiced alveopalatal semi-vowel

/ch/ = unvoiced alveopalatal fricative

/ny/ = voiced alveopalatal nasal

/ŋ/ /n/ /nd/ /nj/ /m/ /mb/

/gb/ /h/ /f/ /j/ /p/ /s/

/t/ /u/ /v/ /w/

/g/: Medial /g/ is a voiced post-velar fricative, notably in [-ɔgɔ] which is often very close to [-ɔrɔ], and [-aga] which to English ears sounds like a lengthened and aspirated [a] vowel

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

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

Gender: The Mambila language lacks gender (it is a non-Bantu Bantoid). The third person pronouns (*à*, *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 **Bɔ̀ Bà** (The **Bà**) and speak **Jù Bâ**. In Nigeria is the group officially called “Mambilla” who live on the Mambila Plateau^{and who} call themselves **Bɔ̀ Nɔ̀r** (The people). This latter appellation was among the earliest recorded (for example, by Meek 1931b). Voeglin & Voeglin 1977:73 give the following list of names (which is based on early, unreliable sources): “Mambila = Mambere = Bamembila = Nor = Omavine = Katoba = Luen = Torbi = Tagbo = Tongbo = Lagubi”. They also note that Atta, Kuma and Myanip have been described as names of various Mambila groups.

Preface: the Theoretical Problem. Theology in a Society without Theologians

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

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

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

Mambila lack both theologians and a theological tradition. This absence relates to the absence of a literate or a reflexive tradition. Jack and Esther Goody have developed this theme, and I am greatly indebted to their work in this field. Jack Goody (Goody 1957, 1977) has argued that literacy not only permits but also stimulates questions of consistency which may not arise in an oral context. He describes the "lure of the new" as an internal feature of western religions which develops into scepticism and allows for the possibility of the evaluation of religions under the influence of literacy. In his most recent work (1986:5) on the subject he goes so far as to link the possibility of "conversion in the strict sense" to literacy. Such extremism, although logically consistent, renders 'conversion' inappropriate in much of sub-Saharan Africa, and hence is self-defeating. Recently Ruth Finnegan (1988) has questioned the evidence of an opposition between literacy and orality. She argues that such is the extent of variation and complexity within and between these polar types that the consequences held to follow from literacy cannot be so simply connected with

it. Although her work on the Limba serves to warn against a simplistic and totalizing approach it does not invalidate the general position. Especially in the field of religion¹ it remains the case that systematicity follows literacy, and indeed is often a consequence of it. Such a view is reinforced and complemented by Esther Goody's analysis of the possibility of questioning (Goody 1978) where social context precludes so-called "Socratic questioning" and abstract discussion. Those latter are themselves products of a limited literacy (as J. Goody has argued *op. cit.*).

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

THEORY AND TRANSCRIPTS

The theoretical attitude which is outlined above necessitates a sensitivity and responsiveness on the part of the analyst to both the richness and the poverty of the domain under study². It is then incumbent upon me to produce a body of data which, at least in part, demonstrates that the Mambila religion is as I claim it is. Such is the logic of claims of the non-existence of any item³ 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.

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

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

³Let alone the existence or not of an integrated "system of thought." All such claims are threatened by a logical problem which is isomorphic to "the problem of induction." The absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

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

Theory

The vagueness of the key concepts of Mambila traditional religion was initially a casual impression formed after fruitless attempts to elicit explanation of the concepts continually being referred to. However, it now appears as an important element, to be preserved in any analysis which attempts to remain faithful both to that which was observed in the field, and to that which, I would claim, any participant actually understands. My justification for such claims rests on the implications of the failure to elicit or discover any explanation of concepts, and on ethnomethodological accounts of so-called rule-following systems¹.

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 tradition² (*dina lɔ́, b̃̀ njai chum, b̃̀ njai də b̃̀ tele bə, tou lɔ́* (Atta and Sonkolong dialects only)). The tendency of a structurally-inclined anthropologist would be to construct (to discover?) the “symbolic” system which these define. The modest ambition of this work is to discuss the paradigms and to question the extent to which the conceptual spaces between the paradigms are left vague and undefined.

RITUAL AND EXPLANATION

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

¹Cf Wieder 1974.

²Boyer (1987) questions the validity of “tradition” as an analytic term, but its use is warranted here by the existence of an indigenous concept of tradition.

exhortation to correct action, a dire consequence of omission may be referred to as a sanction. But these are exceptions, and when explicit questions were put by the ethnographer typically a range of explanations for any particular practice was elicited, ranging from “this is how it has always been done” to “it is not good to omit it, because evil may result.”

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

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

Summary

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

Chapter One

Ethnographic Introduction

SUMMARY

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

THE MAMBILA

Most of the Mambila live on the Mambila Plateau in Nigeria. The Nigerian population was estimated at 43,000 (LIDECO 1972:41). The Cameroonian population is small by comparison numbering 10 -15,000. These figures are provisional until the results of the 1987 decennial census become available. Most Cameroonian Mambila are found on the Tikar Plain in Adamaoua Province centred around the three villages of Atta (Ta), Sonkolong¹ (Mbor) and Somié (Ndeba). There are also some in the North-West Province along the Nigerian border, for example, in the villages of Sabongari (Ngom) and Ly.

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

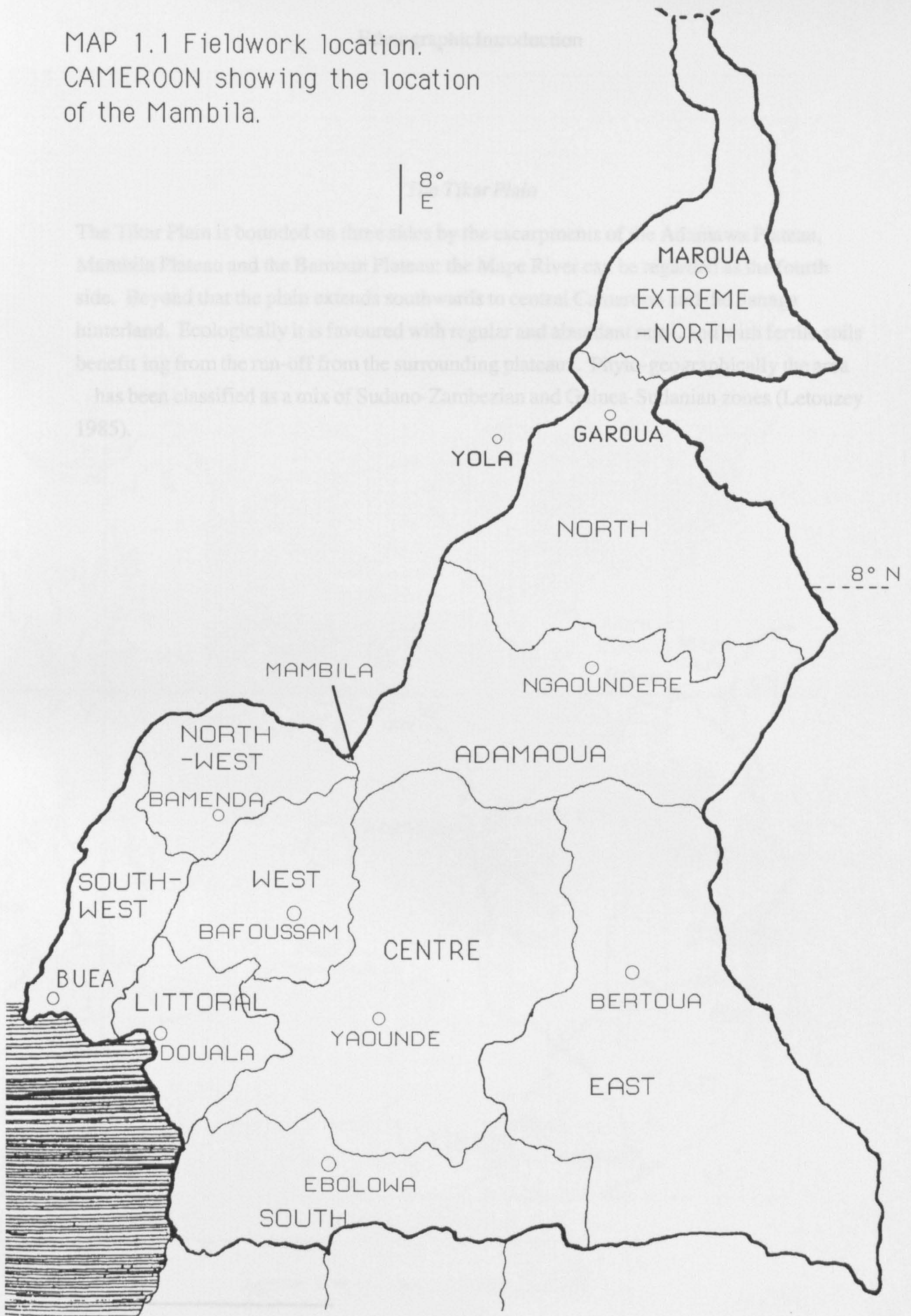
¹Sonkolong is often spelt "Songkolong"; the spelling used here is that of the main maps of the area produced by the I.G.N., Yaoundé.

Ethnographic Introduction

The main documentary sources of information about the Mambila are all concerned with the Nigerian population. To date no ethnographic work has been written on the Mambila in Cameroon. Meek published the earliest anthropological description of the Mambila in 1931, but since he left the Plateau after only a fortnight, due to illness, the accuracy of this work must be open to some doubt. Subsequently some British colonial officers left records of great value, notably Percival and du Boulay¹. 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.

¹Full 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.

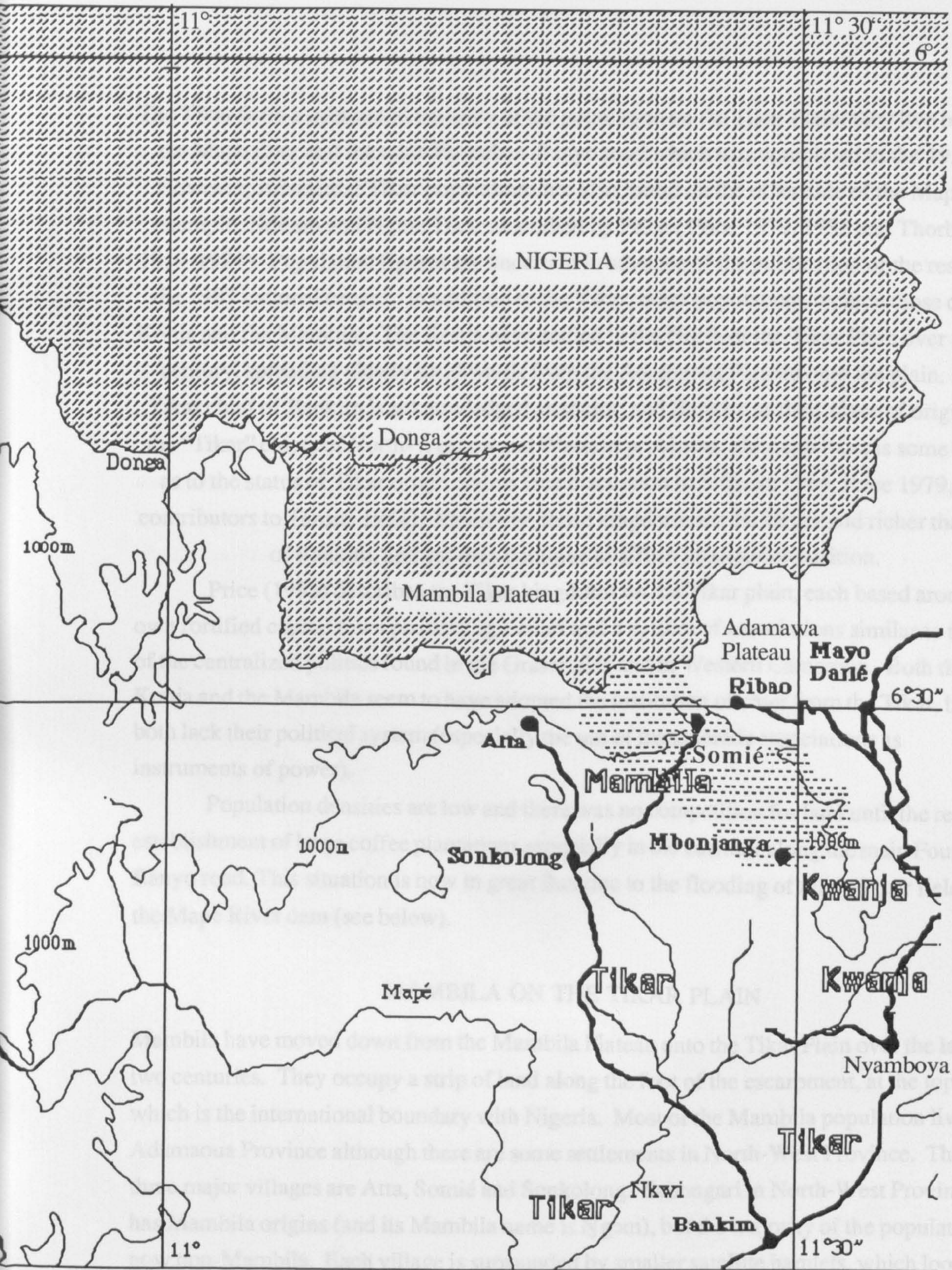


The Tikar Plain


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 rain¹, and with fertile soils benefit ing from the run-off from the surrounding plateaux. Phyto-geographically the area has been classified as a mix of Sudano-Zambeian and Guinea-Sudanian zones (Letouzey 1985).

¹2200-3000 mm/yr (Letouzey 1985).

MAP 1.2: The Tikar Plain



Scale:
65 km

Approx. area of canton of Somié: 

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

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

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

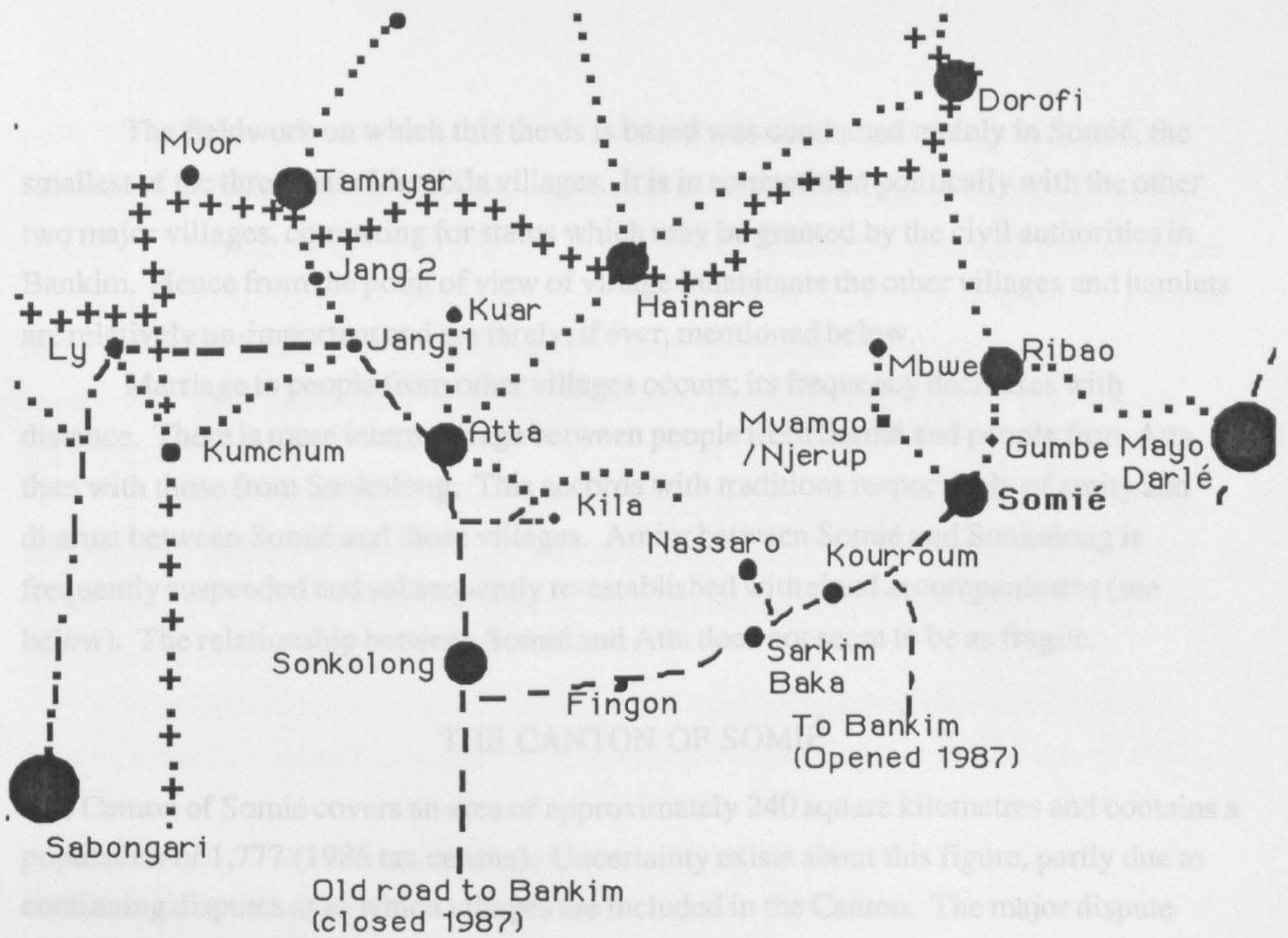
MAMBILA ON THE TIKAR PLAIN

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 Ngom), but the majority of the population is now non-Mambila. Each village is surrounded by smaller satellite hamlets, which look to them administratively, socially and economically. There are also smaller villages which are more independent in that they have a 'chief' (often denoted by the Fulfulde "Jauro") who arbitrates internal disputes. Such villages may also have their own school. Prominent among these is Lingam, whose Chief claims a common origin with the chiefs of the three

main villages. It seems that some of the other villages have grown at its expense. (For example, early “Rapports de Tournée” from the 1930s consulted in the Yaoundé National Archives make no mention of Atta, whilst they figure both Somié and Sonkolong). The formal status of such villages is not clear. The civil authorities recognize the chiefs of the three main villages, but also in their day-to-day administration they deal with the **Jauro** of the other villages. Between villages there is competition for status. One case considered below concerns the attempts of a hamlet headman to be recognized by the chief of Somié as a **Jauro**. The office of “headman” ranges from being nominal spokesman, as the senior man of a small hamlet, to being the chief of a small village. The succession of the latter is described for Somié below. Headmen of smaller hamlets attain prominence in the same way as notables “emerge” (also discussed below); with less power to wield there is less at issue and the rôle may be shared, with one man arbitrating disputes and advising on rituals and another acts as hamlet spokesman in other hamlets and villages.

X

MAP 1.3 Mambila Villages



- Divisional Boundary: Motorable road:
- National Boundary: Track:
- Village: Hamlet:

Scale: 20 km

Based on Perrin & Hill 1969:2

The Mape River dam (completed 1967-68) 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 1965. At that time the centre proper was occupied only by Mambilas 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.

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 FulBe¹ 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 Gabdo²).

Jean Hurault has used aerial archaeological techniques to estimate past population figures, especially those before the FulBe slave raids began (see especially Hurault 1979 and 1986). At present this work is controversial; high population figures are claimed, and these are as yet un-corroborated by other researchers. It is possible that he has not made sufficient allowance for the mobility of the villages, thereby inflating his population estimates. However, it should be stressed that this writer is not competent to assess his work, lacking expertise in aerial 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 recorded³ 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 raiders⁴. The first immigrants were called the Liap and came from the area around Guessimi. Little is now known of them⁵. One informant related

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

²Njoya 1952:144-145, Banyo Rapport de Tournée 1950 and Mohammadou 1978:173.

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

⁴This version of events is discussed below.

⁵There is a story (known only by some old people) of a Liap rite which involved dancing in a cave. One year the cave fell in during this rite and killed many of them.

them to the Wawa south of Banyo, but this account is unsubstantiated. Some people are still occasionally described as Liap by virtue of being patrilaterally related to other Liap.

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

The last wave of Mambila immigrants onto the Tikar Plain were the Mvɔp who came down the escarpment from Mvɔr village South-West of Dorofi - the site has been documented by Jean Hurault (1979:22 & Plate VII, 1986:131 & Plate III). These were a group of children of Touloum (their common ancestor in 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 evidence¹ 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 1982 the Tikar Plain continued to be administered from Banyo as it had been throughout the colonial period. Closer contact² with the administration is helping to lessen the isolation of the village, if only by easing basic administrative tasks such as tax paying and renewal of national identity cards. The administrative officers can now visit Somié regularly since they are so much nearer, and are increasing the range of services available to villagers.

In Somié two hamlet headmen name new chiefs and are accorded great respect. One of these is the head of Njerup hamlet, thus the head of Ndeba. The other is the head of Gumbe hamlet who is of 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

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

²Bankim is 70 km by road from Somié whereas Banyo was more than 200 km by road; one had to travel via Bankim until the new road to Nyamboya was opened in late 1988.

situation of the Atta chieftaincy (see above) has been remarked locally, and when it was pointed out the resemblance was not taken up.

Further historical details must await another work.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A description of the social structure is given below. The social structure can be seen as the armature within which social events take place. The introductory descriptions and the footnotes to the texts illustrate some of the types of events which occur in contemporary 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 groups¹. Rehfisch (1960) provides a reconstruction of the system of bilateral descent which existed when exchange marriage was practised by Nigerian Mambilla. According to his account each individual was a member of two groups recruited on a basis of kinship and residence: the **menim**, a descent group in which the affiliation of children depended on whether they were born from an exchange or bridewealth marriage², and the **man**, a group of coresidential, bilateral kin. Neither of these resembled lineages, and there was no segmentation. However, even in 1953 his description was an historical reconstruction. The **menim**-s had all but vanished by then; they were the groups between which women were exchanged in the system of exchange marriage banned by the British in the 1920's (Meek 1936). Some Cameroonian Mambila now deny that they ever practised exchange marriage, and refer to it as a Nigerian custom. There is, nonetheless, genealogical evidence for its practice. Contemporary genealogies are shallow and poorly maintained: there is no advantage in their knowledge (it is not a means to power or influence) and no pressure to preserve the information per se. Residence patterns lead to groupings of coresidential kin similar to the **man**. These groups

¹A 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.

²This is discussed in Rehfisch 1972 and Percival 1938.

are not named nor do their members act as a group, hence the notion of descent group has no utility here¹. 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: *bɔ̀ nùàr m̀̀*: all the speaker’s kin, and *bɔ̀ lɔ̀p m̀̀*: the matrilineal kin of the speaker. Yet neither of these classes of people act as a group.

Household Structure, Residence and Domestic Cycle

The residential aspects of the domestic cycle are as follows. A household usually consists of a married man, his wives and their children. Early in the domestic cycle a man and his first (or single successive) wife live in one house near the husband’s father or brother. Subsequent houses are added as children are born and after later marriages, possibly leviratic². 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 wives³. 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 units⁴. The word *lɔ̀* means either house, compound or village depending on context. This results in the residence pattern in Somié being very similar to that described by Rehfish.

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

²Some 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.

³The 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.

⁴This 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 parents¹. Her husband will be in his early twenties.

Betrothal and subsequent marriage are consensual², 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 children³. In this it resembles the Tiv system (Bohannan & Bohannan 1956, Bohannan 1967), a similarity highlighted by Richard Fardon in two recent papers (Fardon 1984 & 1985). Fardon argues that the Tiv are not the rare and unusual case which the Bohannans' description suggest. He seeks to establish that they have (had) neighbours with similar institutions, notably exchange marriage. He argues

¹If 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.

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

³Rehfishch 1972 and Percival 1938.

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

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

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

¹However none of the relevant *Rapports de Tournée* consulted in the National Archives, Yaoundé, nor any of the Banyo annual reports mention marriage practices.

genealogical evidence that it existed previously. However, informants did not describe it as the important institution suggested by descriptions of Nigerian Mambilla. Possibly this is due to the absence of named descent groups (see above) in Cameroon. It is of note that Jean Hurault (p.c.) has recently failed to find any trace of such groups in Nigeria.

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

In the past, when bridewealth was paid in the form of hoes (sometimes referred to as "shovels" in the literature), there was a clear pattern of division: nine hoes were given to the wife's father and eight to the wife's mother, each of whom would redistribute them bilaterally among their own kin. Now money is given to the bride's father (or elder brother); he will then give some to her mother's family, but in a lower proportion than that established by the ratio of hoes. A hypothetical example described to me would divide the money $\frac{3}{4}$ to the wife's father and only $\frac{1}{4}$ to the wife's mother. It was stressed that both parents would distribute the money among their kin bilaterally, although continuing the patrilineal 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 given¹ to her mother's family who subsequently receive her bridewealth. With the availability of coffee money this is now rare. Until the bridewealth, or the greater part of it, has been paid the groom is expected to help his parents-in-law with their work, although the series of gifts presented at each stage of the farming calendar throughout the betrothal period ceases on marriage. The groom receives financial help from his father and elder siblings, but he is expected to provide some of the bridewealth himself. There is an archaic term (*tugum*) for men who paid no bridewealth and made uxori-local marriages, entering their wife's families in a lowly position, which is likened to slavery.

The increasing availability of cash, both from the sale of coffee and from those villagers in paid employment in cities, has led to bridewealth inflation. The Chief is concerned to limit this. He made a public statement at a Palace meeting in 1986 suggesting an upper limit of 100,000 CFA² (about £200). It remains to be seen whether this will be complied with.

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

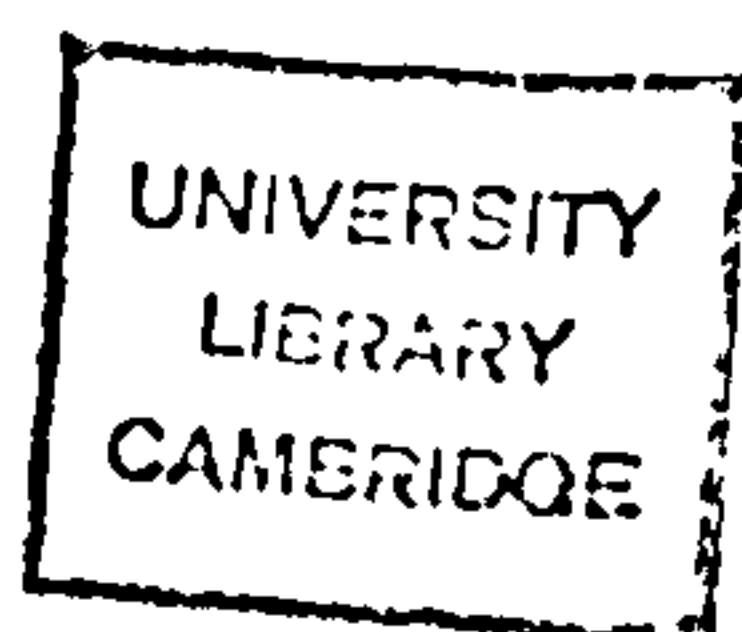
The re-marriage of a divorced or widowed woman is a far quieter event with respect to the ritual. On arrival the chicken and spear are given to her brother. The chicken is spit-roasted outside his house just as on her first marriage, but no other rituals take place. The bridewealth now becomes an issue.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

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

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

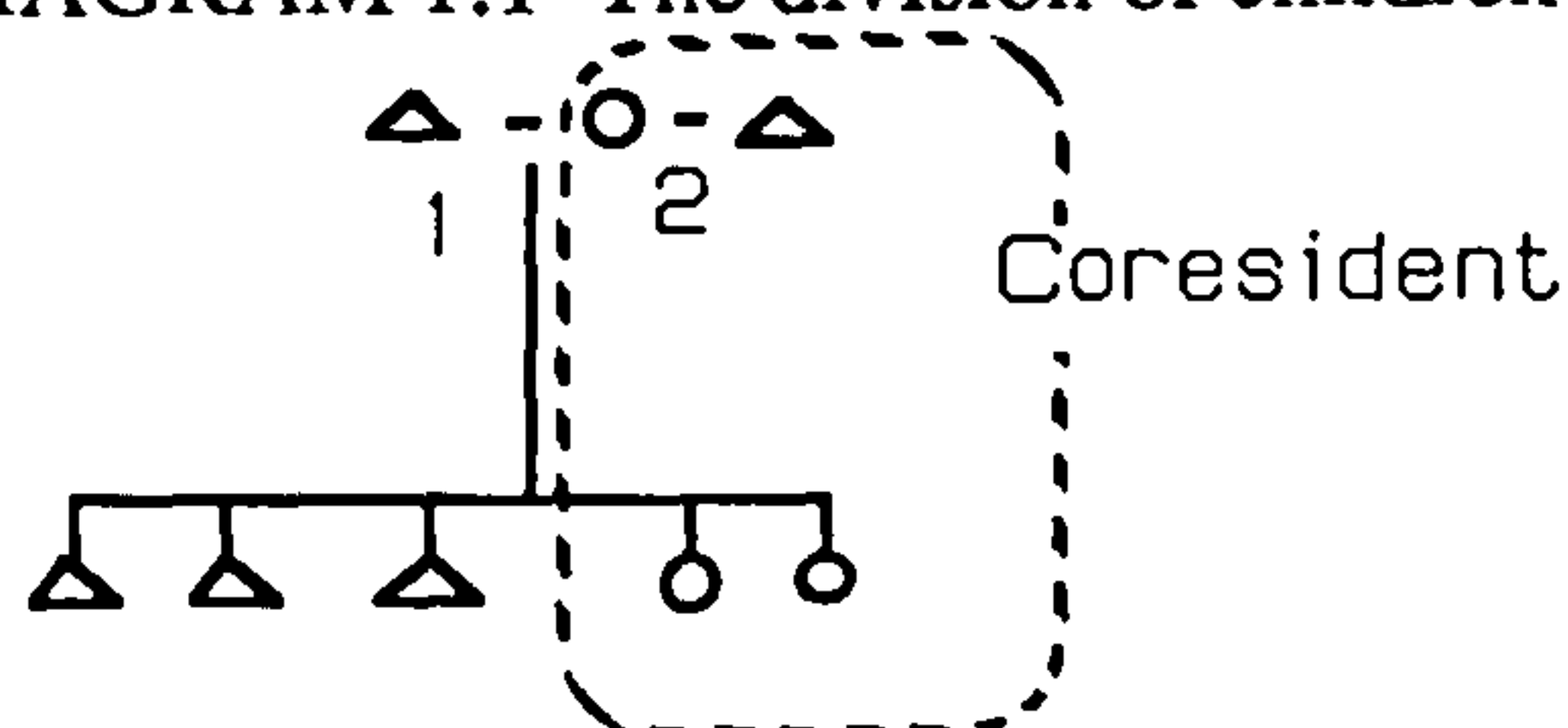
¹This can occasion fostering, although she may stay in her mother's charge but in the capacity of "marriage ward" of the other family. There is, however, no system of marriage wards and marriage lords like that of the Tiv (q.v. Bohannan¹⁹⁵⁹).

²The CFA is tied to the French Franc. The exchange rates prevailing during fieldwork gave approximately 500 CFA for £1.



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

DIAGRAM 1.1 The division of children on divorce



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

Such bridewealth cases rarely¹ 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

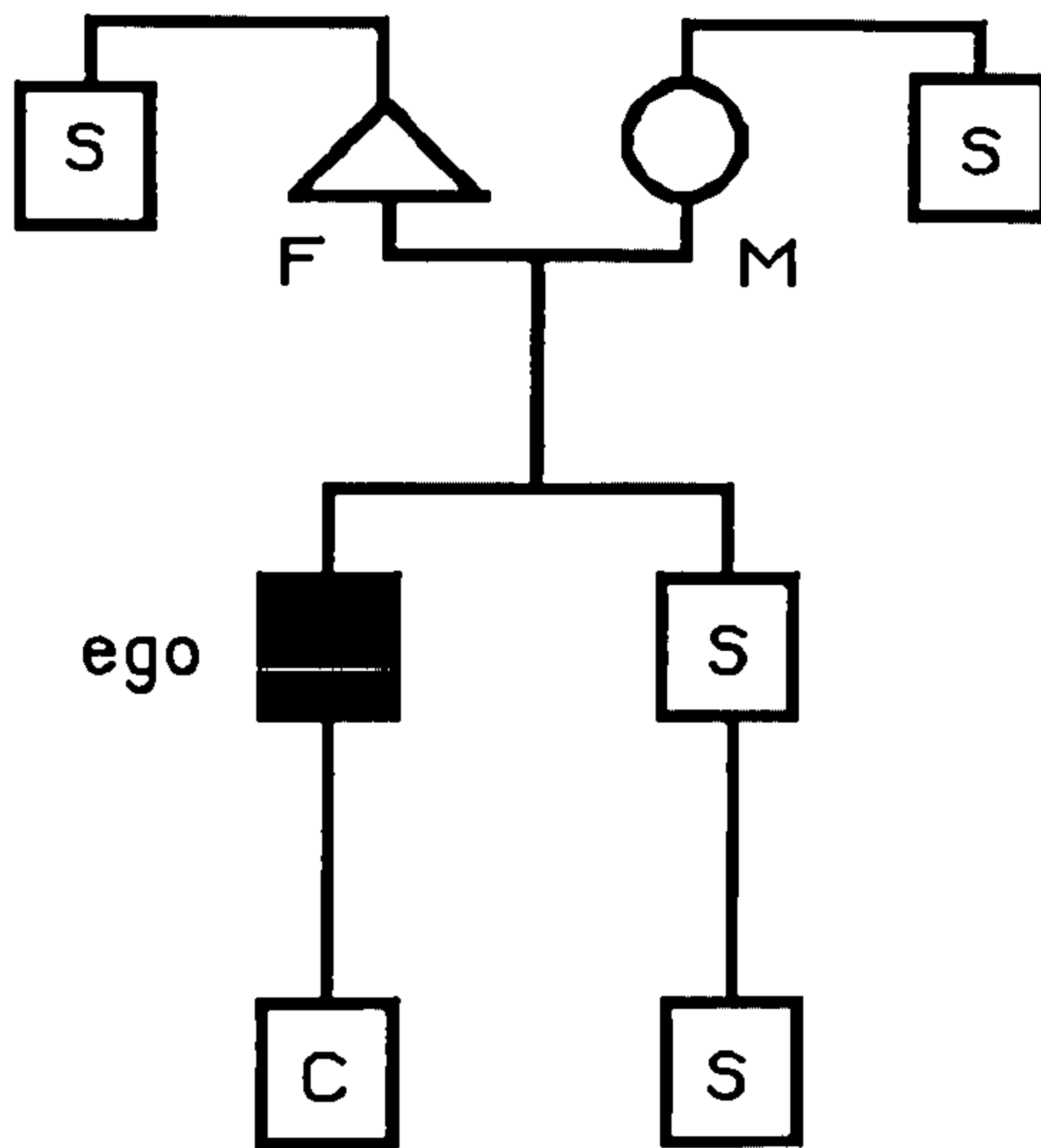
¹I documented only one case during my fieldwork in Somié.

their reciprocals) all other non-affinal kin are “siblings¹”. The terminology is hard to classify comprehensibly: according to Murdoch’s cousin-classification it is “Hawaian”, while a classification based on the treatment of the first ascending generation would class it as a “lineal” terminology (Barnard & Good 1984: 61²). There remains a problem about mother’s brother since there is a term for sister’s son but no reciprocal (see below). The terminology is as Rehfisch recorded with the exception of the increasing use of Fulfulde loan **masi** to distinguish the sex of same-generation affines.

¹I 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.

²It 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.

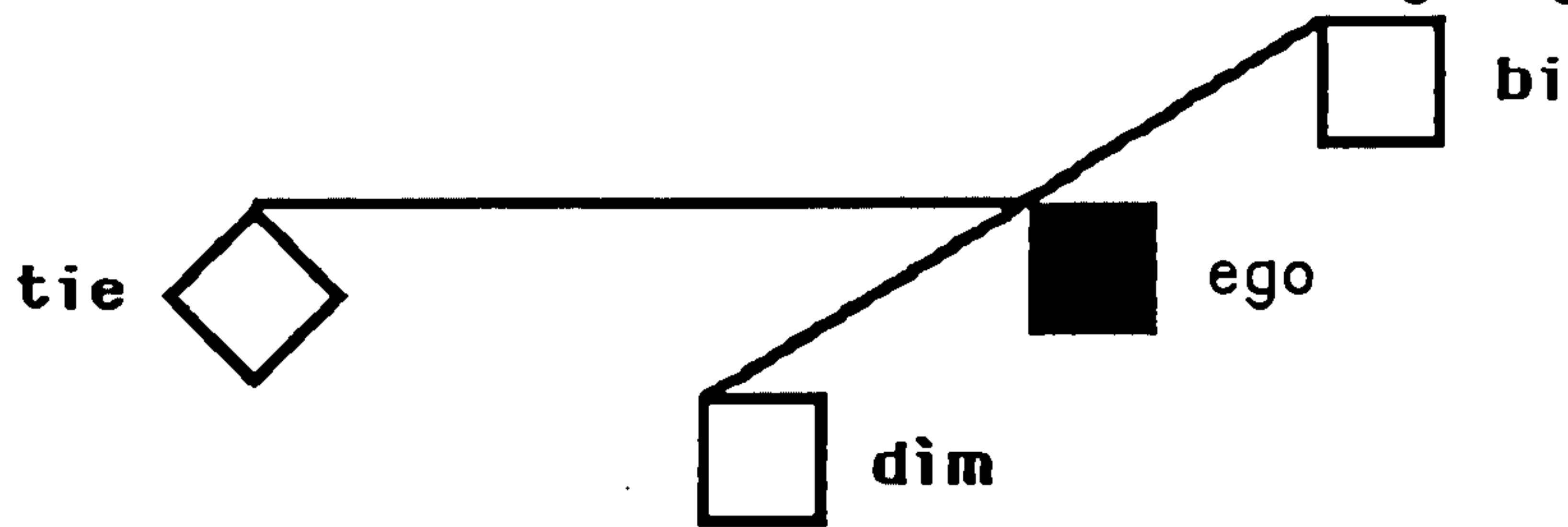
DIAGRAM 1.2 Kinship terminology: summary



Sibling Terms:

Other sex:

Same sex; elder, younger:



Key to the diagram:

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

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

F = Father, *tèlè*

M = Mother, *mif*

Marriage is mainly viri-patrilocal which places a patrilateral bias on the system since a child will see, in everyday life, more of its father's kin than of its mother's.

Survival also affects the terminology¹: “elder brother” becomes “father” after the death of the father, since the elder brother becomes the family head and should treat his younger brothers as his sons. I have no data on sibling quarrels clearly linked to this. With the deaths of the first major coffee planters likely to occur in the next 10-20 years the inheritance of their fields is likely to give rise to disputes. In the past the inheritance of a field saved some labour, but in the absence of land shortage failure to inherit a field would not have been a very serious matter. However, to inherit a mature coffee field gives one an immediate cash income, avoiding a five-year delay between planting a coffee field and its first crop. A youth at secondary school in Banyo or Fouban may justifiably fear that an elder brother with his own family may not support his studies as his own father would have done.

The word *lɔp* (witchcraft) is also used to refer to matrilineal kinship, since witchcraft is inherited matrilineally. There is no equivalent term for patrilineal kinship. Nor is there a special term for kin, the phrase *bɛ̀ nùàr mò* (my people) being used where necessary.

Mother's Brother and Sister's Son

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

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

¹It is affected at both the address and reference levels, but reference is affected ambiguously. I would typically be told “he is my father, (having addressed him as father) he is my elder brother.” Or “he is my elder brother, he is my father.” This latter usage has the clear implication that the elder brother has taken on the mantle of the father after his death.

elicited, mostly “elder brother” although some used “small father”. This latter usage was never noted in free speech, and is probably based on the model of Fulfulde or Cameroonian French. No woman ever used the term in a natural context, although if explicitly asked (in the abstract) some would say that their sister’s son were their *nyu*. Similarly, *nyu* is used in practice to refer to males although in principle it applies to all sister’s children.

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

Reciprocally the sister’s sons are expected to help in the field whenever the mother’s brother has a work party, but this is also true of all the parents’ siblings. The sister’s son, however, has a ritual rôle. When a man wishes beer to be poured onto his father’s grave it must be a *nyu* who does the pouring and makes the invocation¹. 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 *bɔ̃ nyu* (the sister’s sons) or *bɔ̃ nyu mgbe* (the sister’s sons of the Chief) and they have diverse special functions. In particular, they are in charge of many of the rites comprising the *ngwun* ritual. They are the agents operating and in charge of the cult of the chiefs’ skulls. Only they can enter the hut in which the skulls are kept. They are specially entrusted counsellors since they cannot become chief, and the regent who rules during an interregnum is a sister’s son. The division of ritual rôles during the *Ngwun* rites² 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 chɔ̃ŋ* (sister’s son (of) peace). Such a distinction is not made among other families.

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

²*Ngwun* is a borrowing from the Tikar, and is partly a war dance and partly a celebration of the institution of chief. It also includes many rites to strengthen the chief. It is performed at the enstoolment of the chief, and thereafter biannually at the new moon in the middle of the dry season (December).

A brief note on naming.

Recently published works discuss naming among groups North of the Mambila¹ (Siran 1987): Vute, and to the South: the Bamiléké (Pradelles de la Tour 1986). 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 family). In addition there is extensive use of nicknames, plays on words, et cetera, which are often honorific. For example, Kwa is a nickname still used to refer to Kolaka, the chief who died in 1949. More work is needed to clarify the range of usage of such names. Sometimes the name from “the mother’s side” is widely used in address but not in reference, and similar ‘exceptions’ apply to the use of the name from “the father’s side” by the mother’s kin. Naming is often after a deceased relative. Names are held to be meaningful, giving rise to problems associated with their explication as discussed by Siran.

Special names are given to twins: male twins are called **Suawe**, **Ganfi** 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 (**Gə** or **Ge** for F of twins; **Mɔŋ** or **Nun** for M of twins).

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 chiefs² The word used in Cameroon (**mgbe**), is a Tikar word for “sub-chief” and the word for palace (**mbam**) is also a Tikar loan. The legitimacy of Mohammadou’s grouping of Konja, 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. **Mgbe ti** have rights to a class of game called **mbe** (also a Tikar loan word according to Price p.c.). The **mbe** animals are python (**lamsua**), Gaboon viper (**ngubu**), buffalo (**yaga**), waterbuck (**mbəlim**), and serval (**sie**). One elderly informant also included the tortoise (**kpəlox**). Price (1985:99) records Tikar “royal

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

²Cf Meek 1931 and Rehfishch 1972.

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

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

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

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

¹As a “chief -second class” he is entitled to a monthly governmental salary but in fact receives a salary by virtue of his former employment as a teacher (see below Chapter 8 fn 2).

^{Somié}
 in facilitates internal government, avoiding frequent recourse to state officials; which would lessen his prestige amongst the villagers as well the authorities.

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

Dispute resolution

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

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

The Chief is accessible to all comers, and is informed of most events in the village. Mambila people enter the inner courtyard to talk to him if he is not in the Jolori, 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

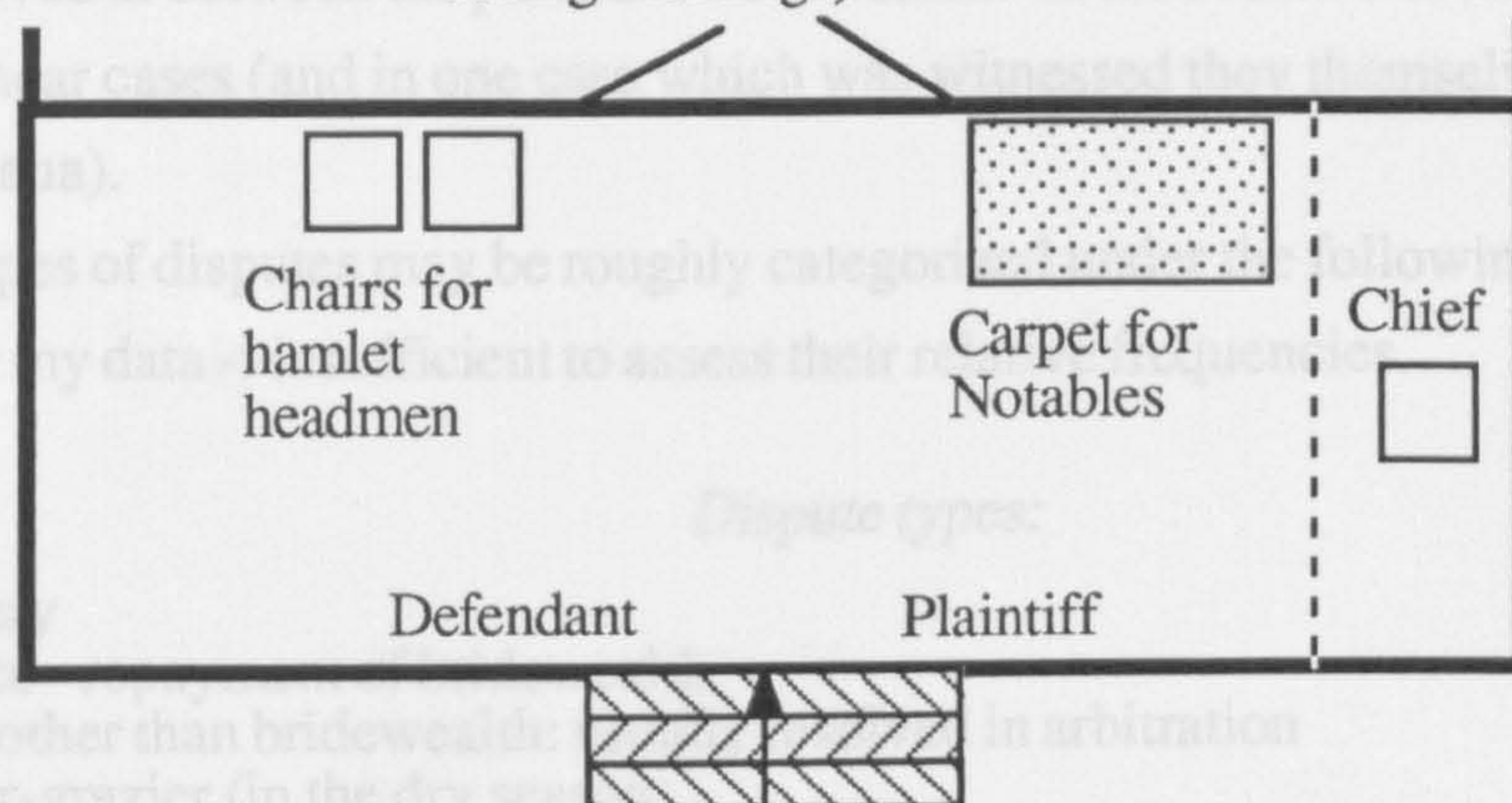
¹The term masquerade is discussed below Chapter Two, section: “Sua: an overview”.

²This is fully explained below.

³Rehfishch (1969:310) notes that parties to disputes were held to be among the main targets of witches in Warwar.

centre usually move along it. People from outlying hamlets more often come to the Chief's Palace requesting a formal hearing, after a failed arbitration by the hamlet-headman. The Chief will probably have been told of the dispute in advance.

DIAGRAM 1.4 Chief's Palace: The verandah of the **Jolori** building.
Inner room (women sit here during meetings)



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 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 **Ḅ̣ Kuku ḅ̣** (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 Rehfish's "opinion poll" conducted during his fieldwork among Nigerian Mambilla (Warwar 1953) (Rehfish 1972:159)¹ to assess the degree of unanimity of opinion in an acephalous society.

The **Ḅ̣ Kuku ḅ̣** 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

¹Although the distribution of percentages resembles that obtained by Rehfish, in Somié 75% of the sample named the same two people first, whereas Rehfish has 100% unanimity for the first two positions in his poll. These differences probably reflect the fact that he was working in one small hamlet whereas I was in a village centre. This resulted in some respondents including hamlet heads among their list of elders, whilst others restricted themselves to elders from the centre proper. If the question had been more restrictive it would not have been that used by Rehfish, thus posing other problems for the comparison of the two sets of results.

prepared to do this. Apart from a small amount of beer there is no financial reward for being recognized as a Notable. Conversely, wealth is not an important factor in the recruitment of Notables.

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

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

Dispute types:

Adultery

Divorce - repayment of bridewealth

Debts other than bridewealth: usually resolved in arbitration

Farmer-grazier (in the dry season)

Field boundaries & ownership (as well as ownership of palm- and cola-trees)

Theft

Fights: can be provoked by insulting songs, although insults are rarely causes for litigation in their own right. A case involving the insulting of the Chief became part of the dispute concerning his authority over a hamlet head¹.

Witchcraft diagnosed by divination as a cause of illness.

The skull cult of The Chief

Ngwun and men's sua are danced following the death of a chief. Chiefs are buried sitting upright in a circular shaft grave². Approximately a month after the burial the head is removed and washed. The skull is placed in a small four-handled Mambila basket (*sogo bà*) in the skull house (*gua fə*) to the West of the Palace.

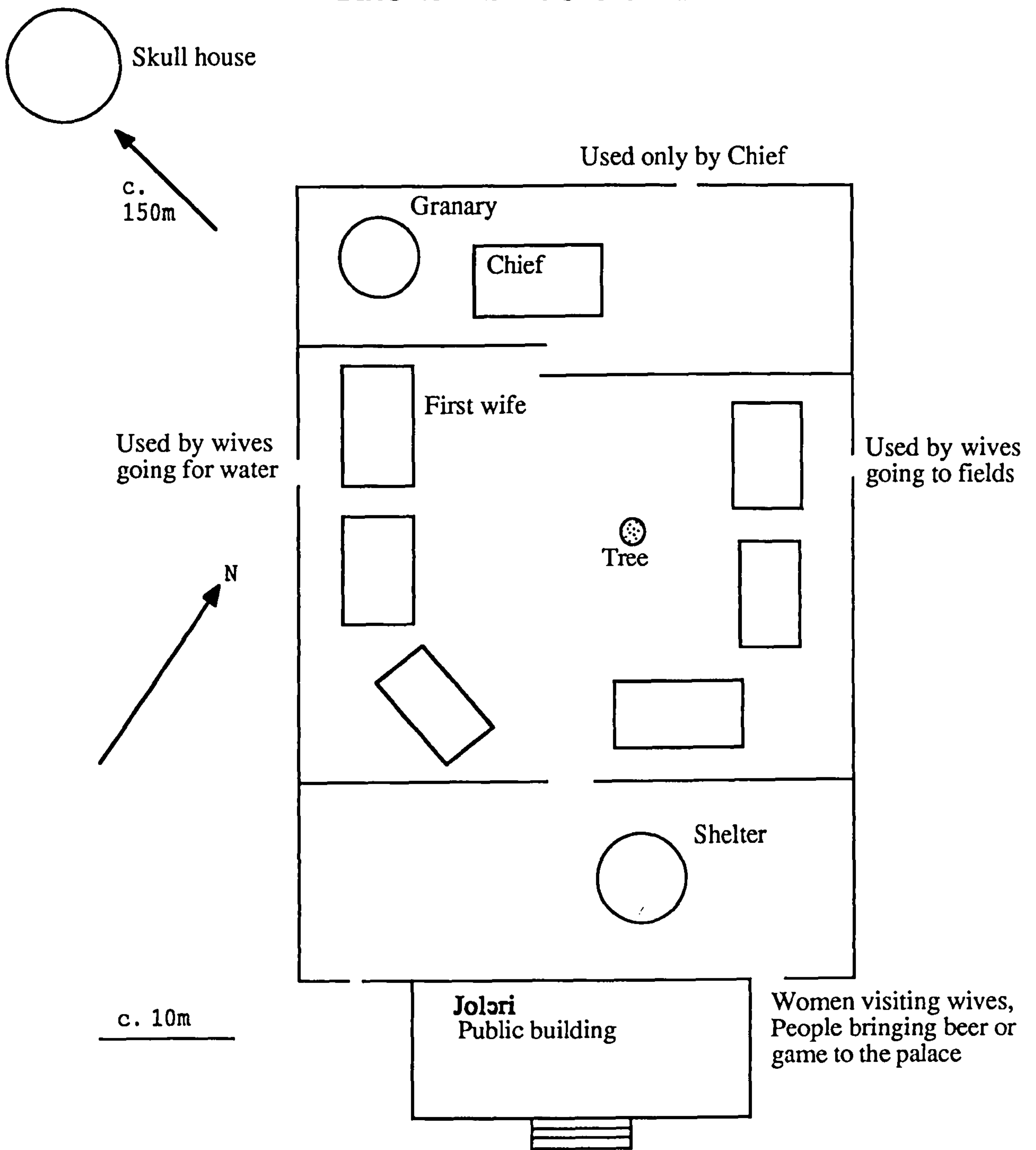
I was not allowed access to the skull-house, nor were the sister's sons forthcoming about the rites performed there. In particular, the relationship between the current Chief and the skulls of his predecessors remains unclear. The rites described to me did not involve the Chief himself. Annually the heads 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).

¹See chapter 8 Kulu sua, below.

²Other burials are considered below.

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

DIAGRAM 1.5 The Chief's Palace



The selection of The Chief

The succession to the office of Chieftainship is broadly adelphic as can be seen from the genealogies below. In principle all sons of chiefs are eligible, also their sons. According to Goody's general discussion (Goody 1966) the chief's family can be described as a

“Familial Dynasty” or as forming a “dynastic descent group” (Goody 1966:26). No great-grandson has ever succeeded to the chieftainship, and great-grandsons were never mentioned in discussions of possible successors.¹ 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 Touloum and therefore is ineligible for the Chieftainship. These two pick a “short-list” from among all the sons of past chiefs² and then use spider divination³ 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 is available. Each of the present incumbents has succeeded their elder brother, and each will be succeeded by their son or by a son of his predecessors.

Since the 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 here⁴. The sketches show the relationships between the successive chiefs (where known) and also illustrate the principle points of

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

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

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

⁴A fragment is included as footnote 30 to the transcript in Chapter 6.

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

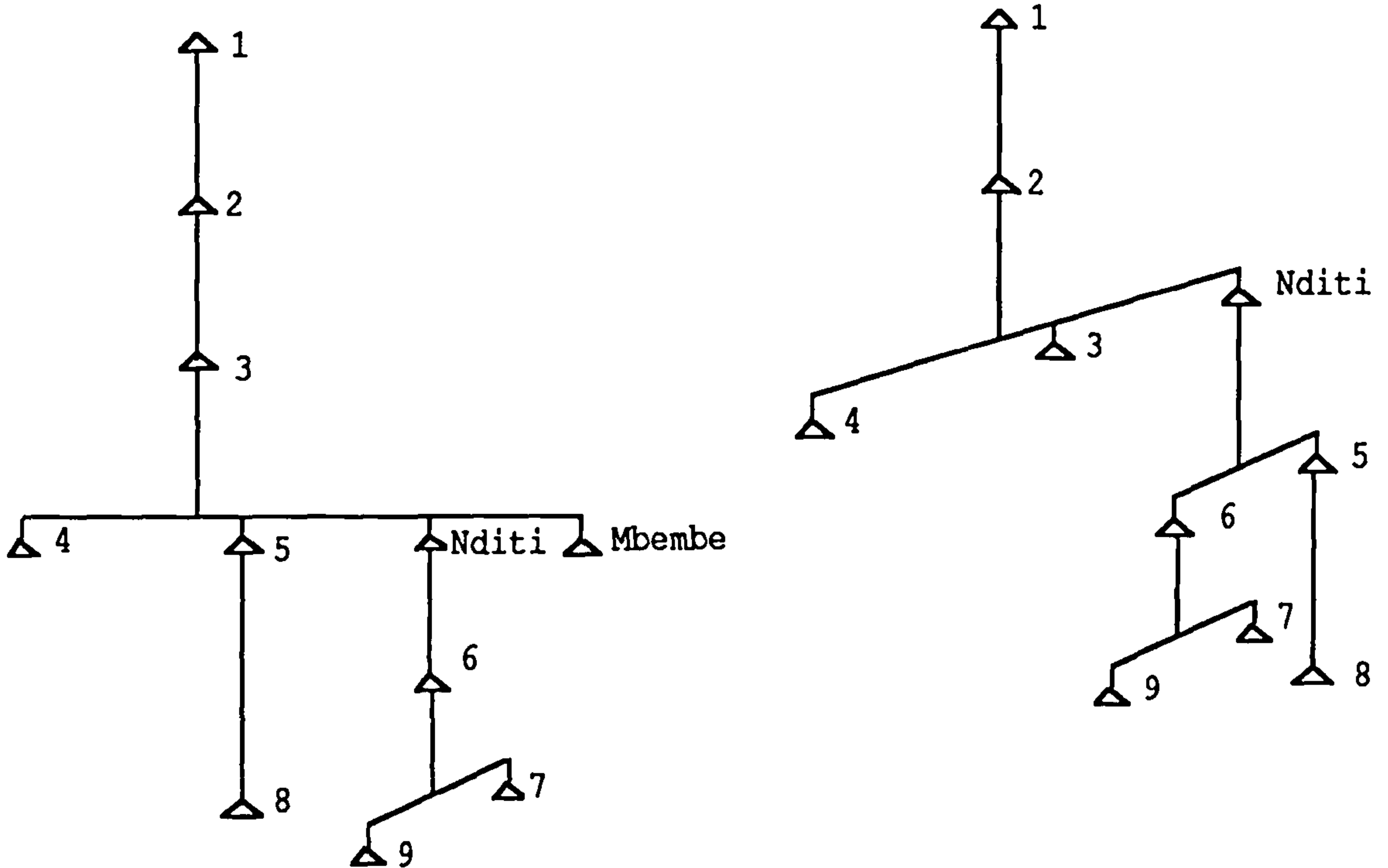
The Somié list is followed by a list of the recent regents who have served during the interregnums. The regent must be the Zs of the chief. The name of their mother, their father (when known), and the chief who was their mother's father are also given. Since there was far more uncertainty about the identity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

Chief list of Somié

- (1) Tulum
- (2) Ndinyura
- (3) Chomo/Chokmo
- (4) Nyura: First contact with Germans (Hurault)
- (5) Menandi: 8 wives recorded (1WW). c.10 years chief
- (6) Kolaka. Chief: 1923?-1949. d.Nov 49
- (7) Ndi Etienne. Chief: 1950-c1953
- (8) Mɔ̀gɔ̀ Michel. 6 wives recorded. Chief: 1954-1976
- (9) Dega François. b. 1950. Chief: 1976-

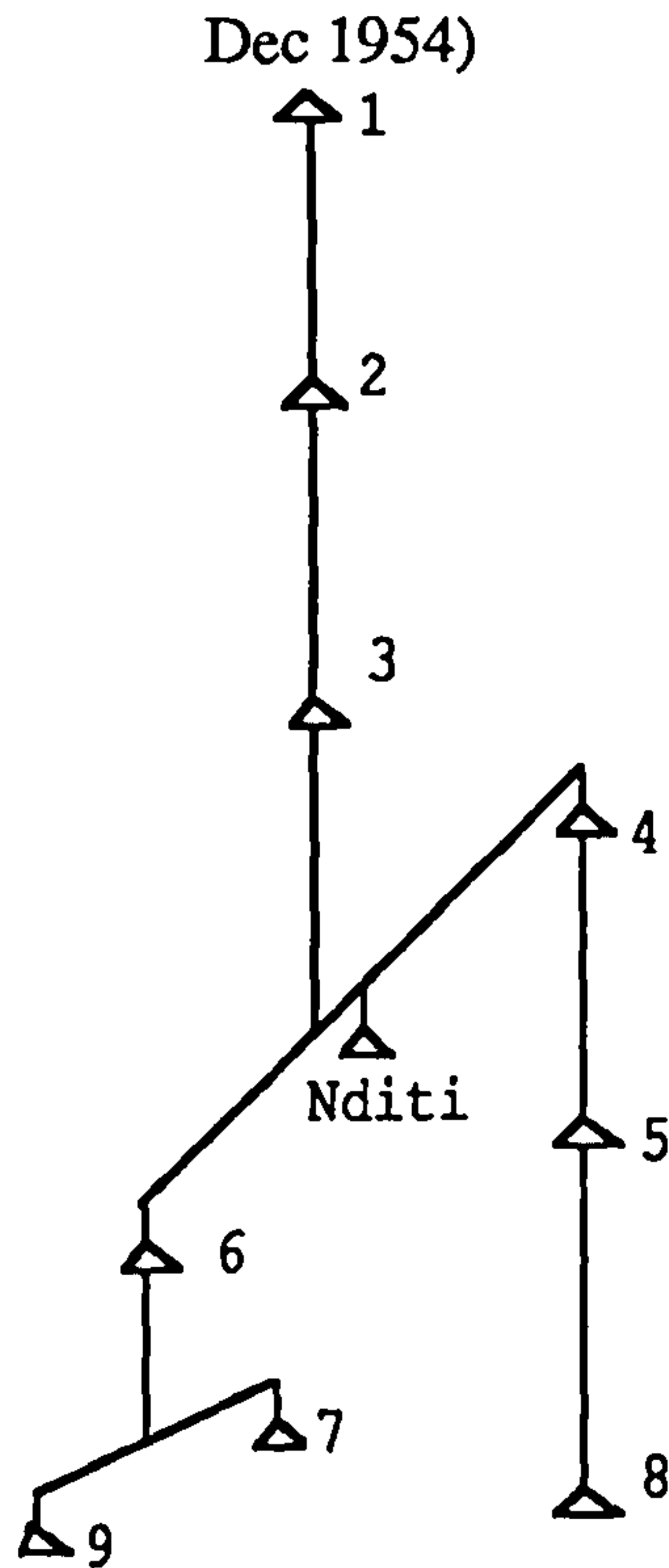
Two versions of the genealogy of the chiefs of Somié (the numbers refer to the chiefs named in the above list):

DIAGRAM 1.6 Genealogy of Somié Chiefs



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

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



The regents of Somié

Chief's name

Regent	Regent's mother (father)	Mother's Father
Nua (Nura?)		
Jeba	Nde (Jəko)	Ndinura
Menandi		
Tuú	Dan (Kue/Kuɲbili)	Ndití
Tuú	Nənbə (Kuɲbili)	Menandi
Kolaka		
Jəba/Juba	Ndehi (Jəgo)	Chomo
Nyimakə	Bəɲdiə (Kəɲbe)	
Nimakə	Bəɲdiə (Kuɲbe)	Nura
Nimakə	Bəɲjiə (Kungbe)	Nura
Nimakə	Bəɲdie	Nura

Ethnographic Introduction

Ndi

Nyimakə	Bəŋdi (Guŋbe)	Nua
Nyimakə	Bəŋdie (Kuŋbe)	Chomo
Juba	Nde (Gi-jəgə)	Nua
Jeba	Nyəgəcho (Jəgə)	Nde

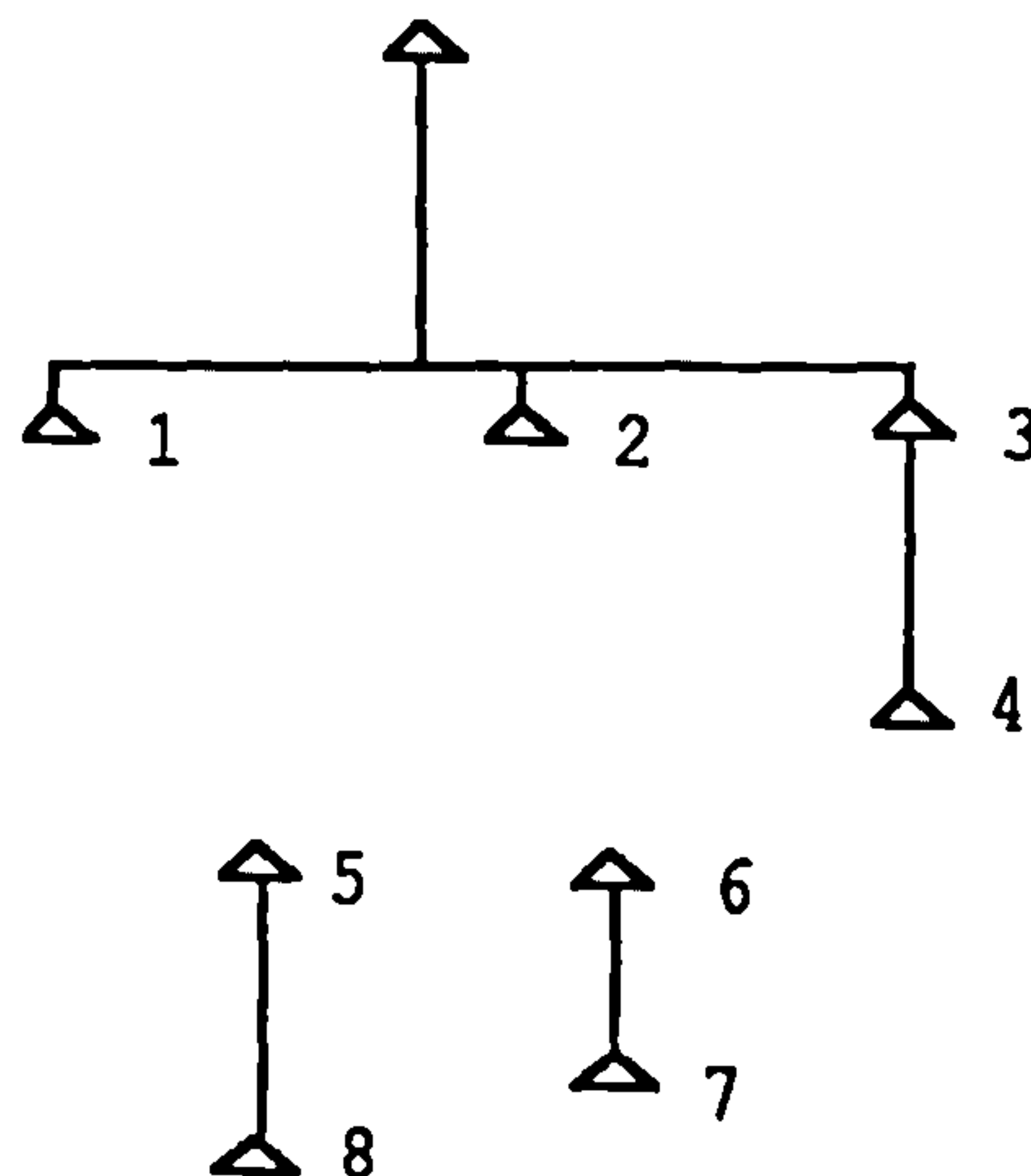
Məgə Michel

Kung (Nafa Jeremy)	Nurome (Suawe)	Kolaka
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Chief list of Atta

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

DIAGRAM 1.8 Chiefs of Atta



Dates and events attested by archival information:

Ngah in place 1942 (Banyo Archives)

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

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

Chief list of Sonkolong

Menandi's list (via DZ).

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

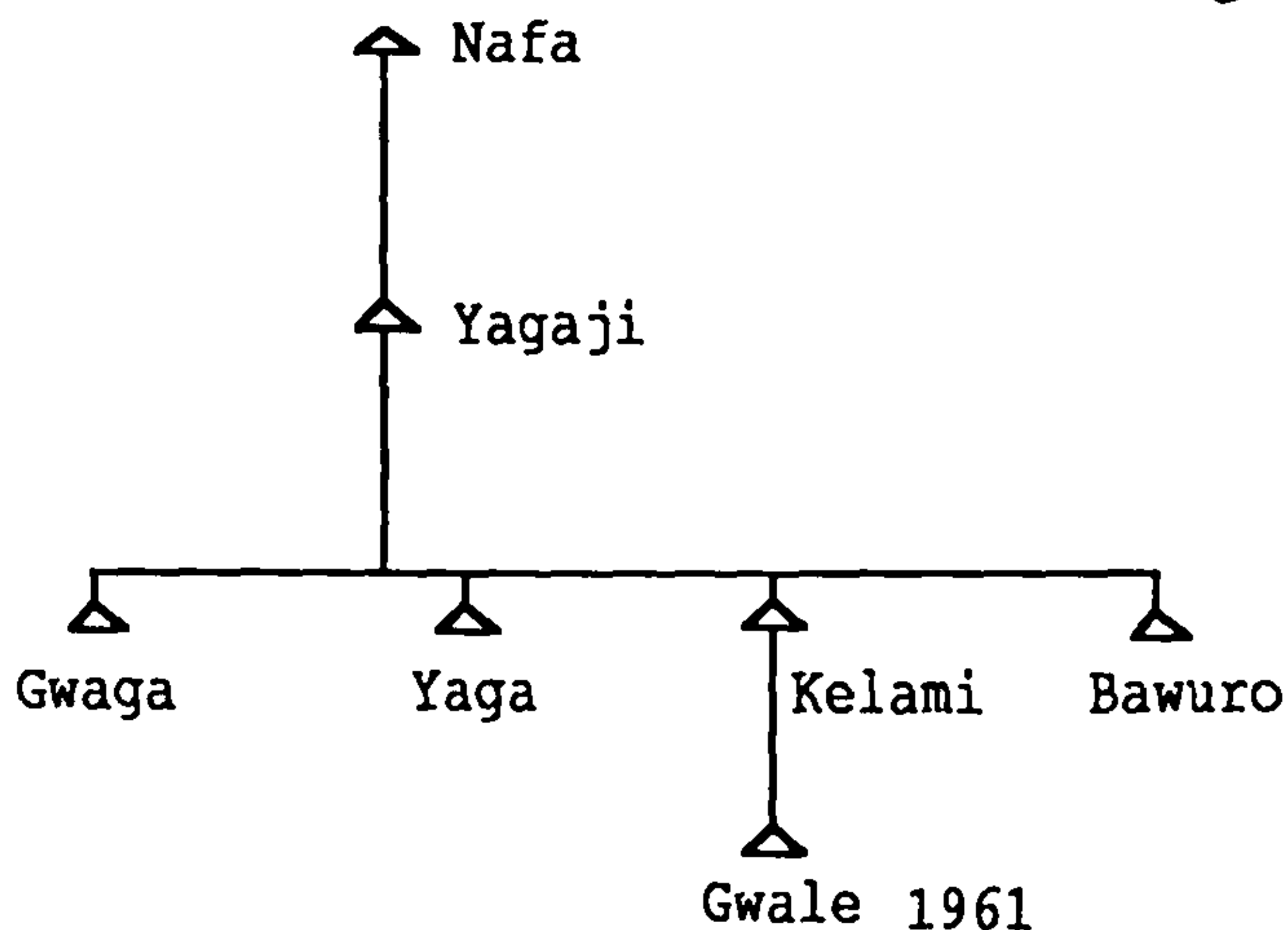
Notes on the Sonkolong Chiefs (dz 1988).

Kami succeeded once Yaga had been deposed. He was then replaced by Gwaga on whose death Kami again became Chief.

Nafa died during seclusion as part of installation.

Archival sources record that Bawuro brother of the dead chief Ka was installed in December 1934 and he was still in place in 1942.

DIAGRAM 1.9. Chiefs of Sonkolong



Sonkolong Chief lists from Hurault's data:

1) List of Garba Bini (b. c.1880) List made 1983			2) List made by Hurault at a meeting of Notables 2/2/85	
	Name	Years of rule	Father	Name
1	Gwale			1 Gwale
2	Yabon		F=1	2 Yabon
3	Kia		F=2	3 Wè
4	Yie		F=2	4 Yié
5	Nde Jolomo	2	F=4	5 Kea
6	Wakatcha		F=4	6 Nju=Ndijulumo?
7	Londam		F=4	7 Wakatcha
8	Yilayor	12	F=4	8 Londam
9	Keme	4	F=4	9 Yaji Yilayor
10	Gwalu	17	F=8	10 Keme
11	Keme	2 1/2	F=6	11 Gwa
12	Kia	15	F=8?	12 Kèr
13	Basuro	37	F=8?	13 Basuro
14	Gwa	1961=>	F=12	14 Gwa

ECONOMICS

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

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

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

¹I know of it being grown once during the three growing seasons which I spent in Somié.

bird scarers, but now they attend school and are therefore unavailable for this work. Sorghum beer is required for ritual occasions so if none is grown it must be purchased at market for ritual use. Sorghum beer is held to be far stronger than maize beer.

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

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

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

Organisation of Labour

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

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

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

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

¹In 1988 he told me that he is planting a small coffee field.

women who worked the field. They used the money for clothing, oil and beer. In 1988 the freshly-ploughed field was damaged by cows, and it remains to be seen how much income will be produced.

Market

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

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

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

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

Rotating Credit Societies

Savings are managed by a variety of rotating credit societies¹. These range from those meeting weekly or fortnightly, which gather relatively small amounts of money and provide opportunities for beer drinks (the recipient of the fund provides beer for the meeting),^{to} those meeting annually in which up to 20,000 CFA per person may be contributed. Sums then realized are sufficient to reroof a house with metal sheet, or to provide bridewealth in one payment. The members of one annual society make their contributions with sacks of coffee.

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

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

The meetings start with a Christian prayer, then contributions are collected and recorded before the beer drink commences. Some are closed to non-members but most are open, non-members either paying an entrance fee or buying their beer by the gourdful. This money is used to buy bottled beer which the members drink at the final meeting of the society. Small gifts of cola or beer between those present are announced by a member who acts as a public caller². 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.

¹These are called called *dashi djangi* or *mɔgɔ* (group).

²A series of transcripts of such speeches has been made.

Land Tenure

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

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

Disputes arise about the boundaries of cultivated fields, and failing agreement these are usually arbitrated by one or several of the Notables delegated by the Chief. The boundary between two fields is marked by the planting of bushes¹ or by agreeing (before witnesses) that certain trees should serve as boundary markers. House sites and garden plots are similarly marked and owned.

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

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

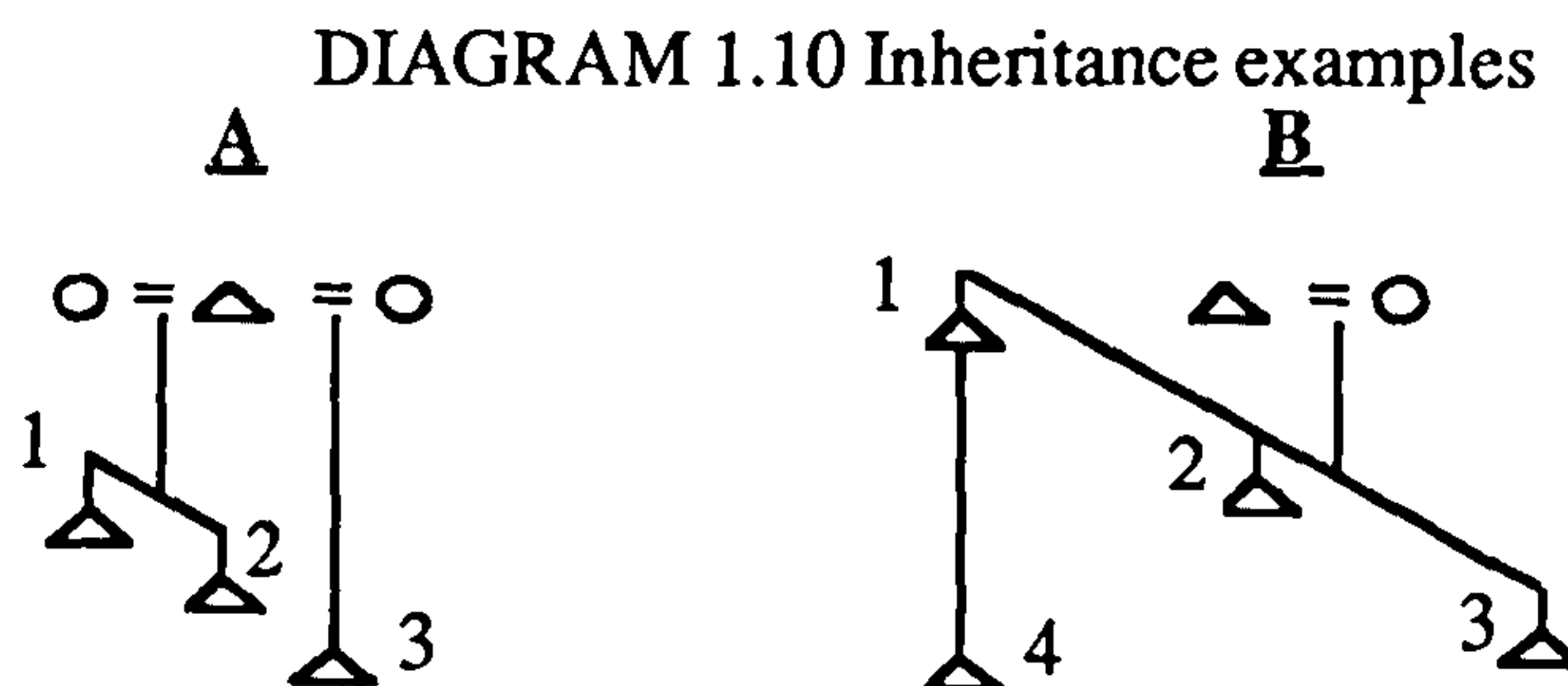
Inheritance

Inheritance, like succession to the Chieftainship, is adelphic, passing from elder to younger brother, so that the eldest surviving brother acts as the family head and "is like the father to the others". While the kinship terminology (already discussed) widens the range of "siblings," the cases documented all concerned brothers with a common father.

Testamentary statements can be made but are rare; usually the devolution of the estate is only discussed after death. Estates are often divided between surviving sons rather than passing intact to the eldest son; such division is decided pragmatically by the family and there is no sanction other than public opinion, although if such a matter were referred to the Chief it is probable that he would argue for division within the family. Daughters can inherit valuable possessions (for example, coffee and cola trees) as residual heirs. Their children then inherit from them. However, they are most likely to inherit as guardians for the young children of deceased brothers. Wives retain usufruct on their fields but otherwise have no rights over their husband's property.

¹Usually koro.

There follow two examples¹. 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 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 pressure² 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

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

²Villagers, however, assert that this is the case.

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

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

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

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

¹references in Zeitlyn 1989 included as an appendix below.

²Confirmed in conversations with Professor Warnier and Mrs Chilver.

Relations with the FulBe were dominated by slaving. Tribute continued to be provided to the Lamido of Banyo until the very end of the colonial period, but this ceased before Independence.

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

Changes in Material Culture

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

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

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

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

No houses in the centre of Somié made on the old wattle and daub principles remain, and only one round house of the old design still stands; even that is made from sun-dried mud bricks. Old style houses do still exist, but only in outlying hamlets and they are rapidly being replaced. Twenty years ago most roofs were made of grass thatch¹, 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

¹This observation is based on study of photographs of Atta taken by Mona Perrin in the late 1960's.

move onto the Tikar Plain, especially in view of its abundance of trees and palms, both of which are rare on the Mambila Plateau.

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

Change in Social and Political Institutions

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

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

Change and the absence of religious institutions.

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

¹See the section on the Chief.

²As discussed by Meek 1936, Percival and Rehfisch, and above.

The influence of the FulBe has been and continues to be small by comparison with their neighbours further North (for example, NyamNyam, Wawa and Vute¹) large groups of whom were incorporated into the FulBe **Lamidates** as slaves. By contrast, the Mambila suffered slave raids, then came to an arrangement whereby they were left alone in exchange for annual tribute.

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

LIFE CRISIS RITES

Birth

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

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

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

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

¹Q.v. Leis 1970, Mohammadou 1964, 1967, 1971, 1978, 1981, Siran 1980 and Lembezat 1961.

Twins

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

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

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

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

Circumcision

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

However, this anecdote is interesting insofar as it emphasizes the way in which women’s knowledge is immanent but unutterable (q.v. Bellman). Circumcision is universally described as “cutting the head,” the literal statement is never used. Men explained that this was to avoid women discovering what occurs, yet the story above gives the lie to this. Informants who had been circumcised in the traditional manner gave no clear

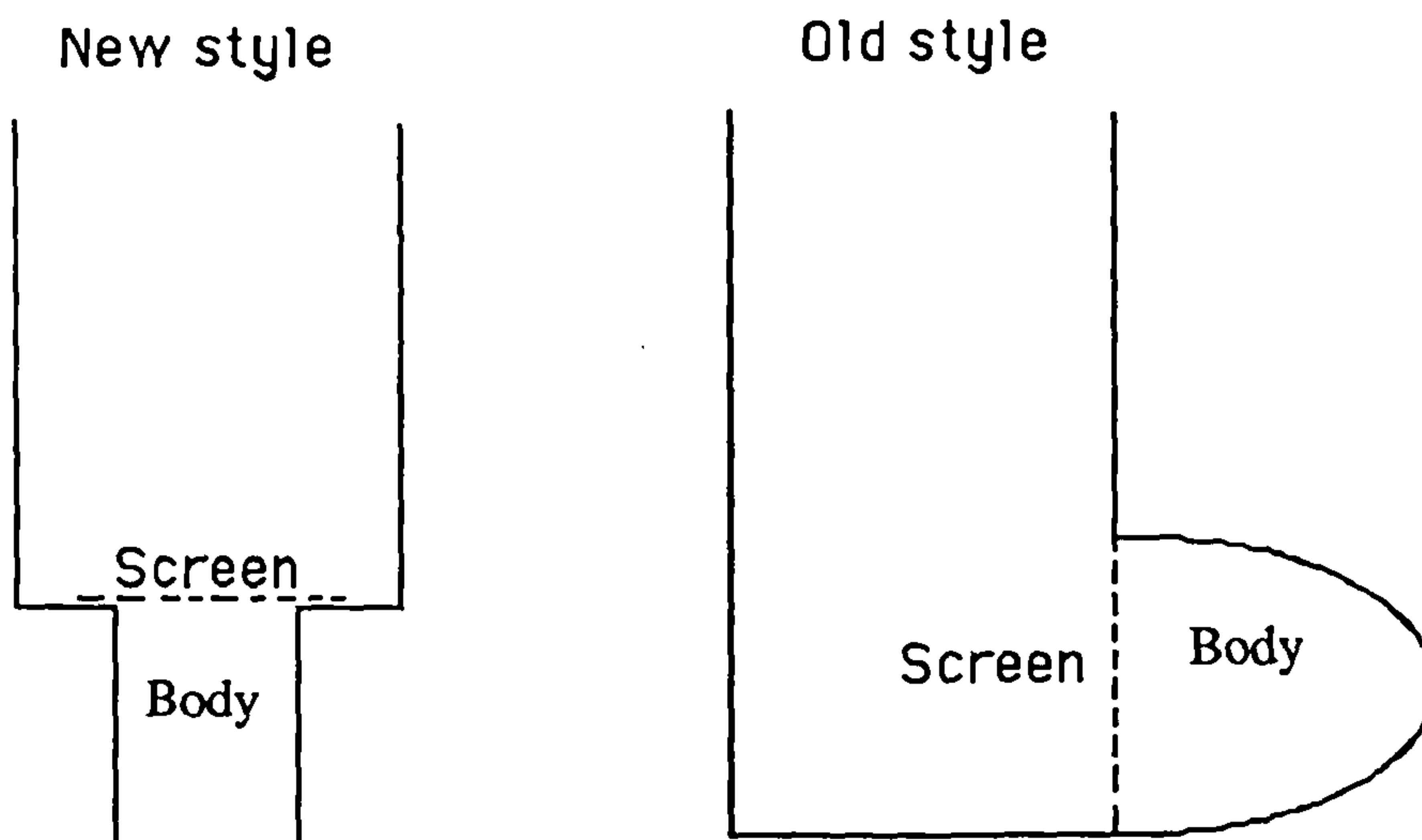
accounts of any ritual accompaniment to the circumcision, nor was the most senior blacksmith forthcoming; further fieldwork will hopefully elicit further information.

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

Death

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

DIAGRAM 1.11. Burial styles



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

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

A feast in which food is given to all comers is held on the third day after death. If death occurs in the evening there is often some debate as to when to start counting; practical

considerations may sway the issue - for example so that the feast day falls on a Sunday, allowing more people to attend.

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

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

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

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

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

Rehfishch has photographs from Warwar in 1953 of funeral dances wherein a collection of bells and other objects are dragged along the ground. Although there are currently none in Somié they are known there and exist in neighbouring villages where they are produced at major oaths¹ and during the masquerade.

¹For example, at the **sua**-oath taken at Sonkolong in November 1986 to establish peace between Somié and Sonkolong.

No reasons were given for the practice, nor were criteria explicitly stated for the decision whether a certain person warranted the dancing of *sua*, apart from generalizations such as “if they are very old” or if a Notable. It seems that an old and respected person with prominent children resident in the village will have *sua* danced for them. The dances which I witnessed were outside the village centre and I had no chance to be present when the decisions were made.

CONCLUSIONS

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

Chapter Two

Introduction to Mambila Religion

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

Fieldwork reversed many of the concerns of previous theoretical study: in the field the definition of “the family” was more complex than that of “ritual”. The definition of religion adopted was that given by Firth (1959:131): “a concern of man in society with basic human needs and standards of value, seen in relation to non-human entities or powers”. Ritual is harder to define, and Jack Goody (1977) has argued for its abandonment as an analytic term. Sperber’s definition of symbolism (1975:4) as “activity where the means put into play seem to me to be clearly disproportionate to the explicit or implicit end” may also serve as a definition of ritual if a further requirement of formality or ceremonial is added. This is to be preferred over Loveday’s definition (1981:136) “Rituals constitute collective metacommunicative events of societal-constructing significance” since it is operational¹. Loveday’s definition is susceptible to Goody’s argument (*infra.*) that if ritual is to be seen as an “aspect” of actions (Leach 1954:13) then it is too generalised a term since almost every action has a ritual element. Such a wide-reaching application robs the term of its utility. John Skorupski published (1976) an analysis of ritual which Goody should approve since it distinguishes between the ceremonial, religious and performative aspects of the term. He concludes that “if the notion of ritual is to be used at all, it is best applied to the *rites* involved in an institutional mode of religious behaviour” (Skorupski 1975:171, his emphasis). Skorupski’s position is consistent with the usage of “ritual” and “rite” in this analysis.

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

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

¹That is: it is usable in the field.

manifest the ... understanding of the divine, but rather to control and avert misfortune from mystical causes.” (Edwards 1983 Fn 42 p 478).

In principle all illness is held to be caused either by *chàŋ* (the remote creator and supreme god) or by people (i.e. witches). To attribute the cause to *chàŋ* is to say that it is “natural,”¹ so that investigation of its causation is unnecessary. The illness must simply be accepted and dealt with. Such illnesses may have somewhat bizarre aetiologies, for example leprosy² caused by crossing the path of, or treading in the spittle of, the *chə* 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 *lə* (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 *lə* but are regarded as highly potent *lə*.

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*³, possessed equally by powerful elders and witches. Mambila witchcraft is less ambiguous but, with the exception of the institution of chiefdomship (which I have argued above is a recent innovation), there is a similar lack of legitimated offices in Mambila society. Hence, Edwards argues, there is no transmission of power back to the ancestors which enables that power to be transmitted back to the office

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

²Leprosy can also be caused by human intervention.

³Discussed in Bohannan 1955 & 1957.

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 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” (*lə*) is universally ascribed to *chàŋ*; no mention was made to me of ancestors or other spirits¹. Before enumerating the varieties of witchcraft, let us consider the available courses of action.

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

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

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

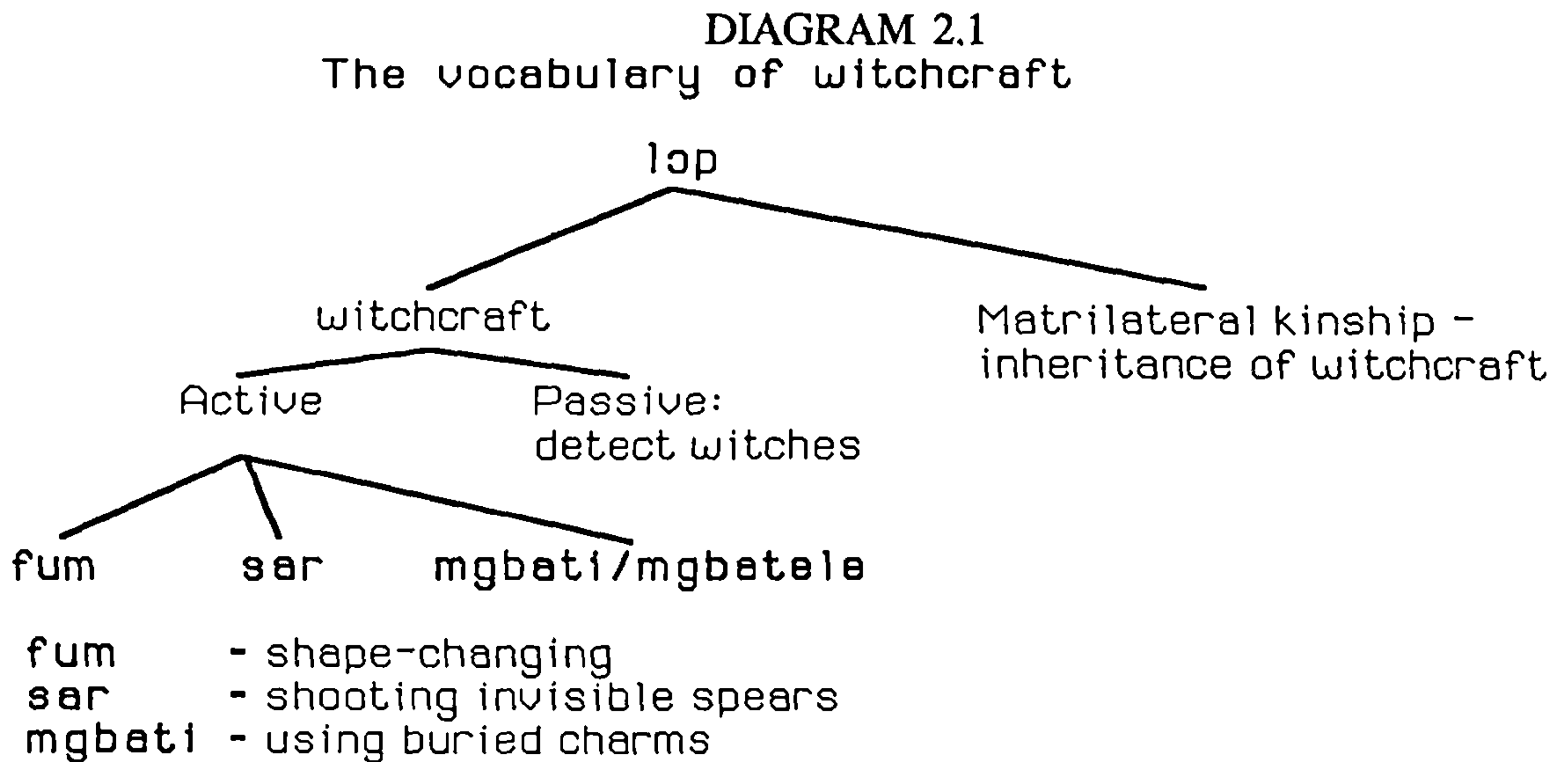
3) After an unequivocal identification the witch may be accused at a Palace hearing. This leads to a *sua*-oath being taken publicly at the Chief's Palace to set the seal on the denial of guilt by the alleged witches.

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

¹However one informant BT described *sua* as being “before” all *lə*. The rôle of *sua* is discussed further below.

Witchcraft

The vocabulary of witchcraft is summarized in the following diagram:



The Mambila words in the diagram are used to name both a class of people (for example *bɔ̃ sar bɔ̃*: The *sar* (people)) or to name their attributes (for example *wɔ̃ nde mɔ̃ sar yɔ̃*: you go with your *sar*).

Knowledge & Confessions

It should be noted that *lop* is used to describe matrilineal kinship, and witchcraft is inherited matri- laterally. If the mother practised clandestine cannibalism when pregnant, then the children will be witches.

Inherited witchcraft is passive if, during pregnancy, the mother did not practise witchcraft, and did not “eat” anyone. Someone with passive witchcraft has *njulu lung* (open eyes) and can detect witches. Despite this socially useful ability very few people admit to being a witch. Occasional references to “open eyes” are made during Palace hearings, but the suspicion that “it takes one to know one” renders the claim dangerous. Moreover, no one questioned allowed that witchcraft could act unconsciously, as is possible for Zande witches (Evans-Pritchard 1937: Chapter 4). Inert witchcraft can become active. It is therefore difficult to obtain any information about witches: direct questions are rejected since only witches know the answers. However, key attributes distinguish the different named types indicated in the diagram, thus allowing some basic information to be elicited. It should also be noted that *lop* is sometimes used to describe all socially disapproved acts including slander and theft.

Confessions of active witchcraft can arise in the course of serious illness, but are rare. The single *explicit* confession to occur during my stay in Somié occurred, I was told, during the fatal illness of a woman being treated in Mayo Darlé. She confessed to killing several children and also to transforming herself into wind and blowing the roof off the Palace.

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

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

Divination

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

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

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

THE LI ORDEAL

The drinking of a liquid made from the powdered bark of the li tree¹ was, until its prohibition by the colonial authorities, the ultimate response to a witchcraft accusation. Unlike swearing a sua-oath results were immediate and unequivocal. If the drinker vomited and survived then their innocence was proved. If the poison caused death then the deceased was proved to be guilty of witchcraft. I was told that li could be administered to chickens as proxies (in a manner very similar to Zande Benge divination q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937) but neither saw nor heard of any instances of this occurring. I was assured that in c. 1984 someone had voluntarily submitted to the li ordeal in Somié on market-day, and successfully cleared their name after a series of witchcraft accusations. The ordeal is mentioned in Line 207 ff of the Palace sua transcript. This refers to the ordeal taken at Bankim at the court of its Tikar Chief. This is in itself further evidence for the existence of regional networks of power and of religious activity. If the li ordeal was once more commonplace than now then its abolition has served to lend sua greater prominence on a local level, since there is no longer any alternative to it. The abolition of li also helps to ensure that the more serious witchcraft cases are referred to the civil courts in Banyo. The Chief described the legal process and the imprisonment of convicted witches as a contemporary version of the li ordeal.

CHÀŋ

Now to consider Chàŋ in more detail. Chàŋ is seen as the creator of the world and everything in it. (The word generally used for creation (mè) is the verb for house building and potting). It is commonly held that Chàŋ decides what will happen, and that people cannot avoid this². For example, the standard response on hearing of a death is to say Chàŋ né ten (Chàŋ PRES. exists). The word “chàŋ” has been adopted by the Christians as the translation of “God” and this has been sanctioned both by M. Perrin, a S.I.L. linguist, and by the local Catholic clergy.

There seems to have been no way of interceding with Chàŋ prior to contact with world religions. Although the incorporation of the Mambila into a modern state has widened their perspective they have not developed any indigenous cult of Chàŋ but have adopted world religions. This is consistent with Horton’s Conversion Hypothesis³: that a

¹Unidentified, but not camwood which is used only as decoration.

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

³This has already been discussed p1 above.

high god cult develops as a result of closer involvement with the wider world (Horton 1971 & 1975).

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

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

TABLE 2.1: Bodily attributes, and their wider meanings

	A) shadow
chemə / chəchemə	B) life
	A) breath
chúchuf	B) life
	A) liver; sternum
temə	B) 1) idiomatic usages of “heart” in English ² E.g. notions of centrality

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

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

2) Place of intentional thought

yɔr - body

kumú - corpse

chàŋ - spirit

Chàŋ is unique in the list, having no bodily referent other than personal spirit. Moreover, the word chàŋ is used in this sense only to describe a dream in which, it is said, the 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:

yɔr = kumú + chàŋ since the corpse includes all the organs.

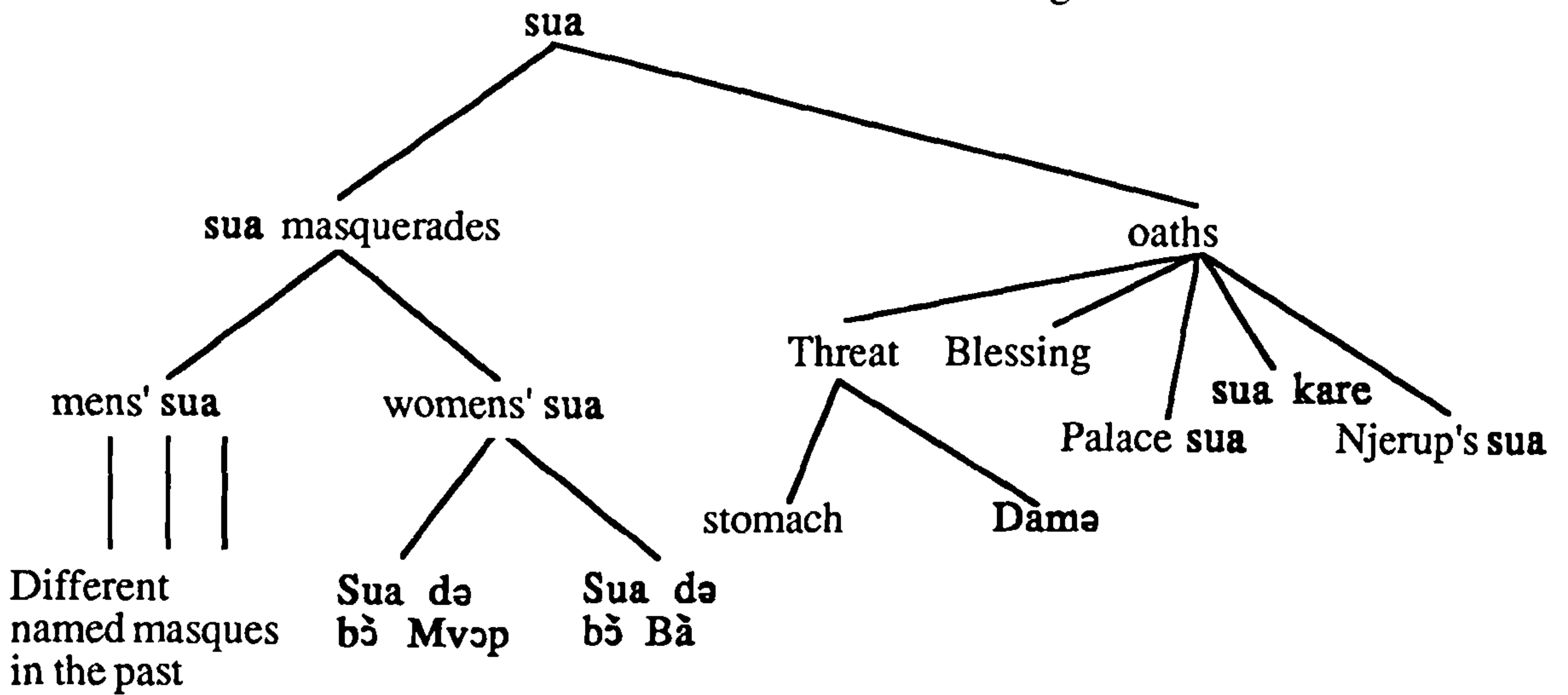
It should be noted that witchcraft potential is in part a physical attribute of the heart, transmitted^f matrilaterally.

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). This absence also obtains among the Wuli (Baeke 1984¹⁵⁶) and the Tiv (Edwards 1984). No evidence could be found of any belief in a “village of the dead”, wherein life continues much as on earth, as reported of Nigerian Mambilla in 1953 (Rehfishch 1969:309). There is a rite which involves beer being poured on a father’s grave. The stated purpose of this is that “the good” (in its most general sense) may come to the village and “the bad” depart. No mention is made during the rites of either the man on whose grave the beer is poured or of ancestors in general. It is thus different from the ritual mentioned by Rehfishch which is “performed to propitiate the dead in this society [and] is directed at all a person’s ancestors, both known and unknown” (1969:311).

AN OVERVIEW OF SUA.

The discussion of illness and its treatment contains references to sua as an alternative to treatments (lə) and as resembling some such treatments. The preliminary account given here will be amplified and refined in subsequent chapters.

DIAGRAM 2.2 The semantic range of sua



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 and 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 (forthcoming) that such ritual killing is insufficient to warrant the term “sacrifice¹”. 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 second² 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 *Systemes de Pensée en Afrique Noire*³. Yet the main sua ritual performed at the Chief’s Palace conforms exactly to

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

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

³Volumes 2-6, 1976-1983.

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

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

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

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

Njerup's sua is the form of sua-oath practised by people of Njerup hamlet. It can be sworn when a new house has been built to complement the rite performed by the

senior women, the **Marenjo**. Both rites are optional. The **Marenjo** can “bury” a house to hide it from malefactors in a manner similar to their annual “burying” of the village at the beginning of women’s **sua**. Opinions differ as to the extent to which **Njerup**’s **sua** is really distinct from the main **sua**-oath taken at the Chief’s Palace. Some, but not all, men related it to the fact that until very recently the **Njerup** had their own masquerade and men’s **sua** enclosure, although these have fallen into disuse in the last decade. Certainly in **Somié** centre no explicit connection is made between the masquerade and the oaths¹. Entry into the masquerade is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for learning to officiate at an oath-taking.

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

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

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

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

¹I am an initiate into the masquerade but have not learnt to officiate at the oaths. I am assured that the two sets of leaves used are distinct.

which concludes an adultery hearing in the Palace. Once an admission has been made and the amount of the fine payable by the adulterer has been agreed, he and the husband go into the palace square and kneel facing the East while the *ndungu sua* is scraped over their outstretched palms. The adulterous woman is sometimes treated separately in her house although the *ndungu sua* is not then used; instead a Notable will spit a blessing on her.

The *damə* rite is very similar to two other rites: the pouring of beer on a father's grave, and the *lom* rite¹. Both of these include invocations similar to that made in *damə*, but with no mention of *sua* corresponding to that which occurs during *damə*. During the *damə* rite the village population gathers in the square outside the Palace, and forms a circle. The Chief sits on his *kəgə baji* (chief's stool), other people sit or squat on the ground, having removed their shoes. The seating choice made by each individual results in a rough segregation between the sexes, although this fact was never commented upon. When everyone has assembled the Chief nominates a speaker, either one of his sister's sons or senior sisters. The speaker stands in the middle of the circle, faces eastwards, and raises their right forefinger, as does everyone else. The main thrust of the invocation is that good things should enter the village and bad things pass into the bush. During the invocation (which is typically short, no more than two or three minutes in length, and spoken at great speed) some varieties of good and evil are enumerated. Moreover, *damə* threatens evil doers with *sua*. The speaker says, for example, "if someone comes to the village with evil intent, what will they see?" The response is provided by the audience: "They will see *sua*." The audience dip their forefingers to the ground as they make their response. This is identical to the behaviour of the audience when the refrain of the main Chief's Palace oath is pronounced. Although transcripts have been prepared of *damə* they are not presented here since they are more formulaic than sacrifice texts so can be described in general terms.

Damə and variations.

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

¹*Lom* is now defunct, so data about it is hearsay.

the difference was small and that it was not significant. Those in Somié concurred with this view. However, the *damə* spoken by Sapkə (on 8/12/85) before the *sua* sacrifice transcribed below contains examples of both types of refrain.

Another manifestation of inter-village differences is dialectal variation between villages. For the most part these are phonological, leading to distinct village accents. There are some lexical differences, for example, in the botanical vocabularies so in some cases each village has its own name for the same tree¹.

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.

¹Another case which I have documented is the nomenclature of frogs.

However, its purpose is to benefit the whole hamlet. It serves to set the seal upon the invocation of *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.

SUA AS A REGIONAL SYSTEM

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

TABLE 2.2 Sua as a regional system

Tribe	Masquerade	Oath	Source
Mambila	<i>sua</i>	<i>sua</i>	DZ
Konja	<i>sɔp</i>	<i>sə́ɛr</i>	DZ
Tikar	<i>swɔa</i>	---	DZ
Yamba	<i>nwe?</i>	<i>sɔta/sɔtap</i>	DZ
Wuli	---	<i>sɔ</i>	Beake, 1984 Lus village

Religion and Gender

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

However, neither divination nor *sua* are primarily intended to have these effects, and it would distort the analysis to suggest that they were.

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.

The strand of monotheism exemplified by *chàng*, the remote creator-god, has been accentuated. Other elements of the religion, though, especially those not well integrated with *chàng* or *sua*, have tended to fall into disuse. This results in the concepts of *chàng* and *sua* attaining a prominence which they may well not have had previously. *Chàng* 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 (*chàng* 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)¹.

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

The situation in 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 live ^{to} attempt to tap the expertise which they assume exists, to use a system of concepts as vague (in

¹Details of borrowing and reciprocal influence are well illustrated by the literature on "anti-witchcraft cults" e.g. Douglas 1963, Marwick 1950, Richards 1935, Vansina 1952 & 1969.

everyday use) and as poorly defined as any in use in Somié. Conversation frequently includes words such as “democracy”, “freedom”, “justice”, “equality” which are not best understood by reference to the discussions in the philosophical literature.

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

Divination
Chapter Three

Mambila Divination

INTRODUCTION

Mambiladivination¹ is considered here in some detail not only as a topic worthy of discussion in its own right, and also as an element of the process leading to a sua-oath. I deal chiefly with spider divination since this is the most important form of Mambila divination. In view of the importance of divination in debates about traditional religion and rationality the chapter starts with a brief theoretical excursus. It continues with descriptions of the sorts of divination used by the Mambila.

DIVINATION: THEORY AND COMPARISONS

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

Divination may be defined loosely as any means by which people gain occult knowledge, which is: knowledge not available from everyday, practical activity and more or less esoteric in object². Its practice has been widely reported in societies both throughout

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

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

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the world and going back to the distant past¹. Such a widespread human concern merits an equally wide-ranging analysis which pressure on space prohibits here. This must serve as a prologue to an implicit, wider enquiry. That examination must question whether all those things commonly called “divination” should rightly be analysed together. It is by no means clear that a satisfactory analysis of African divination can be raised to the status of a global theory. For example Fortes’ definition of divination² is restricted to divination which is central to a religious system, and is therefore inadequate in other cases.

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

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

²Fortes 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.”

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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 above¹ 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.²

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.

¹It is treated in more depth by Lewis 1971.

²This point was made by my supervisor, Esther Goody, in response to an early draft.

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The practice of divination provides a concrete example of thought in action. Sociological accounts of the use and of the un-intended consequences of divinatory practice fail to take account of this detail, yet it is just this detail which constitutes its interest: it can serve as a rod with which to measure (and possibly to beat) theories of rationality.

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

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

By constraints upon interpretation I mean the rules of interpretation, the practices which lead the operator from the concrete, empirical results to the interpreted result. Examples abound: in the Thonga system of sortilege, the fall of an astragalus bone was either convex up, concave up, or right or left side uppermost, each of which had an associated meaning, determining the result of divination with respect to the state of the object associated with that bone¹.

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

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

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

b) Constraint upon the first element of interpretation must be accompanied by relative freedom in the subsequent interpretation, otherwise the question will never be answered to the client's satisfaction. Thus one of the problems central to the work of Adler & Zemléni (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

¹Junod 1913 vol 2:493 & seq.

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rôle of the diviner is literally mechanizable since his rôle¹ is to choose by sortilege which set of verses to chant “blindly” to the client. The client then chooses the relevant verse, and hence the sacrificial proscription contained therein. Only at that point is the diviner told of the question, and enters into discussion of the sacrificial details with the client.

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

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

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

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

It is useful to separate elements which would be wrong to consider together. At first sight there are great similarities between Ifa and the Chinese I Ching², yet from the

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

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

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perspective of the operator, and in the work of interpretation done by the operator, there are major differences between the two systems.

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

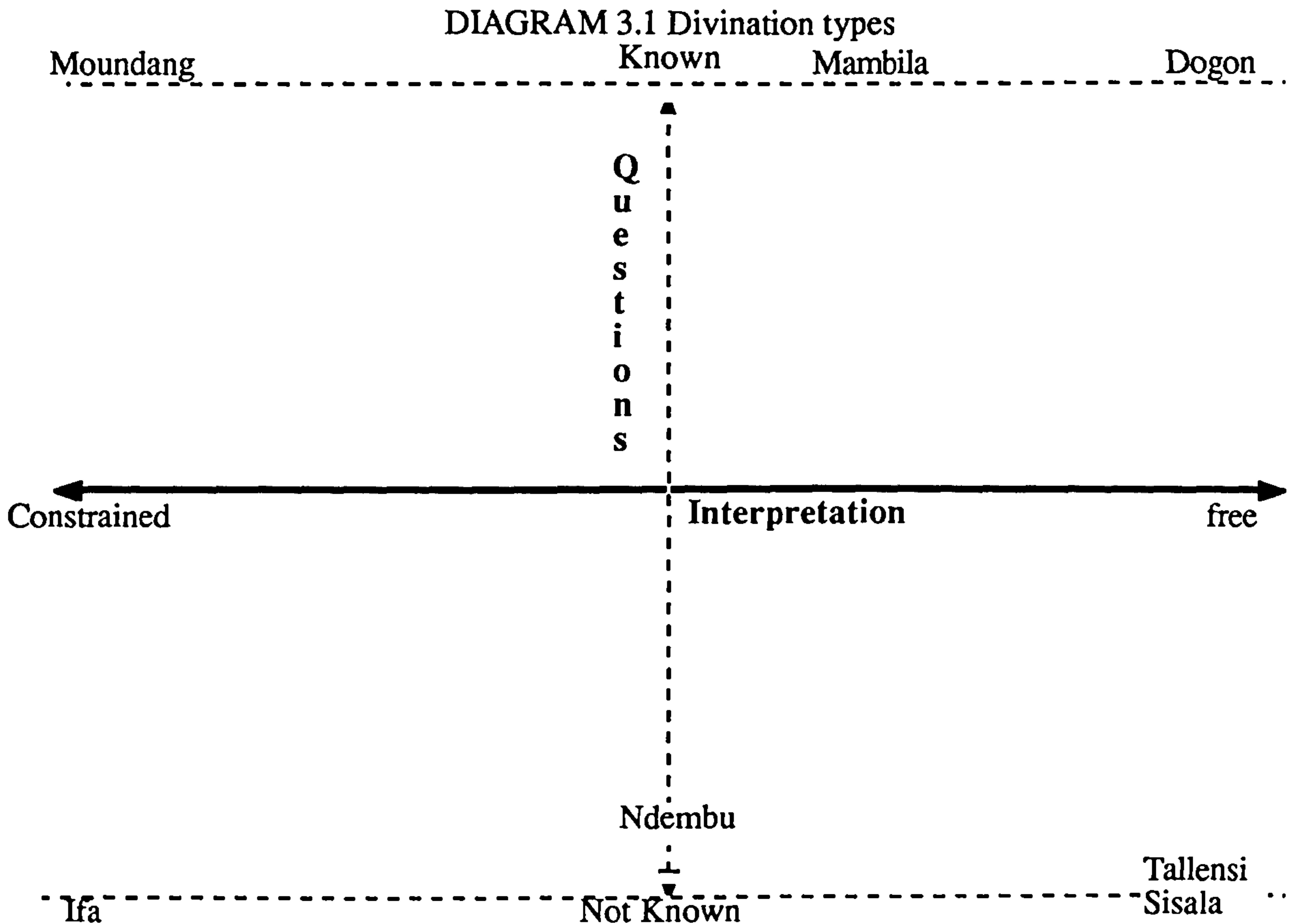
Some recent work¹ has stressed the way in which the "results" of divination are actively negotiated and result from the interaction between diviner and client during the divinatory process.

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.

¹Parkin 1979, Shaw 1985 and Werbner (in press).

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The distinctions under discussion can be represented by the following diagram:¹



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

¹Sources of systems shown on diagram 6.

Moundang: Moundang sortilege as described in Adler & Zemléni 1972.

Mambila: "spider divination" as described herein.

Dogon: "Fox" divination as described in Griaule (1937), Paulme (1937), and Calame-Griaule 1986.

Ifa: Yoruba "Ifa" (and the closely related Sixteen Cowrie system) used by the Yoruba, as described by Abimbola (1976), Akinaso (1983), Bascom (1969, 1980)

Ndembu: Ndembu basket divination, Turner (1975).

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

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

to argue how those types might be related to different social structural foundations. Here I have merely made the first step, leaving wider sociological questions for another place.

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

THE LITERATURE ON SPIDER DIVINATION

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

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

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To sum up: while it is plausible to explain the wide distribution of *ngam*-type divination systems by dispersion, it does not seem to have extended onto the Adamawa Plateau proper. Groups on the edges of Adamawa, for example, the Mambila and Vute, use crabs instead of spiders (or vice versa) but they do not seem to have passed the divination on. The linguistic homonymy of crab, spider and divination (*ngam*) among the Mambila, although highly suggestive, can be explained if one or other animal has recently been adopted in its divinatory guise.

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

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

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

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

¹A full account requires more than a mere description of the cards and their meanings. Hence Bamoun divination has not been sufficiently well recorded (Parré 1956) to be included here.

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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.

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Table 3.1. Spider & Crab divination systems

Tribe	Reference
<u>1) Spider</u>	
Ayom	Guillemin 1948
Bamiléké	Pradelles 1986; Labouret 1935; Masson 1939/40
Bamoun	Dellenbach 1932; Nicod, 1950; Parré 1956.
Bandoun	Maillard 1984
Banen	Dugast 1960
Bangwa	Pradelles 1979
Bassa	Hegba 1979; Matip n.d.
Bekpak (Bafia)	Leiderer 1982
Beti	Hegba 1979; Towo-Atanga 1966, Laburthe-Tolra 1984; Mallart Guimera 1981
Ewondo	Cournaire 1936; Towo-Atanga, 1966; Tsalla 1958.
Konja	Gebauer 1964
Mambila	Zeitlyn 1987
Manenguba	Hedinger 1987
Mbembe, Mfumte, Wuli	Baeke 1984; Pollock 1926
Meta'	Forgwe 1983
Mkako	Copet-Rogier 1986 (No mention of spiders but nga= divination)
Nsaw	McCulloch 1954
Nzakara (C.A.R.)	Retel-Laurentin 1974
Oku	Krafczyk 1982
Tikar	Gebauer 1964
Wiya	Jeffreys 1953
Wute	Siran (p.c.)
Yamba	Gebauer 1964
<u>2) Crab</u>	
Chamba	Fardon 1980; Edwards (p.c.)
Gbaya	Burnham (p.c.)
Jukun	Meek 1931a
Kapsiki	van Beek 1978
Koma	Edwards (p.c.)
Matakam	Martin 1970
Mouktélé	Juillerat 1971
Verre	Edwards (p.c.)

THE LANGUAGE OF MAMBILA DIVINATION

Ngam is used both as the generic term for divination and to refer to specific sorts of divination, with its unmarked sense being **ngam dù** (divination earth i.e. spider divination). The verb “to divine” is “**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 **ngam dù** and **ngam tubu**, both discussed below. Other types of divination used in the village either have very few operators or their results are taken less seriously, being regarded more or less as games. Before discussing the main types in detail I shall briefly examine the less important types I recorded.

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

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

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

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

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

¹*Achatina?* sp.

²It is thus similar to Ndembu “rattle divination” briefly described in Turner 1975: 337, and to divination type a7 from Oku (Krafczyk 1982:63).

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A rubbing-hands divination¹ is practised only by Wajiri Bi, and he has practised it as far away as the Konja village of Nyamboya to discover the location of buried witchcraft treatments. I was taught to perform this after he had taught me *ngam dù* (see below). He seems to use it instead of *ngam tubu* as a quick means to test hunches before resorting to *ngam dù*. In locating buried objects it may well work like European water-divining, although it is clearly open to manipulation.

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

Other types

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

LEARNING DIVINATION: FORMAL INITIATION

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

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

¹Exactly as described by Meek 1931b:553.

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

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

Throughout, when the diviner performs any action the initiand, and any witness, must either help him - by jointly holding the chicken, for example - or hold onto his elbow, so that they are directly connected to the action. This also occurs in other contexts, for instance, in healing rites¹.

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

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

To learn *ngam tubu* a single meal is enough. For *ngam dù* the process should be repeated after a few days, but the second time instead of a chicken either a *tetam* (Vieillot's Black Weaver Bird: *Ploceus nigerrimus nigerrimus*) or *tetaga* (a type of catfish: *Synodontis* spp.) is used. The latter was used, it was explained to me, so that divination would sting (te) like the *tetaga*'s spines. The weaver bird, on the other hand is suitable because it calls incessantly, and is always busy, flying from place to place. It must be stressed that these explanations had to be elicited, as were justifications for the use of some of the leaves. Most of the activity, however, remained unexplained, despite attempts to elicit explanation. In addition to providing the chicken the initiand makes a small payment² 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

¹For an example of this in the treatment of syphilis see field-notes S207/2 &c.

²In 1986/7 this was 2000 -3000 CFA.

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discussions of divination. Since most adult men know at least **ngam tubu**, if not **ngam dũ** as well, informal discussions occur at beer drinks or on other occasions, and it was in the course of such that I learnt many of the rules of interpretation. There was no attempt to keep such knowledge secret from women although women cannot divine. No explanation of this prohibition was given by either sex.

NGAM TUBU

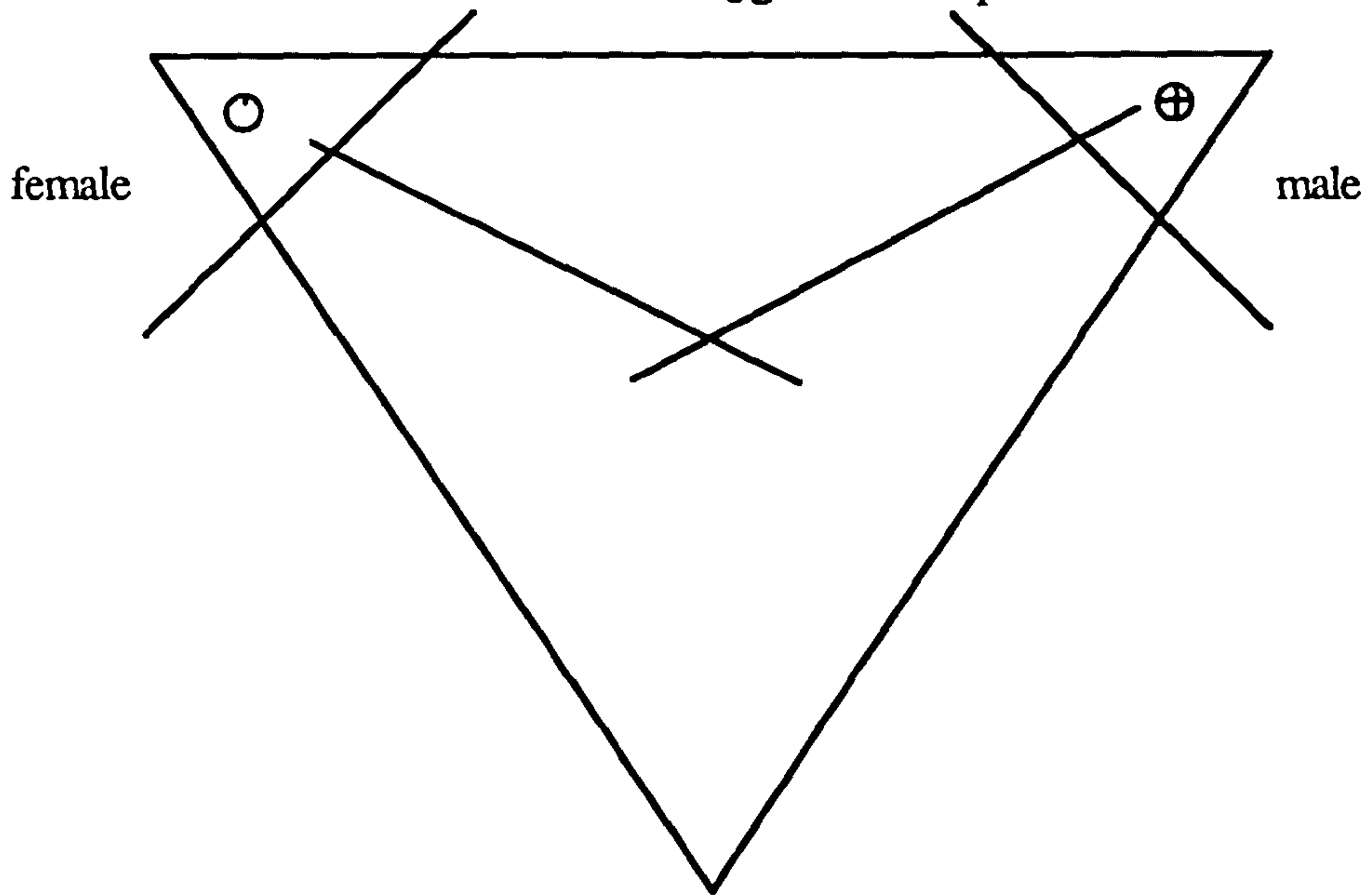
This is the most commonly used of Mambila divination methods. The equipment is both easily accessible and readily portable and is often the first method used when a problem arises. It is regarded as reliable but fallible, therefore any important matter will be put to **ngam dũ**. (Thus it occupies a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

Ngam tubu consists of reading the pattern formed by the fall of chips as they are whittled off a length of **tubu**² vine. These are read according to their position on a shape traced with a knife point in the dust, which has two poles marked by small cylinders cut from opposite ends of the first piece of **tubu** vine used. Each cylinder is differently marked with notches. These are “male” and “female,” each of which is associated with possible responses to a question when it is put to the divination.

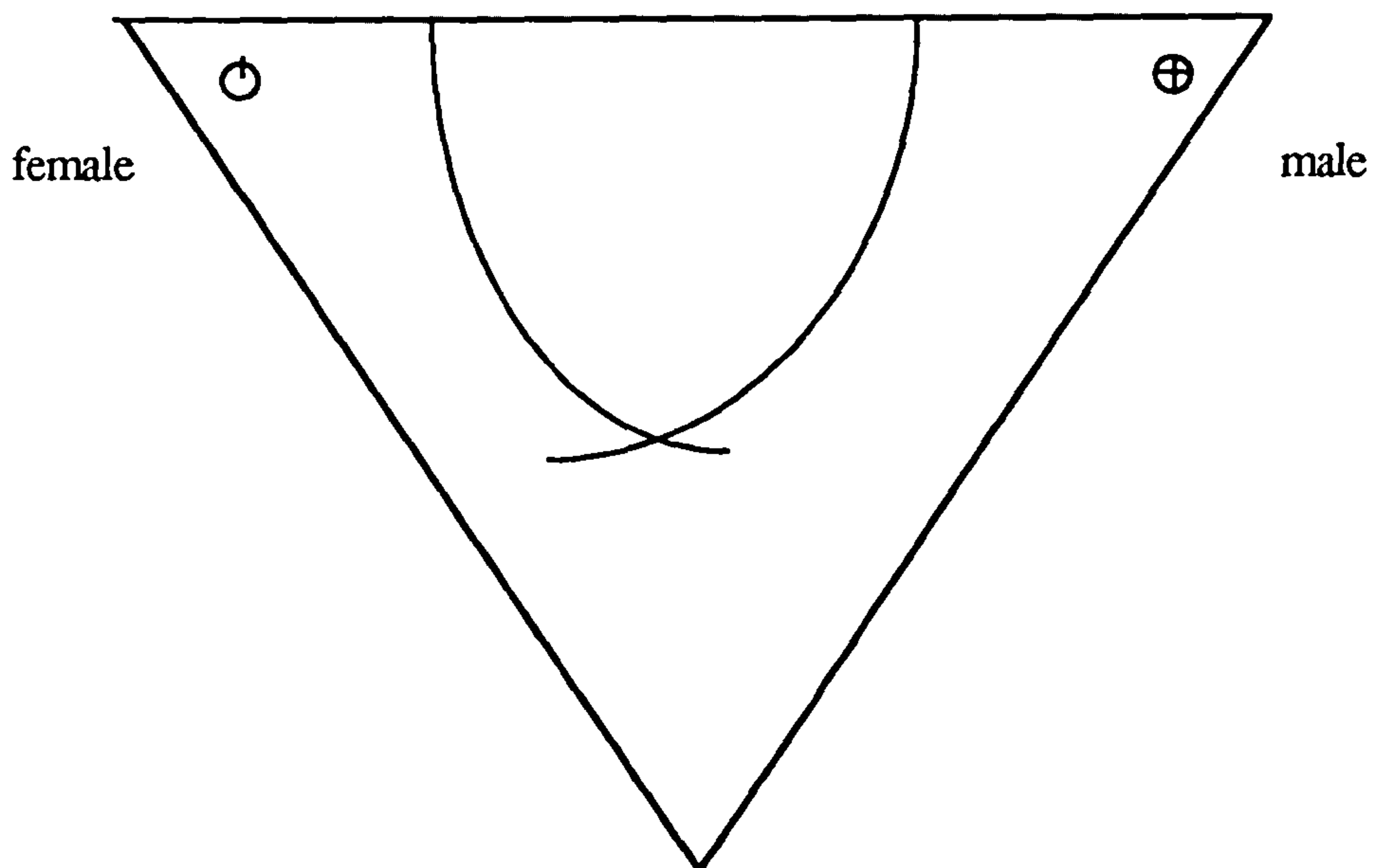
¹Q.v. Evans-Pritchard 1937.

²Unidentified.

DIAGRAM 3.2 N'gam Tubu patterns



An alternative pattern:



The chips can fall with the bark either up or down¹, 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.

¹bark-up: **kibi**, bark-down: **ḡaa** (lit. clear) or **maplim** (lit. upside-down).

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

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

NGAM DU: EARTH DIVINATION

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

Although commonly referred to as “spider” divination it should be noted that ngam dù is usually performed by land crabs (*Sudanonautes (convexonautes) aubryi*) although spiders (*Hysterochrates robustus Pocock, 1899*⁴) are also used. Both can be referred to as ngamə. Hence “spider” as used here, refers to either spider or crab.

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

¹They are thus similar in form to ngam dù questions.

²See above for discussion of its distribution.

³Exceptions being the work of Pradelles de la Tour Dejean 1986, and Leiderer 1982

⁴Gebauer identifies (1964:42) the spider used in Yamba divination as *Heteroscrodacrassipes*, 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 *Hysterochrates* sp. and Laburthe-Tolra (1981:469) gives *Hysterochrates* spp. for ngam.

Divination

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

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

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

Ngam 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). 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 **ngam 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 observed practices. Any such "functionalist reduction"

¹Discussed above in the ethnographic introduction.

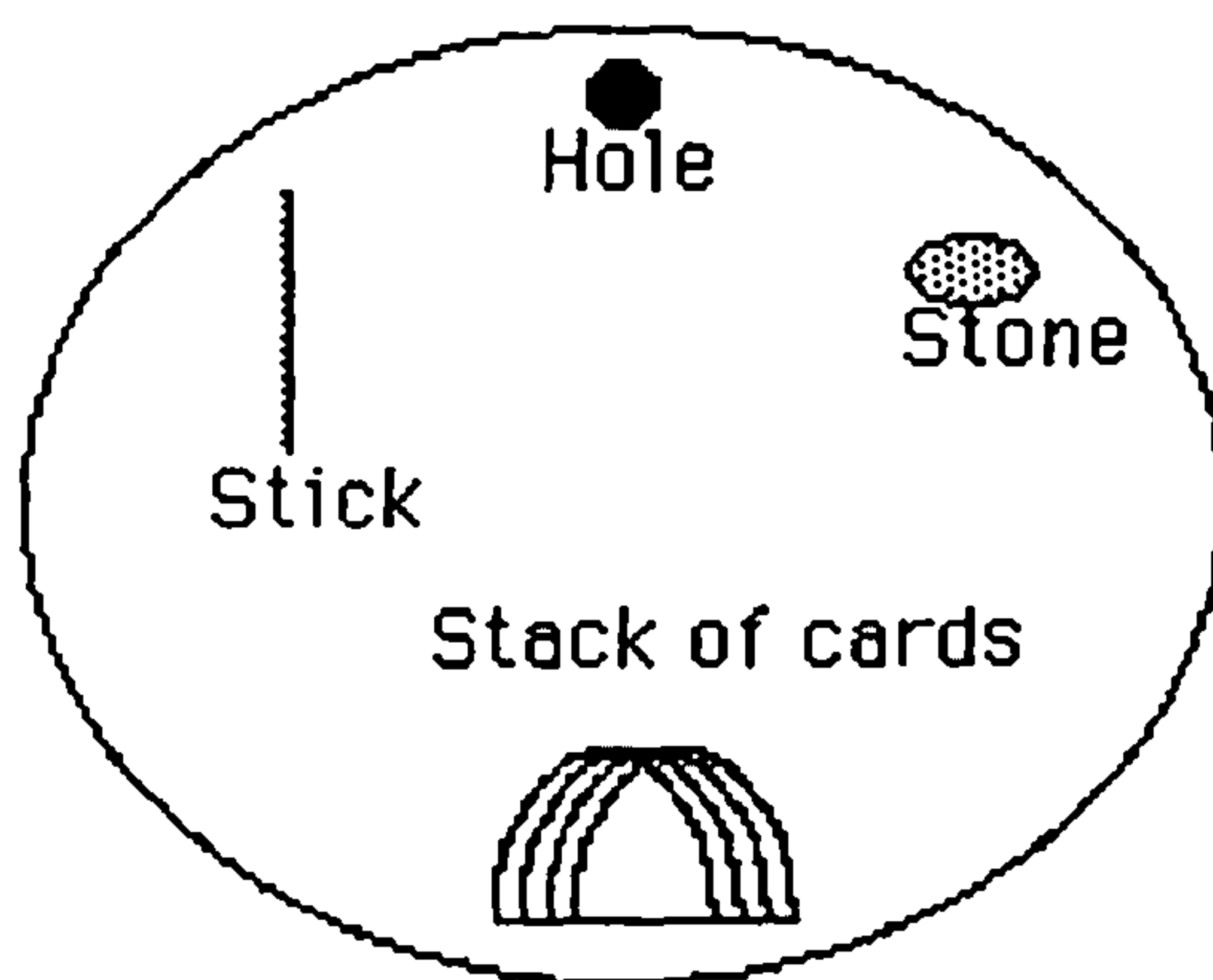
Divination

is inadequate: it can give no account of intellectual behaviour, particularly of the ratiocination of the diviners.

Basic techniques of “Ngam 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-cards¹ are neatly stacked, pointing at the hole.

DIAGRAM 3.3 Ngam Dù set-up



Two cards are placed over the hole. These are usually those meaning “End” and “Male” although “Walk” is also used. Their meanings however, are not usually referred to during interpretation. Some diviners² 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

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

²Ngeyea Abraham, and those that he has taught.

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

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

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

Mambilatext:

Ngam m̀̀, ẁ̀ fum, ẁ̀ sar XXXXX, ẁ̀ sie tuú, ngam m̀̀.

Sam ngwə, "NOT XXXXX" / YYYYYY / mb̩ mb̩, ẁ̀ sie/numa ta, ngam m̀̀.

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

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

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

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

Divination leaf-cards (mvu ngam)

The divination leaf-cards used are obtained from a shrub¹, 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

¹The shrub is called mvu ngam, (*Darryodes* sp.). Yamba leaves were cut from *Darryodes 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 *Oddoniodendronmicranthum*. The Wuli use only three cards cut from the *euphorbicae* *Bridelia* spp. (tsətsə in Wuli) according to Baeke (p.c.).

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then incised with a razor. The cards are all of the same form¹, 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 *ngəə*, 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 illustrated².

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

Principles of Interpretation.

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

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

¹The 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.

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

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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.

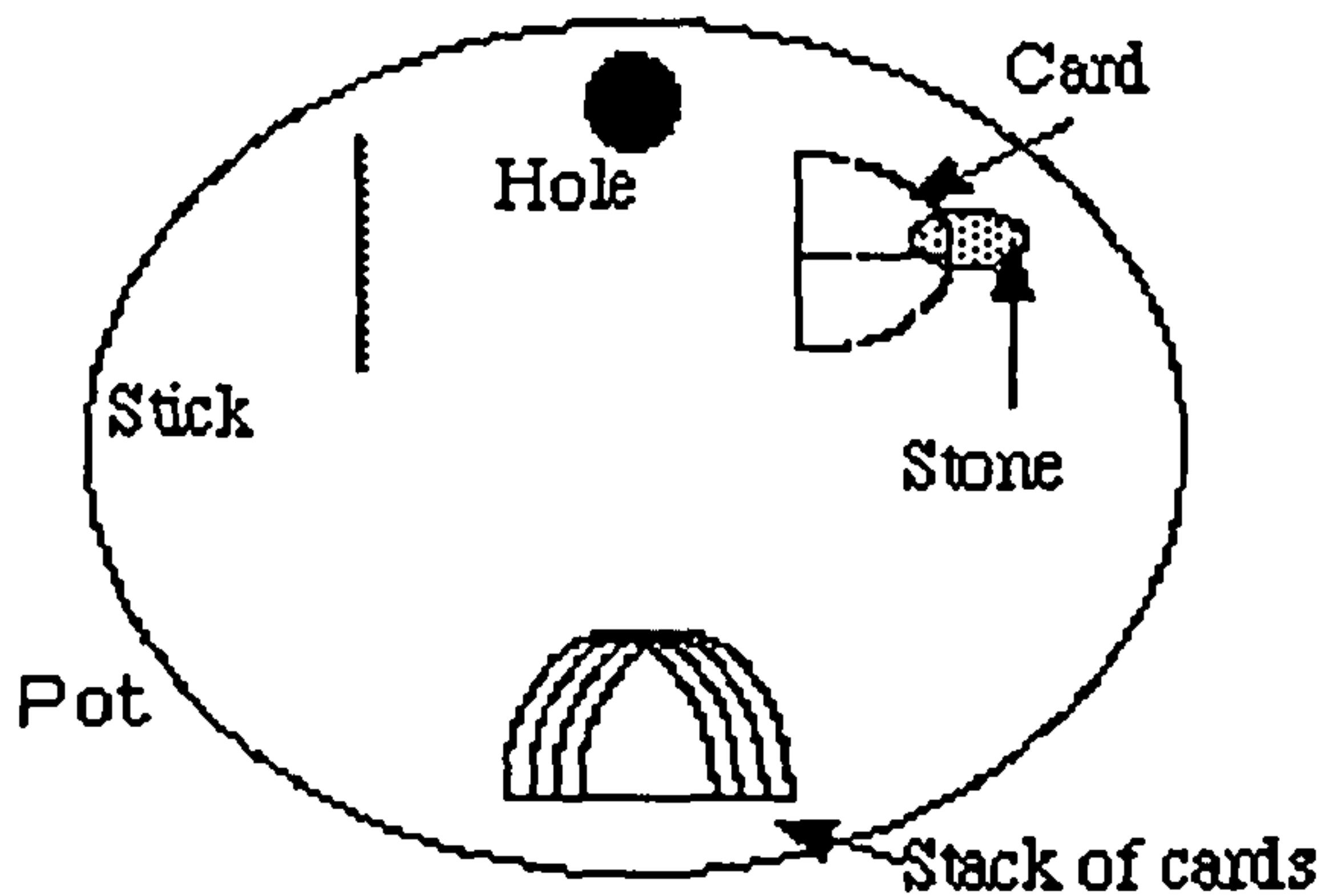
The simplest responses do not involve the stack of cards but only the two (usually “End” and “Male”) which are placed over the hole. If a card is moved towards or onto the stick then the stick has been chosen (*sie*); similarly, the stone may be chosen. The position of each card is interpreted firstly 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 shape¹: 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.

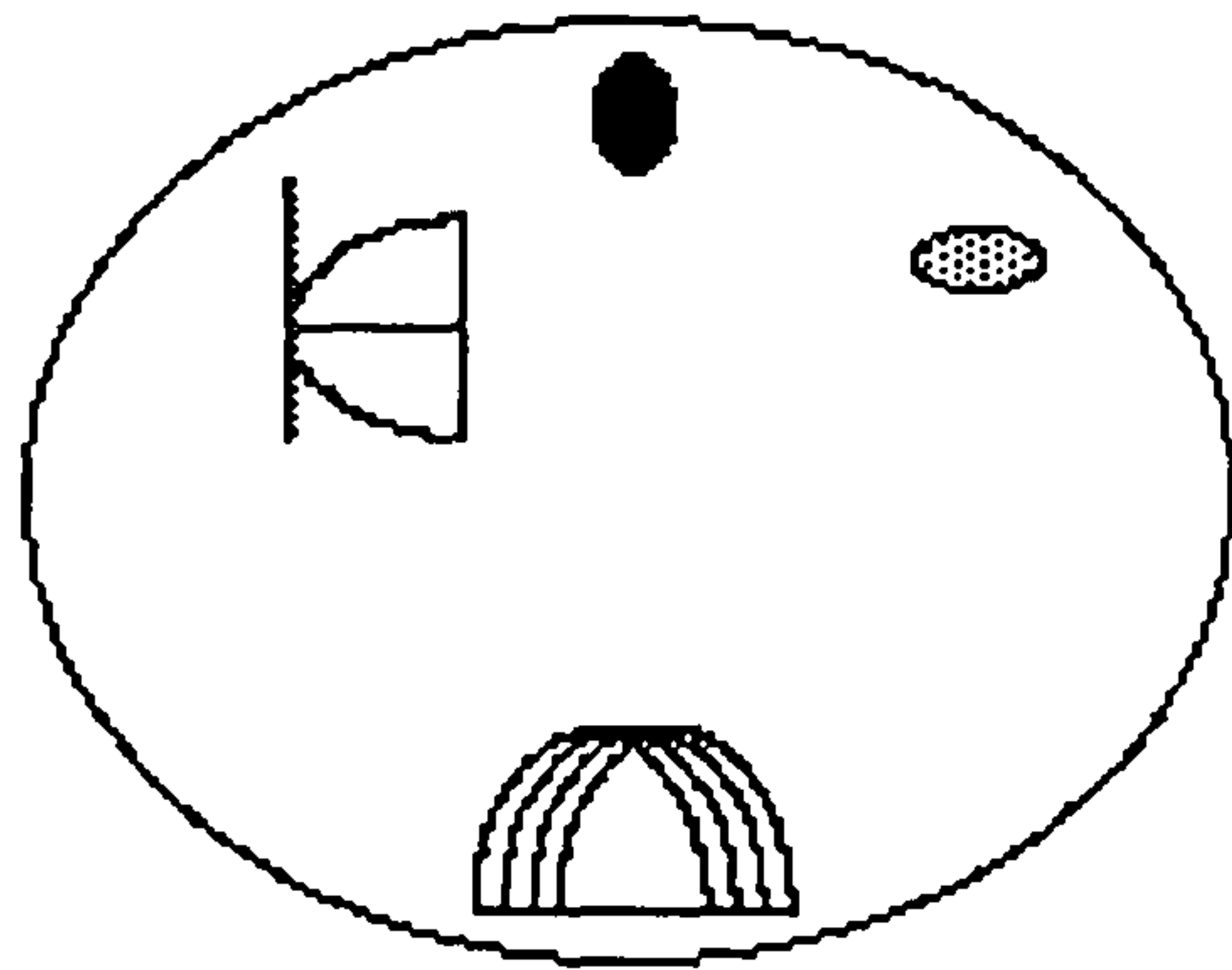
¹Seediagrams.

Thus far we have considered the four following possibilities:

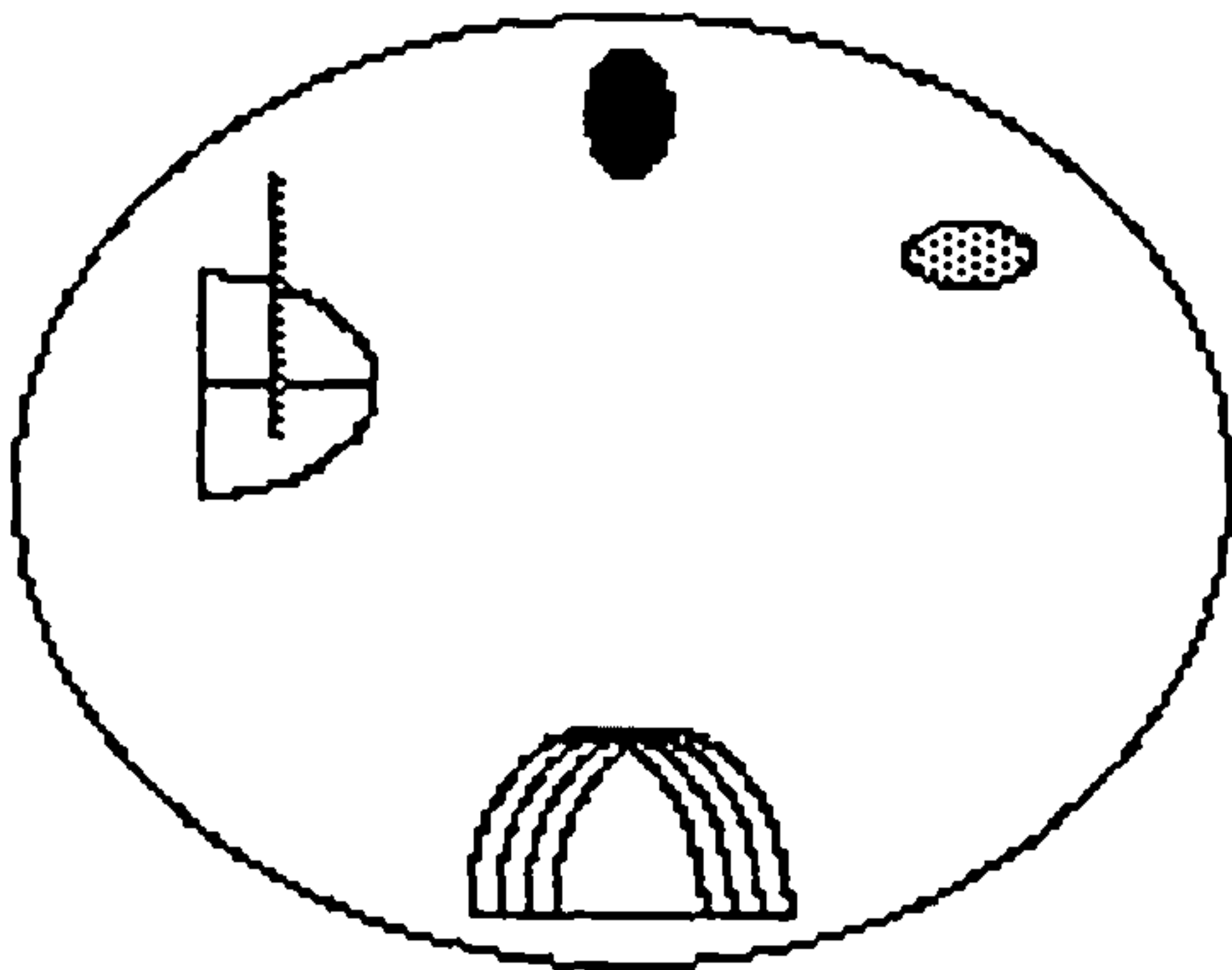
DIAGRAM 3.4. Ngam dù basic responses



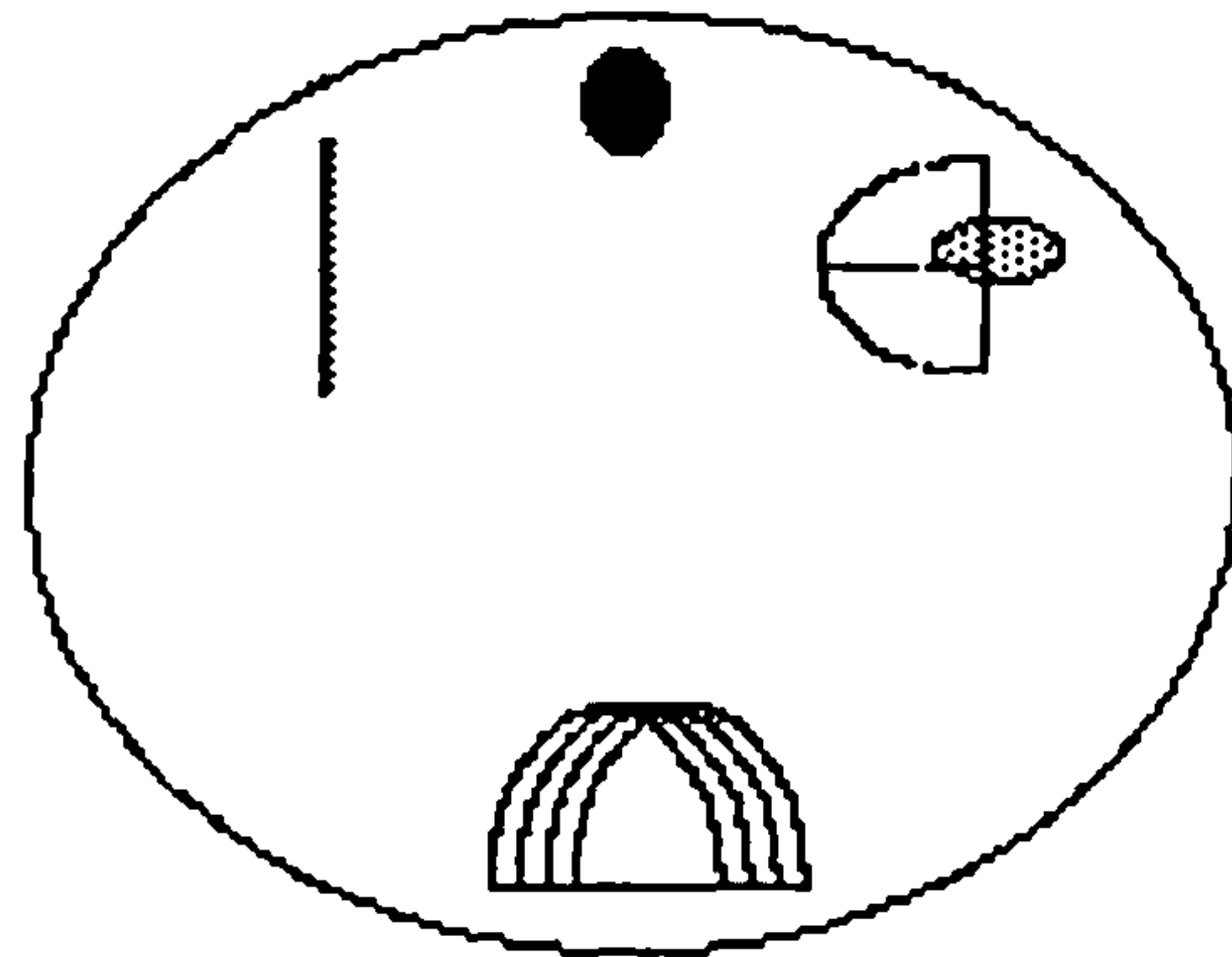
a) The stone has been selected



b) The stick has been selected



c) "Looking towards" the stone



d) "Looking towards" the stick

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

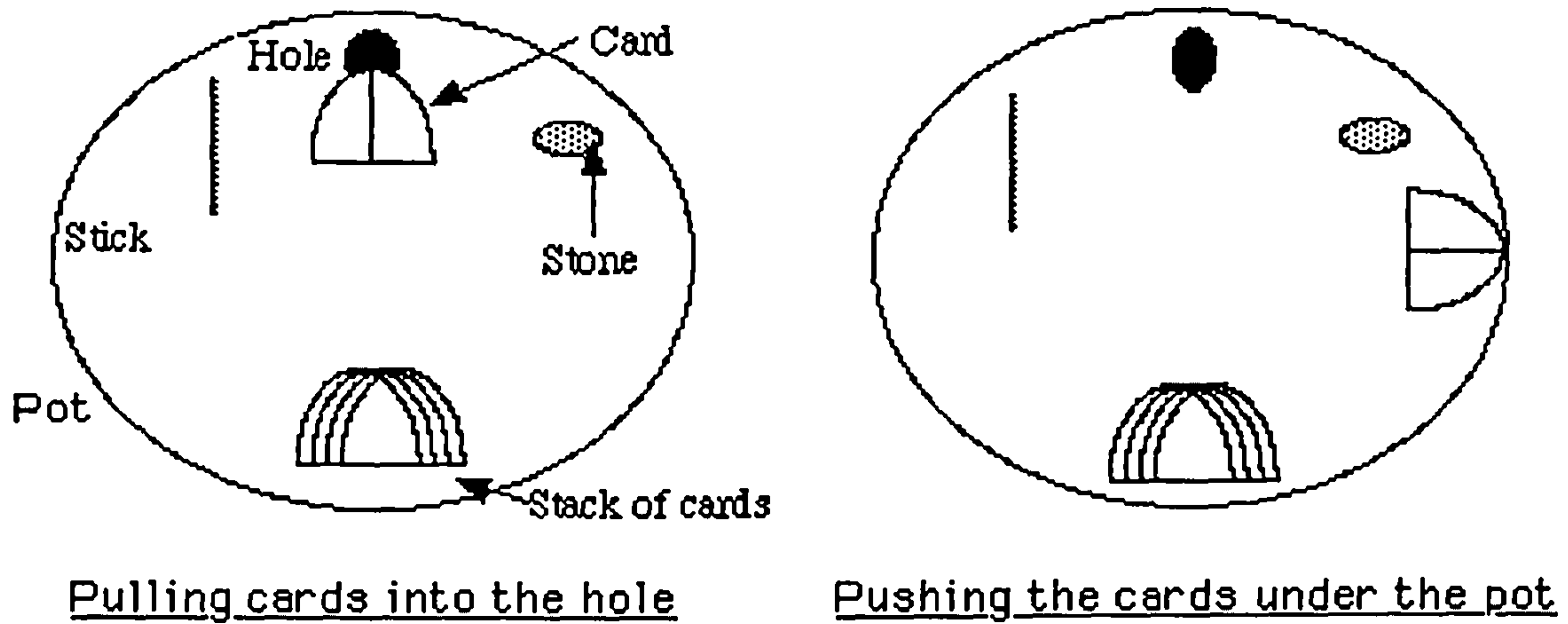
In principle these four basic possibilities may be doubled by further distinguishing whether the cards are upside down (*maplim*). Normally the cards are viewed with the rib uppermost, and this is how they are laid over the hole. In abstract discussion of interpretation I was told that an inverted card was "bad", possibly warning of unforeseen

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problems, so a card on the stick as in a) above, but inverted, is similar to one “looking” at the stone... It is possible to use this principle to aid difficult interpretations, although, in observed divination Wajiri Bi ignored this feature. Bəbə, who does not refer to “looking,” equated “maplim on stick” to “stone” but said that all cards near the stone were bad. Despite these variations between diviners there is far more consensus than is reported among Bamiléké diviners (Pradelles 1986:311-313).

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

DIAGRAM 3.5. Ngam dù Further responses



Further rules of Interpretation

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

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

These basic rules are sufficient to interpret the simple cases. The skill in divination lies in the ability to interpret equivocal results, for example when one card is on the stick

and another on the stone. Most often, however, such a result will be rejected as saying nothing.

DIVINATION AND TRUTH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²Bop: *Albizia zygia* (DC).

³Formerly 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.

above. It is unclear whether all practitioners of *ngam dù* use this technique, but certainly all use *sér ngam*. Central to the learning of divination is acquaintance with the names of the leaves which are cooked and eaten with a chicken before the remainder is administered to the divination pots. Subsequent preparation of *sér ngam* repeats the essentials of this initiation. It is described as being an ordeal for the spider: only truth-telling spiders can eat it and survive.

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

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)¹. When enquiring about the use of divination to establish the appropriate responses to illness I was given unequivocal replies: divination is often used to decide whether to adopt "traditional" remedies or to go to the dispensary. I asked what would happen if divination had indicated that someone would die, and they then recovered after treatment. The indignant reply was: "First we ask if they will die, and if divination says they will, then we don't treat them."

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

¹Fortes 1983 ..

Divination

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

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

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

APPLYING THE LAW OF THE EXCLUDED MIDDLE:

INFERENCE AND INTERPRETATION IN THE PROCESS OF DIVINATION.

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

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

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

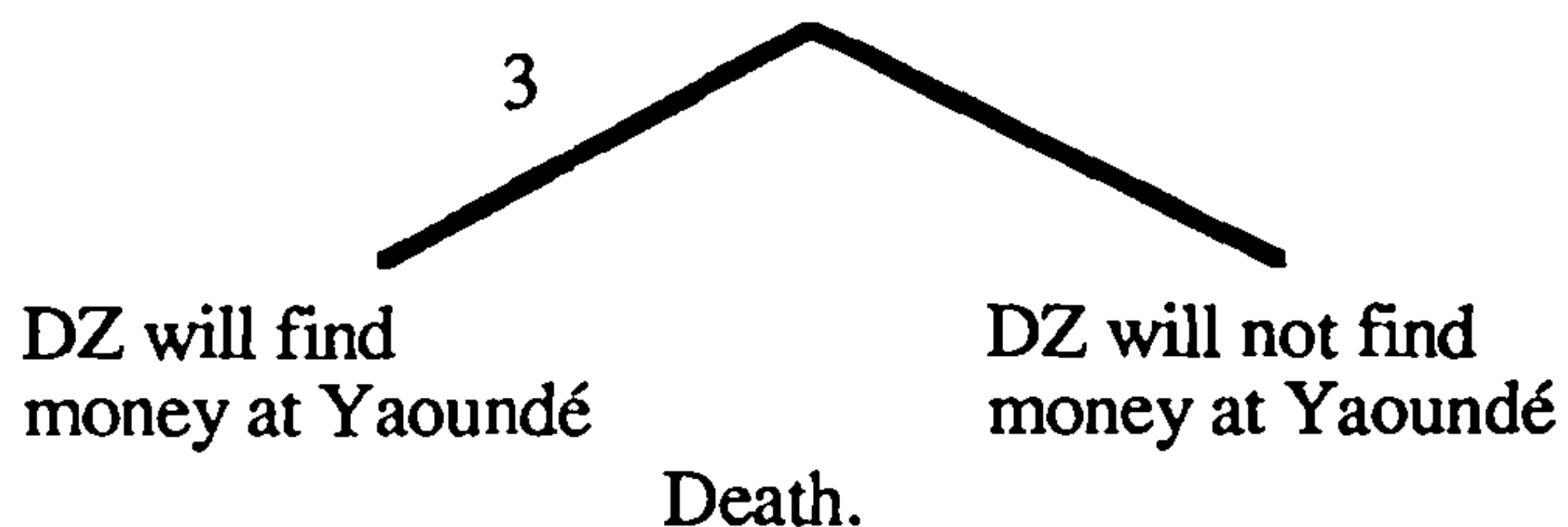
Divination

sequence in which they were asked. Since the numbers of questions about DZ's trip to Yaoundé do not appear the numbers do not start at one. When several pots were used concurrently (as in Table 1) the sequence of questioning tended to move from one pot to another so successive questions to the same pot only rarely have sequential numbers.

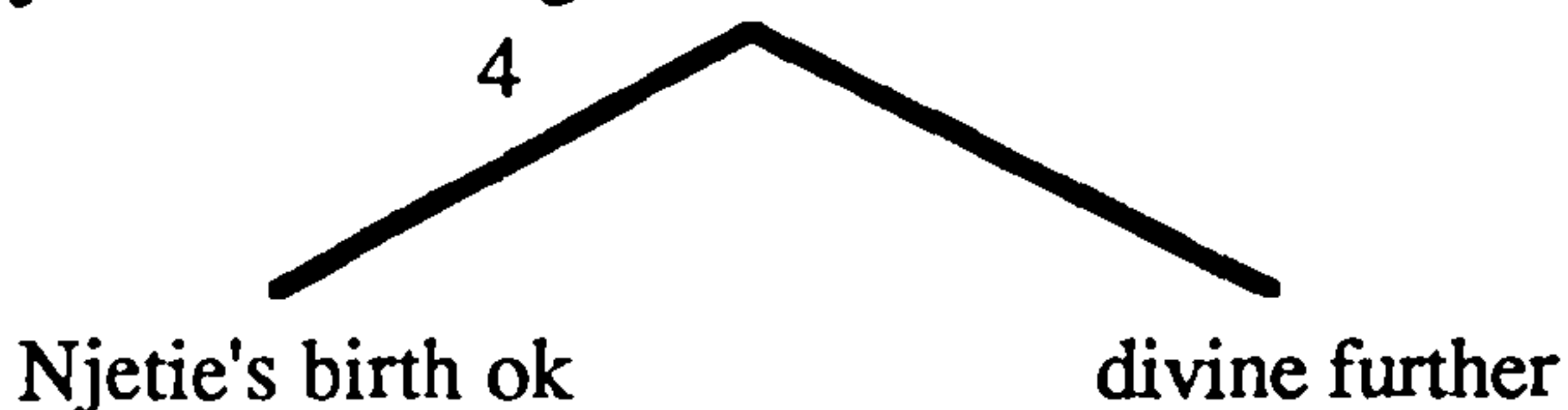
Divination

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

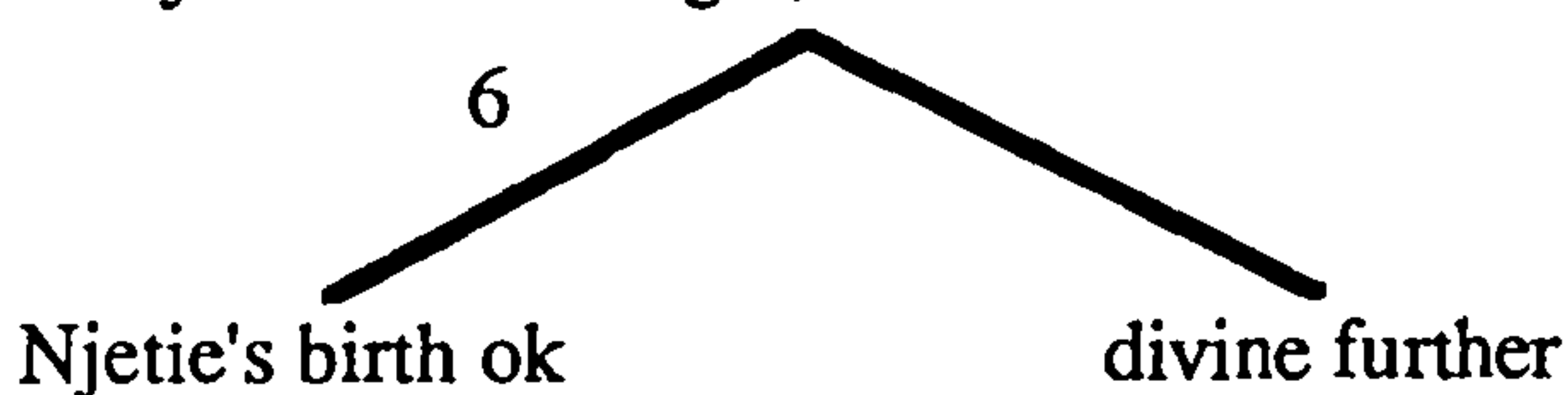
(a) Q: Will DZ's money be waiting in Yaoundé or not?



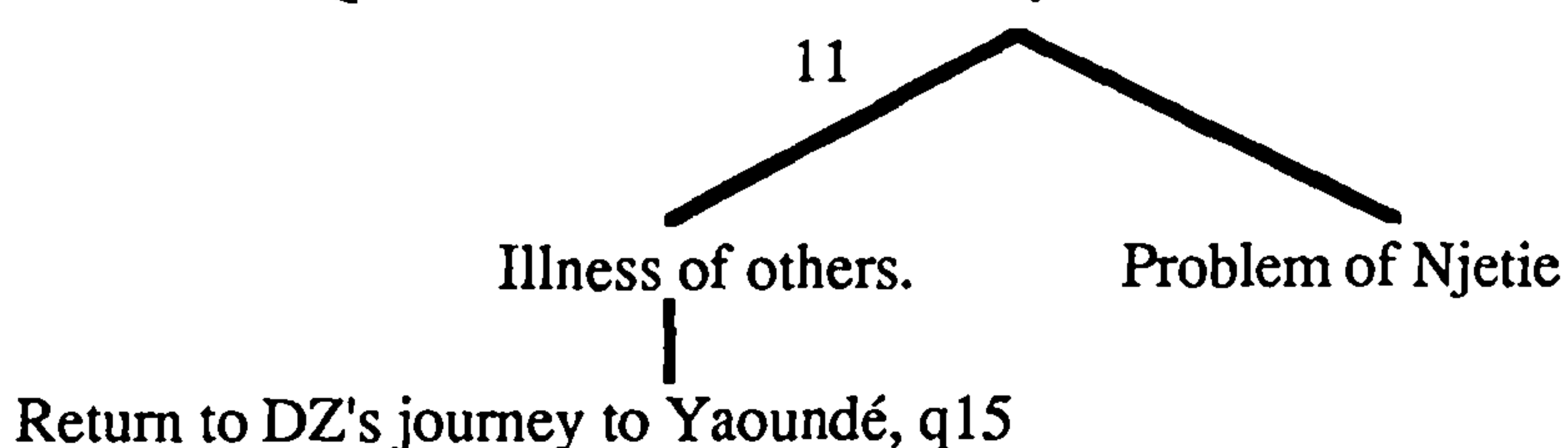
Q: Is Njetie's birth alright, or should we divine further?



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



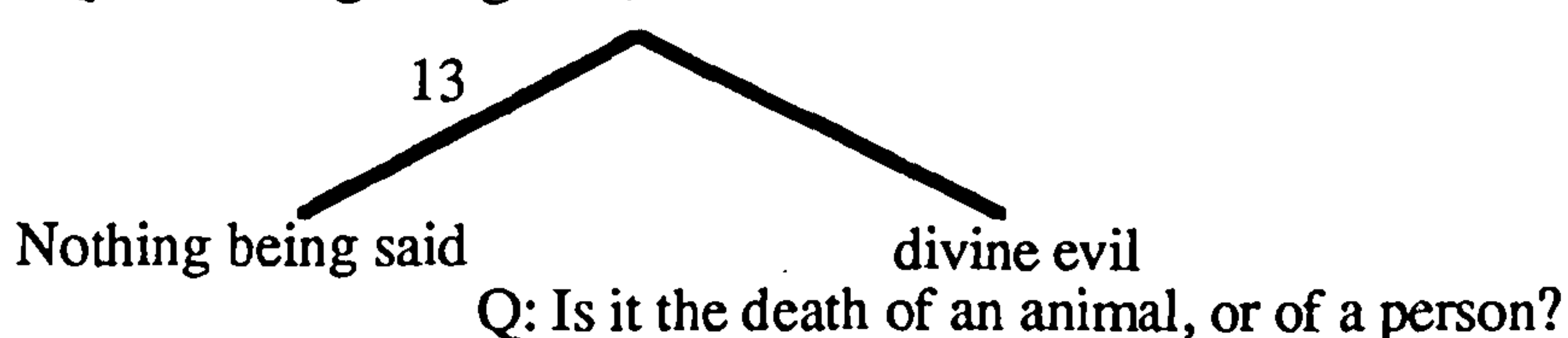
Q: Is it an illness of somebody else, or to do with Njetie?



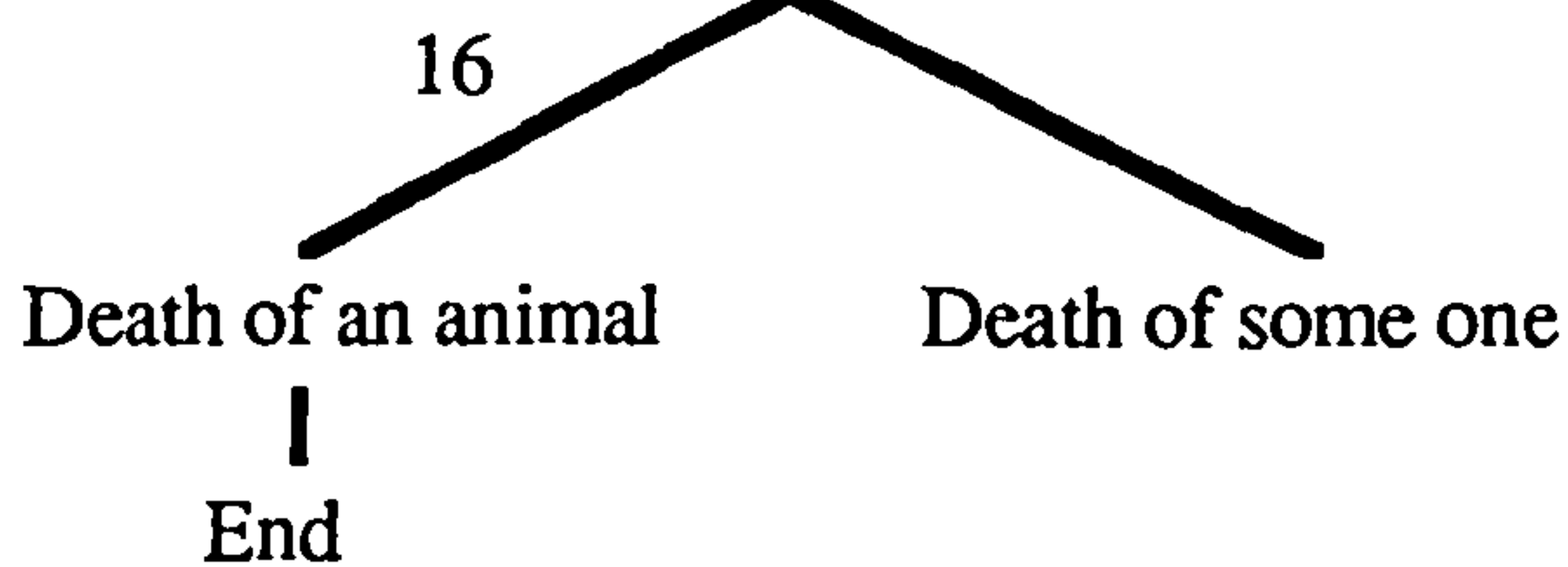
(b)

Ba Son i.e. death.

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



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



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. (Wəŋ, when he arrived, told us that she had given

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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.

Divination

TABLE 3.2 Divination Questions.

POT 1

Q 14:
 Not seriously ill
 vs.
divine further
 Q 20:
 Just treat child
 vs.
divine further
 Q 22:
 child will recover
 vs.
divine further
 Q 26:
 Problem with women [1]
 vs.
 witchcraft
NB Ambiguous response
 [2]
 Q 33:
 Sua will end it
 vs.
sua will not end it
 Q 38:
 Something buried [3]
 vs.
sua will end it
 Q 39:
 Solve quarrel with Bere
 [4]
 vs.
 Not that, look outside
NB Ambiguous response
 [2]
 Q 40:
 Do treatment (kare)
 vs.
cut sua [5]
 Q 41:
 Bi cuts sua
 vs.
Beya cuts sua
 Q 42:
 Bi cuts sua
 vs.
Beya cuts sua

POT 2[Started late]

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

POT 3

Cont. from lower fork of diag. 3.

Q 18:
 illness not serious
 vs.
divine further
 Q 24:
 sua will end it
 vs.
divine further
 Q 28:
 Problems at Wəŋ's
 vs.
 Problems at Ləbən's
Abandoned before Q38 since "it wanted to talk about death."

Table 3.2: Notes.

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

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

[2] Ambiguous results:

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

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

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

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

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

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

[6] Wəkə is the (full) sister of Wɔŋ who had left her third husband Nyangi 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 Nyangi.

Wɔŋ asked divination whether Wəkə could return without hazard to Nyangi'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.

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

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

Interpretation in practice: questions 31 and 33.

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

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

He interpreted the answer (One card was by the stick looking at the hole, another by the stone looking out) as equivocal. 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.²

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

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

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

Divination

of the witch (Q 36) who was identified as female. This response was taken to be identical with the earlier diagnosis of “problems among the women in Wəŋ’s house” (Q 26, and Q 29). As such it was a problem suitable to be solved by sua, so the question was repeated in a modified form: would sua end it, or is there witchcraft to be dealt with¹ (Q 37). After putting this question the response to Q 33 was found by inspecting the pot. It selected the stone, meaning “sua will not solve the problem.” This was immediately pursued in the light of the question which had just been put (i.e. Q 37). Hence Q 39 makes the distinction between buried witchcraft substances, or the ending of the affair by sua. Both Q 37 and Q 38 produced the sua alternative, thus giving a believable, because consistent, result. The contradictory results which precede this were henceforth ignored. They forced the diviners into examining the possibilities of more complicated problems, who having eliminated these returned to the main^{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.

¹e.g. buried treatments.

Chapter Four

Translation & Anthropology

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

THEORIES OF TRANSLATION

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

My prime concern is to examine how people understand the world they live in. This raises immediately the reflexive problem of how we are to understand other peoples' understandings. At its most abstract this reduces to the philosophical conundrum of "other minds."¹ Those who take the pessimistic and subversive line² 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.

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

²This seems to be the lesson drawn from Bourdieu or from Wittgenstein via Winch in the UK.

Bourdieu has presented a sociological version of Quine's "radical translation problem"¹. 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 injunction², 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 al³ but the lack of interest among scientists of what non-scientists have to say about them verges on the point of dismissal).

The Radical Translation Problem

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

Hallen & Sodipo (1986) give a detailed account of Quine's arguments, which they continue to criticize, but their most effective criticism is in their practice: their very success in analysing Yoruba concepts of knowledge (*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.

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

¹Bourdieu is further discussed in the conclusion.

²Strecker, 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.

³See Garfinkel, Lynch and Livingston 1981 or Gilbert & Mulkay 1984.

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

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

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

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

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

Another way to present the rejoinder to Quine is to remark that the radical translation problem is not as normally described since, *prima facie*, we, everyone can perform interpretative acts which are tantamount to translation. Keesing uses the "problematic" of translation (as he terms it: Keesing 1985) to urge caution in the search for "metaphysics". Anthropologists are apt, he suggests, to mistake "conventional metaphor"¹ (which implies no metaphysical commitment) for metaphysical assertion. However, he does not doubt the possibility of translation but simply advocates caution and sensitivity. Recent papers by Robert Feleppa discuss this issue (Feleppa 1986, 1982) latterly as part of the "emic/etic" debate. Feleppa argues that a translation should not be seen as a set of descriptive hypotheses, hence that it is not susceptible to Quine's underdetermination-by-evidence argument. Instead Feleppa argues that translations have more in common with rules, especially in the way that both are "violable" without being refutable. Hence Feleppa is able to agree with Quine that translations lack truth values but he maintains that "they still

¹Boyer 1989a and 1989b has mounted an attack on "conventional metaphor" preferring his own "pseudo-natural kind" approach to the analysis of traditional religious concepts. Both authors, however, implicitly assume that translation is possible for their disagreement to be a real one.

have an empirically legitimate rôle, akin to that of technical definitions and rules of inference.” (1986:249). Translation establishes (or codifies) the framework within which facts are expressed. It is thus a necessary and important step in any ethnographic description, but is not susceptible to the same sorts of criticisms leveled at “the facts” (248-249). It is notable that Feleppa cites neither phenomenologists, ethnomethodologists nor sociolinguists in his bibliography. Scheff in a short reply to Feleppa quotes Steiner and makes the telling comment: “His argument about translation is empirical in the sense that there is a community of bilinguals to whom we can appeal.” (Scheff 1987:365). This leads us straight back to Kirk’s argument about “back translation.” Feleppa and Quine are both guilty of the “denial of coevalness” (Fabian 1983). The anthropological subject is seen as “Other” and no dialogue is possible¹. Bilinguals can and do discuss the adequacy of translations, and thereby confute the radical translation problem. Indeed Quine allows for this possibility, but describes it as a “costly” solution: “We can see a way, though costly, in which he can still accomplish radical translation of [non-observational occasion] sentences. He can settle down and learn the language directly as an infant might. Having thus become bilingual, he can translate the non-observational occasion sentences by introspected stimulus synonymy.” (Quine 1960:47). Dummett (1981:615) calls this the “anthropological solution” and indeed that is what it is! He also says (op cit p376/7): “If there is communication between human beings at all, it must be possible for them to adopt some determinate scheme of inter-translation.” Such a scheme will now be outlined.

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

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

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

(pace Quine) there is evidence that “basic level objects” do exist¹ (Rosch 1976 & 1977) so there can be objective justification for linking the term to the rabbit not a “rabbit-part.”

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

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

THE MAKING OF TRANSLATIONS

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

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

¹Notwithstanding the arguments of Atran (1983, 1985, 1987a, 1987b) questioning the ontological status of biological taxa.

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

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

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

¹But see the comments of Barber 1988 on the dangers of taking Ifa's claims about itself at face value.

The second source of guidance is the now extensive literature in both philosophy, and anthropology concerning “the radical translation problem¹” or the “hermeneutic circle².” Such discussion may be illuminating and occasionally entertaining but it has surprisingly little application³ when one actually faces the task of translating a text.

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

Ethnomethodology occupies an interesting position here since on one level it is devoid of theory or at least sociologically naïve (Gellner 1975) but on the other it has led to some of the most interesting linguistic work both on theoretical and empirical fronts (Heritage 1984, Atkinson 1984, Garfinkel et al 1981, Brown & Levinson 1978). Conversational analysis is modest in its ambitions but by its meticulous attention to detail provides a salutary lesson to anthropologists who can avail themselves of its method⁴ at the very least, no matter to what end.

Problems of Context

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

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

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

²See Kepnes 1986 for citations of Ricoeur.

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

⁴If applied as method only then ethnomethodology sidesteps Gellner’s strictures against its lack of sociological awareness.

The way that, for example, pauses are used to offer a change of turn or to mask uncertainty gives scope for just such negotiation of meaning under the guise of clarification¹.

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

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

Anthropological Translation

Ethnographic enquiry proceeds as a series of conversations² 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.

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

²This is in accord with the “dialogic” or dynamic, interactive approach as advocated by Dwyer 1977, Tedlock 1983: 321-338 and Fabian 1974 & 1985.

Many of the footnotes to the transcripts below serve to move the point where the sole justification for assertions is that they are “based on field work experience.” But it is a very different thing to make such assertions about a metaphor or idiomatic phrase than to make bland statements about Mambila cosmology.

The philosophical issues do not arise during “anthropological translation” such as occurs in this work. By “anthropological translation” I mean the preparation and presentation of texts as part of an anthropological analysis. Such “anthropological translations” have been published since 1935 (starting with “The Coral Gardens and their Magic”). The two theoretical chapters in that work raise problems in translation which have largely been overcome, both by the development of pragmatics as a branch of linguistics, and also by some of the more widely accepted results of structural linguistics¹. What remains relevant to current debate is Malinowski’s stress on contextualisation, which concern is now a central and inescapable part of any “anthropological translation.” The texts presented by Malinowski remain paradigm examples, despite the advances in technology (modern texts were usually tape-recorded in the first instance) and questions about his linguistic skills (Berry 1965:xiii).

Those who translate² the Bible aim to communicate “the” message attributed to the writers of the Gospels. The intention is that the translation should be “transparent.” The translated text should read as though it were written by a native speaker, as though that Apostle had lived next door, rather than in Galilee, although an accurate translation must preserve “the message” as its first priority (Nida & Taber 1969). Conversely an “anthropological translation” must not only be a good translation in the sense that a Bible translation may be judged good, but it must also be open.

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

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

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

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

²The theory of Bible-translation is discussed in Nida & Taber 1969, Nida 1979a & b and Noss 1981.

The text then is in part a peg upon which ethnography can be hung, and in part it constitutes that ethnography¹. Hence, in preparing a translation as an anthropologist, my aim has been not to produce “transparent” texts which could have been produced by native English speakers, but rather to produce intelligible texts which are, moreover, perspicuous anthropologically. By this I mean that they are intended to help any reader unfamiliar with Somié and its inhabitants to understand how some of the concepts under discussion apply, and to examine for themselves some of the evidence upon which my conclusions are based.

Transcripts

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

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

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

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

¹The increasing use of computers with “hypertext” may soon enable us to attach the comments and explanations to the text more intuitively than does the current practice of the liberal use of footnotes.

The texts are presented in two forms. The appendices contain detailed transcripts with word-for-word English glosses on the Mambila text. The main body of the text contains only the free translations which have been annotated.

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

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

Stage one: transcript plus English glosses

- 1 B́; M̀i chɔ sua hən. (1) M̀i chɔ hən, mgbe.
m̀i chɔ sua hən (1) m̀i chɔ hən mgbe
I chop sua this (1) I chop this chief
- 2 Ch; Aha
aha
aha
- 3 B́; M̀i yuo sar, m̀i yuo chibi,
m̀i yuo sar m̀i yuo chibi
I leave witchcraft I leave night
- 4 m̀i nde bie Mallam¹ di
m̀i nde bie Mallam di
I go ask Mallam some
- 5 Nuar dənɪ, ma də b́ nə kə wa
nuar dənɪ ma də b́ nə kə wa
person here if of you is what QN.
- 6 M̀i siri nuar mə Mallam -e
m̀i siri nuar mə Mallam -e
I witchcraft person with Mallam
- 7 m̀i yila le bu hən,
m̀i yila le bu hən
I enter in knife this
- 8 m̀i sɔ chən wanyu, m̀i fa sɔ sɔ.

¹Mallam, an Islamic scholar and proselytiser.

Translation

- mì sɔ́ chén wanyu mì fa sɔ́ sɔ́
I live one else I two live live
- 9 Yuo sar, yuo chibi,
yuo sar yuo chibi
leave witchcraft leave night
- 10 Nuar denə baá kita fe, à kiye yap sen.
nuar denə baá kita fe à kiye yap sen
person here PRES. case new he farm-work food his
- 11 Ama- fii baá mani, à mì ha ngwə də ki wa?
ama fii baá mani à mì ha ngwə də ki wa
but bush PRES. thus he I give NEG. of what QN.
- 12 Mì bè nyam, mì bè gɔŋ, mì bè lɔ́.
mì bè nyam mì bè gɔŋ mì bè lɔ́
I harm animal I harm hunt I harm compound
- 13 Mì yila le bu hən,
mì yila le bu hən
I enter in knife this
- 14 mì sɔ́ chén wanyu, mì fa sɔ́ sɔ́.
mì sɔ́ chén wanyu mì fa sɔ́ sɔ́
I live one else I two live live
- 15 Ma mì kɔ́ ngwə, mì ke njulu baa
ma mì kɔ́ ngwə mì ke njulu baa
if I know NEG. I look eyes East

Second stage: the initial free translation

- Bi; I chop this sua. I chop this, Chief.
Ch; Aha
Bi; I leave witches, I leave the night
I go and ask some **Mallam**
- 5 What can you do to this person?
If I charm the person with the help of a **Mallam**
may I enter into the sua knife
& live for one day only, not live for two never, ever, ever.
If I leave as witchcraft, leave as the night.
- 10 The person here, it's a new case, he farms his own food.
But the bush is thus, Why doesn't he give me anything?

I harm animals, I harm the hunt, I harm compounds.
May I enter into the **sua** knife
I live for one day only, not live for two, never, ever, ever.
15 If I don't know, turn my eyes to the East.

Final stage: the second Free Translation

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

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

Footnotes to the translation above.

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

L11 This remains somewhat obscure. A possible reading, suggested by the reference to hunting in the following line, is that the speaker was not given the meat to which he believed himself entitled following a successful hunt. This is behaviour of the animals in the bush, not appropriate to the social life of people in the village. It should be noted that apart from the rights of the Chief to certain types of game (the **mbe** animals

already described) there is no fixed pattern of meat distribution. The meat, if there is enough of it, may be either sold or given to kin or affines. The successful hunter must balance the demands of his family against the potential profit to be made from selling. Women do not hunt animals but they do fish, and sell sun-dried or smoked fish at the weekly market.

A NOTE ON METHOD

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

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

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

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

The problem of anonymity

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

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** masquerades¹ and their associated dances are described. The organisation of these rites, and their relation to each other and to the **sua** oaths, are considered.

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

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

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

FUNERAL SUA

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

¹The terms Mask, mask and masquerade have been defined in Chapter 2 above.

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

MEN'S SUA. A DESCRIPTION OF
MEN'S SUA IN SOMIÉ 29-30 MAY 1988

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

The following description is based on the events during my own entry into sua. This is the only occasion that I have participated in men's sua. The variety of sua which is described is called sua mbo. Accounts of the rites collected both before and after I had entered, and the fact that I was not the sole initiator are some evidence that the rites were not altered or partial as a result of my presence. On Sunday 29 May the sua enclosure (**jere**) was repaired¹. 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 trees² (two of which are also used in constructing the **bɔ̃gɔ** (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.

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

²I 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.

Most of the men from the village either brought palm fronds or poles, or helped in the work. It was stated that every man should contribute. The work was accompanied by whoops and cries such as “hey, hey, hey partu (cat)”. It was explained that sua goes everywhere like a cat. Inside the jere is a single flat stone and a set of three firestones (ka la) 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 suit¹ of the sua Mask was rushed into the enclosure. It was passed hurriedly out of a window in the Palace in a bag then taken to the jere and thrown over the fence. It was then unrolled, sprayed with water and rubbed in order to make it supple. It was left hanging on the inside of the jere fence with its arms outstretched, until the leaves had been fetched. It was stressed that it was julu (prohibited, banned) to touch the suit if one had had sex the previous night.

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

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

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

¹The suit was three years old in 1988 and was bought by Muy André for 15,000 CFA in Nigeria. It is woven by women who may see it until it has been ritually inaugurated or used with (no special inauguration) in the sua rites themselves. Before it has been treated or used it is not julu.

time, whereon I had to uproot two specimens. If the stalk broke I was told to discard it and to lift another plant. As I picked the plant all the others present had either to touch my right arm or shoulder or to form a chain of people doing so. All the participants thereby "partake in" the actions. This "common action" accompanied all the significant actions which are about to be described and can be assumed to have occurred unless its absence is mentioned. Similar chains occur during other rituals¹. 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.²

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 dance³. 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

¹For example, during the learning of divination and in curing rites or "medical" treatments.

²Rain did not fall from Saturday afternoon until after Wednesday morning. The grass was tied late on the Sunday afternoon.

³It is not observed when sua is danced for funerals. Therefore it can be suggested that the rule is connected with the wrestling discussed below.

the bundle of leaves. Everyone looked westwards and touched right shoulders while the Chief “buried the village¹”. Everyone faced westwards, and extended their hands behind their back to touch someone nearer to the Chief, who had also turned his back to the flat stone (c. 20 cm. in diameter) which was south of the fireplace, against the fence. Kung had lifted it up and scraped away some soil beneath it to make a slight hollow. Into this the Chief sprinkled some ginger seeds, saying:

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

Mambila text: “Bó mbəri ne kaga ðəle lóó mbo

nyám bàgà ndeè lóó nyám vən nden yaga
tong bàgà ndeè lóó, tong vən nde yaga
fuò vən kela ter, njai bàgà ndeè ka lóó”

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

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

As has been said this variety of *sua* is called *sua mbo*. *Mbo* are the worm-casts of riverine worms (*kap*). Towards the end of women’s *sua* the women administer *lab mbo* which is said to explain its metonymic name of *labbe*². Whilst the women treat both sexes, men administer *lab mbo* only to other males. What followed was the *lab mbo* of

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

²*lab* (*labbe* for repeated action) is the verb used for plastering with mud.

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

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

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

It is of note that although great emphasis was laid on the initiands being shown and learning the "sua leaves" relatively little use was made of them in the rites which followed, and no explanations were given to justify the selection of any one leaf, apart from one case which is reported below. A response¹ 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

¹Especially 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.

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

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

As each child tried to leave the *jere*, the Mask, which had stood motionless beside the door while he was being treated, leapt out and beset him provoking screams and terror. Children failing to pass the Mask and escape the *jere* formed an hysterical knot trying to pluck up courage to run the gauntlet. The children were clearly thoroughly terrified despite the fact that the older boys must have had similar experiences on several previous occasions. Among the elder boys there was an element of mutual daring, the Mask acting as a test of their courage. The adult men stood about laughing, or helping the Mask at the door by catching boys who tried to slip past while it was man-handling another boy. Great force was not used; the principle aim was apparently to make the children scream. A baby was touched to attract its attention then the faceless head of the Mask brought close to it to scare it into tears. One boy was so scared that he forced his way through the fence. Others were caught trying to do the same. By the time the last boys were being treated the daylight was fading and many complaints were made about how late we were running. It was time attention was paid to the chickens and the beer. Everyone attending the *sua* rites should bring a chicken and supply a pot of beer. Although all the initiands had to bring chickens no attempt was made to ensure that other people attending did so. The supply of beer was carefully attended to; the name of each donor was recorded by a man assigned to the job. He was summoned insistently from the dance to do this, often twice for the same pot of beer: by the donor as well as by the man in charge of the beer supplies.

The sua masquerades

The seven chickens presented were examined and two rejected as being too meagre for ritual use. One of the best was selected and given to the Chief who cut its comb and sprinkled the blood onto the firestones and onto the bundle of leaves behind it. Kung then put his right forefinger to the blood and touched it to the tongue, sternum and right shoulder of everyone present, starting with the Chief. The chicken was then held briefly over the fire which had been kindled while the young boys were being terrified by the Mask. Once the feathers began to singe it was removed and Kung touched the feathers, and then applied his fingers to the kidneys, sternum and forehead of everyone present.

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

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

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

Ginger was then given to unmarried men and to those with fertile wives (i.e. not to husbands of pregnant or lactating wives). This action (**sie so**) also occurs at the end of funeral sua dances and at the end of women's sua, and was repeated on the morning after the sua dance. A ginger seed was held over an ember, then touched to kidneys and sternum, then put into the mouth. The man being treated holds his right hand up with his forefinger raised. It is followed by the **ha mban** salute, and then a straw is held between the two participants and broken, the fragments being thrown over their right shoulders.

(The latter two actions also occur at the end of the sua oath). The officiant says *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 slapping right palms above shoulder height then bending the right arm back so that the hand touches one's own right shoulder. This is done three times.

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

While the chickens were being roasted those present were treated with ash just as had been done at the conclusion of work on the *jere*. No explanation was given of this, and no one seemed to leave at this point. While the chickens were spit roasting the Chief scattered one with "elephant grass salt"¹ and anointed it with palm oil using the two feathers previously placed beside the firestone. Those actually involved with the cooking then oiled and salted the birds. Before the feathers were replaced to beside the firestone, Kung took them from the Chief, touched them to his lips twice, then to the Chief's lips and then to everyone else there. The salt was also anointed with oil.

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

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

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

The sua masquerades

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

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

The Dance

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

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

He then gave the stick to Ngu Mark, who had also been active in organizing the rites. Ngu Mark put the stick to the flames, touched it to the kidneys, sternum, forehead

and tongue of Kung, then passed it from one hand to the other around Kung's neck, behind his back, both forearms and both thighs. Ngu Mark subsequently repeated this for himself. Kung then took the stick in his left hand and began the dance proper circling clockwise.

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

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

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

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

The sua masquerades

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

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

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

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

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

The next day was soó, a holy rest day. In recognition of this the masquerade did not emerge. In principle the Mask may appear until the ritual first planting of the millet in mid-June, although it is rarely seen after the main dance. The sua leaves are left where they were placed behind the fireplace and will rot away, as does much of the sua enclosure,

until it is rebuilt in the following year. It should be noted that unlike women's sua and *ngwun*, which are followed by youths dancing *tadup*, no other dance marks the end of men's sua.

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

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

WOMEN'S SUA

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

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

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

Ritual Title (name)	Hamlet	Qualifications ¹
Fəniaga (Spakə)	Centre	d of Chief Menandi
Fəwani (Kərəbən)	Centre	d of Chief Kolaka
Fəachen (Ləvə)	Centre	sd of Chief Menandi
Fəjəme (Ni)	Gumbe	d of head of Gumbe
Mbəgəm (Njiə)	Njerup	d of head of Njerup

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

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

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

Fəwani (Kərəbən) heads **Sua də bə Mvop**. If a newly selected Fəniaga (or Fəwani) had previously belonged to the other moiety she will change her affiliation following her selection. The affiliation of the other **Marenjo** is not linked to their titles in the same way, and is determined as for other women, by their mother's choices when they were girls.

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

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 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 **damə** rite). On request the senior **Marenjo** (Sapkə) 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 Sapkə's house before going to Gumbe and Ngwe¹ hamlets. Later the initiands are inducted through eating **tetaga**² 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

¹This is where Kərəbən lives.

²a type of catfish: *Synodontis* spp.

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 trousers¹, and one (in 1988) tied some tin cans between her legs representing swollen testicles. Clay penises are fleetingly revealed to the men during the main dance. The men are particularly shocked by mock rapes which are enacted sporadically throughout the time of women's sua. Some men literally curl up in shame at the sight. A woman is flung to the ground, often from behind so she is taken quite by surprise, and her attacker, usually abetted by several other women, mimes intercourse with her. While doing this, the assailant herself may be "raped" from behind in a hectic and short-lived orgy. Afterwards the participants salute each other with the *hamban* salute, described above. It is found greatly enjoyable by all except any men who accidentally witness it.

On the eve of the final *Bam* the Mask² walks around the village. It is accompanied by groups of women in great excitement who chase men away so they cannot see it. Its sight is said to cause male infertility and madness. There follow rites in the Palace attended exclusively by women. These end around midnight with the beating of the big Palace drum. The dancing then starts; this the men may watch. Thenceforth the men beat the drums. A fire is lit in the centre of the Palace square and kept alight until the end of the dancing. Men are told not approach it since impotence results from contact with its ashes. The dancing continues throughout the next day and night. The women circle the fire anti-clockwise waving decorated sticks, swords or just pieces of twig. Some men dance on the furthest periphery of the circling women. The day is marked by large-scale public beer-drinks in which great largesse is displayed to the many visitors from other villages.

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

¹Meek 1931:553 mentions female ritual transvestism.

²The women's Mask is an amorphous mass of vegetation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹This song is also sung by the women while men dance men's sua.

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

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

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

Chapter Six

The sua-oath

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Sporobolus pyramidalis*. This appears to be the jiro grass discussed by Meek (1931:552).

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

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

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

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

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

Paragraphs often commence with a list of evil possibilities similar to the lists of evil options proposed during *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.

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

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

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

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 oath³, 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 up⁴ or on its back, it is “good”. Exclamations and intakes of breath greet a “bad” fall. Yet I know of no action occasioned by such results. For example, no divination is effected to discover who will die. However, I suspect that this may occur if a “bad” fall occurred during the serious illness of a senior person.

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

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

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

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

³Contra Meek 1931:552.

⁴As occurred on the occasion considered below q.v. line 480.

remaining in his hand over his right shoulder⁵. 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**⁶. During the night before an oath, the sacrificer must not ejaculate, whether in the course of intercourse, masturbation or dreams. Semen, like women, must not come into contact with **sua**.

WOMEN'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUA-OATH.

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

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

⁵A similar action occurs in divination when a chain of questioning is to be terminated and before a new set of questions is posed.

⁶Compared 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.

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

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

Background to the sua-oath taken on 8 December 1985

Sua-oaths are frequently taken at the Chief’s Palace; I have attended many throughout my fieldwork and tape-recorded eight separate occurrences. The oath-taking presented here took place at the Chief’s Palace at the conclusion of a meeting of the whole village (both men and women). Before examining the transcript of the addresses made during the oath I shall describe the events which preceded the oath. It should be stressed that this is an unusual example for two reasons. Firstly, the sua-oath followed a discussion at the Palace about the entire village. It did not, as is usual, concern the settlement of a dispute between individuals (or their family groups). Moreover, the meeting which the oath concluded also contained a *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 ɔ̃̀ , nùàr dɔ̃̀ ɔ̃̀ 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 labour migrants from Nigerian Mambila continued their work, making bricks beside the Palace building. They were not expected to participate in the meeting. Had they been older they may have attended but would not have been pressed to do so against their wishes. Some but not all the immigrants from Nigeria attend village meetings.

The Chief raised three topics for discussion at the meeting.

1) Farmer-Grazier disputes.

The meeting took place at the beginning of the dry season when transhumant Mbororo bring their cattle down onto the Tikar plain. As the Chief put it: “the cattle come, and disputes come along behind.” The Chief outlined to the meeting the 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 Sapka emerged from inside the **jolori** to voice the women’s opinion: “Men drink moonshine then beat up women.” The women applauded Sapka’s speech..

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

The sua-oath

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

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

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

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

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

sua-oath transcript

Speakers:

Ga= Guanam

The sua-oath

Ta= Tam Umaru

Nj= Njaibi

Jb= Jacob

- 0 Jb; Listen you women inside
Hey, hey you listen to the work of sua.
Ga; You witches, you shape-changers⁷.
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"⁸ women
Person which has buried a hen's egg⁹
We find the thing in ground, may sua seize you, seize you
Woman, man you sort out your home
- 10 You shape-changers, they talk to the end of the village's case¹⁰.
You see a person, you say kill a person
Maize in this plain I eat never, ever, ever¹¹
If I don't know, I live with an open heart
We, my friends will stop quarreling thus.

⁷"You witches, you shape-changers" this phrase, and variations on it, marks the beginning of a paragraph in **sua** addresses. The variants permute the different types of witchcraft, the basic vocabulary of which is given in Diagram 2.1 above

For a different form of variant see the note to **sua kare** L 54/55.

⁸**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 by the homonymity it is of note that all connection was denied (both to D.Z. and to Mona Perrin).

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

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

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

- 15 Village of Ndeba¹², or the Atta, say kill a person into the ground
I a person I eat never, ever, ever.
I this one here
my wife comes from above with blind eyes
they really kill her
- 20 You say you pay to really kill her. You xxx,
Don't pay someone
or you'll see, not eat never, ever, ever.
You refuse maize, you refuse sorghum.
The head Chief which is here, your Chiefs
- 25 Now they () say to the Chief, speaking with open hearts
They shake his intelligence, his wives, his children.
All the Ndeba women, men
You say you saw a woman, you intended evil
You intended evil of man, of woman.
- 30 Stopping in the form of snake, tree¹³
You'll die, thus you won't eat this maize never, ever, ever.
If you have one mouth¹⁴ your heads¹⁵ will be strong
Come do this sua <= to Tam
Ta; I, this person say;
- 35 Yesterday when Chief Mɔgɔ died¹⁶ 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?

¹²Ndeba is another name for Somié village.

¹³This refers to the transformations discussed above (note to L 3).

¹⁴A “shared” mouth is a conventional metaphor for agreement.

¹⁵“head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.

¹⁶Mɔgɔ Michel died c1977 (the present incumbent succeeded in that year). Note that Tam first talks of the time of his fatal illness before his death.

Even then Njai¹⁷ here, you here
I had called him already
Nj; We two were right up¹⁸, right over there
45 Tam; So, I called the Ngeya, the Ngon, the Tabə¹⁹
The Nyimadoŋ and the Nia²⁰ this one
I called them all. These which are here
You saw that a suitable Chief was up over there
You saw with your eyes. How was it suitable?
50 Did you divine for us, or didn't you divine?
I sorted it out with an open heart²¹
Did I see with my eyes?
Divination was at another place
I was with my things at Atta, touring
55 I was there, I saw earth divination
Divination went too hot²² at Atta
I came to this village
I took Njai and Jumvop²³ who was there
We sorted it out, organized till we saw
60 Divination was too much for us.

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

¹⁸"Up" at Mayo Darlé, at the top of the escarpment to the East of Somié.

¹⁹A list of the names of some senior men. Nia is another name for Guanam, the sacrificer.

²⁰Nia=Guanam

²¹lit. "one heart". This relates to **sɔn chén** the one "shared" mouth of agreement, and is a conventional metaphor for honest and open action, without secret motives.

²²"too hot" as a metaphor for being too much for him, either beyond his comprehension or (more likely) warning of the death of Məgə but giving no clues how it could be averted.

²³Jumvop a senior man (now dead) of Gumbe hamlet.

- I sent for Bi²⁴
 Bi had said , Go up, talk with that woman²⁵
 She returned, the Chief didn't return to the village
 Was it proper for the Chief to stay up there?
 65 Tomorrow the Chief will die, up over there
 They went to fetch him
 [
- Nj; xxxxxx
 Ta; So that I may avoid shame I say
 You will be people with a body of shame=
 70 Ga; =thus
 Ta; When his days are ended he must come, he must die in the village
 Bi here, a living person. (1) Bi here went up
 and so that if he got really bad
 I said to them: they must not treat the Chief any more
 75 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 chopped²⁶, searching there () we sorted it out.
 80 We are tired with hunger, don't be tired tired tired
 Children of the Chief, they say seized and took
 Dega²⁷ thus, and not otherwise.
 We end completely 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

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

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

²⁶i.e. they cut sua.

²⁷Dega is the current Chief of Somié.

- Someone, anyone says if I didn't cross them
they would be sitting on the stool
- 90 I say clearly to sort it out so you hear and clear it up properly
(1) So you hear and clear it up properly.
I speak so you hear it properly
If you don't leave off death looms open.
Chief, you will be tired to death to walk afterwards don't do it.²⁸
- 95 We are tired, tired of his work, he will die of it. (2)
I don't want today
which we take you, we put you in the village
Evil things come today. You will walk to your death
Tomorrow you walk to your death.
- 100 Our village has something - If we go thus
If the village stays - your village here, here -
That's the matter, that's the point.
Your village isn't a good village!
The death we hide from is a thing to hide from!
- 105 We hide because of it.
We two, children of a Chief
You borrow a thing, or you don't borrow a thing²⁹
I harvested my father's palm trees, and my mother's palm trees.³⁰

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

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

³⁰ It must not be assumed that this speech was clear to the audience. This is especially the case with this speech since genealogical knowledge is shallow and not well maintained. I attempted to reconstruct the genealogy in question; it is a part of the Chief's genealogy which might reasonably be expected to be the best known of any. It is also relatively well preserved because of the dispute itself. There was greater uncertainty and inconsistency between informants than can be explained by the fact that the inheritance and hence the genealogy is disputed. The names are known, and recognized as dead proximate kin, but to the audience the speech posed, I claim, as much a problem as it did (does) to the anthropologist trying to make sense of it. One of the differences from ordinary speech lies in the fact that Tam was addressing **sua**, so the audience did not have to understand, or to

/cont.

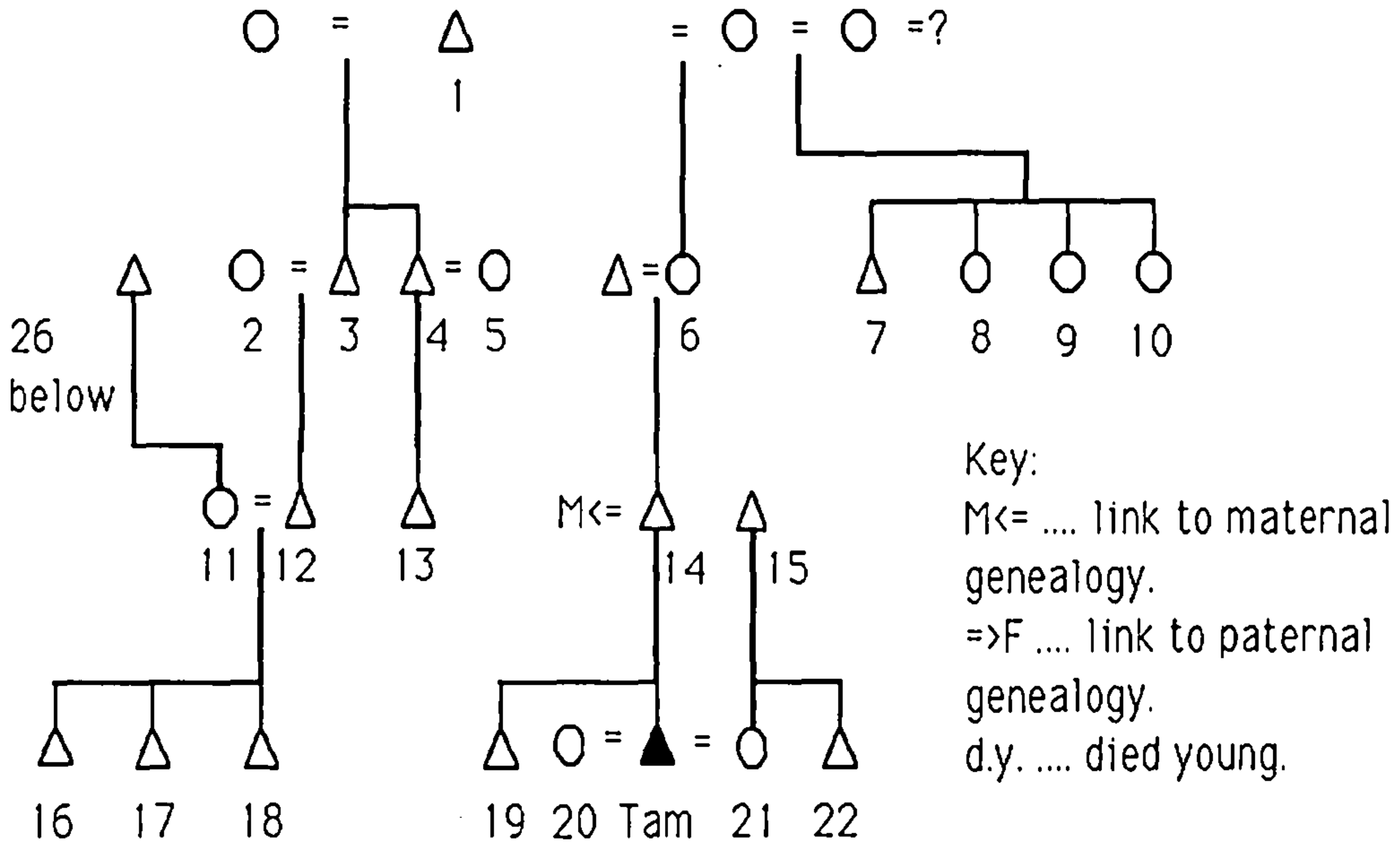
reveal the limited extent of its understanding by responding in any way. Instead the audience could assume that what it was hearing made sense, that both **sua** and “real” Notables understood. Such an assumption lifts pressures from both audience and speakers, who can indulge in more obscure rhetoric, raising laughter at the expense of understanding. This is very similar to what Sherzer (Sherzer 1983:90) describes of the Kuna.

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

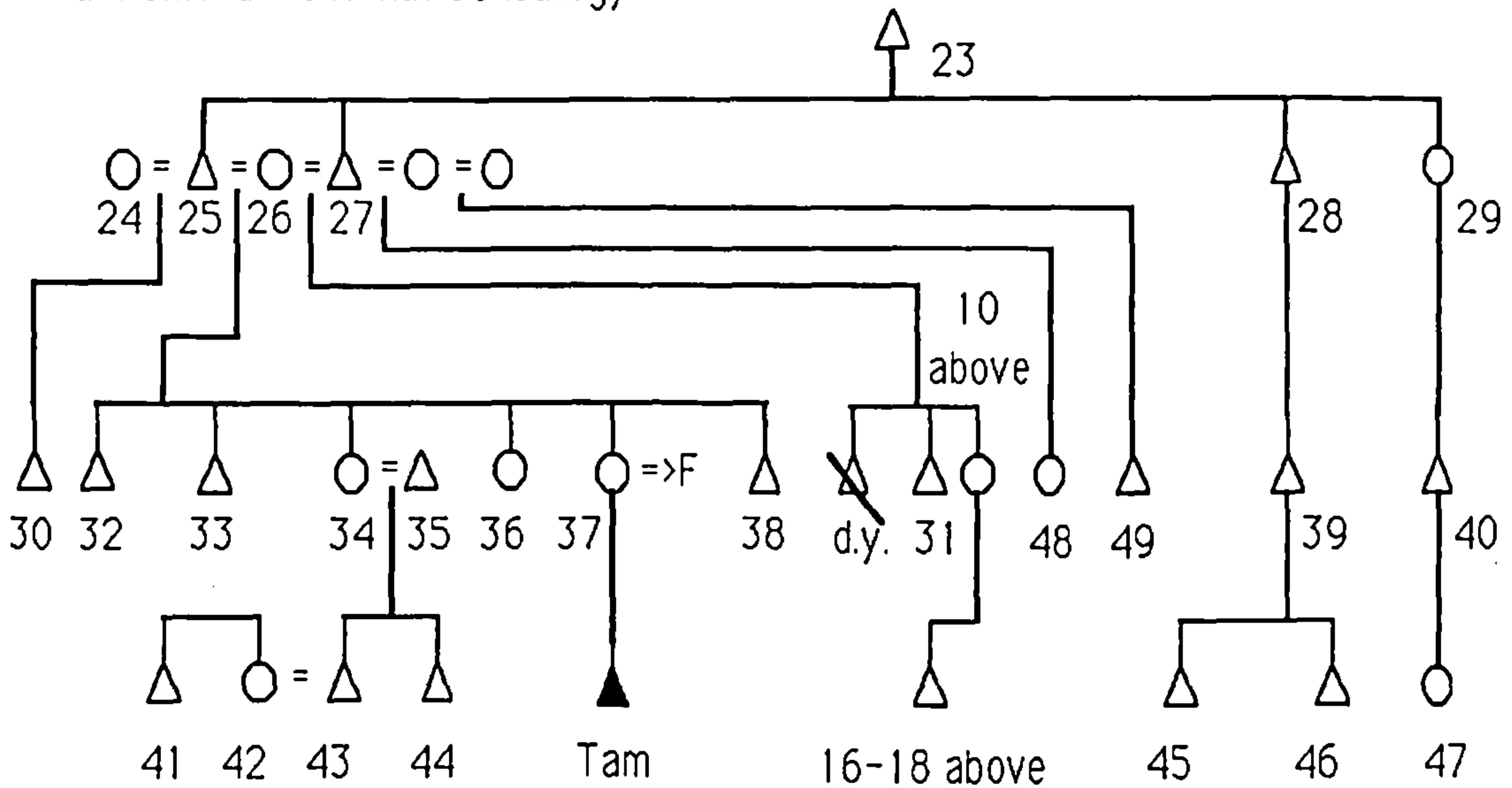
/cont.

DIAGRAM 6.1

Tam Umaru: Paternal Genealogy



Tam Umaru: Maternal Genealogy



/cont.

Key to Individuals in the above genealogy:

1 Ngeya;	2 Təteya;	3 Jagami;
4 Ju Merup;	5 Bukə Martha	6 Nyaya;
7 Njunani;	8 Nyuŋ;	9 Tətiya;
10 Gəgar/Ngwəgar;	11 Chi;	12 Ge;
13 Ngeya Joseph;	14 Ngwuse;	15 Məgə;
16 Kwər Pierre;	17 Gaŋfi Joseph;	18 TelechenSimon;
19 Nyakati François;	20 Wulakwa;	21 Ba Anne;
22 Chief of Ribao;	23 Chomo;	24 Baŋ;
25 Nditi;	26 Nə;	27 Menandi;
28 Nyiten;	29 Bəŋdie;	30 Kolaka;
31 ??;	32 Ti;	33 Kwe;
34 Dədia;	35 Kuŋbili;	36 Dan;
37 Kuwəkə/Nək;	38 Ngwə / Ngə;	39 Kəmi;
40 Ngə;	41 Yabən;	42 ??;
43 Njitabə;	44 Toó;	45 Gwa;
46 Mena Adolph;	47 Bəŋdiə;	48 ChenuarElizabeth;
49 Gamgbe/Gamia.		

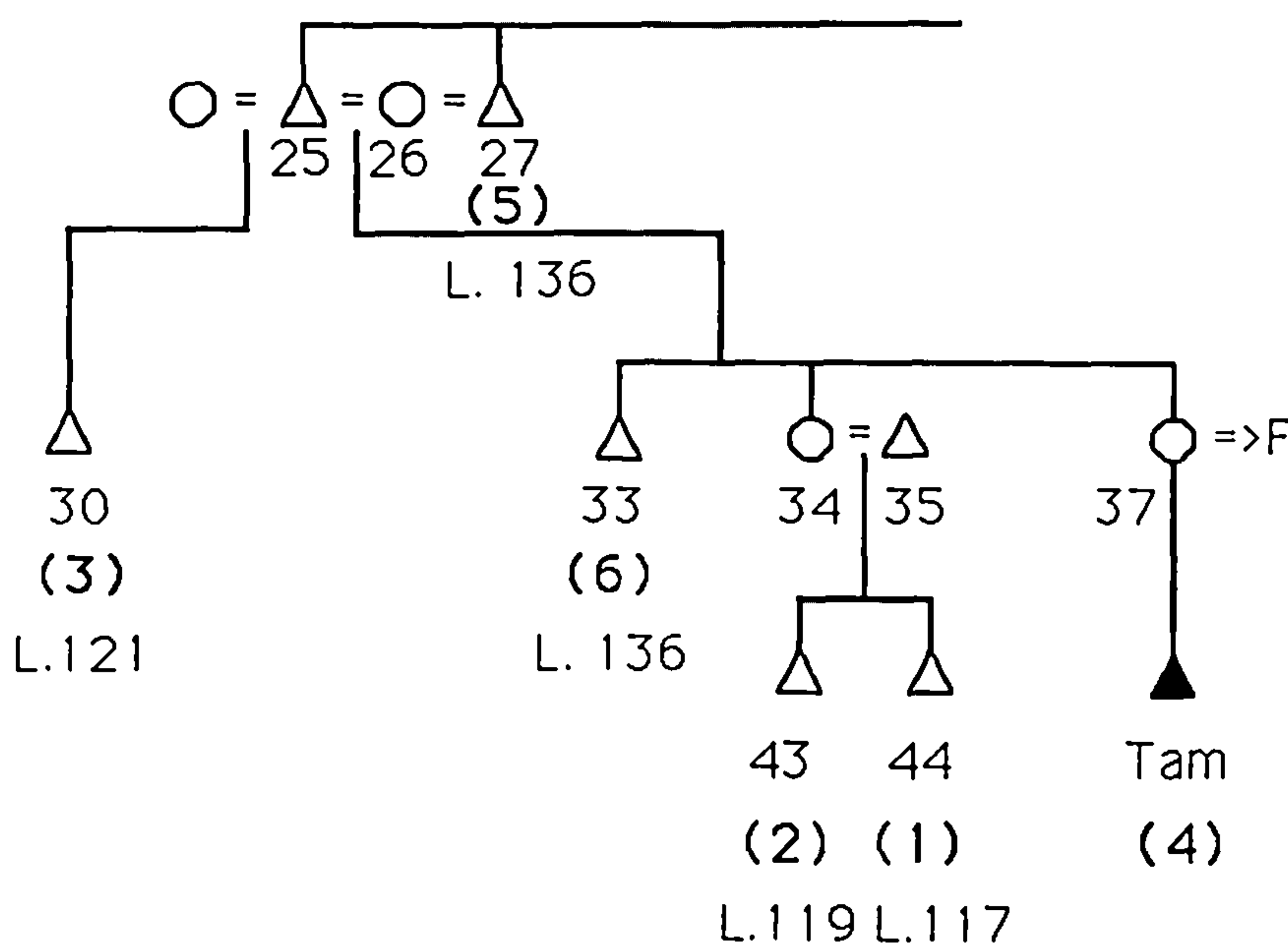
The pattern of inheritance explained by Tam is shown in the summary of his maternal genealogy which follows. Line numbers are given when specific details are mentioned in the text. The dispute centres around the trees obtained by Kwe [33] from Menandi [27]. These are labeled (5) & (6) in the next diagram.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

/cont.

- From the place my mother died
- 110 They put to work the things told in the open.
 My elder brothers died, they put to work the things told in the open.
 the things which Kwa³¹ said are in me here
 the things which Ti said are in me here
 the things which Kwe said are in me here
- 115 I am a small child with no father
 I am between them which have already died before now
 The palm there was in the hands of Toó
 Toó died already
 Njitabə entered there
- 120 Njitabə died, Dədia came, she died already
 Njitabə remained on his own. Kwa took the palms
 he went and found Kwa
 they slept at Kwa's
 The sister's child was an orphan. Now if your sister
- 125 if...if... your child remains to take it

DIAGRAM 6.2:

The Inheritance of "Tam's" Palms



³¹Kwa = Chief Kolaka d. . 1949 .

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.

Njitabə at this Palace went into the hands of Kwa

130 he stayed there because orphanhood was too much for him. He fixed his
orphanhood

So Kwa stayed, Njitabə cut this palm

this is, this is, is is is

is the palm that Toó cut and treated

135 Those of Kwe we we all stole their palms ()

Chief Menandi gave to them

the palms that Gamgbe cuts now at the Makobo³² over there (2)

Chief Menandi gave those palms to him

Over there even if they intend something evil of me

140 I will not plant my foot in it

Even if palm-nuts tumble and fall to the earth

If I take, and I pick-up and eat from the ground

When I return I will pay at the Makobo over there.

Were I to cut the palms *chàng* would refuse me (1)

145 I pass the place, I pass the place where my father's palms are
and those of my mother.

We two children have no motive to do something evil (3)

The Chief dies we sort it out

This one he didn't stay. We fixed him³³

150 He said: we the elders,

do we not take and fix the village?

We didn't take and fix the village. We took what village? Where?

Didn't we talk about repairing it?

Someone, if you're jealous of someone, is it me here?

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

³²Makobo a river in the plain nearby.

³³A passing reference to the initial reluctance of the current Chief when selected for office.

So you remove, drive me out, then what's left?
I opened my mouth to say the palms over there
they are my palms
Why did I open my mouth?
160 So they kill and pull me off from that palm (1)
You have listened carefully and well
We start and my divination shakes³⁴
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 people³⁵
and I am properly thankful to the Chief.
170 They saw divination with their own eyes
I close here by saying in closing
The Chief here, we took him and made him.
Where is he without our glory
If today he flies above the house up up up up thus?
175 It's bad. I flee because of this (1)
Only if the Chief opens his mouth to say cut it³⁶
If you have already paid we are fine
If you don't release me then war will come
I say, it's me who says: war will be amongst my children
180 If I'm already dead () my children
the Chiefs will afterwards not agree
because I have no life
Here they will speak () to the Chief, his younger brothers

³⁴This 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...

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

³⁶ He refers to the cutting of sua.

and his elder brothers will find their mouths³⁷

- 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 you³⁸
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 there³⁹
- 210 I climb up to that village
a person goes to different people for that

³⁷"find their mouths" i.e. come to agreement.

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

³⁹The 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.

- [
xx; One, just one over there.
Tam; Me here, if I say
I do this, do you suffer you children of the Chief?
215 So if I take some evil things
So I harm things may I enter into the knife
I live for one day, may I not live two never, ever, ever.
I am a jealous thing here
They must speak clearly to the end. I'm through.
220 Ga; Oi vay!
Ta; At my compound divination says my head⁴⁰ is bad
This year I will not climb⁴¹
I do not harm the things of this person
They the children will leave there in a bit.
225 Its the end, my younger brothers, we two, will leave in the case of the field⁴²
They will say clearly to us
We do chop this sua right to the end
They leave the things already, the odd things of before
They leave the things already, the odd things of before
230 So they can gather together afterwards
Do they undermine me? So they can remove me

⁴⁰“head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.

⁴¹This 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.

⁴²By the time the translation was made it was too late to elicit clear accounts of what the case was but it seems that this dispute over field boundaries is the explanation for the re- emergence of the question of the ownership of Tam’s palms since the same two disputants were concerned.

Elicited accounts of the sua-oath held that it can only be taken once the whole affair has been settled. Despite this I have recorded several cases, such as this one, in which sua has been cut in the absence of a resolution. It is then taken to mark the absence of evil intent from either party and their agreement to abide by the arbitration of the Notables.

So tomorrow () if someone will quarrel saying

Before who was it? ()

If you are jealous of me, if you jealously threaten with false treatments “eugh eugh eugh”

235 You enter into the sua knife

You don't live one day, you don't live two days never, ever, ever.

If you there say I tell lies, get up to do sua

[

Ga; xxxx xxx xxxxx xxxxx

xxxx xxxx

[

240 Ta; Illness will come

Jb; You all listen

Ta; Put the... the... the quarrels. Quarrels come to this village (2)

if...if... an odd person leaves that child bad.

From the hand of an odd person that child goes bad.

245 Ga; It's the work of chàṅ

Ta; If it's the wind from the East⁴³, sorting it out alright

If its a thing of treatment⁴⁴, 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 stomach⁴⁵, oh, odd things, oh; odd things, oh.

That's not good. Person you talk evil

You enter things into the compound

So small children will close up, dead.

255 so.. so...many people will close up, dead.

⁴³Wind from the East. This is usually a synonym for the wind of chàṅ, but the East is unambiguously good whilst the latter is ambivalent. The wind of chàṅ is given as the cause of unwanted events. It should also be noted that fuo means both wind and breath so fuo chàṅ could be translated as the breath of god (chàṅ) rather than the wind of god (chàṅ).

⁴⁴Treatment (lə) is a neutral and wide-ranging expression, here used in a negative sense i.e. referring to poisons et cetera.

⁴⁵As do intestinal worms

The sua-oath

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
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 house⁴⁶

[

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

⁴⁶Tam 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).

- Jb; Thus
- 285 Ta; If it is a thing which **chàng** blew down
freely from the East, no one knows nothing alright
That person, you call thus afterwards a Yamba person
you go, you pull up
They have war spears in hand
- 290 They have war axes in hand
They will come they will cut the things off
They enter the house here
[
Ga; xxxxxxxx
Ta; You cut out the bricks?
- 295 So the shape-changers remove the Palace from the ground
Why is that a good thing?
Person you enter into the sua knife
You live one day, surely but, you don't live two days never, ever, ever.
[]
Ga; you live one day
- 300 Ta; If you take the Chief with one heart among the whole village
Ga; Here is maize, here is sorghum
That's good if you take this
Ta; We see good things with my eyes
Jb; The lorry⁴⁷ was stuck in the road
- 305 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
- 310 We gave them all to the people who dug the thing

⁴⁷The 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".

- You live one day you don't live two days never, ever, ever.
 [
 Ga;xxx xxx
 [
 345 Jb; They harm divination
 They harm divination
 []
 Ta; They harm divination
 You the people who divine at the divination place
 You look. Njai here, his head⁴⁹ is bad
 350 Muyna his head is bad
 If I'm already dead, after me comes Njai
 after him comes Muyna
 after him comes Bi
 They the seniors they're all dead
 355 The Chief remains on his own
 Who will talk with him? War will take us in the bush
 It's you spearer, night person, you remove people from the village
 Haa? Person if you think of that?
 You enter into the sua knife
 360 You live one day you don't live two days never, ever, ever.
 Ga; I stay⁵⁰ in maize, I stay in sorghum
 A snake comes and bites me then
 Even us, the talk bites us
 Then I will chop this sua myself
 []
 365 Ta; If you here say I tell lies
 You will do this sua
 Ga; They do chop. You do it <you do it> laughter
 Ta; You will do this sua <=laughter
 Ga; All do it, you do this sua, do it do it. <=laughter

⁴⁹“head”: as metonym for person. “A strong head” means to be in good health and to be resilient, hence a “bad” head means to be ill, although it can also have the additional meaning of being a bad person, i.e. a witch of some sort.

⁵⁰“Stay” is used to mean: “transform into”.

- 370 Nj; the work of sua will flee you
Ga; do, do some sua
You will enter into the body of the discussion. Go and do the discussion
I Guanam, here now. You do it
Jb; You listen. The day which they did look at divination
- 375 Tətiya wasn't in the village. Patience
Ga; They pull things⁵¹ here, our sua won't see it
Jb; So, Tətiya wasn't in the village
He looked at his compound. I said: its bad ()
So, () and Miya⁵² 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 herself⁵³
There's no male involved
You know women have poor eyes
Yours are thus, yours are thus, yours are thus
- 385 That is to say: we must organize her head amongst us
There are her palms, there are her cola trees
split hers, divide them. They have sorted out her palms right to the end along
with her
This it's finished, the cola thus.
You, someone, if you will go, if you will cut
- 390 Thus the cola, you must come back and give it to her⁵⁴
That is to say they divined that it's at
there in divination () it's bad
even your lies divination says it's hidden alright
If it's their person you say you're jealous of them
- 395 They remain amongst them. Who does it?
If they must die
If it is thus how can they give birth

⁵¹“Pull things” the speaker objects that different issues are being confused.

⁵²She has been ill for a long time.

⁵³Possibly implying she's been caught by anti-witchcraft medicine, or by **sua karup**, hence is a witch herself.

⁵⁴Suggesting that her illness arises as a result of the question of who has the usufruct of her trees (see below L 404 ff) and footnote thereto.

If it's thus you women, you men
you enter into this knife then else
400 you eat a day never ever ever

[

Ga; Snakes bite them
sticks strike them
thus evil things regard them

[

Jb; In the talk of palms, she gave to some people⁵⁵
405 If she gave with an open heart
Person, palm person, you take the palms
You return with palm-oil⁵⁶ you give her, she licks it
If the work isn't straight
She removes you and gives to another person
410 Behind the woman you pass and enter in the things of her father
That is to say you kill amongst them
You kill lots, you'll not eat for a day, never, ever, ever.
If you don't know, you look to the East
Ga; xxxx

[

415 Jb; This is hard work for people
You don't do this that is to say: Chi's child⁵⁷
goes to that house

⁵⁵Usufruct of palm and cola trees. The usufruct of palm trees is at the discretion of the owner. If a woman inherits some palms, or if a man has more than he is prepared to cut (or has become too old to climb) then the usufruct can be given to the man of their choice. Only men climb palm trees to cut the nuts. The relationship thus established can be long-lasting, but may be short-lived if the owner is not satisfied. In such a case the usufruct can then be reclaimed and given to someone else. In one case, however, a young man was given usufruct and without consulting the owner cut the tree down in order to make palm wine to the owner's displeasure.

⁵⁶The usufruct relationship is normally maintained by an annual gift to the owner of oil (or nuts) from the tree made to the owner. The gift marks the acceptance and continuation of the transfer of usufruct rights (q.v. L 407 & 8)

⁵⁷Chi's child is Monday, and Chi is the wife of Nɔ Mark.

entered there you measure⁵⁸ the woman <= laughter
My wife, my children you die the death
420 don't come don't come, don't come
Ga; Snake comes to the hearth and takes food from the fire
Jb; After, will they let death enter the house
You try out the women with my children
you try out the women, the boys, my children.
425 Ga; You die, die
Jb; You die. I'll split and eat⁵⁹ 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
430 Ga; You, I'm Gia⁶⁰: may snakes bite him
May things look⁶¹ at him
O I say it: may things look at him
Oi, snakes bite him "Pal!" At a fish hole
Nj; You two, the Tarchimi⁶², 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

⁵⁸to measure or to try out someone, is to "try something on them" i.e. to attempt some evil of them.

⁵⁹"to split and eat" cola together, the standard mark of hospitality and friendship. This is here being denied: he will eat cola only at their funeral feast.

⁶⁰"Gia" Guanam makes a play on two of his own names to make a third: Guanam + Nia (q.v.. line 46) = Gia

⁶¹"look": Rather than an implication of evil eye the idea is that (bad) things search out the person concerned and plague them.

⁶²Tarchimi was a FeB of Guanam, and affine(??) of Jacob; he stands as a paradigm senior to both of them.

- A child of the Sarki⁶³ people did it
440 You man, woman
You will enter there
the hearts are ill so they say its Sarki⁶⁴
which did it all then
may that person enter into the sua knife
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 it so with a needle⁶⁵ in his hand?
They enter, they kill the hearts
They enter into the knife, they live for one day, they don't live for two days
If he doesn't know, may he turn his eyes to the East
We men, women, () you someone
455 you enter there so they say: Sarki did the thing
Yɔgɔten⁶⁶ has children, and a mother
his younger brothers have children
they have wives
if they go and enter⁶⁷ 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

⁶³Sarki is headman of Kuti, a small immigrant hamlet contiguous with Gumbe. He is a descendant of the family installed as guardians of the German rest-house on the road which the Germans built between Bali and Banyo.

⁶⁴Sarki was suspected of being a possible agent in the destruction of the Palace roof; his actions while inspecting the damage were seen to be suspect so he is mentioned specifically. Sua will kill him if and only if he is guilty.

⁶⁵The use of poisoned needles is attributed to witches especially those called sar.

⁶⁶Yɔgɔten is a son of Njaibi at Gumbe hamlet. I do not know why he was singled out here.

⁶⁷“enter there” that is to say into the affair of the Palace roof.

The sua-oath

- Ga; Blow and look into divination⁶⁸, things are bad in Ndeba
They do people's compounds, today a person's compound, tomorrow a
person's compound
- 465 You a woman who intend evil of divination in the village
You a man you go to the divination hole
You take evil to the [spider] hole, give it to the divination so it doesn't work
I, Guanam, I chop in the square
You come, you wait while I'm on the road⁶⁹ <= laughter
- 470 You of the centre you have the site of the sua enclosure
You wait for me I chop sua cleverly. I don't add anything evil to it
I don't add a thing of snakes, a witchcraft thing
You a witch you put something threatening me, Guanam
You thieves you take some maize
- 475 you threaten the Chief, and you all of the Ndeba
You women, if you are of accord your heads will be strong
You someone, you go and threaten someone
You say the village is bad you die
You don't eat maize this year never, ever, ever. <
<= Cuts the sua bundle. Laughter, and talk

Guanam continued in the same vein while chopping the bundle into fragments for about 15 seconds. Remaining sections of the tape have been transcribed where possible..

- 480 The right foot is up. It's chopped to the end
You 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.

⁶⁸“blow and look” at the beginning of divination the diviner blows into the spider-hole to encourage it to emerge.

⁶⁹ 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 grass⁷⁰
 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 ??ngunguḡ⁷¹?? laughter
 495 Nj; Nia, you stay there as if you seen such a person
 Ga; I said it clearly when I cut my sua
 I cut my sua "kup kup kup"
 Buyor Vincent; I'll find my money⁷²
 so I can cut my sua with it
 500 Nj; Give a pipe⁷³
 pause: 1 minute
 Ga; cut through thus, cut through his back⁷⁴,
 carry it outside. I said carry sua outside
 You'll thus not eat this maize never ever ever
 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

⁷⁰This 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.

⁷¹Unknown word.

⁷²The money is the **laga sua** needed so a sua-oath could be taken for a different case to which Buyor Vincent was a party.

⁷³This is the pipe referred to in the note to line 486.

⁷⁴Guanam is saying this while treating himself and the others who have addressed **sua**. (q.v. L508 & 509)

The sua-oath

Their mouths don't die though, their mouths don't die
That is to say: come over there, they've not taken it already
Ga; Sua not eat never ever ever
They will not eat out this year, for they'll be buried already
515 Jb; For them, they won't eat out this year
They do something which will not be understood
They will say they treated xxxxxxxxx
They say it's you here. They put out the fires.

After killing the chicken (L 479 above), the sequence of actions performed by Guanam (the sacrificer) was as follows. (Orientations are given looking from the Palace. The right is the South side of the Palace, whose main entrance faces East). Guanam:

- 1) chopped up the "right hand" half of the leaf bundle.
- 2) touched the bloody stump of the neck of the chicken to the forehead and then crown of each of the orators, starting with himself.
- 3) chopped up the "left hand" half of the leaf bundle.
- 4) scattered the pieces inside the Palace verandah
- 5) threw body of chicken away onto waste ground to the North of Palace, and the head to the South.
- 6) attempted to give Jacob some of the pieces of the bundle to scatter to the North of the Palace whilst he scattered them to the South. Jacob refused. Guanam threw the pieces down onto the square, (not scattering them) but slightly to the North.
- 7) Wiya brought thatch from a nearby house
- 8) Guanam lit the thatch and swept the burning bundle over the bottom of the Palace steps. He was careful to touch the flames to places marked with blood from the chicken.
- 9) Guanam lit a pipe, then touched his right forefinger into the bowl (touching a live coal). He licked the finger three times then touched the left forefinger to the bowl and licked this once. He then touched the right forefinger to the pipe and rubbed it (in this sequence) onto his right kidney, left kidney, his sternum and finally his forehead. Having thus "treated" himself he proceeded to "treat" the other men who had spoken.
- 10) Taking a straw lying in the square, Guanam and Jacob held an end each in their right hands, pulled the straw apart and then each threw the piece remaining in their fingers over their right shoulder. Note that this action also takes place during divination to mark the end of a chain of questions and the beginning of a new topic, and at the conclusion of the sua masquerade dances.
- 11) The women left (End of tape recording)

12) Guanam took some *julu* grass, split it in two and laid it across the inner door of the *jolori* (the door from which the women have just left)

Many men then left the Palace; a nucleus of Notables remained and heard other cases.

Comments on the text

Sua addresses allow speakers to pass comments free of the cooperative constraints of “ordinary” speech. Usual turn-taking rules are suspended, the audience on the Chief’s Palace verandah cannot query what is being said. They are an audience, but one which is to some extent redundant. *Sua* addresses are not designed to be fully comprehensible to the audience. The audience is mute like a jury, but is not called upon to make any decisions, so there is no necessity for it to follow every step of the argument (q.v. Atkinson and Drew 1979). Thus obscure speech is neither counter-productive nor disapproved (see fn 30 to l. 108 above). Particularly in the example given above, but even in the addresses made during of *sua*-oaths resulting directly from particular hearings, the elders involved (especially the sacrificer) voice their personal pre-occupations and comment on any aspect of affairs in the village.

In the text above Tam rehearsed the immediate history of the Chief and his selection before referring to the long-disputed ownership of some palm trees whose produce he now enjoys. Mention was also made of other recent problems of general concern, specifically the loss of the Palace roof in a storm, and the problems encountered when a well was sunk in the village by French development workers. The subject of moonshine was never mentioned by any speaker, yet its prohibition was the reason stated for the oath-taking. No subject is specifically excluded from a *sua* address. The refrain is the only fixed element. The addresses therefore provide a valuable and spontaneous indication of people’s concerns and their conception of the world in which they live. Those taking a *sua*-oath are neither intending to explain themselves to an ignorant ethnographer nor holding an ordinary conversation. Allusion abounds, as in conversation, but transcripts of *sua* addresses are easier to understand than transcripts of ordinary conversation since the paralinguistic components of conversation are absent. In the absence of feedback from a co-conversationalist the speaker must be (slightly) more explicit. Hence if a speaker wants to include a long-running field dispute within the ambit of a *sua*-oath he must explicitly include it. For example, *sua* was directed to consider whether the problems which hampered the sinking of the well had been engendered by witches, and if so then to kill them. The *sua* addresses consist of many “If...then...” clauses. Yet *sua* is not addressed in the same way as divination. It is not asked whether a certain event occurred, or whether

The sua-oath

human agents were involved. Such questions are put to the divination, especially to **ngam dù**. Rather, the power or agency of **sua** is invoked to execute the consequents.

Chapter Seven

The Sua Kare Oath

INTRODUCTION TO SUA KARE

Sua kare is a variant of the **sua-oath** and is performed at people's houses. Like the main oath (taken at the Palace) it involves the ritual killing of a chicken. It is concerned with protecting individuals and their families. **Sua kare** may be performed for a new house as part of the 'house warming'. As was said above (Chapter 2) **sua kare** protects houses so the householder swears their noninvolvement in witchcraft when they organize a **sua kare** oath. The restrictions on the sacrificer are less than those for the main **sua** already considered. A man can perform the oath even while his parents are alive without fear of injuring them. One informant related this to the method of decapitation; in **sua kare** the chicken's throat is cut by the knife being drawn across it, while (normally) decapitation is effected by a downward chop of a bush knife¹. 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 die². It must be noted that the village sits against a low hill to its Western edge looking over the plain towards Guengue mountain from behind which the

¹There are two different verbs which the informant in question used: **chə** (chop) and **ɲuɔp** (cut), usually used to describe the action of slitting a chicken's throat.

²Beliefs about rainbows are not greatly elaborated. The **chə** snake is said to "blow" rainbows, but this statement was never explained with respect either to snake or rainbows. A fifteen year old boy said (on a different occasion) that if the end of a rainbow touches you, you become a leper or die. The Tikar belief (Price p.c.) that the rainbow is a reflection of a snake seems not to be shared by Mambila.

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 (kə lə³) of witches point to the West, while others point to the East. Normally the equilateral triangle of three firestones is placed so that the largest is to the West, but leans in, and hence is said to look to the East. Witches invert the norm, so their fireplaces look to the West.

A CASE STUDY: SUA KARE 26/11/86

Reasons for taking the oath

The background to the following example⁴ concerns SS's attempts to divorce his second wife. SS's second wife had also been married before. Her first marriage broke down after a short time without any children being born. She subsequently married SS who paid bridewealth for her.

They had separated in about August 1986, not as is often the case because she was infertile. In the ensuing dispute about the bridewealth her father asked for an extra 20,000 CFA to be paid as compensation for her divorce. He also contacted SS's mother (who lives in another village) and she said SS should let the wife come back.

The dispute was brought to the Chief who said that the marriage should not break up without grounds. The Chief continued to recognize her father as SS's affine (*guna*). He said that if SS wanted a divorce, SS must pay some extra money to ensure the filiation of his children by the second marriage. SS refused to let her return saying that he wanted to be able to take communion again. SS was the village Catholic catechist until he made his second marriage, whereupon he was obliged to forfeit this position. This was the only reason he would give for wanting to divorce his wife. The dispute continued for months, the second wife living with her parents near SS. The bad feeling culminated⁵ when one of her children died suddenly the week after SS had had a fight with her mother. Witchcraft accusations were immediate on both sides. However, the matter was taken no further after the immediate passions and sorrows had subsided.

³Lit. fire-stone treatment.

⁴Since *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.

⁵This happened 19/4/1988, eighteen months after the oath transcribed here.

Other reasons for performing the oath are mentioned in the text, namely the miscarriage of SS's first wife some time before the oath was taken, and the problems involved in marrying his first wife's eldest daughter.

This oath was taken at the house of SS in the absence of both his wives. Muy André who performed the oath is kin of SS's first wife. Muy André arrived bringing a knife and a slim bundle of leaves. SS and his sons gathered behind the front door which was unusually shut for the occasion. Muy then took the chicken from SS and held it by its feet and neck, together with the leaves. He stood in front of the group, facing them.

Before the rite started the daughters were summoned to come and sit with SS and his sons. As they approached Muy turned so that his body was between them and the chicken. They sat facing away from him. The eyes of the children were closed, SS lowered his head and did not look up.

SS: an abbreviated life history

born c1950. His parents were party to a sister exchange marriage.

1966 W1

3d 3s; 2 male twins, one survivor with polio Ngu/Nuaga, now c 10 years old.

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

1983 W2

1986 end of the year: Separated.

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

SUA KARE TRANSCRIPT. 3 DECEMBER 1986

Speakers:

SS, the instigator and host

MA = Muy André, the sacrificer

Muy spoke holding the bundle with the chick. Whenever SS spoke Muy held the bundle over SS's head.

1 SS; It is good to place the chicken
place it on all of them

MA; mmm, everyone will say their piece (1)

MA; Nuaga⁶, whose lap will he sit on?

5 Give him to whoever will hold him.

MA; Kusum⁷, a person with magic spears, with witchcraft, with poison;

⁶“Nuaga” is SS's son crippled with polio.

⁷ideophone for blessing with spittle.

even I, should I be that person, which treats them. I leave as witchcraft,⁸

I leave as the night. Maize of people, chicken of people

People, if I harm you, (1) so you will kill someone

10 let it return threaten me.

if I don't know about this, I turn my eyes to the East.

You witch, you person of the night, if you say:

"oooo" I placed grass,

I took evil grasses to harm my compound,

15 my women, and children

I know them⁹. <= Chicken squawks, being gripped firmly in the hand

(18) <= During the pause MA spat a blessing on SS, on his children, and on the chicken to be sacrificed

The woman for whom I bless the grass

She stays, she looks at my husband

SS; eee Ngu¹⁰ don't look again

20 MA; Nuaga don't look again (7)

He mustn't look (17)

SS; don't look with your eyes (3)

MA; turn the eyes to the ground (16)

< Will you do it then> (1) <= to DZ

25 SS; He is just watching

MA; aha Don't look <= To Nuaga

SS; don't look, don't

MA; [

SS; don't

SS; don't be annoying (4)

30 Come and sit here

(3) Thus with Mbiti¹¹ (2)

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

⁸This is a personalized variant of the paragraph introduction, fitting the more personalized (private) form of **sua karup** by contrast to **sua cut** at the Chiefs Palace although this personalized form also occurs at Palace oaths. The speaker here is saying "If I transform into a witch ... may I enter into the **sua knife**" [die like the chicken].

⁹A possible reading is that the malefactors cannot remain hidden, that Muy will come to know them.

¹⁰Ngu is an abbreviation of Nuaga who was not looking at the ground as he was told.

¹¹Mbiti 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.

Someone asks that I help them
 I will help them with an open heart
 35 If I take evil grass and put it there
 I divide evil treatments and put it there
 So I kill them (.)
 So I harm their compound, may it return threaten me
 If I don't know, I turn the eyes to the East
 40 You male, female you say
 O o why should you help a person?
 You slander me
 You slander my women
 You slander my children (1)
 45 buried poison looks at you, the ordeal looks at you
 I cut through your children
 You descend and harm wantonly
 You, your eyes won't see never, ever, ever again
 Those who listen with an open
 50 heart, totally open
 they all turn the eyes to the East. (2)
 So, the work is for the head of the house then. <= To SS
 SS; (1) I, I say, I that am here ()
 I leave as a witch, I leave - (1) I leave as a witch¹²
 55 I leave as () ants¹³
 If I (harm, enter) someone's house so that I harm the things of others
 may I enter into the sua knife
 If I don't know may my head be strong
 For those over my children, all of them
 60 over my wives, over my children

¹²See note L 7.

¹³"I transform into ants": of interest because of the pausing. He was searching for extreme examples to encompass any or all forms of witchcraft. The point is that any sort of transformation is evil and will be caught by **sua** subsequent to this oath. This is opposed to the similarly phrased paragraph marker found in divination: "**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.

- Only if they have some kind of motive¹⁴,
let them tell me and I will freely pay them
Freely, openly!
They slander me
- 65 They say I am of what place
They harm my work which is getting behind
This all of it,
only if it is the wind of **chàng**, fine
But be it () in someone's hands. They say: I do this
- 70 Why should I get help?
Only the road which I cut
person there mustn't cross
if a person crosses intentionally
I'll hear them
- 75 They enter into this knife then
they don't eat this day out,
if they don't know, their heads are strong. (1)
This here,
If I'm looking for fights, even tomorrow ()
- 80 So I drive away the children with them.
Illnesses which pursue
this house here
my wife whose stomach left badly¹⁵
Only if it's the wind of **chàng**
- 85 leaving people's things¹⁶
If people enter their hands there
They say: aaa me?
I, for myself, I...()
- 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

¹⁴Note the similarity between this and lines 195-199 of the transcript of the sua-oath in Chapter Six above.

¹⁵"Stomach": a common idiom for pregnancy. SS's wife had had a miscarriage some months previously.

¹⁶Implicitly, the "things" have been left in disarray.

- 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 bush¹⁷
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
- 115 and my sisters, my wife which stays here
They don't own this here ()
Only if it is harm- Only if it is the work of *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 JJ¹⁸
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

¹⁷Those in the open bush = all those not in the village.

¹⁸JJ - a full younger brother of SS. He works in Ngaoundere.

- If they don't know, may their heads be strong
MA; Find him, this person, SS, he himself says
he leaves as witchcraft, he leaves as the night
if he divides evil treatment to kill people
- 130 he enters into the sua knife
if he doesn't know, may he turn his eyes to the East
That person, woman, man
You slander him
You slander his wives
- 135 You slander his children
You slander his younger brother's
You slander his sister's
You slander his mother
If you have reason for badness, alright
- 140 If you don't know, you've nothing in the hand
but you slander, slander them
May that person enter into the sua knife
If it is () illness which finds them
If it is just the wind of chàṅ
- 145 If it ends right there in the East,
then you here turn your eyes to the East.
Even the treatments from the mother, or from the father¹⁹
even if it takes them,
or those beside them
- 150 Even the treatments from the mother, or from the father, take them
Tie up these people
You female, male
You say you slander whose compound?
So you harm their compound
- 155 May that person enter into the sua knife
and not eat maize for a moment more
If you don't know, turn your eyes to the East ()
Person who takes the head of my compound ()
Me myself (), if a person quarrels untreatably

¹⁹Evil treatments from kin of the parents are implied. The point is that even if the evil-doers are kin they are to be taken by sua (i.e. made ill, possibly fatally).

- 160 that person will not be named.
That person will harm the earth, and not be named.
Those who take this are just ()²⁰
Snake night witch, evil leaf
MA; If I know already
- 165 If I measure anyone's compound, may I enter into the knife
If I don't know, turn the eyes to the East
witch person, night person, you slander me,
you slander my children
Why stop and stay like that?
- 170 That person, you, the person will not look up
If you don't know,
[]
SS; School...
MA; then with one heart, they all turn their eyes to the East .()
SS; School overwhelms my children
- 175 enter in this knife
Only it ends there () in the work of god, alright
If it is some person, anyone, you say
you will go then
If you do thus, you slander thus
- 180 Tomorrow I will go to call them
If they do it with motive let them tell me
& I will pay them freely.
If they act without reason
They slander us all all all thus
- 185 They enter in this knife, then
If they don't know, may their heads be strong
MA; Today all of them, if they take
them which go to school, it doesn't work
If there is some reason for it
- 190 which surpasses them completely, alright.
You person you leave as witchcraft, you leave as the night

²⁰These 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 enter a Mallam's house²¹
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 Ngu
200 MA; This child²² is too much, she is too fat {big}
She doesn't marry any husband, today at all,
people, young men bless her
[
SS; it's forbidden²³
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 else²⁴, alright
215 That person do no harm!
You threaten child
You threaten and say:
You say "Jak"²⁵! 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

²¹Mallams sell treatments and spells for a wide range of purposes, including (by repute only) witchcraft.

²²Seven months after this she married and her first child was born in May 1988

²³SS is still speaking to Nuaga who had been looking up to see what MA was doing.

²⁴If it is not a household member who is causing the problems then it is much less serious: they can be commanded to cease their harm (L 215), and if they are taken by sua (i.e. made ill and possibly dead) then it will not affect the household purse.

²⁵Ideophone.

- then she here will turn her eyes to the East
SS; The child with a dead foot²⁶, this one here,
only if it is wind of chàṅ, alright
- 225 If it is people who go and say
ah this child will go to what place?
Only if they have a motive, they will tell me and I will pay
If there is nothing
They enter into this knife
- 230 If they don't know, may their heads be strong.
[
MA; I will break²⁷ 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!²⁸
- 235 Simon²⁹; 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,

²⁶SS mentions Nuaga. The curious thing is that the illness was several years ago (1983?) and SS must have cut sua many times not only during the actual illness which killed Nuaga's twin but also since then for many other reasons as well. Yet the case of Nuaga's misfortune is still raised. This raises the possibility that the disability left by polio is seen as a continuing illness (rather than as a passive legacy), and hence remissable. Remission may be being prevented by witchcraft. Some evidence for this is in the attitude of the father of another young boy crippled by polio who was not impressed by the improvement in Nuaga after he had spent some months in a mission hospital where he was given calipers and learnt to walk short distances. If the crippling is held to be remissable then Nuaga's improvement could legitimately be seen as not very great.

²⁷"break this" MA is referring to the chicken which is about to be sacrificed.

²⁸Yuaga is another name for Nuaga.

²⁹One of SS's sons.

- may I turn my eyes to the East
 You witch person, you night person
 you go to swear
- 250 If it is what kind of treatment?
 may I³⁰ enter into the sua knife
 you live for one day only, not live to eat two, not not ever.
 SS; The coffee hasn't arrived³¹
 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.³²
 You witch, you night, women, men
 those from your compound harm them
- 260 You swear you will do much harm.
 Listen all of you, your compound isn't happy
 Even if it is (1) someday then on the old path, the path of sua
 If you know about this consider, even if you are Paul Biya³³
 That person if they harm a compound
- 265 you enter into the knife
 You live for one day only, you do not live to eat two, never, ever ever.
 < Your coffee hasn't arrived? <= To SS

³⁰The movement between 1st and 2nd persons in the pronouns occurs quite commonly during the sua refrains. An interpretation of this is that while in the address the speaker has been covering himself, swearing his innocence, a corollary of this is that the guilty party is someone else, and it is that person who is charged to die. The assertion of personal innocence and of the guilt of some anonymous other combine, in the passion (which is clear in the tapes) of the declarations, to result in a "confusion" of pronouns.

³¹SS refers to the non-arrival of the payment for the previous year's coffee crop. By June 1988 there were still a few villagers who were waiting for payment but the bulk had been paid by then.

³²A rare usage of *mgbe chàṅ* (chief god), which is here synonymous with the usual *fuo chàṅ* (wind of god).

³³This is an index of Cameroon's success as a constitutional state. The name of the President, His Excellency Paul Biya, is here used as a metonym for the rule of law, from which no one can escape. President Biya's name is sometimes used in ritual utterances as a marker of beginnings - he is still seen as the "new" president. For example at the beginning of both men's and women's sua, when the masquerade makes its first outings some of its attendants shout "Paul Biya" "Paul Biya" and conversely at the close of women's sua some of the men who were then mocking the women in anticipation of men's sua shouted "Ahidjo" the name of the "old" and now powerless president.

- SS; Only if they come to the Chief's house³⁴
MA; Alright³⁵. The house isn't happy
270 Even if it is () money
If the earth is bad³⁶ of itself, alright.
If it is in the hands of someone, who harms them
who harms children, your children even
Then some day, tomorrow you will know
275 Which child?
They slander your children, the stomach with child went badly
Even if it is () the fate of the stomach, a gift of chàṅ itself
Truly then alright. If it is someone's hand
[
SS; They come to the beer house, they listen to people
280 They listen to good things, alright.
MA; They that harm the stomach
If it is the oath of whom?
The woman has been put to harm,
or has she not been so put?
285 You enter into the sua knife
You live for one day only, you don't live to eat twice never, ever, ever.
May even a child not touch a person's breath.
Outside may the breath of a FulBe not pass,
may you not eat the breath of a person never, ever, ever.
290 You enter into the sua knife
You live for one day only you don't live to eat twice never, ever, ever. (1)

The chicken was beheaded (10)

I will leave the chicken over there, then. < to SS

³⁴ SS doesn't expect to get paid before the Chief himself gets paid.

³⁵ "Dites donc" This is an emphatic which MA has learnt in isolation. He does not otherwise speak French.

³⁶ This is a variation on the idea of natural causes (usually expressed by **fuo chàṅ**) 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.

(50)³⁷ So, bring fire
SS; So, Ngu don't look with your eyes
295 MA; He can look
SS; You can look
MA; Kidneys not stones. Kidneys not stones. Kidneys not stones³⁸.
(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.

³⁷Some chat between DZ and SS is omitted here. The corpse of the chicken was recovered from behind the water pot where its death throes had left it.

³⁸Said whilst MA touched ash to himself and to SS, the two people present who had addressed sua. The ash was touched to kidneys, breast and tongue. If these final rites to desacralize the participants are not performed they are said to suffer pain in their kidneys, and in their sides. The phrase uttered refers to this.

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 Mb¹ twelve times! The Chief said this should not go to Bankim but must be sorted out here.

¹Mb is not the mother of Dd but mother of the headman of Yokasalla, and FZ of Dd

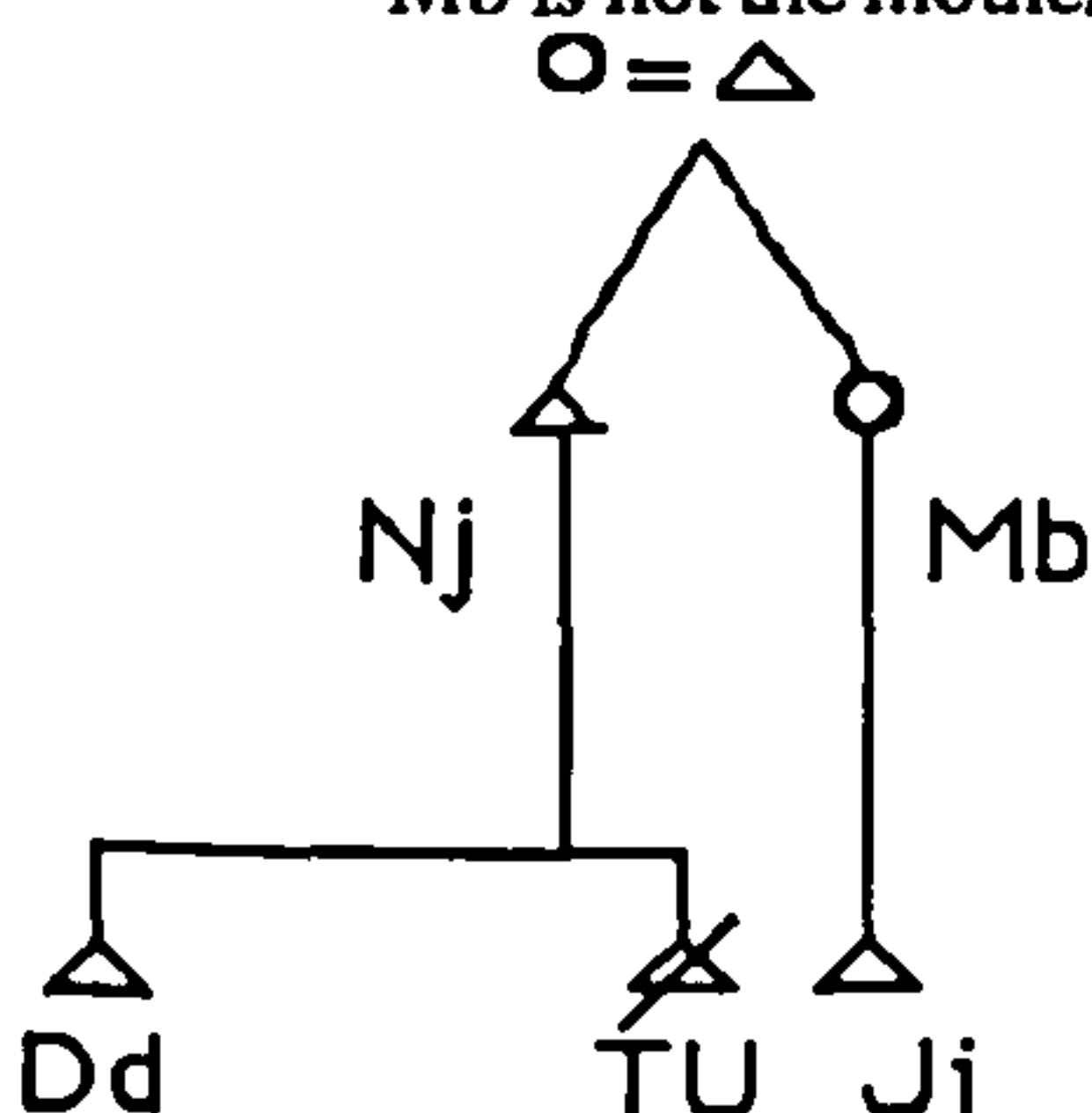
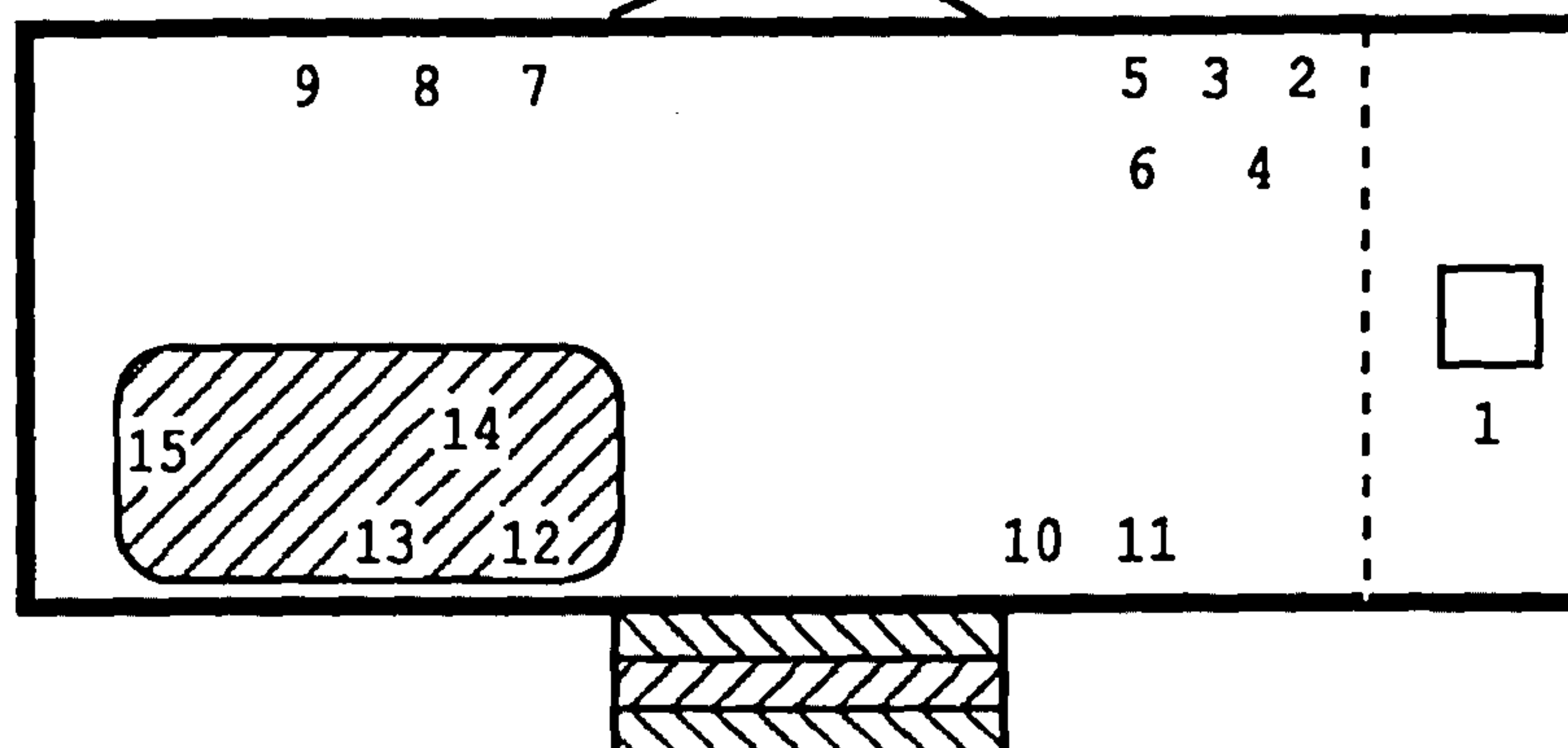


DIAGRAM 8.1 Those at the Chief's Palace after the fight



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

3.45 pm I returned to the Chief's Palace to find the headmen of Nassaro and of Yokasalla (Jiji) having a long discussion with the Chief about the virtues of the chief as institution, and how he's paid - qua government employee by virtue of his previous job² not qua Chief... This conversation took place in French, the language of educated sophistication and of the administration.

The talk then turned to Dd and how he has insulted the Chief once before and the Chief let it pass. The dispute was about who should deal with this.

The headman of Nassaro bought three bottles of beer; the Chief four. These were shared among all present

The Chief explained to DZ later that day:

The Yokasalla people used to be farmers for Banyo (NB he didn't say "slave") and they do not recognize Somié fully so they don't work in the Chief's fields or help maintain

²He was a primary school teacher before becoming Chief.

the palace wall &c. However they do do "European work" i.e. road work. Yet on the previous Thursday which had been designated for road work there were no men from Yokasalla at all. Consequently the Chief was threatening to report them to the Sous-Préfet in Bankim. The beer marked the sorting out of this dispute.

On Sunday 23/11/86 a meeting was held at the Palace. Before the tape started there was talk about the quarrel between the headman of Yokasalla (Jiji) and the Chief. No men from Yokasalla had been sent to the communal work session the previous week since Jiji wanted a separate summons to be issued to him rather than, as was usual, for his hamlet to be summoned "along with", via (and hence of less prestige than) Gumbe hamlet. There was also some chat about other things such as the availability of petrol for the cars which link Somié to Bankim.

The recording started after the mention of the question of access to Myam lake for fishing, and of various claims to privileged access thereto. This discussion is alluded to below (lines 75 ff).

A case of adultery.

The main case at issue in the transcripts below (line 237 ff) was an accusation of adultery against two young men made by the family of the husband with whose wife the adultery allegedly took place.

ADULTERY IN GENERAL.

There is a positive injunction on women to admit to adultery else illness among the family will result. Indeed the injunction to confess is put at least as vehemently as the injunction not to practice adultery in the first place!

In practice confessions arise only when illness occurs or as a motive for divorce.

AAA daughter of a previous chief is married to NG, son of GW. She had not conceived in the first year of marriage prior to this case, and they had quarreled repeatedly. Following an illness she confessed to GW, her father-in-law, that she had slept with two young men from Gumbe hamlet in a house in Somié village. GW had paid for her treatment at Bankim, and said that he was prepared to send her to Ngaoundere for treatment³. The supposition is that **sua** made her ill because she had not admitted her adultery.

GW then accused the two young men from Gumbe hamlet of adultery. Both denied it, and one persisted in his denial refusing even to attend the hearings. I remain uncertain as to what actually happened. She was never questioned openly in the Chief's Palace and

³An allusion to this may be behind his remarks in the second hearing (line 36) about Ngaoundere.

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 CHIEF⁴:

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

Question aux accusés:

Reconnaissez-vous les faits qui vous sont rapprochés?

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

KG: je ne connais rien.

⁴The Chief very kindly made these notes on my behalf.

Les notables doivent vérifier les situations selon la coutume 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 reconnaît le fait; d'après la tradition il paye trois poulets plus une amende de 20 000 CFA (vingt mille franc)"

First hearing

speakers:

Bb: Bəbə

Bt: the other accused youth.

Ch: chief

Ga: Gamia

Gw: Ng's Father

Kg: one of the accused

Kp: Kotap Jeremy

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

Nj: Njaibi

22/11/86

- Ch; To start the thing then ()
I've gathered you together today
here so as to talk to you about the small thing⁵ that happened yesterday (4)
I say it publicly because () something small was in my hands ()
5 You found it to be a small thing.(1)
but after that I saw that it didn't stay a small thing (7)
Since I saw that the powerful had
entered there amongst it a lot.(4)
They don't know what happened
10 Its clearly work for real people (4)
I stopped here, I stopped up here to see
since if the women make war, its just a mock battle.(6)
Even if its your child even if its your mother,
even if its your younger sibling, even if its your elder sibling ()
15 if it is true
When you arrive someplace and you start hitting out
its a fight. What
you will do is one.
That's simply fight, () and its over.
20 If you're a true person, you just take the fight (1)
If its one of your kin, you take the person, you leave with them
After that you ask about it (2)
But if you don't know about it
you arrive and enter into it (1)
25 that says: from before
you know, you're not loosely entering (6)
Alors, you women that I saw, you all ()
you're in my notebook
For me since yesterday
30 Here, we spoke here. I, I said with my mouth:
They said that this affair is over but (1) because of it is scorn.()
and I cannot allow disrespect for
me not today, not tomorrow nor the day after that.(6)
Even the elders who are grey with age
35 They cannot when they arrive

⁵The Chief is referring to the fight and the slandering of his name which has been discussed in the introduction to this section

enter and find me in the palace
 They injure me if their hearts want to
 even if they are grey with age they cannot do thus (1)
 So, () afterwards to sort out the argument (2)
 40 to sort out the argument. Everyone walked from the task (4)
 From the tongues, from all the people who made tongues
 Whoever walked from the task,
 because all of you are in my notebook.
 If I wasn't outside here
 45 perhaps you thought to yourself
 perhaps I didn't see
 and don't know about it
 Me, I was outside here. I stopped
 outside here by the thing that happened, until they all came.
 50 I passed down there so as to see and understand clearly
 To look and see and now people say, say of me
 I climbed up from the palace
 They think I did it because
 I wanted to go to the fight.()
 55 It starts here the work that sees the start of the thing
 until we reach the end of it.()
 Because if I go thus,
 to say I thus 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 shouted⁶
 You said Party Police⁷ don't take him ()
 don't do it. Today you light something else (3)
 But you will talk honestly about all this
 65 Because its all in my notebook
 Someone passes, you know if you lay your hand on the Party Police
 If you touch him, if you just touch him
 Then I've nothing to say to you (1)
 But if you strike at him, () you go in my notebook (3)
 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
 Its 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)

⁶Lit. "planting stones": the idiom for quarreling; the imagery is of stamping feet on the ground

⁷Two men from the village centre have been designated Party Police and have uniforms modeled on those of the police (i.e. a khaki shirt and beret) which they wear on special occasions. Some elders call them "messengers" (clearly a borrowing from Pidgin) and indeed that is their usual role.

- Yesterday here they talked a territorial hearing⁸. (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
 Today I think to say that if people will go and do the road⁹
 Some people don't go, they sit around
 The road is of everyone, all who use it. I think to say
 85 You people, they send you, you will go until you're not many
 because it is only an open mouth, the work they send you to.(11)
 Today I am in the village, (1) close it today, I'm in the village
 Its you a male child, () its you a woman ()
 If you know that you have raised a hand to the Party Police
 90 Its your hand that was raised, if you touched his body? (4)
 You come and find me, or you go and find some other senior person
 You come and you say that I shouldn't go down to Bankim¹⁰ (3)
 If its not thus, I'll go down and it'll be before us no more.
 If you know they'll stop the hearings
 95 They'll stop the hearings. () For me that's the end of it
 I have only this day today (1)
 If I'm at home tomorrow.... If I'm thus at home
 If its clear tomorrow a person wont go again.()
 If its clear tomorrow a person wont go.

(12) gap, general throat clearing followed by a Fulfulde translation of the discussion of road work.

- 100 So, like they do the talk of work. () This is the work which is sent, (2)
 Its not work for your kin, I could send someone else ()
 No, we send these here to work
 We send to work this particular person, not "people" ()
 Like the day when we went over there on the road (2)
 105 Now its fallen in, how can I say to start it again? ()
 You of this wall¹¹;this wall.
 They musn't think they will raise it
 There is a wall here. ()
 They musn't think they will raise it.
 110 There is a wall here. Until they forget about it
 my name is in it, right until they forget about it.
 This wall, it is in it there. (2)

⁸This 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 .

⁹Regularly 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.

¹⁰Bankim 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 ...

¹¹The passage below makes it clear that the Chief is here referring to the communal work called to make a brick wall enclosing the Chief's Palace, replacing the old fence. The sections built by some of the outlying hamlets fell down in the next rainy season.

That's just like you, it goes thus:
 if someone comes before you to make an insult
 115 No, today, the yeses. Tomorrow comes and I say no again.
 You must fix it.(5)
 So don't look at the wall over there with a wounded heart ()
 For me I say: everything is good.
 Today I struggled me myself, I struggled (1)
 120 But you injure my heart (1)
 You of the village you injure my heart
 Because if another time I think again on it and say:
 Kie! My time is just shit.()
 That other time my heart will be hurt (4)
 125 so to say that all the things that I do here
 All of them, you don't see. (2) Properly they want to do
 Everything you see in your hands is bad. (3)
 If I touch the body of the hearing with talk of moonshine¹² thus
 Where was it outside? I came amongst this
 130 I called you together in the centre here, they just talked (2)
 Alongside here they said I made the talk of moonshine.
 It ends here beneath my feet.
 but if its not taken, can I go and take it alongside?
 Women of the centre here
 135 the day when I call them together
 they, those outside didn't hear
 Here today I talk about that yesterday the head
 of Yokasalla, Jiji what did he say here?

Break in recording: change of batteries

140 Nj; To Ga¹³, 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.
 145 Ga; Chàn took it.
 Nj; Who asked us? Who asked if it should be banned?
 Or if it shouldn't be banned?
 If they'd given the thing then
 you go and take it.
 150 If we'd said ok, moonshine is
 the thing that harms their village
 then this thing, who would have brought it up again?
 You asked us, you didn't forbid it all by yourselves
 We said forbid, forbid it. That's not to say: its you! (3)
 155 If someone is found in a house, that person
 that person we give them a hearing of this place.

¹²locally distilled manioc spirit is illegal, and moreover was banned from the village by the Chief who reinforced the ban with the sua-oath transcribed above. Now villagers who want to drink it must go elsewhere. There was a suspicion that the offender in the events of the preceding day was drunk on argi.

¹³Ga used as a nickname of the speaker Ga;

The Kulu Sua blessing

This is not thus, that person hasn't given¹⁴
so the Chief doesn't have to return to it to again.

xx; xxx xxx xxx

160 xxx xxx

Nj; Divination, go and divine your divination
it was at Bankim but the thing they gave to the chief¹⁵
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 animals¹⁶ 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' sons¹⁷, () you all the sisters' sons' of the palace here

I put the talk to you

180 I say to you then a person who is house-bound

they ask much of us, who are they?

Now you cleverly do the hearing and avoid mocking songs

You two don't come

Now you all the sisters' sons of this palace

185 it was two or three Bam's ago they heard

They said in two or three Bam's time

¹⁴A possible reading of an otherwise obscure phrase: Jiji hadn't given his accord or acknowledged the Chief's authority either by first sending people to the work on the road, then second by not appearing at the Palace on the day that the tape recording was made or the day prior to it when he heard the news of his villager which had so grievously insulted the chief.

¹⁵The official ban on the manufacture and consumption of moonshine came from Bankim i.e. the seat of local government.

¹⁶The 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.

¹⁷"sister's sons". The sister's sons of the chief (all those born of the sister of any chief, Zs, Sds, dds?, Zss.) are in charge of the skull cult of the chief, notably the biannual "washing" of the skulls in which they are removed from the Mambila baskets in which they are kept and sprayed with palm wine.

- they will hear, they wash the skulls and again....
 Now nothing. We've finished asking you if you're going.
 What are you doing?
 190 You don't wash the skulls. Is this thus?
 Ga; Palm wine, they cut palm wine, they spray the skulls with it.
 Nj; They wash the skulls.
 It's us, two **Bams** three **Bams**, five **Bams** come
 For us one, two **Bams** ago we heard they'd washed the skulls
 195 Someone who stays there, they wash their bodies in the place.

Lobon Zebedee gives a Fulfulde summary of some of this discussion, then, after prompting (by Nj) continues to give Fulfulde 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 Sonkolong¹⁸, they were here.
 @ They came here. (1) Old war was done between people
 200 After that you closed your mouths, you forgot the things of war. (3)
 They came here so you must stop the hearing
 You know from before
 if they came here many times. ()
 The agreement was they have their own head, then.
 205 Many many **Bams** ago they came here (1)
 So that day we chopped **sua** here.
 You saw the speeches that came after that (3)
 all that came then (2)
 was your speeches
 210 From before you spoke true speeches. ()
 Anyone leaves here and goes to Sonkolong
 Aaa they say thus: they say the Ndeba
 are thus. Aaa they say that.
 Leave Sonkolong and come here, they say:
 215 Leave here and go and go to
 Sonkolong to say thus.(2)
 So () here we cut **sua** in that space
 A person with something to say, you go to Sonkolong
 to say the thing which comes from this village
 220 That thing is right, you heard with your own ears
 on the day that they ask you,
 that you, you go and listen to them.
 () Alright. If its to say you think you're free
 Allah, you come, you say it, you leave here
 225 you go to Sonkolong you say it, you enter into the knife of **sua**.
 If you say... if, if they take up your affair
 they put questions like lies.

¹⁸The chief refers to the first of a pair of **sua**-oaths (one in each village) taken to heal the rift between Somié and Sonkolong which followed the imprisonment of several people from Somié often being accused before the authorities of causing by witchcraft the death of a man from Sonkolong. Eventually the charges were dropped and the accused released after they had spent a long time on remand in prison.

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: Lɔbɔn 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 this¹⁹
 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
 Its not something new that is there
 Its old, old.
 245 Bb; There's a lot of work there.
 If you've a big job, if you yourself find something
 Nj; They do that: they do thus so the child cries "ee" "eee"
 They do it so the child cries "ee" "eee"
 We go and put it to sua.
 250 Sua works until the death.
 Sua is still there, you go and cut it
 Kg; For me I talked with Njaibi here, you are to say
 stool or then sua
 A woman stays at ground, she licks. If I slept with him <=laughter
 255 Nj; BT for you
 Bt; For me? How can I open my mouth
 The end was like I said before, in that place.
 Kp; It's not that. Did you sleep with her in one place?
 Where did you sleep with her?
 260 Bt; How did I sleep with her?
 Kp; Isn't it to say she found you in the house they slept in
 You blessed her then
 Bt; I don't say that afterwards she slept there
 I don't say that afterwards she slept there
 265 Kp; Where did she find you ?
 Bt; She found me in Nɔ's house over there, in the house of Nɔ Mark (1)
 I'd returned from Atta when night fell
 when I arrived I slept there (1)

¹⁹Beginning of the adultery case proper. NB

- Kp; Till you blessed her there.
 270 Ch; Till she knew that you, you were there then, xxxx
 Ga; How could she knew that?
 Bt; but here she said she slept with him.
 Its not. Its not me who knows...
 Me, I've a field of coffee²⁰, I will split it up
 275 I will give him some money
 Nj; Its not a field of coffee, its not
 Bt; Thus I talk of something else. I said I was there
 since the day before yesterday
 you weren't near me. How can I speak
 280 Ga; But he talks of coffee
 Then he knows its true
 xx; xxxx
 Nj; But if you speak of coffee then you know its true
 Right after the coffee says its true.
 285 xx; xxxxxxxx
 Nj; You talk of coffee, then you know its true.
 Right after the coffee says its true.
 Bt; How do I know? I don't know to give something different.
 Nj; If he doesn't know say a little thing and lick the thing
 290 If they do lick it. He will say again he walks freely to the coffee field
 Ch; xxxx then
 Bt; If the thing is licked by them, they will know
 Nj; They ask to lick about a small thing, small.
 For me, I said to them, both of you
 295 I knew you
 don't you hide it. Our sua is a venerable thing.
 Ga; Its an old thing
 Kg; For me, I didn't see anything²¹
 so for me I don't know anything
 300 Taillu; Not good
 Here they chase after you until they catch you up.
 That's not good
 Ga; you do lots of work but that is just work.()
 Nj; So, listen you. You called him so he comes here.
 305 Kg; They put it²² on the ground, we lick it.
 Yes they put it on the ground, we lick it.
 Bt; He must come before you, you must see.
 Ga; They'll lick afterwards or will they lick now?
 Nj; You hear the thing I want to say now
 310 Now the hearing is in my hands
 I heard BT now looking at the divination
 () Because of this thing it must be said:
 sua is an old thing,
 its not something new.
 315 Its something traditional. Its traditional that
 we take sua outside

²⁰The move to talking of coffee fields and money is taken as an admission of guilt (e.g. 280/281) for otherwise he would not be prepared to pay a fine.

²¹Kj lives opposite Nɔ Mark so could have seen something.

²²"it" the Chief's stool for oath taking.

- That sua is something traditional
 We here we will only die in sua
 You heard of the arbitrary death of someone
 320 You talked a hearing in the palace square
 there the talk catches a person not a piece of wood²³
 But if you know already,
 you say it so we know.
 But here I say
 325 when they've summoned him already
 only if he says:
 No I didn't send you.
 What will you say then?
 From before when you didn't call him
 330 You want, you want to say here: Its me.
 I just avoid it, it's a deceitful thing
 If you do say yes then you want it tough
 (3) So, you know what I will say here today
 if you want such a thing I wont go again. ()look to him()
 335 Is the Chief's stool funny?
 Kg; aaa the thing that I don't know
 I want to take it, mmmm do I say that I know?
 Nj; I was just asking (4)
 Kg; I must speak as if I knew
 [
- 340 Nj; But() until the chief sent
 to say I know, so we understand
 You of the palace here, you call me urgently
 They arrive, they tell me oh they don't know
 So it was that BT said, so Bt said.
 345 BT for himself he didn't say I know about that,
 he didn't say he knew about it.
 This is because he doesn't know anything.
 If they want to see the thing they must do it.
 xx; Goodbye
- 350 Ch; So (1)
 Nj; You want them to say, they will say: we bless sua with lies.
 I don't want to. We, we say I say: you again refused
 But you don't want it.(3)
 Yiangi²⁴; () Let me say my piece²⁵.
 355 For me I was far away over there.
 It is for this that I came
 I myself, I xxxx just to say: the sun is sinking
 I don't want the young men to have to come back again.
 The sun is sinking down, consider to say, suffer to say
 360 I go I look at you so that
 I walk again - he looks at me

²³The point is that sua will kill the guilty parties. Cases heard in public at Palace affect people not bits of wood.

²⁴Yiangi is the husband of Yi, Sondue's "grandmother". They live in Dar hamlet.

²⁵Yiangi was acting for a younger "brother" who had never been paid the compensation after he had been knifed three months before the meeting.

during the funeral of my in-law at Nḡgwe,²⁶

I found it like war there.

Ch; Have a little patience

365 Whilst I do cut through to this thing then

Yiangi: That's fate. For me, I've had a long road

He's not at the village then

Ch; No today, today he will break through to the truth

Its not clear so they return

Break in recording: change of batteries

370 xx; xxx xxx

Ga; Its a thing for the stool

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

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

Bəbə; 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

Its whose child?

So () the in-laws () do stupid work,
we talk through the problem²⁷

390 We're all clear, that's not stupid.()

So, the things that you said,

you listen to understand

You, its just in your hands

You must fix your hands then.

395 GW; Good. I myself, until tomorrow these children
here, you take something from me.

I must leave the ground.

I know to say the talk of sua

in my compound, the thing that I don't bless.

400 I pursue it.

Others they pursue it from the compound.

Others chase it thus: they pass by the place

They say to me ()

Its not to say they don't do a small thing

405 So, I () a woman enters a house,

a woman goes and enters a house.

I myself I fight over the thing. Is it still today?

Nj; It was thus if divination gave it to you then

²⁶Funeral of Yiangi's guna: Nima, the mother of Kuwo Pierre.

²⁷idiom for talking through a problem lit. open open clearly.

- 410 GW; I fight the fight,
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 wife²⁸ I see if you don't speak openly
415 then illness enters (1)
Even the husband if he finds me to say: for him he knows nothing, its not up to me.
No () but to say: yes I go and this person.says
says, this person just says "pht"<= blows raspberry
The Chiefs will call this person, then "pht" <= blows raspberry
420 It's just () that thing ()
There I myself, I must say "no"
If its lies, if its true
Nj; Give it to divination divination
GW; if it avoids the issue
425 does he say its true?
For me I say we that called me here to the palace
I say there they call the children
because I want to ask them as witnesses.
Nj; aha so it is.
430 GW; if they don't know they leave their things
So, for me I say that now today, ()
their shameful heads
now take him if they don't know
they chop sua for the house, they do it with what?

Lines 435-480 consist of rapid and overlapping speech which has therefore not been transcribed as reliably as the rest of the text. Some speakers have been omitted when their utterances are of low volume on the tape.

- 435 Shame does for them
Nj; don't do it, don't do it, don't do it
Gw; So, you go on. () So for me until its finished, this is already finished.
Nj; No its not, go and ask away. () Ask away then.
don't you laugh.
440 GW; They leave it. For me I say they leave it.
As I say here. Thus it is finished.
NG; For the hand, we wont ask again
Nj; I haven't refused
I haven't refused anything
445 GW; For me then, do I want *medicine* like this?
NG; For me, I want *medicine* like this.
Nj; Its not just a mouth talking vacuously.
XX; For NG, he's not free to speak.
What does he say there?
450 Yianggi; NG what will you say?
Its not your father who speaks for you
Then there how can you speak?
Bəbə; This thing that we want to say, do you, do you know it?
Nj; GW, do you know what what to do?

²⁸Ng's wife = Gw's wife.

- 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, its only his father.
 Aaa to those who refuse.
 They want it, so look to them. **Sua** is an old thing.
- 460 Bəbə; You two, you get up, you walk outside there
 Till the chief he says, he talks to you you come, you come
 Ngenedon; Aaa you go to where?
 XX; You go outside, the chief removes them
 Bəbə; Does the chief remove them?
- 465 But he said to you, you come, you come here.
 Till they came then.
 XX; They come where?
 Yiangi; You wait patiently.
 Nj; The chief didn't come, until you, you left afterwards
- 470 How could you just leave? No.
 Gw; Its something small in my hand
 Tt; For now, if you know about it say:
 yes I know about it, if you don't know
 you say no I don't know. And so its finished.
- 475 GW; Don't do it, I don't ask. If I'd asked already
Sua wouldn't have seized me.²⁹
 For me I arrived amongst this, if I asked
 it would be over for me just like that.
 Yiangi; So BT
- 480 Gw; He wanted to, to cool the thing that didn't end
 the thing that they didn't see, never
 Ga; For that, its not a new thing
 That's a traditional thing.
 Yiangi; So for now they ask you the thing
- 485 BT yesterday was at hand when the notables were quiet
 that they talked of the thing with these here
 here on the ground. The only ones to know are the serious notables
 Here if I call BT, that's to say its our ancestors
 Bb; What he wants to say
- 490 Yiangi says it is the ancestors that call.
 Yiangi; so now for that thing it is good to say
 You must summon some serious person
 Afterwards you say to him you know about it.
 Why is that? The person that was put onto the stool here
- 495 They say he is a small child but now he is a senior person
 That's to say if you don't know xxxx the end. If you say
 you don't know then you don't know about it.
 I stay asking if you don't know. You say you don't know
 But if you know you will call some senior person
- 500 you say to him, you say to him, you know about it.
 Because in GW's group we're the head, we who remain.
 If you know about it, if you touched her with your hand
 then you want it
 that's to say you can call someone
- 505 You tell them to come that you know

²⁹reference to illness of Gw's second wife. She died later that year.

you touched her with your hand.
You call someone, you tell them that you are seized by shame.
This is the thing that you did. Go and tell it.
But when he's done so. This is what we want to say.
510 They know to say: it is a kind like so.
It doesn't start with you: its an old thing.
Ch; Bəbə go and have a look see
Nj; Its an old thing. Your shame doesn't just begin
So surely they understand ()
515 for us, we of the hearing
That's to say cool, we don't want it to leave off as it is
They do want that today
You say "no" I said, you said yes
then it doesn't leave off
520 For the hearing then, if someone comes and gives you something for a hearing
No you don't do it, you'll think on it
if they give something to a hearing, the hearing sorts it out
For you they give the hearing parce que its too much
Ga; xxx
525 Ch; You arrive amidst a hearing. For a hearing,
please if someone arrives in a hearing
You leave off sending it so if someone comes with something
You say I'm talking about something else
530 For you its not a hearing. For you its not a hearing.
We xxx xxx thus
You listen you look at what's happened before
Yes hearings are thus
True, lies, all of them are hard hard hard,
535 all of them, true or false.
Yiangi; That you can't say until their mouths are finished {talking}
Ch; yes, that's a hearing
Nj; xxxx
[
Kp; xxxx
Ch; Good.

They then began to turn to the next case, which was not recorded. The Chief made a speech saying that cases should not be brought for their own sake. A case should only come to the palace when it cannot be resolved any other way. Moreover they should only be brought in order to be resolved, not in order to make trouble; so both parties must be prepared to compromise. He signalled the end of his speech by reaching for his radio and switching it on.

Second Hearing 23 Nov. 1986

Speakers

Bb: Bəbə

Bt: one of the accused.

Ch: The Chief

Ga: Gamia

Gw: Ng's Father

Jb: Jacob

Kp: 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

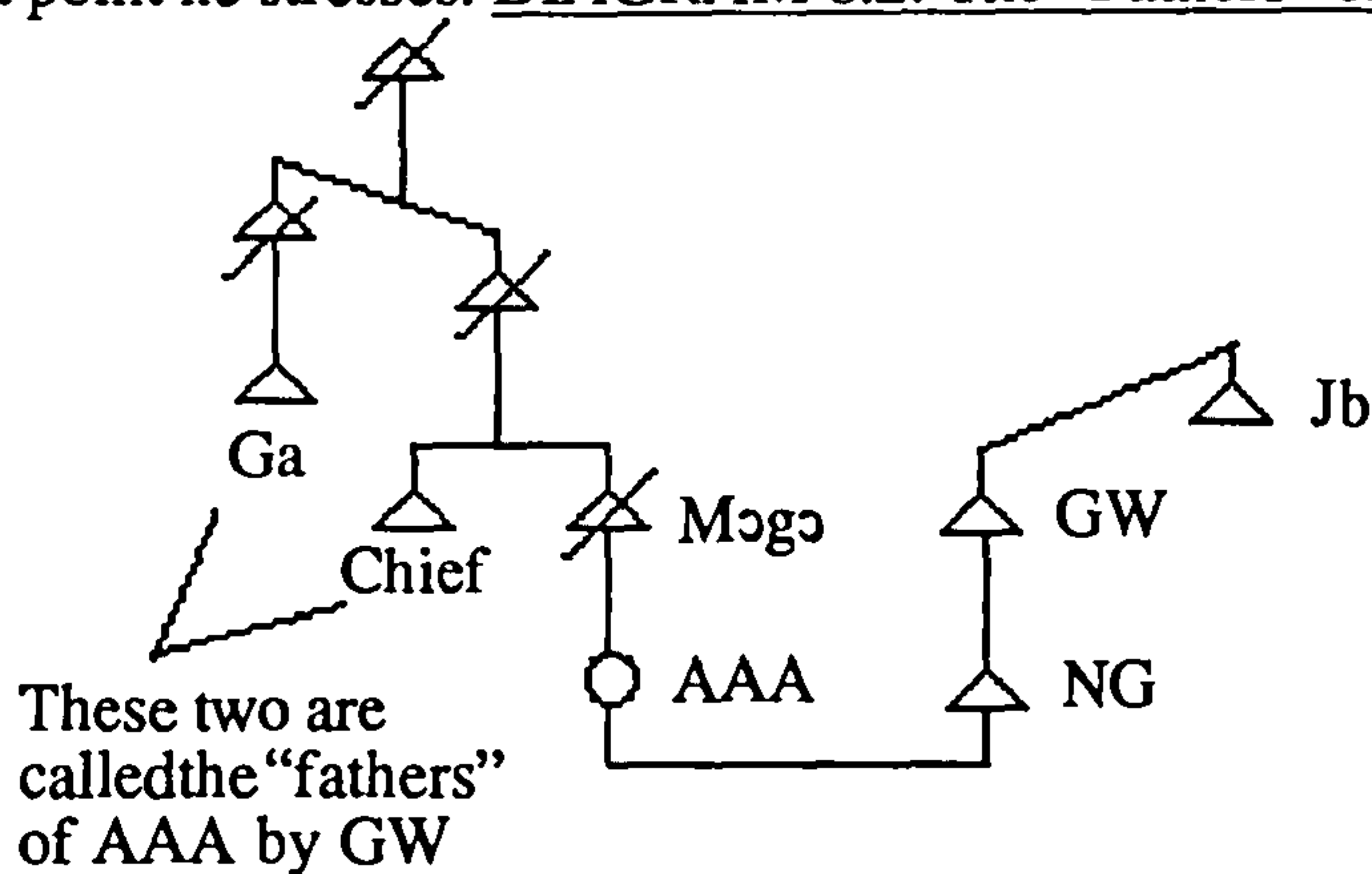
Wb: Wiya Benjamin

- 1 Ny; I didn't say that
XX; that that that
Ny; OK, I said this, why couldn't he say that?
You say if they wanted it, if they wanted a thing
[]
- 5 Ga; The chief hasn't taken them
Ny; They already want to. If they really want to, they would bless sua
GW has already said so
XX; xxxxx
Ny; Don't let it become a quarrel
- 10 He won't quarrel. () They take him to say: it was just so.()
[]
Mb; won't
Ny; You have divined. Listen you, is it true?
[]
Nj; People talk loosely, but if they don't want to bless sua.
will you do it anyway?
- 15 Ga; But today you'd do it anyway?
Mb; the things are just their {problems}
It's their problem, theirs
one of them is here, one hasn't come³⁰.
[]
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

³⁰Only one of the two accused, Bt, appeared. The other, Kg, failed to present himself. What is to be done in this circumstance is one of the continuing themes of the discussion.

- 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 father³¹?
 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
 Ngaundere³²
 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.
 Gamgbe and the Chief aren't there³³
 If that woman will take them,
 her fathers would send for her
 45 Gw; [The talk of sex leads to evil.() Leave it.
 Ga?; the chief isn't involved?
 XX; xxxxxxx We don't lick³⁴

³¹AAA's Father is dead. Gw talks of "the fathers" but in L29 he accepts that Mɔgɔ, 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:



³²Ngaoundere 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.

³³That is to say they can't be held responsible since they're not there. Since AAA was residing with her H of Gw's 'compound' it is reasonable to say she was now their responsibility. Note, however, that it is Nj, the senior man responsible for the alleged adulterers, who says this. Was he just making trouble?

³⁴"lick" i.e. lick the **ndungu sua**, that is to say do the **kulu sua** rite. Note however that it can be an allusion to licking the **kɔgɔ baji** (Chief's stool) which is a form of oath taking,

- [
 Nj?; if we didn't lick
 [
- 50 Gw; xxxx xxx () xxxx see
 Ngu; The chief up there says be quiet
 [
- Gw; Sua isn't blessed
 Ngu; Now the affair is in their hands. (.) The cloths³⁵ are here.
 They who sort out the affair=
 Gw; =What is this?
 55 The chief over there, what does he say they are?
 You, you say to the chief: fix it
 But you go to bless sua
 If you bless sua
 [
- Nj; I say to the chief
 [
- 60 Gw; It is thus: we stir it up thus
 I say to you: I know only the fathers
 [
- Nj; I say until you've said to the chief
 Gw; Father will sort it out
 [
- Nj; the chief has said to the children
 65 Gw; Father said to leave it. Who () who knows about it?
 [
- Nj; Are they men? he must talk to his children.
 Gw; He speaks with his lips only?
 Nj; Tell him, they're going to have to marry, one day they will.³⁶
 Gw; If it were different, and I said something they ^{would} kill me
 [
- 70 Nj; men are thus, women are thus, they're the same.
 Gw; I the father say: he controls the things paid
 if there is illness, it is *chàn* 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 it³⁷

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.

³⁵Referring to the woman's clothes loosened in the course of adultery.

³⁶There are two meanings to this word (at this tone): "carry" and "marry" but the latter is also used in a purely sexual sense - as occurs frequently in the text which follows.

³⁷ Lines 83-85 This passage remains obscure.

The Kulu Sua blessing

- Gw; if now, if some small person didn't want to,
count the things which are really bad
85 We have seen with our eyes. Pay here pay pay pay
with thieving eyes Am I putting things in?
People are people
Ga; xxx xxxxx
Gw; People go where? are you not chief-**chàng**?
90 Nj;(..)Expletive
Ga?; If it is thus, its a small thing
Gw; Everyone in the village, then.
Jb; If someone eats your wife, and kills with poison
That's small for you? <=laughter
95 Nj; Today is all upset
Jb; You talk so the chief will call him <1=laughter
He "marries" your wife, and she helps him!
Mb; If he didn't want it,
if he didn't want it he would come to...
100 Jb?; So it is
Mb; If he didn't want the case he would have come
Ni; If someone wants to finish the hearing, xxxx lick
[
Mb; If he doesn't come
If he doesn't turn up, you'll say he just didn't show up.
[
105 Ga; The good course would be for him to lick it
If someone comes and shouts, saying: they are wrong
He is wrong in the matter that you discuss, how is it before you?
We want to become peaceful. Till this thing
is ended. xxxx xxxx xxxx of yours, so the fathers
[]
110 Nj; xxxx sua If it isn't thus
they will bless sua anyway
Ni; Its for the ears of your fathers so
Mb; They sort out the case
[]
Nj; xxxxx the chicken is afterwards
[
115 Gw; Lucas ki!
Jb; Lucas...I want to say Here and now
It's not sorted out. It's not small
He isn't here at all, what's that then? He asks for sua
[
Nj; It's I, It is I, Njaibi
120 Gw; He asks for sua
Nj; I avoid sua?=
Jb; =Voila!
Nj; Old sua, can I flee from that?
Jb; So, we say just that. If he attacked the household, who are they any more?
125 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 xxxxx xxxxx xxxxxx³⁸ >
- 130 Gw; If you make such a speech they must bless (sua) and end it
I myself will take the child and go to Ngaundere=
Ga; =Xxx
Gw; he said to me
But how can you say this? They did look there
135 he asked you but what came of it? He said
Nj; əəə əəə
[]
Gw; Them, they said go to this palace
They bless sua for you. I say to you this.
[]
- Jb; xxxxxxx xxxxx
- 140 Gw; My speech is that of divination money³⁹
Ni; It isn't an affair in which to say they say that=
Gw; =they didn't say that Nngu⁴⁰
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 Njaibi⁴¹
Ga; To say, for me, for me I asked them.
I said I asked them
If they wanted, if they wanted to
So if they've stolen, they come, they come here. So that they can be treated.⁴²
- 150 Jb; But they say, they only give money
Ga; But if they say no
that is they didn't steal. Like they will go and search
for a place⁴³ where it is
since they don't give only a small amount⁴⁴
[]
- 155 Jb; Aaa look at you, you yourself aren't the person
Gw; < Be quiet >
For me illness⁴⁵ is on top of me
Nj; For me, they go and bless sua, for me I know only treatments⁴⁶
Gw; Ki! Ki! Ki! (1)
- 160 But look his hands are full??
[]

³⁸Ve is very deaf, and speaks very indistinctly. Few can understand him.

³⁹Gw refers to the payment made for divination to emphasize that his accusations have been corroborated by divination. He is not making empty accusations. Laga can be used to refer to the payments for divination or for taking the sua-oath (.laga ngam, and laga sua respectively).

⁴⁰Nngu an abbreviation of Ni's name. NB Honorific abbreviation in naming.

⁴¹that is to say he, Gw, did not accuse those under Njai's authority.

⁴²the treatment referred to is blessing sua, and the theft, of course, alludes to the adultery.

⁴³"place" I read this as referring to the place where the real culprits are.

⁴⁴They 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.

⁴⁵The illness referred to is that of Gw's wife.

⁴⁶"treatments" often used to contrast with sua but here including it; qv L253.

- Ga; It's more than that.
 Gw; Perhaps it's someone else
 []
 Ga; Nyugemi⁴⁷ does it wisely
 I hurried to Sonkolong, I returned because
 165 xxx xxxx xxx
 []
 Jb; It's a funny thing
 Ga; Because I gave to my friend
 I said to him, the male children do harm to that compound
 I gave to to to to to Lov⁴⁸ over there
 []
 170 Jb; It is the men, they harm your wives houses totally
 Ga; I hurried to stand over them
 Jb; Walking plonk plonk plonk
 Ga; The [threat] of my harm is over them
 []
 Gw; You, the husband, were cool
 175 you will be cool
 Ga; Who knows? (5)
 Jb; If someone harms a woman,
 for them it isn't straightforward
 Gw; we must be blessed
 180 Nj; The chief has no interest in this hearing
 Ga; But we {haven't} sorted out the affair.
 []
 Nj; Gamgbe, Gamgbe has no interest in this hearing
 I, me here, I have no interest in this hearing
 Mvulu, Mvulu that is here. He has no interest in this hearing
 185 Look at the two women⁴⁹
 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...ææ They're not free agents.
 195 so who sent them?
 Just as they talk of doctors
 Someone gave something, () only who was giving?
 Ga; So
 Mb; It is not your turn.
 200 Jb; xxxx
 Nj; That woman, who they wanted to "marry." Where did they find her in bed?
 Whose house was it?
 Mb; perhaps there was no one

⁴⁷Wife of Ge Gaston at Gumbe, daughter of Ve.

⁴⁸Wife of Kanuo, a Marenjo.

⁴⁹The two women are AAA, the adulteress, and the wife of Nɔ Mark, the witness.

- 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
 they will go there
 Affairs, your affair, ask at home
 210 is it because our penises are dead, finished⁵⁰?
 Mb; But GW, we said only the lovers of that woman
 Just as they say
 If they were in the dispensary⁵¹, the thing they say to Gamia
 it would be the end of it.
 215 Jb; Mmhm so it is, but listen you,
 Mb; [Gamia listen
 [Nj; xxx xxxx xxx xx
 Jb; But this isn't a small small speech
 Ga; It is not me saying that yet again
 [Mb; Who knows this?
 [Jb; That's the house of... But it is that, they were
 Ga; That's what we're talking about here, they will take xxx xxx if it is lost
 So that they give the money, () so that the thing waits?? [until] they speak openly.
 Jb; So it is like our place then
 225 Ga; Yes it's thus
 You gush with words, and will continue till when?
 Jb; That, that speech isn't good like that
 Mb; eee ee eee ? No, that's the end of it.
 Ny: GW says that because tomorrow we will know xxx xxx
 [Jb; It is this
 that we ask just this.
 Ny; GW says it's in your hands Gamia, both you and the Chief
 If you say you will sort it out completely, you must say so clearly.
 If you say you will not, you must say so clearly
 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 Gamia⁵²
 240 Mb; Even Gamia, even Gamia listens to the mouths of the lovers.
 [Jb; Yes it's thus
 yes thus, Gamia listens to them still then

⁵⁰If their penises are dead they can't be accused of adultery therefore the trouble must be somewhere else (qv 209).

⁵¹If there were medical evidence...

⁵²Gamia 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).

- [
 Mb; Only Gamia listens to the mouths of the lovers.
 [
 Ny; he said that, he said just that.
 245 Mb; Until he comes down with it all
 Ga; For me. I listen to them then
 Jb; Gamia is quiet about that, this is still the place
 he speaks beside the present point
 Nj; Bless sua, bless it. Bless this child, we here will do a treatment
 250 Mb; aaa!
 Nj; Cool is sua then, they will bless the child, here they will treat the child.
 Ga; Cool for this one, it is cool to treat him.
 Nj; Sua and treatments are different
 Jb; Thus, So it is more than eleven⁵³ it's thus thus thus then
 255 If they themselves want
 []
 Nj; themselves
 Jb; If they want to with their mouths
 Those of Gamia, yes they've not paid.
 They pay for the treatment here.=
 Ga; =So=
 260 Jb; =They paid my divination well
 So they see the things that passed
 pass to sua and chop it. They, they, they
 the people who know about it, just as they know to do
 []
 Gw; name the names
 265 Ga; of this xxxx xxxxxxxxxx completely
 Jb; But nothing
 Gw; Till I have changed tune, he goes with his mouth
 Mb; Till they change
 Gw; because young men xxxxxxxx
 270 Ga; [this child doesn't hurry=.
 Kun; =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
 []
 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

Section (c. 5 minutes) left untranscribed: conversation mainly about cars and where they are going to. Mostly general chat, not addressing the case at issue.

- Ch; Your work, you elders, at Somié <1=laughter
 mistakes are mistakes <1=laughter
 You call a meeting, no one comes, ()
 280 you say walk, no one walks ()
 Only if it's a thing to do with you all
 Only if I go from house to house to house, alright

⁵³Lit. "and one" implying eleven, twenty-one, &c.

- Ga; They don't come
 Ch; Aa oui normalement c'est comme ça.
- 285 Nj; If the day comes, if I don't see someone,
 from that day they will stay somewhere else.⁵⁴
 So from today they live elsewhere
 Ga; xxx xxx
 Ch; You call a meeting, everyone attends
- 290 So, (1) if you have called [a meeting] and if the hour is called,
 and you are still then at your house
 I stay at the meeting but I take the names of all those there at the meeting, all all all.
 Then there is this person, this person says I didn't know
 Did I speak to you?
 Ga; Well, what can I do?
- 295 Nj; You spoke to him? <1=laughter
 Ch; It is no one, it is us [all] who are mistaken
 Nj; aa?
 Ch; In that is my mistake
 This won't be sorted out till the end of the world
- 300 Il faut venir au Somié pour voir les choses.() Vraiment.
 Ni; Bt, now we wait for something to come from your mouth
 to speak with Gamia so we end our troubles
 Ch; æææ toujours la patience.
 Mb; We will wait for just that
- 305 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
- 315 I ask that. He harms thing there, we understand clearly
 ()It's only in the group here
 Nj; GW I've always said the thing is up to the chief. I say the thing is up to
 Mb; GW, I have spoken with the chief, I have spoken with Gamgbe
 []
 Nj; Gamgbe did ask you, you you you womanizers
- 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
- 325 Nj; The chicken talks with its mouth
 []
 Ga; If you say to me, you will take it, you will treat it.
 For this I will give money so so I hurry the thing along
 This is only a small thing

⁵⁴Nj threatens people with exile for not responding to summons from the chiefs palace.

- Ch; () Yes, if the business goes outside it is good to talk.(2)
 330 Because () its hard this one
 The hard.(1).they say...talk like small children
 We are saying another true thing there
 The small children, they ask them then,
 what do they ask with their mouths
 335 Njai asked nothing there. All xxx unseen
 Now () Moses⁵⁵ has spoken well (4) In that group
 that is to say in that group he is not there (1)
 So, if it's my decision there is big Gamia (2)
 he hasn't spoken. Then for me, because I don't want to talk
 340 But this will leave me behind. I can speak in this space
 This one says it is small. Moses says its a woman () bon
 For the woman, she looks: "mystique" is done (1)
 "Mystique" is done, (3) she will give the thing somewhere else ()
 For you, you stay over there.
 345 Them over there, they do not have big mouths=
 Gw; =Thus
 Ch; We will go to the dispensary⁵⁶
 We will do it, we will do it. We shall act
 For you is compulsory, because the women are in our hands, ()
 350 if it is clear this evening
 They, those who harmed her, they must be sorted out
 For you in Moses' case there is nothing, they will have a small talk with him thus
 XX; yes
 Ch; yes
 355 Ny; You [of] GW want it thus. He wants it thus so that they do it
 Ch; Its not you you lot, we will take it thus
 If you make a bill⁵⁷ with the cost, with all the costs
 You come and say I have a bill, this small thing.
 XXXX; ææ ææ <= Laughter
 360 Ga; But if there's no bill now?
 Ch; Its not a question of simply asking
 Will you pay, or will you not pay?
 And if he says he will not pay, what will you do?
 Will you leave him, will you eat⁵⁸ 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?⁵⁹
 How can you do that to him?
 370 So you will see suffering then
 Allah till two times are xxxx I xxxxxx <=laughter

⁵⁵Moses is Gw's Christian (lit.) name.

⁵⁶"Dispensary" That is to say they will treat the illness as a "natural" illness (caused by *chàn*) and hence effectively treatable with western medicine.

⁵⁷An itemized bill was successfully used during a divorce case within the last five years to help the husband reclaim the bridewealth which had been paid, including some of the expenses of the gifts of kitchen goods which had been made.

⁵⁸"eat" This implies witchcraft, who paradigmatically resort to secret cannibalism to wreak revenge.

⁵⁹Reference to going to the maize mill, where the grain is weighed before being ground.

- Ch; I do not put the hearing on you group by group <=laughter
 Truly it is like that <=laughter
 Nj; xxxxxxxx
- 375 Jb; They measure them with laughter?
 Nj; They measure them in kilos <1=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
 we must remove this small [thing]
 Gw; For me. () I see that nothing surpasses **chàŋ**.
 But it's just me.
 We think that inside me here I don't want sua
- 385 they bless mistakenly=
 Jb; =Everything is so
 Ny; But but but that which they've already talked out,
 gives no more illness
 [
- xx; xxxx xxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxx xxxx
- 390 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 xxxxxxxx
 Kp; no more hearings from you
 Nj; the chief says of ()
 Kp; Now there is no hearing for you there
- 395 Gw; Any woman that has reason⁶⁰ leave the palace quickly
 Any woman if that has reason leave the palace because we of the palace⁶¹
 we are stupid people.
 For me I think to say that the village is one ()
 You see thus they push
- 400 Nj; Oi, it is one village, not two villages.
 Gw; It is thus in the home and in the village.
 Find this old woman, she will surpass what?
 Nothing surpasses her.
 You are blessed⁶². They will go
- 405 **chàŋ** gave things to those of the past
 There is suffering today in the body of the village⁶³
 Say where the place is, the suffering today in the compound. Where is it? ()
 Now our quarter searches, we search

⁶⁰"reason" guilty knowledge is the reason he has in mind.

⁶¹"of the palace" <bǝ mbam bǝ> 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.

⁶²Ideophone spoken at the act of blessing.

⁶³village. Note that village and compound are different senses of the same word, and moreover that "strictly" there are no compounds in Cameroonian Mambila villages. Kin (especially patrilineal) tend to live close to one another, (in a manner similar to that described by Rehfish (after fieldwork in Warwar c. 1952) but a compound cannot easily be unambiguously demarcated on the ground. Note also that there is no word for village quarter in Mambila. In L 408 a Fulfulde loan word is used.

- only amongst our quarter
 410 XX; Not so Not so, no, no
 Gw; Until they really call us what is it?
 They split up the discussion, they split up the hearing, they know things
 (2) There is no hearing, chàṅ gave them the thing before before ()
 They've their young women, they've their young men
 415 They must look at them all
 [
 Ga; Their things, they are young women, they are young men
 Nj; Girls are girls, boys are just boys.
 How can they know better? <=Laughter
 Gw; You know so you say to the women don't speak
 420 She looks, she looks, () right till...
 You male, if you don't know,
 if you didn't kill
 Some women that kill the body⁶⁴, they don't don't don't leave off
 [
 Ga; someone like
 425 Nj; That's just it
 Gw; Aaa, I am here, I was just here when this sua seized⁶⁵
 [
 Nj; But this was so she left off -
 stopped. Its that woman she stopped, left off the thing
 So for you that's it
 430 Mb; For you then, its them
 Ga; he did it so that they would leave the thing
 If he just up and left the woman, her husband, a man
 Nj; Truly!
 Ga; its his sua that sorts it out
 [
 435 Gw; How can they kill?⁶⁶ This isn't a case of sua
 If he looks, he's married already and the woman
 doesn't talk, he doesn't talk
 Allah, they're killed off, he kills off the people there. The young man⁶⁷
 [
 Nj; aaaa If he left

⁶⁴the body which is being attacked ("killed") is that of Gw's wife.

⁶⁵"Sua seizing" usually refers to illness caused by ill doing on the part of the sufferer or their close kin. By taking a sua-oath illness (and possibly death) is called upon the malefactor who will then be seized or taken by sua. As an extension this can be used as an idiom for conscience - if one feels guilty, with a bad conscience this can be described as being seized by sua.

In this context, however, it is not clear who is being referred to qv. First Hearing L 476.

⁶⁶"kill" taking the sua-oath is irrevocable and dangerous - sua will kill those it seizes (see notes to L 423 above). Adultery cases are not followed by the usual sua-oath but by sua kulu the blessing of sua for just this reason as GW alludes.

⁶⁷Adultery 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; **Chàng** said to him, You are avoiding
 In the talk of this person that I've heard
 of that, I myself, I don't know, and my things {divination} doesn't know.
 My mother doesn't know (10)

Gamia & a Mbororo have a Fulfulde conversation:
 omitted but simultaneous with the
 below until the Mbororo's departure.

- 490 Gw; Now NG the thing this thing, you've removed it already
 The talk already includes the healers, they've already removed it (1)⁷⁰
 Him here, he has a wife. No one must harm her
 If you desire his territory, speak up (1)
 For him⁷¹, you speak up, don't walk and say it elsewhere,
 495 he has open eyes⁷²
 The woman has said, for her it is thus
 She wants what he wants⁷³. <1=laughter
 xxx; listen everyone xxx
 Gw; Like when Ve was himself
 500 a young man, they entered such a house
 those who wounded him, they are where?
 Ch; The meeting⁷⁴ is tomorrow <= to Joseph
 Gw; If it wasn't bad it isn't you
 and today its not your sister,
 505 only if I, I know
 will I act so that there is suffering, suffering for him here
 Nj; Perhaps it is the place of the Luo, how is it?⁷⁵
 I pass there to find what is mine
 The place of the Luo but will I thus find it,
 510 find my thing?
 Ch; Patience is too much, too much
 Everything in the house is patience
chàng doesn't do it, you must be patient, and your mouth too
 With that they will know him
 515 Gw; My patience is exhausted. Me I'm tired. I say

Departure of FulBe man from Mbor or Mbum

⁷⁰safi Fulfulde for tradition <Nùàr safi> lit. traditional people, meaning people with treatments, that is, healers.

⁷¹The doctor/nurse.

⁷²"open eyes" passing inherited witchcraft gives one the ability to detect witches; the bearer of such power has "open eyes".

⁷³Lit. this line is "of yours is of mine then," which I take to mean that his interests are hers.

⁷⁴The Chief is answering a question about a meeting to be held in Bankim

⁷⁵The inhabitants of Tor Luo hamlet are Mambila who descended from The Mambila Plateau before last wave of Mambila immigration which established the current political structure (i.e. the chiefs). Although there is no sign of lingering enmity the Luo retain a reputation of being great magicians (this term is used as a neutral one between witchcraft and treatments). Mentioned as autochthonous by comparison to the Chief they represent an independent place where sua oaths can be taken and it is to this that Nj refers.

- If we listen here because this isn't known
 []
 Ch; **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?
 520 How can someone do that?
chàŋ knows we will pay with our patience (4)
 xx; xxxx xxx
 Nj; aaaha. Its thus. We, we from there,
 we there are just like that.
 Say to BT: Come and take your chicken then
 525 Ga; Patience, of that there is still some left
 Ch; The thing is thus, thus, if some thing comes you give it to
chàŋ
chàŋ knows they will pay
 Ga; cool (4)
 530 Nj; Kie (3)
 Young men you^{see} how it is,
 they summon the adulterers
 NJ;; If a woman talks like that, he gives, he "marries" her
 Disorderly, he began to walk with her
 535 Ga; Kie
 Gw; Its not some child that walks fast now <=laughter
 Is it centipedes?⁷⁶ <=laughter
 Has she a stomach, like as not she's not xxxxx got a swelling stomach
 []
 Nj; Look for yourself.
 540 Ga; Kie () Now he looks to cross you
 Nj; When he starts to walk with your wife. He does what?
 Jb; They're just small children
 Nj; What can we do?
 Ga; Speak. () Always in the meetings they have spoken
 545 If a person puts their mouth in there
 No one should approach⁷⁷
 At that point no one should get close
 If someone - if they put grasses, the belt breaks, the world breaks⁷⁸⁷⁹
 Its that that they do here.
 550 WB; She is always at market <=laughter⁸⁰
 Ga; So, the time approaches, people don't get upset⁸¹

⁷⁶"Having centipedes" in the stomach is an idiomatic excuse for walking slowly or in discomfort.

⁷⁷End of tape T210A Start tape T210B.

⁷⁸"put grasses" that is to say put evil treatments into something, the targets house or their food.

⁷⁹the "belt breaks" idiom for great disaster.

⁸⁰Loitering in the market can be represented as looking for trouble, looking for sexual partners.

⁸¹'approaches' The day is drawing on.

- Nj; That's to say illness, the child is ill. But if not ill⁸²
then I say: it is lies
They "married" her in what bed, where?
555 If I haven't struck there at Njere < laughter⁸³
Women are thus and so too are men.
The young man that I won't beat he must be
what sort of a youth from where?
Ga; How were we crossed before? How was it before?
560 You, you too, left in the night time, during the night
Nj; Sarki, Sarki came first but was left by
Ngombi who carried the girls beer while Sarki was just a young man
Sarki was just like that
It was when they go to drink a young girl's beer
565 They said come come come, they put out the fire
But that was just playing
You look beyond that hearing
Ga; Nothing came of it
Here there are only those of Gumbe
570 Night comes, the evening doesn't stay for the small women
Outside they can't see their backs, Kie!
Nj; Kie!
Gw; Men are thus, so are women too (20)
So, young men do something
575 I said:
my forehead is bad from the beginning ()
All my understanding is from divination, so it is.
Now they don't bless sua for small children
A small boy that marries a wife, is no longer a small boy ()
580 **chàng** 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 heat⁸⁴ it up?
585 Gw; Allah, I shake it so,
after you will go and do the thing in the square
You cut-through the work, you will continue till you know you wont pay
You will see afterwards
Jb; (1) Other things are thus
[
590 Nj; xxx xx
Jb; Others will not search afterwards
[
Nj; xxx xx
Jb; Others who are evil
[]
Nj; xxx xx So
595 Jb; For you its a hearing of children

⁸²If 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.

⁸³obscure.

⁸⁴Imitates sound of fast high pitched speech?

- They are people. People are there in it, people
 [
- 600 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 walk⁸⁵
 I walk, and I have a mother also
 Nj; So it is
 Gw; I have said
 605 it's thus for me.
 Jb; I said I saw it in divination (2)
 Ng; Its sua, chop sua for both of us then (2)
 Nj; Is it good for both of them?
 Ng; They say for both of them xxxx
- 610 Nj; [] We lick we lick. They they take their things,
 they will remove the sua thing
 They will remove the sua chicken, they'll remove the money and chop sua
 And if only one person comes here, we must remove them⁸⁶
- 615 Jb; [its thus
 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; [Its divination... Its old divination
 it doesn't sit on good things
 Gw; Its thus
 Ga; xxx
 Gw; don't eat people to the end
 They will make you cool also, them them them cool
- 630 XX; aaiii <= Laughter
 Gw; This is a cool thing =
 Nj; = like there is the refuser (1)

⁸⁵The affair will be sorted out so NG can go for a walk without fear of his wife committing adultery.

⁸⁶"remove" Nj jumps between talking of the sua-oath to blessing sua; he wants a sua oath to be taken. Since both chicken and money are given to bless sua the preparations for this are the same as for taking an oath. This leads to an ambiguity in the actions thus far performed which Nj exploits in his speech, by referring to the taking of a sua-oath. However no one had gathered the necessary leaves so it was impossible at that point to take a sua-oath.

Only one of the accused is present but they will bless him and hence "remove" the trouble from him, leaving the other party yet to be dealt with q.v. L616/7.

- For picking okra⁸⁷ is money, it's hard is money
 The head of sua is the chicken
 [
- 635 Mb; chicken
 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 chief⁸⁸
 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; əə thus (2)
- 650 Ch; La famille qu'il cherche il vont voir tout comme ça ()
 Do you sit in the path? Get up.
 Ch; Take the money then. L'argent ()
 Who knows what to do? You take it then.
 Nj; aaa you aaa
 [
- 655 Ga; Give it to Baba
 Nj; Moses take that money, take it. You say but not again then
 [
- Ch; You there, its for you
 Nj; Aaa take the piece of cloth you want
 []
- Ch; Who knows what to do Who will scrape?⁸⁹
 Who will do it?
- 660 Ni; Njaibi takes it again?
 [
- Nj; əə
 Ni; Give it to Ningə⁹⁰ 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 ()

⁸⁷okra used as an example of an unfree good.

⁸⁸BT 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.

⁸⁹The first steps have been made before deciding who will actually officiate "the blessing".

⁹⁰Another nickname for Jb.

- 670 Nj; So who's got a knife?
 (3) Anyone with a knife, give it to him
 Ms; (4) Ho yo
 Nj;(3) Give it
 Mb; Give it (1)
 Ny; don't give it to Ngomni he's got sua hands⁹¹
- 675 Nj; You go {outside} you scrape
 Ngomni he knows how to scrape
 If I've been scraped onto my body, I don't leave my house ()
 Take it, take this thing and go outside
 Ni; You have said stay amongst your own?
- 680 Nj; eeee
 Ni; **Chàng** give the thing to the small children, the children roast it⁹²
 You give it to him, he will roast it
 Nj; They scrape outside. You put it in your hands thus
 Bt you go outside
- 685 You two, both of you, you put your hands thus
 They bless outside
 Ngg; I know that
 Nj; (4) Scrape outside (2)
 Ni; Once they've scraped they will roast and eat
- 690 Ny; You put out hands up, put out your hands <=laughter
 Ny; You go and find some fire wood <=to Merup
 Nj; Pass outside first. I will scrape into the hands
 () Into the hands () don't scrape it all.
 Gw; aaa it ends here with me
- 695 Till someone, someone injures the bodies of my children
 Jb; () stay there NG
 Nj; (1) You put your hands thus, in one place, together.
 You put them together, right together.
 Jb; You two together are friends
- 700 Gw; This one of mine here, if I find him afterwards
 If I find him afterwards, Allah, I'll sort him out
 Nj; (4) You scrape, you scrape the thing on one side and then on the other
 Ny; He scrapes both sides
 Mb; (2) That which the chief said, he spoke truly
- 705 This is evil meat =
 Gw; = But if we hadn't done it
 You ostracize this one
 This one here runs and finds me at home
 Nj; Once you've scraped, you take earth and put it on the fingers⁹³
- 710 You touch earth to the left
 Gw; Allah, You're grinding up the hearing, only say
 This person here has done what?

⁹¹The knife is being offered by a young man who has not entered men's sua, therefore who has not got sua hands. Such a person cannot hand things directly to someone with sua hands.

⁹²The chicken is given to young men who aren't full initiates of sua to roast outside the Chief's palace. Everyone present then eats a small portion as witness - just as occurs during a divorce.

⁹³Nj is directing the actions from inside the Chief's palace.

So talk to the people of Mvu, those of Mvulu and then to the younger brothers,
those of Kg

- They come to my body
715 They say they come so as to talk to me
I say I know nothing
Jb; That's to say we said don't speak. We said don't speak
Nj; When you take the earth you put it in the left, you lick
You bless the things in their hearts, you bless the other one's heart.⁹⁴
720 You lick with the tongue
You lick again with the left hand thus thus
and you lick again the left
Gw; I don't know about it
You stay quiet, you leave me.
[
725 Mb; aaa This hearing. You listen there.
They said to him: you remove his {thing} and go and do it outside.

55 seconds talk omitted about cars due from Banyo (mainly between Njaibi and Jacob).

Yesterday they walked from Mbor, when they returned, when they entered the
village⁹⁵

- Ms; He said thus
Mb; Because
730 Ms; You didn't work with him
Mb; You see <= laughter
Nj; The hearing is finished
Gw; Go and consider if it should be done again <=laughter
Nj; Go go with yours
735 Ny; They came in the evening, did they leave in the evening? (3)
Nj; I don't know - it must be chopped.⁹⁶
We can't stay...
[
Ny; Only if they've finished blessing
Nj; Once they've finished blessing everyone, they can chop properly
740 Ny; For that that remains, they pass to chopping
Nj; They look at her stomach
Ny; aaa We - When they've blessed both of them, they chop
then they'll chop the thing, then they'll chop the thing
Mb; The day the other one comes, if the other one comes
745 they () they () They will chop properly then.
Ny; aaa
Mb; Once they've blessed both of them
Ny; Both. That's proper, they chop properly then.
(5) Nggu you go and look for fire wood (2)
750 Ni; Gamia has left so he can come tomorrow to give the money
[]
Nj; Long ago He left long ago

⁹⁴"hearts" preferentially liver but carrying the metaphorical load of "heart". Also used, as here, to refer to the sternum. In linguistic usage the *temə* is the seat of desires and inclinations.

⁹⁵"they" the alleged adulterers.

⁹⁶"chopped" Nj still wants a *sua*-oath to be taken (i.e. cut or chopped).

- Ny; (3) You say you must take a feather, grab it! <= approving
 Oh flee from here! <=laughter
 Nj; Oh, won't you roast it? Go and roast it.
 755 Mb; They will roast it, they're looking for fire wood ()
 Ny; I take it and say: this year, oi!
 You will take it, go and take it, you take it, take it.(1)
 Ni; We wait here, till its already roasted
 Till we go and take its bones when we go there
 760 Ny; I say as much. Afterwards you go and put your hands
 Nj; we will scrape
 Ch; So, thank you. Its in the hands of the seniors. ()
 Nj; N̄gened̄ɔŋ⁹⁷ 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 **denḡɔr sua**?⁹⁸
 770 Wb; Have you?
 Nj; A **denḡɔr sua**?
 Gw; He laughs there
 Ny; xxxx
 Nj; If I do **sua**'s stomach⁹⁹, if you don't die in the morning
 775 then when the evening comes you will die
 Its my **denḡɔr** (6)
 Ki! world. () The world harms things Oi! (4)
 they chop this (1) How can it be done?
 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 its only one of these days
 795 So he doesn't think, that's to say money will someday come there
 I'll pass over it.
 When do we meet again?

⁹⁷Son of Njaibi, husband of K̄ɔr̄ɔb̄ɔn.

⁹⁸the baton (also called **ndungu**) scraped into the palms of the adulterer(s) and cuckold during **kulu sua**.

⁹⁹A curse made invoking **sua** while patting the stomach or even using the **denḡɔr sua** qv. chapter on **sua** above.

- 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 out¹⁰⁰.
 () 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*¹⁰¹ <=laughter
 805 that's not enough
 Nj; Its too much for us
 Ni; How much it is, I find you with your work
 they've got quarrels, they do xxx xxx
 [Wb; xxx]
 810 Nj; No matter what length, I surpass them
 Ni; That's what I said
 It the woman that did that, they will
 Nj; Women will fall, men will fall.
 Women fall, men fall down
 815 Ms; Money is paid but the women don't see any of it
 Nj; You will go so the girl is too much
 xx; xxx xxx
 Ms; xxx xxx
 xx;xxx xxx
 820 Nj; I must go and go again to ask away then.
 If they "marry", you ask: My house? it was where then?
 She met them outside
 xx; she met them outside
 Ny; They said: woman, woman, at hand, its the thing of the people of the hearing
 825 You only do things-
 Nj; But that woman she herself was there <= laughter
 Ny; You only do it () Women, you don't know now
 It's beyond me, if reciprocally¹⁰² you return today now
 she finds a child for free!
 830 Nj; that woman=
 Ny; = you men you just run away, alright
 [Nj; Its thus they say
 They say women now, small children they do do evil, doing...
 They allow them

Short break in recording: change of tape (T207a/T207b)

- 835 You are ill, that's the end of the hearing
 [Nggü; she did this thing then
 Ms; For this, women, they do it but they don't pay
 [

¹⁰⁰He starts walking out (with women).

¹⁰¹Original in Fulfulde.

¹⁰²"reciprocally" the word **kuo** is ambiguous between bone, to die and to do reciprocally which is the only sense which in any way makes any sense here, although the translator still has reservations on the issue.

- Nj; This is
 Ms; If they do it and pay, tomorrow, some day
 840 How did the boys take her?
 She wont want to.
 Nj; For this we stop in the talk of illness
 Bt it is you, he gives a chicken
 You Bt, they say to you: they'll kill you off
 845 Go with a chicken, go, go and take it (3)
 For me, I bless **sua**, my talk is finished (3) <= Claps hands three times
 xx; Qu'est ce qu'il faut encore bien parler
 Nj; For me, my **sua** is the old law (4)
 If you had spoken. If you hadn't fled from the things of people (8)
 850 Ny; Its one day's work (1) Finished, now there just remains me.<= Laughter
 Nj; Will we be here for two days? For you Nyakati
 Ni; You say tomorrow tomorrow to talk. Talk one day
 that they grind grind grind grind grind till...
 Nj; eeee
 855 Ni; how is it a thing of one day? (2)
 Wb; Njai, in your **sua** enclosure have you roasted ginger?¹⁰³
 Nj; Aaaa?
 Wb; In your **sua** enclosure, ginger pop, popping!
 Nj; The **sua** enclosure at Beya's?
 860 Wb; At Beya's¹⁰⁴ <= laughter
 Mb; He's got things, he goes with -
 Nj; aaa you don't blow the cloth¹⁰⁵
 Blow the cloth soon, how can he blow the cloth, how is it.<= Laughter
 Wb; aaaa
 865 Nj; He doesn't blow the cloth
 Wb; If blowing is too much?
 Mb; How? If it were my world, how many wives would I have now?
 Nj; They blew the cloth, its traditional.
 Mb; Hə?
 870 Nj; Will they blow cloth?
 Ch; Before did they blow like this?
 Mb; Before, they blew your cloth¹⁰⁶
 afterwards thus, if no news¹⁰⁷ was seen
 They would want to take her back, to reclaim her then.
 875 Wb; oooo ()

Section untranscribed: c. 2 minutes of talk between Mb, Nj and Ch

Ch; Your talk; you of Kg (3) it is a true hearing

¹⁰³ WB refers to the final rite of men's sua as danced for a funeral, or after the annual men's masquerade. Thus he is asking if Nj has finished.

¹⁰⁴This sua enclosure has fallen down

¹⁰⁵cloth. Here the reference is to the **chuar chok** the chicken of the cloth which is given by the bridegroom to the bride's eldest brother when she goes to lie with her husband. The brother then spit roasts it on a fire made specially for the purpose on a path beside his house.

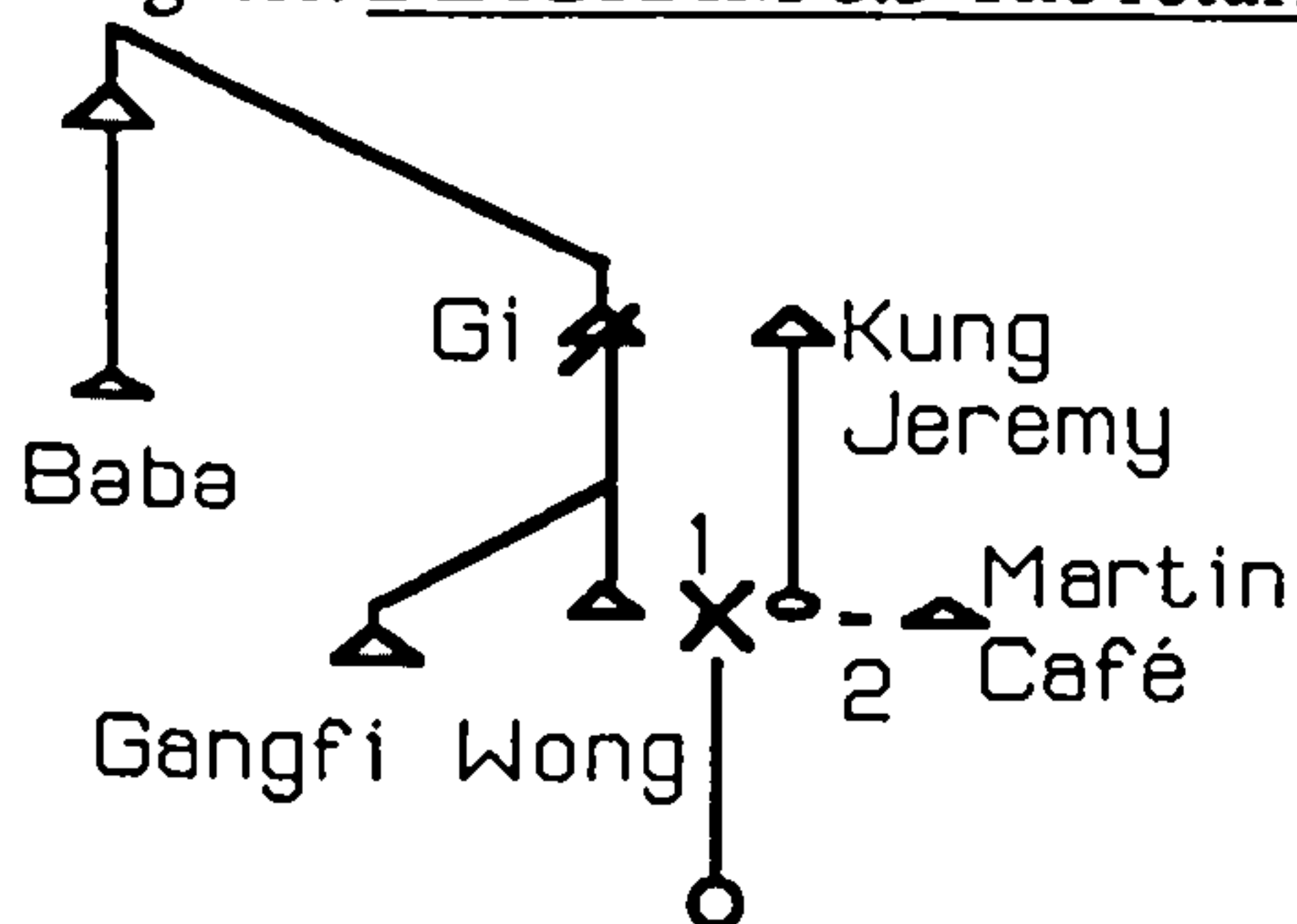
¹⁰⁶i.e. accompanied the new bride to the bride-groom's house

¹⁰⁷news NB a Fulfulde loan. It is not clear if the speaker means to imply pregnancy on the part of the new wife or receipt of the bridewealth (or some part thereof) by her family.

You're things with intelligence (3)
 parce que its not fast traditional hearing as you think it is now ()
 Today you see a small hearing like this, or not like this
 880 yes we will go outside
 Tomorrow like it or not, you will go outside (2)
 Dans la generalité we are things of dossiers parce que
 We all follow the things that the officials do
 The officials look at the dossiers, they watch us
 885 We have hearings that come always
 They just say: Ki! those there
 they just want too many hearings
 In that village the people want too many hearings
 They do them endlessly.
 890 So it is because of that you see me here, I stay
 and see even those things that you see
 Today the things of the hearing, they accompanied me down there ()
 In a year if its rushed even one or two hearings are many,
 they are too many
 895 We that do them all, I don't want hearings to kill the village
 XX; mmm
 Ch; Thank you, the talk of your problem, you those of Kg here
 I have said, I have talked to Kg,
 I have said to Kg: He must look for money (1)
 900 Because I have seen the bill
 They wrote a bill, () they gave it to me
 Them, they wrote a bill, they gave it to me
 So I could see the thing, they gave it, they gave it ()
 They wrote a bill they gave it to me ()
 905 I spoke to Kg, () Kg said to me: no,
 The things they had written together, that they'd written together
 those things he knew nothing of them ()
 So, there were others he did know of, he knew, () he himself had provided them (1)
 He said to the woman's husband, to find the money
 910 He had taken them in what month?
 Wait for what month? Wait for what month ()
 Of this thing here I tell you truly
 You haven't been clear
 They didn't call him, so he could be clear
 915 Because () marriage () is a thing with its own laws. (1)
 Today you take a wife, you look at the woman's character
 You're not tired. You say: Non ()
 I'm not tired of your character
 The small things that you do, don't tire me out
 920 Things come. () The house changes
 today you take a wife, (1) you and your wife are at home
 Today you see the woman misbehaving
 Hey my wife, come back!
 You're upset, the woman says its not, its not you
 925 You're upset, the woman says its not, its not you
 That sort of thing is still different (2)
 Now we cannot *mix the pedals*
 Bon, today there is a divorce of a woman with a baby
 there is a divorce of a woman without a baby, there's everything
 930 If you want a hearing today

- You think it through right to the end of the road (1)
 Its the road to where? Its whose road?
 Is it this one here's road? Is it this one here's road?
 Is it this one here's road? ()
- 935 If you see the road that you will follow
 You say now we will take yours in bulk
 The clear work was that... Gangfi and Li there¹⁰⁸
 Your hearing will go: you mustn't make a fierce case
 Gangfi's people ... you have one place
- 940 If you two stay as two he will come and tell you each time
 I have to call him: Gangfi what is it?
 If you see your children in the hands of people ()
 Its your wife. () Today, always I say
 mmmmm people "bless" her, people "bless" her
- 945 because you never stroll to that house ()
 Today or tomorrow, any year, you will only take one maize (head)
 Your wife takes the maize, goes to the child. Now is that too much?
 Take a soap bar, and say: my wife take it. You say: I bless the child with it
 Is that too much now?
- 950 So, you can sleep soundly with no worries.
 Now the hearing says to you: is it your child? It is mine.
 () So, one two its the dismissal.
 You divorce the woman if the hearing says so
 You divorce the woman () you don't ask anything
- 955 Jb; [] For her then who did she "marry"
 Ch; That's the thing of marriage
 If you divorce you don't ask a thing
 But if a woman transgresses
 not even a needle stays in her hand. You, you go and ask.()
- 960 So for this I will make a "condition".
 The "condition" what is it?
 You look: illness. Illness puis que
 she is an ill person. To Kg for the, the,

¹⁰⁸Gangfi and Li want the bridewealth back from Kung Jeremy following his daughter's divorce. This took place amongst recriminations from either side following her previous husband's mental problems subsequent to falling ill (probably with cerebral malaria). Such illness can occasion witchcraft suspicions if not outright accusation, thus leading to a case at the Chief's Palace over the return of bridewealth following the remarriage of Kung's daughter. DIAGRAM 8.3 The return of Gangfi and Li's Bridewealth



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

- the money that they give ()
 965 You search, if you find something ()
 You go with the thing as if we're looking you do give it all to Tailu
 because his body has a trouble.()
 Because we fix it up amongst the village
 XX; So it is
- 970 Ch; mhm. Your declaration here.
 its not just that we can go with strength
 We will go and take it intelligently (1)
 On one side hearts are painful, and on the other side your hearts are painful
 Ta; That's the palace road, we the husbands don't know.
- 975 Ch; Yes, of this I talked with whom? You go carefully <= laughter
 [
 xx; xxxx xx xxxx
 TA; xxxx xxxx xxx
 Its not that we did her in the house
 Divination didn't want it
- 980 The others didn't want it, not even one
 If he knew her (1) If he knew her
 [
 Ch; You have spoken to her, the woman
 Did the woman know you?
 () Aaa that's a new hearing that will arise from that.
- 985 Puis que, for me, I understood that the woman was bad. They said: oui
 [
 TA; Where did they harm her?
 If illness comes into your family, all your family
 You all die
 Ch; No, because no (4)
- 990 Mb; xxx xxx
 TA; xxx xxx
 Nj; You say you want to marry her then <= laughter
 TA; How don't I marry?
 [
 Jb; He marries the woman, say to her thus
- 995 TA; How can I not marry?
 Am I not a man
 Jb; (1) Now Moses
 [
 TA; How can I not marry?
 Jb; If you fix it up again, look at what you do
- 1000 What is my hearing?
 Were you upset before or weren't you?
 [
 TA; You say I don't marry. How can't I marry her
 Jb; Look at this person that sorts you out
 Come out of there. How old is he?
 [
 1005 TA; Start start with me.
 Jb; Does he leave again today?
 [
 TA; People say you marry xxx xx
 that's for people, children are what?
 Nj; you run away from the hearing

- 1010 Jb; Its only you, its your hearing, its not for me to speak on it
 I've no eyes for your hearing. That's for sure
 [
- TA; Is this hearing finished? Me here, if he married her, the child married her
 you woman, ... you you you who is it?
 Jb; Now its the woman, if she doesn't want her husband
- 1015 Kp; You're tearing your thing apart. The chiefs talk privately, its not for you
 Now I know
 TA; You don't say: for me, I will marry
 Nj; () So, the chief shows the way (3)
 Ny; How can he show them the road?
- 1020 Kp; He shows them the road which (2.5)
 He asks things, he asks things of his work
 [
- XX; xxx xxx
 Kp; He asks his things
 XX; xxx xxx
- 1025 Ni?; The woman won't live, the Chief's wife wont live
 [
- Nj; Its not a small thing
 Ng?; Its not a woman in his hands
 Ni?; for me I have a stick =
 Mb; = You listen
- 1030 Tt; *Jacob, the law forgives xxxx the law*
 []
- Nj; The chief has already finished speaking. You've heard it already
 TA; *The law forgives even this person*
he is thus, as Allah says
Allah forgives and helps him
- 1035 *Forgiven by Allah he must stay thus*
It will go like this, like the story of the woman.
 Ni; My mother said here, I xxx
 [
- Nj; The chief has already spoken. I have spoken
 I bury Kg. Kg is where?
- 1040 We have buried Kg?
 He's not here, with you
 If he'd passed here we'd have seen him
 He passes here, I will go to Kg's compound
 Kg doesn't pass and give her the thing
- 1045 She crossed the hand of Kg, to give him ()
 You will give what thing of yours?
 [
- Ta; *The senior is in charge of all the women in the compound () So Allah ()*
Its the forgiveness of Allah here
 Ni; My mother told me all about it
- 1050 Nj; But can we see the things before the chief does?
 She puts the thing before the chief, so the chief says once again what?
 She goes to find Kg. She arrives at his compound
 She put her hand on the veranda, and gave it to him
 That comes from you chief ()
- 1055 Mb; Its the hearing, this person changes his tune
 () This one you are in the pronouncement of the chief
 Listen to your talk, will we return?

- TA; aha, for me to laugh, its not good
 Nj; she goes to Kg's veranda
 1060 She put her hand there, and gave it to him
 TA; aaaa () To start with your hand won't live
 Nj; go in front of Kg's veranda, where was it like?
 []
 Ny; Ki! leave it out
 Nj; Hearings like this come & summon. Go and talk to Kg
 1065 Say to Kg, give you the thing
 Kg gives it to you
 You're something like Nde¹⁰⁹ over there?
 Like, like if a hearing comes like someone comes quickly (5)
 Ny; The chief says: patience, its not thus.
 So he goes, its already finished.
 []
 1070 Nj; Our hands are already finished
 don't you laugh?
 We won't open our mouths again (9)
 aaa laughter comes from where?
 Break in recording for a few minutes
 1075 Mb; The child before was a child of Njai
 That's to say Kg's children are Njai's children
 []
 Nj; Twenty years twenty years
 Kg's not paid a thing
 Mb; He's a child of Njai, so a child of the sua man?
 Nj; Even for twenty years Kg hasn't paid him a thing.(1)
 1080 Listen to me: you descend, you descend, you climb
 You descend you climb (3) <= Laughter
 Mb; Listen to me
 You don't send things, and beside that
 Listen to me, Vəju is whose child?¹¹⁰
 1085 Now you run away from it.
 xx; They speak wisely
 Nj;(2) Aaa? Listen to me, the chief has said his piece: "fiuŋ!"
 You stay afterwards, you go somewhere else
 Illness does for us, we have our illnesses
 1090 So, in the talk of illness we say, yes, what can we do?
 If that child stays in the house.
 Have they fallen fast asleep?
 They've fallen fast asleep
 Nj; 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

¹⁰⁹Nde is eB of chief (1F). The allusion is not understood by the translator.

¹¹⁰Njaibi stands in an authority relationship comparable to a father over any of Kg's children since Vəju's mother is Bake, Njaibi's sister. Vəju is Kg's wife.

- If, before a person gave her something
 They gave the thing and **chàng** 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.
 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 compound¹¹¹
 Ny; (2) I understand
 Ch; (1) The person is in your hands, vraitment.
 1120 If something's the matter
 I go and call a meeting, you don't come, So
 but don't walk around and say I didn't know
 Ga; So
 xx; xxx

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

Fieldnotes Relevant to the second hearing

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

Before recording started GW was talking about all NG's expenses on wife/work for house.

Kotap fetched the **ndungu sua**, and gave it to Njaibi. BT fetched a chicken, then handed it with 20,000 CFA to NG (the money came from another Gumbe man).

Two feathers plucked out whilst NG held the chick. These feathers were then held alongside the chicken. He then gave it to the Chief who blessed it, and passed it back along the line of Notables.

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

¹¹¹A Distance of four kilometres

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

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

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

Distribution of the meat:

First leaf-wrapped parcel of meat given to Tabə Paul.

Second parcel taken by Kətap into Chief's Palace - portion for the Chief?

The rest is handed round to all present. It is offered to Papa, then Nyakati, Ve, Mbinyu Paul, Jacob, Kətap...

While the tape was not running someone rose and left saying he was going to fetch KG. This made Papa cross: he shouted angrily at the man before he himself left. Kg was not fetched.

Comments on the text

The two long transcripts which have just been presented provide examples of many typical features of hearings at the Chief's Palace. There is little formality in the presentation of cases and a case can be discussed on several occasions without any resolution being realized, despite the much-repeated injunction to resolve disputes speedily. Many more disputes are discussed¹¹² at the Chief's Palace than **sua**-oaths are sworn. The blessing of **kulu sua** was performed at the end of the adultery case at issue without being fully resolved. The arguments had been made in public, and public resolution achieved insofar as BT agreed to pay a fine, and to participate in the blessing. The marriage of AAA and NG continued to be marked with fierce rows in which her mother's husband acted as an intermediary on the request of NG. Some months later NG finished building their new house and they seemed much happier living together in their own house.

Hutchins 1980, and Goldman 1983 have applied socio-linguistic and script analysis to Melanesian disputes. In the study of African disputes Comaroff and Roberts (1981) provide a synthesis of the conflicting views of Bohannan (1957) and Gluckman (1955) which they resolve in their procesual account of 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.

¹¹²On the course of a Saturday or Sunday afternoon (the days when most disputes are heard) at the Palace two or three disputes will be discussed, but others will be mentioned as being in prospect, or an attempt to hold a hearing will fail because one of the parties fails to attend. It is rare, however, to take more than one **sua**-oath in an afternoon.

Full analysis of Mambila rhetoric in any detail, paralleling the achievements of Goldman or Hutchins, must await another occasion. The concern here is to use the transcripts as evidence for an analysis of the traditional religion. We have already seen above how the concept of “age” and “being old” were used by a Notable (Njaibi) when his authority was challenged by NG’s refusal to attend the hearing. **Sua** was also invoked, often in the same passages, thus establishing, or arguing for, a metaphoric link between the Notable (because old) and the power of **sua** which he described as being old, above: First Hearing lines 242 ff, 296 and 313; Second Hearing line 848.

With respect to **sua kulu**, however, it is very different from the **sua** oaths already examined. There is no formalized speech accompanying the ritual actions, indeed the ritual is an almost insignificant part of the dispute as it was pursued at the Palace. Njaibi wanted a **sua** oath to be taken. The **sua** referred to in the transcript is not the **sua kulu** rite which had just occurred, but the **sua**-oath. **Sua kulu** is not powerful nor binding.

Sua encapsulates a range of experience, to do with power and control. **Sua kulu** falls into this range since the rite occurs at the conclusion of a dispute-resolution process which leads to **sua kulu** only if the adulterer admits to the adultery and is prepared to re-establish amicable relations with the wronged husband. Power and control are central elements of the context within which **sua kulu** occurs.

Chapter Nine

Conclusions¹

THE PROBLEM

The problem which I have been tackling is one common to ethnographers, and especially those who have recently returned from the field. The question essentially is what to do with those Mambila concepts which are vague and incomplete. The more I have pondered this problem the less confident I am about how to resolve it, yet at the same time I feel all the more forcefully the injunction to be faithful to what I experienced in the field, and to what the people with whom I work say and do. "Faithful" is a word which seems to sit safely in the minefield of discussions about realism and reflexivity in science generally as well as in anthropology.

COSMOLOGY

There is a tension between the theoretical position here advocated and the ethnography outlined above. The theoretical arguments must not be seen as denying that the Mambila have a cosmology. These arguments do not imply that they have no unifying world view, nor any account which can classify all and any events and actions. This is a possible but incorrect reading of the arguments. To restate the case here maintained: in the absence of a literate and reflective tradition Mambila cosmology is ineluctably vague. This is not, however, to say it that does not exist. The theoretical arguments serve to define the attitude with which the ethnography is to be read. Surprisingly there is common ground with the degree of elaboration to be found in the political (let alone economic) concepts held by people in Britain. Words can be powerful, moving forces without being well developed concepts². 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,

¹Early versions of parts of this chapter have been presented at seminars of the Manchester Department of Social Anthropology and the Oxford Institute. I am grateful for both opportunities to discuss these ideas. Marcus Banks read an early draft, and all these discussions have helped clarify the argument.

²This has been further developed by Boyer's (1986) discussion of empty concepts and in the work on the development of scientific terms such as "phlogiston."

however, to be read in the context of the argument about vagueness and incompleteness presented above.

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

- { Common idioms: who knows? **Chàṅ** knows.
- { : who made you? **Chàṅ** did.
- {
- { Cause of (natural) illness
- Chàṅ** {
- { Cause of (natural) events (e.g. as used in **sua** speeches)
- {
- { God in Christian discourse
- {
- { Personal spirit
- {
- { Spirits in the bush
- { masquerades
- sua** {
- { oaths

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

Women: possibly the same.

Divination: not integrated into a cosmological system?

The preceding chapters serve to give substance to this very sparse summary. In particular the chapters on **sua**-oaths and **sua** masquerades enable us to understand both the essential unity and the multiplicity of **sua**.

The power of the oaths is reinforced by images from the masquerades (at least for men who, as children were, all terrified by the **sua** Mask).

The varieties of oath relate to the concerns of the oath-takers, public, private, great or little. Public oaths are (those) taken at the Chief’s Palace. The main **sua**-oath is taken at

the end of a process of dispute resolution, and it serves as a marker of that conclusion. The stated intention is to prevent the malevolent intervention of witches.

Public sua-oaths may also be taken, as described above, in conjunction with the *damə* rite to “close” the village to evil and to mark a public resolve (in the case cited: not to drink moonshine). The combination of the two rites is intended to protect the village from malevolence both by insiders and by outsiders. Effectively, those present swear not to practise witchcraft; hence the oath-taking is a personal commitment by each participant not to contravene either the specific prohibition against moonshine or the more far-reaching injunctions expressed in *damə*.

Resolution of adultery, as a “lesser” public dispute, is marked by *sua kulu*, the sua blessing in which no oaths are taken. Amity is re-established and the intervention of witches is thereby prevented. Lengthy hearings precede the blessing and enable the airing of grievances. As in all disputes an arena is provided for the establishment, maintenance and reassessment of status, authority and power. All sua rites address issues of power and agency.

Private concerns are addressed in the *sua kare* oath which is taken at home. A householder protects his house and family from witchcraft. This may be an initial response to illness which were it to continue or become serious may lead to a hearing at the Chief’s Palace in order to make a public witchcraft accusation and hence lead to a major sua-oath being taken.

Li sua may be performed in private contexts for lesser issues (e.g. petty theft) since it is revocable. The ease of performance (no grasses must be sought, nor chicken procured) renders it likely to be chosen to begin a funeral beer-drink when divination has warned of the threat of poisoning.

It was suggested in the preface that by examining transcripts of events wherein sua is enacted we can reach an understanding of it which is, at least, available to Mambila themselves. Hence we have examined transcripts from several varieties of sua. Yet no informal talk has been considered. It might be suggested that such talk is an important forum in which concepts of sua are created and refined. I maintain that this is not the case for the Mambila concept of sua. Informal conversations, for example during beer drinks, contained no philosophical discussion of “the meaning of sua”. Sua is discussed rarely on such occasions, and then it is the method of performance which is commented upon: such questions as, for example, what would happen if the chicken was not cleanly beheaded at a sua-oath rite. Occasionally the talk between Notables at the Chief’s Palace turned to sua, but this too concerned aspects of its implementation, for example, in anticipation of a masquerade performance of the history of ownership of different masks was rehearsed.

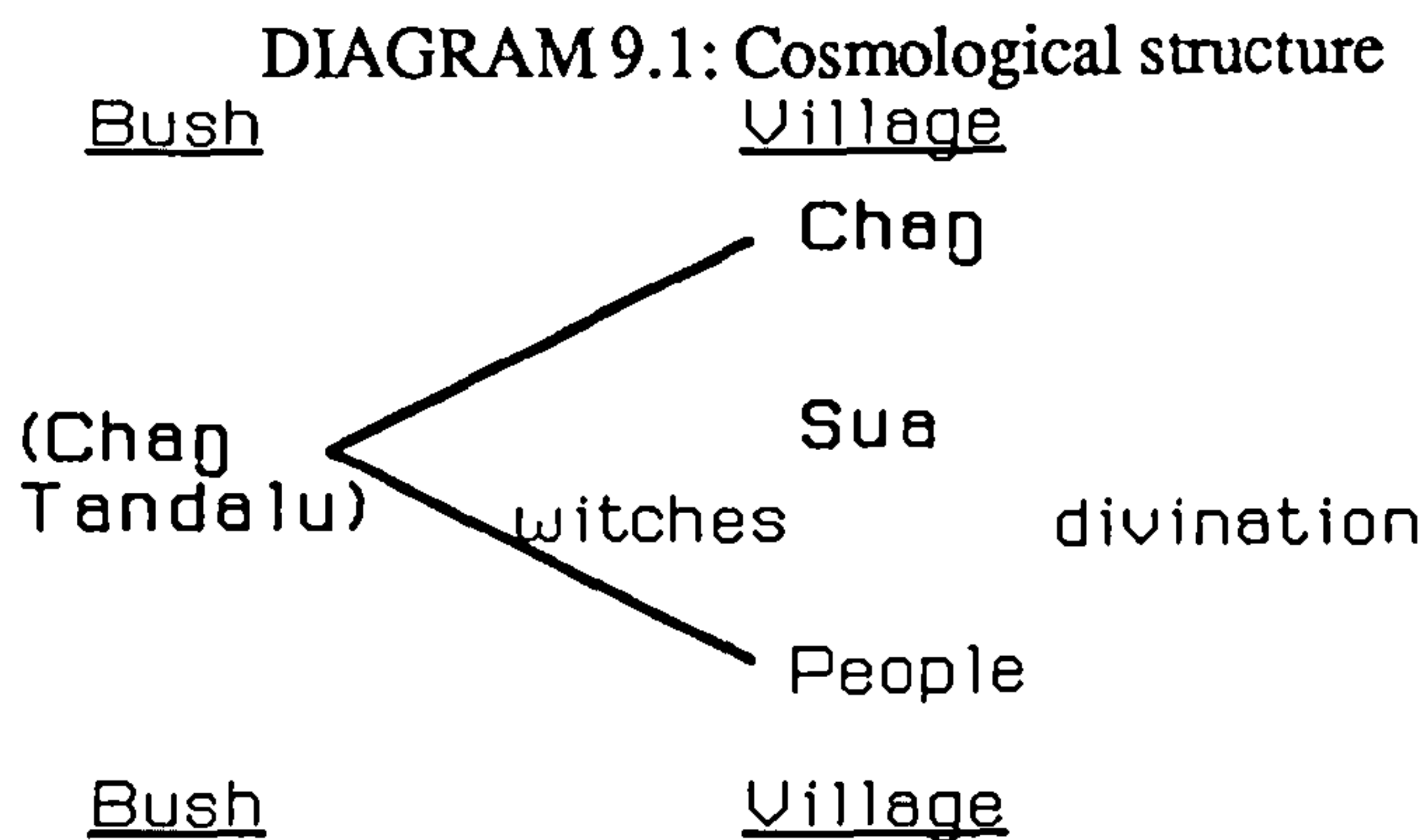
Conclusions

There is also an idiom in use: **sua à sie m̀** (sua it seizes me), which is well translated by “I am stricken by conscience”. This relates to the **sua**-oaths, and to the action of **sua** which is invoked in the **sua** addresses.

Informal talk such as this is informative only with reference to the formal enactments of **sua** as detailed in the preceding chapters. The performances of **sua** are the means by which one comes to understand it. One learns divination through practice not through separate theoretical tuition. Informal talk, as it is infrequent and concerns not the why but the how, is of secondary importance.

The most general summary of **sua** has already been stated: its various manifestations summarize (or encapsulate) a range of experience relating to power and control. Agency is a corollary of power, hence there are utterances which ascribe agency to **sua**, such as the idiom just mentioned, or such as occur in the refrain to **dama**. 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”.



Chàḡ 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:

	<u>men's sua</u>	<u>women's sua</u>
costume	human form (village)	inchoate (bush?)
place	enclosure in village	enclosure in bush

dance clockwise¹ anti-clockwise

However, finding a few binary oppositions is not sufficient to justify a full-blown structural analysis. Neither the existence of these oppositions nor the diagram above is sufficient to establish a definite “cosmological structure”.

Any account of a “religious/cosmological system” is constrained by at least the two factors which follow:

- a) it must be consistent with observed practice, i.e. the evidence here presented;
- b) the account must be acceptable to most Mambila.

The latter constraint requires qualification. It is clear that any account which was generally and speedily dismissed as incorrect by those we work with would be unsatisfactory. Yet what to do when an account receives a mixed response? Here we have the classic problems which afflict structuralist analyses of unconscious or unstated structures. Whilst *sua* may not be “essentially contested” (cf. Gallie 1956) it may be essentially vague; at the least it must be so in order to accommodate the range of activities subsumed under its name. A reasonable conclusion is that the range of activities and things called *sua* would be narrowed and restricted were theology to be developed in Somié. Current usage results from the freedom from “definition” in its more restrictive senses. To do things with words there must be freedom from scholastic quibbling. This fits well with Boyer’s (1986) account of the Fang notion of *Evur* which he argues is, like all “mana-terms”, not an empty concept but a “natural kind” or “mass term” whose possible range of meaning is constrained by the learning process. There is an obvious variety of routes to increasing knowledge about concrete objects, whereas with abstract ideas there exist only the learning and variations (repetitions) of use. There is a self-contained Wittgensteinian “language game.” *Sua*, however, is in part a concrete object; it can be seen. Moreover, it is also not tied to a hierarchy of knowledge as is the Fang concept of *Evur*. Boyer describes a process of learning whereby experts diverge from the stereotype, but this does not characterize the process of learning about *sua*. Everyone participates in masquerade rites. Everyone can be present and at least hear the addresses made during the *sua*-oaths.

Boyer states that “differences in the styles of discourse about a certain notion are instrumental in shaping people’s representation of it.” (Boyer 1986:63). The cases which have been examined of the various manifestations of *sua* in Somié are distinct from each other, and as a group from other concepts (such as *chàŋ*) in many more ways than merely in the different styles of discourse employed. Speech is not an important element of the

¹At 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.

masquerades. The representations that people have of *sua* are certainly influenced by the ways in which it is talked about, and more importantly, by the ways in which “*sua*” is used in talk. The argument of this work is that it is possible to draw conclusions as to the faithful characterization of such representations. The final section argues that by so doing one steps beyond a Wittgensteinian “account” of linguistic practise, and in so doing one provides a socialization of Sperber’s analysis.

A WORKING RELIGION

This ethnography seeks to describe “what is done with” the word *sua*. Thus it begins by following Wittgenstein’s adage not to ask for the meaning but to look to the use of a word (Wittgenstein 1958). However, realism entails going beyond usage to meaning, despite Wittgenstein’s arguments against such a step¹. The dilemma thus occasioned is discussed below.

In this work I have outlined the different ways in which the words *sua* and *chàṅ* 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-propositionalrepresentation* 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-propositionalrepresentation* may be the result of incomplete comprehension of a single proposition intended by the speaker. Alternatively the speaker may only have a *semi-propositionalrepresentation*, and it may be this that the speaker “intended to convey” (op cit. 170). A *semi-propositionalrepresentation* 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-propositionalrepresentations* 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

¹Or those of Needham (1972) which have served as warnings of dangers inherent in, rather than guides to, this analysis.

Conclusions

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 profound¹.” And profound is, of course, another word for *semi-propositional*. (op cit. 173) Sperber also distinguishes factual from representational beliefs (op cit. 171 ff). “Apparently irrational beliefs” are then seen to be “representational beliefs of semi-propositional content” (op cit. 177).

In dismissal of intellectualism he says “the world is hard enough to explain without golden-hearted single-horned dragons” (p 152). This, however, begs the question of who it is who wants to explain the world. It is our concern. Sperber’s informant, Filate, was not sitting down (advised use of sitting) and seeking to “explain the world”. He lives in the world and seeks to negotiate a way through it without Occamist scruples. If this necessitates dragon hunts then so be it...

I agree with Sperber on many points. I want to take seriously his rather flippant explanation of why Filate talked about dragons with golden hearts. Sperber gives an account of a marginalized, aged hunter who knows that his stories will not be listened to. A trader at the market had told him about a dragon, and the white man may be the best audience to whom he may recount what he has been told. Moreover, the white man may own or have access to guns, and thus be able to help a hunter.

Leaving aside further questions of whether his taxonomy of beliefs and representations is helpful I will attempt to situate this approach sociologically.

Strecker has recently (1988) taken Sperber to task for focussing on the point of view of the hearer at the expense of that of the speaker. Strecker argues that this leads to an under-valuation of the reasons why multi-vocal utterances are produced. In particular these reasons may be the micro-political factors which are clearly involved in structuring verbal interaction, as has been demonstrated by Brown & Levinson (1978). It is this area which I want to explore further.

Discussing Quine’s radical translation problem it was argued above that translation manifestly is possible since we live in the real world and could not survive if the problem were as insuperable as it is claimed². 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].

¹This is a variant of the same idea expressed in “Rethinking Symbolism” and quoted p45 above.

²Hallen & Sodipo (1987) give a sympathetic presentation of Quine’s argument but nonetheless continue to analyse Yoruba concepts of knowledge. Their success in this analysis sits oddly with Quine’s argument of the impossibility of translation.

There is room to make a not-unrelated argument concerning “precise concepts”, particularly when these are the central tenets of a religion. This is to suggest that the difference between folk religions and religions with a theological (reflexive) component does not lie in the opposition of city-vs.-town, great-vs.-small traditions, but can be explained by just such an appeal to “pragmatic reality.” Here, however, the appeal is to a different feature of “pragmatic reality” than that invoked in my response to Quine. The practical demands of everyday life require flexibility in order that concepts can be applied. These requirements leave little time to worry about the possible indeterminacy (following Quine) of many basic sortal words. Similarly, it is not possible to worry about the existing vagueness of other “religious” concepts. No room is left by the sort of “boot-strapping” strategies called the “natural attitude” by ethnomethodologists, for example Heritage 1984:54 ff, discussing the problem of “other minds:”

“The actor in the natural attitude does not need to prove (or have it proved) that the other’s actions are animated by goals and intentions. Rather the actor starts out with the unquestioned assumption that this is the case. Thus the actor’s task is not the “philosophical” one of justifying a belief in ‘other minds’ [or any other analytical task: D.Z.], but the empirical task of specifying their “contents” - the goals, intentions &c. - which are operative on any given occasion.” (ibid. p 57)

This is a perfect description of Bourdieu’s Doxa, the unquestioned assumptions, precepts, bodily attitudes et cetera, which form the unstated basis of habitus. It should be noted that such an analysis is independent of Sperber’s arguments. Thus it allows a process of social positioning to precede and complement the sort of symbolic analysis which Sperber advocates, although, obviously, I have caveats about the form that this analysis should take. For example: an analysis of symbolism must take into account the degree of fixity of definition of its subject. Thus the manner in which a word in the tradition of Christian literate theology is symbolic is quite different from the manner in which the word *sua* is symbolic.

Socio-cultural positioning must precede symbolic analysis. This is a position close to that of Streckler and stems from his concern with speech-strategies from the speaker’s point of view. It is quite possible for some concepts to be refined, precise, well-formed whilst others, equally frequent in use, are crude, worked-with but not -on. It should be remembered that there obtains no philosophical injunction to clarify concepts through analysis. A weaker injunction suffices: namely to understand linguistic usage per se. In that sense alone am I Wittgensteinian.

Christine Swanton (Swanton 1985) has recently taken up W.B. Gallie’s arguments (Gallie 1956) that many terms, especially those in politics, are “essentially contested”, and that this is different from being “radically confused”. Gallie argued that there are terms for which there is no best definition, or, at least, no warrant for the choice of such.

Competition among rival interpretations is inevitable, unending and to be welcomed. Whether or not such concepts do exist (both Swanton and Allison (Allison 1984) doubt that they do) anthropologists are as interested in those which are radically confused as in any which are essentially contested. We want to know the use to which they are put, and why or how their use persists.

If all that is needed for the concepts to be usable, and indeed to have explanatory power, is that certain very basic semantic properties be defined¹ then we can see how the Somié system works without a theology, and without a structure as it would usually be understood.

What I am describing is not a totally minimalist religion (there could be even less than there is) but a religion in which the structure which exists is built into the semantics and is never made explicit. It is a religion which could be systematized and given a theology². 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 proof³. It is, along with all the other theorems, implicit in the basic axioms of mathematics. However, until the proof has been made, the theorem was deducible, but not deduced. Its status was uncertain. A similar uncertainty obtains of Mambila religion as long as it is not systematized. It is possible to make it into a system by deriving or formalizing the inter-connections. Until that is done it remains latent, a system in potential alone.

The words are vague because they have never been made precise. There is no reason why they should be. Reflection and discussion concerns cases and people (as described by Horton 1967). Jack Goody has argued (1977, 1986) that literacy and a literate tradition have wide-reaching cognitive effects. In their absence critical conceptual scrutiny

¹Boyer 1989:9 cites Keil on this point; see also Keesing 1985, and Lakoff & Kovecses 1987

²Nigel Barley's "Symbolic Structures" (1983) may be a first step in that direction for the Dowayo.

³Gödel's theorem notwithstanding, which establishes that the converse does not hold: i.e. there are theorems which are not finitely provable.

and enquiry which intends disengagement do not arise¹. Moreover, the vagaries of oral transmission militate against a continuing and developing critique. Goody's arguments establish reasons why a theological tradition should not have developed.

In any society, literate or not, the uses of vagueness are manifold. Evasive speech is a pervasive feature of Western politics. Speech which says little while sounding definitive is accomplished by the use of "hedges" and "weasel words" (Strecker, Levinson) and they are made to sound authoritative by the use of rhetorical devices (as described by Max Atkinson 1984). Where the key concepts are vague then "grammatically" precise speech remains open to the multiplicity of interpretation which is an explicit possibility in clearly hedged or multi-vocal utterances. So, to say of someone "sua has seized them", or of an event simply "it is sua" is to leave much open for debate. So too in western politics with words which are themselves "essentially contested;" Sperber's examples of "words with fuzzy meanings" include 'love', 'faith', 'leftism' 'sport' (Sperber 1982:160).

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

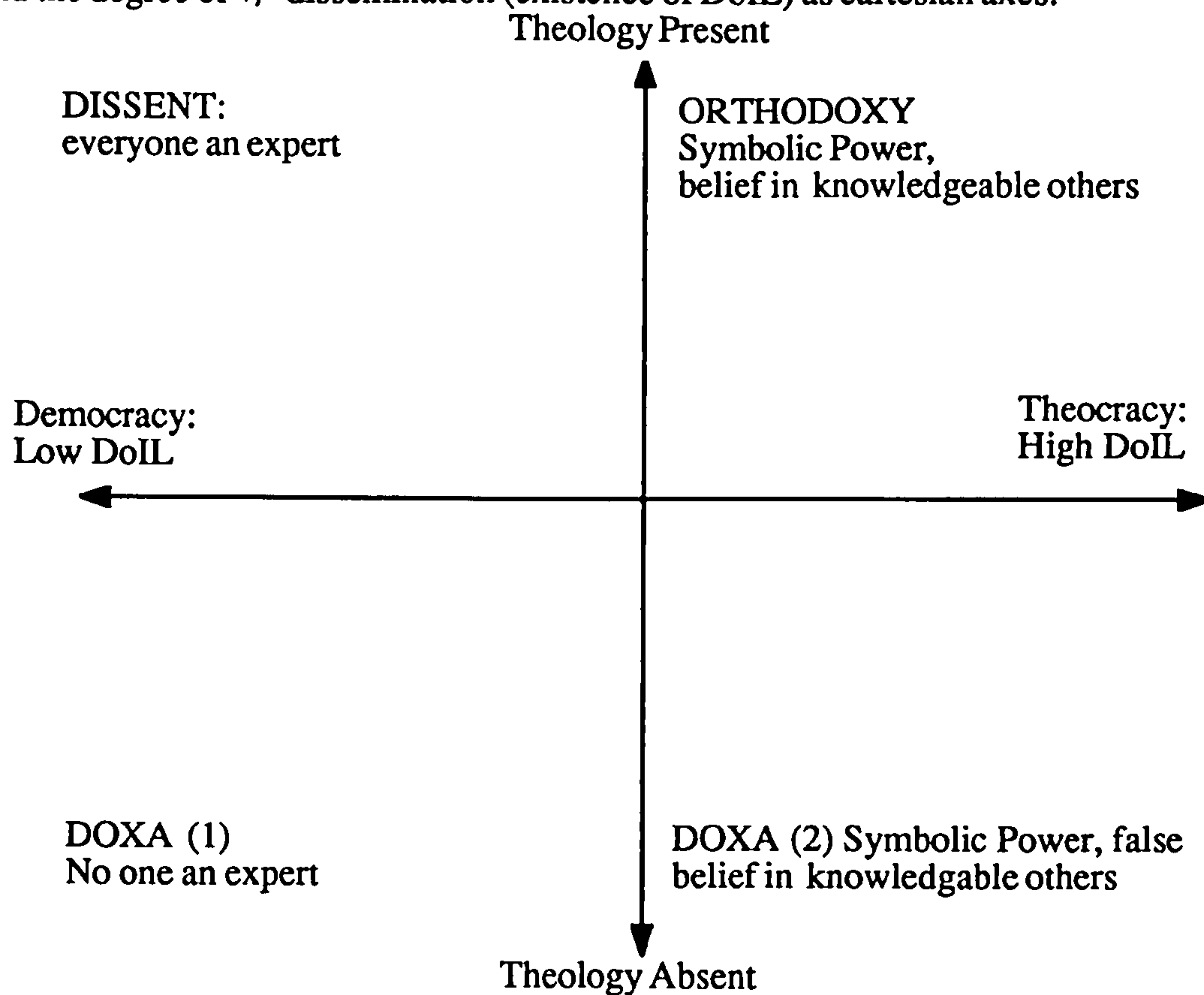
The relationship of religion to power is complicated and multi-factoral. I shall consider here one aspect alone, namely the effects and corollaries of having a more or a less formulated theology, and one that is more or less disseminated. If a word is not well understood, or, more importantly for my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

¹Finnegan's criticism (1988) of such strong claims are considered briefly in the Preface to this work.

Conclusions

Such an approach can be taken to imply that there are pragmatic reasons why theology should not develop, at least from within. Those in power benefit from poorly-defined concepts. Yet this last statement is incorrect since it may be that no-one recognizes the effects of under-definition. Moreover, theology may develop but not be disseminated. Such is Bourdieu's "orthodoxy". This introduces a further element into the picture: The Division of Intellectual Labour (henceforth "DoIL"). If words are vague but are believed to be well understood by some people then everyone can concur, and the authority of these knowledgeable "others" may be increased. Theologians wield power in a manner consistent with Bourdieu's approach to symbolic power. I stress that this is far from exhausting the notion of symbolic power. I seek only to explore one aspect of it.

The following diagram of Symbolic power shows the presence/absence of theology and the degree of +/- dissemination (existence of DoIL) as cartesian axes:-



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.

Conclusions

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 Gnao ritual healing: "they are absorbed by the practical details of doing it more than by questions about the assumptions entailed by their actions. A man doing magic or a doctor is possibly quite like a cook or a carpenter in this respect: he does not necessarily think out again each time he acts what could be the logic of what he is doing, the assumptions behind it. He has a skill, knows the routine, gets on with it and does it. Habit and routine make it familiar. ... Habit is unthinking." (Lewis 1986:426). This stands as a further development of the argument of "The Day of Shining Red" (1980) in which Lewis considered the problems of interpreting Gnao puberty rites which receive, like the Mambila sua, no indigenous commentary. Interpretations are possible, and may help anthropologists "understand" Gnao ritual. But Gnao 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~~ as Western medicine. Lewis considers someone who goes to a witch to be healed because of their success in healing other people. Would, he asks "action done in that pragmatic spirit be evidence of a belief in magic, or just empiricism? People often learn a technique without bothering at all about the principles or any other theory behind it." (1986:422 following Keith Thomas). Doctors do not, I am told, know how aspirin works.

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

The greatest perplexity arising from Sperber is why the difference between propositions and semi-propositional representations should be so arcane. If this distinction is so pervasive then why is it not recognized? Why do we behave (talk) as if every thing were propositional? One answer may be that it is insupportable and therefore impossible to live in the the world while making such a distinction. In ordinary discourse it is impossible

to admit to talking nonsense, using words which are weakly understood, even if no one understands them better. Such talk gets nowhere if the usual hedges et cetera are employed. (Hedges such as (in English): "I think", "possibly", "it may be", "I don't know but..." or (in *jù bà*): *tamə, merre di...*). Sperber's explanation of why Filate did not recount the story of the dragon to other Dorze assumes comprehension of this.

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

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

As stated above, the institution of the Chief seems to have been adopted from the Tikar after the arrival of Mambila on the Tikar Plain. The support of Colonial and Independent administrations has helped turn a loan into an active institution at the centre of many village affairs. The acephalous system described in Nigeria by Farnham Rehfisch was a male gerontocracy. The rôle of the Notables, the old men who gather at the Chief's Palace to talk and who are involved in hearings and meetings, is an example of the mutual accommodation of the two systems. The elders cede power to the Chief, who acts as Chair, and the Chief listens and heeds the counsel given. It is not at all clear to what extent he would be able to enforce a policy in opposition to the elders without the sanction of his rôle by the state authorities. I know of no case in which the Chief has had such a clash with the elders.

Turning to *sua*, it is clear that the Chief plays an important rôle, both in the oaths and in the men's masquerade. (There remains a lacuna in my knowledge with respect to the relationship of the Chief to the women's masquerade: he must leave the Palace during some of its component rites, but I do not know if he has a rôle in any of the others).

A *sua*-oath is used to mark the end of disputes which have been heard at the Palace. It is for the Chief to pronounce (if not to decide alone) the satisfactory conclusion of the case so that the *sua*-oath can be taken. Both in the masquerade and in such oaths various items are presented to him and to him alone to be blessed before their use. Thus there is a measure in which the Chief is identified with the power of *sua*. In many respects *sua* sits behind the Chief and serves not only to legitimate but also as one of the means by which his authority is realized.

Appendix 1.

Causes of illness (discussed in Chapter Two, Section 1)

Four senior men, all with reputations as diviners and curers were asked about the different types of illness and how they should be treated. Their accounts of the treatment of the two broad types of illness (caused by **chàṅ** or caused by people (**nùàṛ**)) are summarized below:

CAUSE:	MA 302/78	KUNG 303/15	BI 303/10	TAM
302/84				
chàṅ	lə	lə	lə*	lə
nùàṛ divn-Chief	lə to drive off witch by its smell	divn then sua or lə . Lə - cut chicken over ill person So sim. to sua	chə sua or warning off: (ta nduan) Lə to aid recovery	lə Lə to aid recovery

*NB he classed **dulu** (fever) & cough separately as just illness, not work of **chàṅ**!

Appendix 2.

Documented Mambila Masks¹

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.

	object name	commentary	source
rites	showa/sur/sowi	general name for masks, hidden from women; used at fertility and at important burials.	Anon
	suah bvur	mask: dog, owl, 'tear'?	Schwartz 1972
	suah bur	dancing mask of the first rank	Tong 1967:8
	bur	'dog' mask from Mbamnga	Anon
	suah dua	mask: crow	Schwartz 1972
	suah dua	Sacred bird, mutual aid soc.	Gebauer 1979:154
	suah dua	dancing mask of the second rank	Tong 1967:8
	Duwa	Main Suwa masks	Anon
	suah mben	fibre suit for young boys play - said to be remnant of N-E cult (Torbi group) dropped in favour of Suwa cult from Warwar & Southern	
	villages.		
	Anon		
main	suah ndeng	fibre suits; sexual jokes	Schwartz 1972
	suah ndeng	the dancing suit	Tong 1967:8
	suah ndang	black suits used to discipline children, in conjunction with the	
		Suwa rites	Anon
	mafe	'wind' mask from Tep Kwar	Anon
	mahir	'storm' mask from Mbamnga	Anon
	nsua ndua	Bird, annual dance of Kurum mutual aid society	Gebauer

1979:299

¹There are major collections of Mambila sculpture in the United States of America, in particular those of Gebauer and Schneider. I have not had the opportunity to study these collections nor their documentation in situ.

Appendices

swaba	fibre dancing suit, Atta	Hurault (1954)
gomvø	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

Appendix 3

J.H. Pollock's 1926 Mbembe Assessment Report (Appendix to Chapter 3: Divination)

(Copies in Buea archives and in Library of Bambui Regional Major Seminary, Cameroon)

Paragraph 196. "Practically the only superstition or cult of the occult is divination which is known as KA in the MBEMBE area and BAKA in the BUNGWUN area. When it is desired to consult the oracle KA on any matter, a KA servant (NSURAKA) is called; after being told what information is required, he finds a land crab hole. The seeker for information then takes a stick and touching his forehead with it, recites his request and asks the stick to request KA to give an answer, he then taps the entrance to the burrow with the stick and drawing it along the ground for a distance of about 10 inches, sticks the stick into the ground. Another stick is similarly placed in the ground which represents the negative answer, this is repeated for as many times as the supplicant has questions to ask, the burrow is then covered with leaves of trees, these leaves are marked with camwood, holes are burned in them and they are scratched or marked with a knife. NGURAKA and the supplicant then leave the burrow, after an hour or so they return and if the land crab has emerged and scattered the leaves NGURAKA is able to interpret the placing of the leaves as answers to the questions. Should the leaves be scattered around in an indiscriminate manner it is interpreted as showing that KA is not prepared to answer any of the questions asked, if a number of the marked leaves are piled at a particular stick then the answer given by the oracle is the question given to that particular stick."

Paragraph 197: "KA is consulted on all manner of things affecting the life and well being of these people. This oracle is the most powerful factor in the lives of everyone in the area. When a man dies and it is desired to know if his soul has been received amongst the blessed or cast-out to wander for ever in the bush KA is consulted, on occasions of famine or sickness when it is desired to know how to propitiate the deity KA is consulted, before a chief and his people proceed to their usual fishing KA will be asked if the time is propitious, should a man intend proceeding on a trading expedition he will demand of KA whether his adventure will be successful or not, should KA give an adverse answer then the trading expedition will be postponed altogether."

LINGUISTIC APPENDICES:

Full transcripts with word-for-word glosses of the texts translated above.

References to the notes in the main text are given by superscript numbers in which the chapter number is followed by the footnote number:

for example: 6#12 is footnote 12 to chapter 6.

Transcription conventions are repeated at the end of this work.

Appendix to Chapter 6
The transcript of a Sua-Oath

Chefferie sua 8/12/85

Ga= Guanam

Ta= Tam Umaru

Nj= Njaibi

Jb= Jacob

- 0 Ga;mi nde sua cho. Mi cho. Ngue mi
mi nde sua cho. Mi cho. Ngue mi
I go sua cut I cut Listen me
- 1 Jb;Ngue yə bə və le < Heh heh >=< Banging on the chefferie
doors for attention
Ngue yə bə və le heh heh
listen you PL. woman in
- 2 Heh heh, Bí fela sua bɔ́ seé.
heh heh bí fela sua bɔ́ seé
you listen sua do work
- 3 Ga;Wò sar yə, wò fum yə^{6#7}, Tam tue ju lane gi naá
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 nùàr sar, wò nùàr fəm,
wò nùàr sar wò nùàr fəm
you person spearer you person shape-changer
- 5 wò mgbati loó ni, wò mgbati yuop.
wò mgbati loó ni wò mgbati yuop
you witch compound who you witch theft?
- 6 Te bəé te wò və baá kulu^{6#8}.ku kulu
te bəé te wò və baá kulu ku kulu
NEG harm NEG you woman PRES. bless bless bless
- 7 Nùàr mə wò furu mə nə gi chuar^{6#9},
nùàr mə wò furu mə nə gi chuar
person that you bury with is egg chicken
- 8 bé kwa nji kə du, sua sie bu sie.
bé kwa nji kə du sua sie bu sie
we find thing at ground sua take it take
- 9 Mavə, huan sep (1) wò nyugə mə loó bí yə,
mavə huan sep wò nyugə mə loó bí yə
woman child male you repair with compound yours yours

Sua Oath Transcript

- 10 wò fum yə, () bó tue ju lɔ́^{6#10} gi naá
wò fum yə bó tue ju lɔ́ gi naá
you witch yours they say talk compound end PAST
- 11 Wò nùàr ɲene, wò jə: wula kə nùàr ().
wò nùàr ɲene wò jə wula kə nùàr
you person see you say kill at person
- 12 Ngwagam kə van hən mì yə yə yə^{6#11} (1)
Ngwagam kə van hən mì yə yə yə
maize at plain this I eat eat eat
- 13 Ma mì kɔ ɲgwə mì sɔ tema chén
ma mì kɔ ɲgwə mì sɔ tema chén
if I know NEG. I live liver one
- 14 Bá mbi mò nde tɔgɔ gi mun.
bé mbi mò nde tɔgɔ gi mun
we friend mine go quarrel end thus
- 15 Lɔ́ Ndeba^{6#12}, bò Taa jə: wula nùàr kə du.
lɔ́ ndeba bò taa jə wula nùàr kə du
compound PL. Atta say kill person at ground
- 16 Mì ɲgwagam yə yə yə.
mì ɲgwagam yə yə yə
I maize eat eat eat
- 17 Mì hən den də,
mì hən den də
I this stay of
- 18 və mò suaga kə ter njulu chugu,
və mò suaga kə ter njulu chugu
woman mine descend at up eyes blind
- 19 bó wula bu lu,
bò wula bu lu
they kill her SUB.EMP.
- 20 bí jə: bí gwom wula bu lu. Bí xxx,
bí jə bí gwom wula bu lu bí xxx
you say you pay kill her SUB.EMP. you xxx
- 21 wò nùàr gwom te gwom.
wò nùàr gwom te gwom
you person pay NEG pay
- 22 Wò ɲene yə yə yə.
wò ɲene yə yə yə
you see eat eat eat
- 23 Wò jena ɲgwagam, () wò jena yulu.
wò jena ɲgwagam wò jena yulu
you refuse maize you refuse millet
- 24 Fə mgbe mə dən də, bò mgbe yə.
fə mgbe mə dən də bò mgbe yə

Sua Oath Transcript

head chief that here of PL. chief yours

25 (1) Kənəhən bò tue mgbe, tue tema chén.
kənəhən bò tue mgbe tue tema chén
now they say chief say liver one

26 Bò jibi bu akili, bò jibi bò vo, bò jibi bò ɲuna,
bò jibi bu akili bò jibi bò vo bò jibi bò
ɲuna
they shake her intelligence they shake PL. wife they shake PL.
child

27 Bò Ndeba dɔ́ɔ́, bò və, bò sep,
bò Ndeba dɔ́ɔ́ bò və bò sep
PL. Ndeba all PL. woman PL. male

28 wò jə nyí ɲene mavə wa, nyí siri,
wò jə nyí ɲene mavə wa nyí siri
you say speaker see woman CONJ. speaker harm

29 nyí siri huan sep, nyí siri mavə.
nyí siri huan sep nyí siri mavə
speaker harm child male speaker harm woman

30 Njibu le sap, njibu le tu^{6#13}.
njibu le sap njibu le tu
stop in snake stop in tree

31 Wò kuó, wò mənə ɲgwagam hən yə yə yə
wò kuó wò mənə ɲgwagam hən yə yə yə
you die you thus maize this eat eat eat

32 Ma bí sòn bí yə chén^{6#14}, fə^{6#15} bí yə tare. ()
ma bí sòn bí yə chén fə bí yə tare
if you mouth you yours one head yours yours hard

33 < Nde seé sua hən >=< To Tam
nde seé sua hən
go do sua this

34 Ta;Mì, mì nùàr tue dənə hən,
mì mì nùàr tue dənə hən
I I person say here this

35 Leli mə mgbe Mɔ́ɔ́ kuó^{6#16} mə mì né dənə.
leli mə mgbe Mɔ́ɔ́ kuó mə mì né dənə
yesterday with chief Mɔ́ɔ́ 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 bò kuku bò lɔ́ɔ́ dənə dɔ́ɔ́ pat.
bò kuku bò lɔ́ɔ́ dənə dɔ́ɔ́ pat
PL. elder PL. village here all all

38 Mì bili bò bà chene mbò bu mbò. ()
mì bili bò bà chene mbò bu mbò

I together them place one divine it divine

- 39 B́i ke nji mə mgbe né gəchén ga giyə.
 b́i ke nji mə mgbe né gəchén ga giyə
 you look thing with chief is true there over-there
- 40 B́i ke né njulu b́i yə b́i. (1)
 b́i ke né njulu b́i yə b́i 1
 you look is eyes you yours yours
- 41 B́i ɲene né () dən né nan wa?
 b́i ɲene né dən né nan wa
 you see is here is how QN.
- 42 Kɔ la mənə Njai^{6#17} hən, wò hən,
 kɔ la mənə njai hən wò hən
 even PAST thus Njai this you this
- 43 mì yila baá wò kən.
 mì yila baá wò kən
 I call PRES. you already
- 44 Nj;Buwo naa ha ma gə ter^{6#18} ha ma
 buwo naa ha ma gə ter ha ma
 we-two PAST until then at up until then
- 45 Ta;To. Mì bɔ́ bò ɲgeya, bò ɲgon, bò Tabə^{6#19},
 to mì bɔ́ bò ɲgeya bò ɲgon bò Tabə
 To I do PL. ɲgeya PL.ɲgon PL.Tabə
- 46 bò Nyimadɔŋ, bò Nia^{6#20} hən.
 bò Nyimadɔŋ bò Nia hən
 PL. Nyimadɔŋ PL. Nia this
- 47 Mì yila gi bó. Bó hən b́i né dənə,
 mì yila gi bó bó hən b́i né dənə
 I call end them they this you is here
- 48 b́i ke né mgbe dədə nə kə ter giyə ni
 b́i ke né mgbe dədə nə kə ter giyə ni
 you look is chief suitable is at up overthere who
- 49 B́i ɲene njulu b́i yə, b́i dede, né nan wa? ()
 b́i ɲene njulu b́i yə b́i dede né nan wa
 you see eyes you yours you properly is how QN.
- 50 B́i mbò nə bə mbò wa, b́i mbò mbò ɲgwə wa?
 b́i mbò nə bə mbò wa b́i mbò mbò ɲgwə wa
 you divine is we divine QN. you divine divine NEG. QN.
- 51 Mì nyəgə nə ka tema chén^{6#21}. (1)
 mì nyəgə nə ka tema chén
 I repair is at liver one
- 52 Mì ɲene njulu mò wa?
 mì ɲene njulu mò wa
 I see eyes mine QN.

- 53 Ngam nde nə bè hiun.
 Ngam nde nə bè hiun
 divination go is place different
- 54 Mi le naa njai mò kə Taa yon mò .
 mi le naa njai mò kə taa yon mò
 I PAST PAST thing mine at Atta stroll mine
- 55 Mi nde yə dua, mi ɲene ɲgam du. ()
 mi nde yə dua mi ɲene ɲgam du
 I go at there I see divination ground
- 56 Ngam jə bɔgɔ^{6#22} yɔgɔ mə gə Taa
 Ngam jə bɔgɔ yɔgɔ mə gə taa
 divination say boiling surpass that at Atta
- 57 Mi wa kə lɔ́ hən,
 mi wa kə lɔ́ hən
 I arrive at village this
- 58 mi wə né Njai ma Jumvɔp^{6#23} né ten
 mi wə né Njai ma Jumvɔp né ten
 I take is Njai then Jumvɔp is there-is
- 59 Bé tuɲ nə tə tuɲ ha bá ke
 bé tuɲ nə tə tuɲ ha bá ke
 we organise is so organise until we look
- 60 ɲgam yɔgɔ né bá mə terrup. ()
 ɲgam yɔgɔ né bá mə terrup
 divination surpass is us with force
- 61 Mi tema nə Bí. ^{6#24}
 mi tema nə Bí
 I send is Bí
- 62 Bí hən jə: nde kə ter, tue kə ma^{6#25} də.
 Bí hən jə nde kə ter tue kə ma də
 Bí this say go at up say at woman some
- 63 A chu chu, mgbe chu chu ka lɔ́ hən ɲgwə.
 a chu chu mgbe chu chu ka lɔ́ hən ɲgwə
 she return return chief return return at compound this NEG.
- 64 Mgbe né kə ter giyə dədə den wa?
 mgbe né kə ter giyə dədə den wa
 chief is at up over-there small stay QN.
- 65 Kwə mgbe nde né kuó, le nde kə ter giyə
 kwə mgbe nde né kuó le nde kə ter giyə
 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 mi jula né fəguli mi jə:
saa mi jula né fəguli mi jə
that I flee is shame I say
- 69 Bí nde nde yor bò nùàr semta=
bí nde nde yor bò nùàr semta
you go go body PL. person shame
- 70 Ga; =Mun
Mun
thus
- 71 Ta;Ma chiə sen gi naá kən ndeka a waa, a kuwa kə lɔ́. (1)
ma chiə sen gi naá kən ndeka a waa a kuwa kə lɔ́
if day his end PAST already must he arrive he die at village
- 72 Bi nə den, nùàr chema. (1) Bi hən nde nə kə ter də
Bi nə den nùàr chema. Bi hən nde nə kə ter də
Bi is here person living Bi this go is at up of
- 73 bɔ́ nə də ma də saa bu hən nde ve liya kən
bɔ́ nə də ma də saa bu hən nde ve liya kən
do is of if of that he this go bad remains already
- 74 Mì jə bò: mgbe bɔ́ yə, bi lə lɔ́ suú
mì jə bò mgbe bɔ́ yə bi lə lɔ́ suú
I say them chief do yours thing treatment treat again-NEG
- 75 Ndeka də a chu ka lɔ́, bé bɔ́ su safi
ndeka də a chu ka lɔ́ bé bɔ́ su safi
must of he return at village we do again with-treatments
- 76 Wa: Hoi! () Yə: nyí nə lə lɔ́ gi ɲgwə yə
wa hoi yə nyí nə lə lɔ́ gi ɲgwə yə
say say speaker is treatment treat end NEG. NEG.
- 77 Mì nyəgə ka tema chén. (2)
mì nyəgə ka tema chén.1
I repair at liver one
- 78 Leli ma a kuó né mani.
leli ma a kuó né mani
yesterday if he die is thus
- 79 Bò wə, bé fon cho né kaa () bé mbəri mbəri^{6#26}
bò wə bé fon cho né kaa bé mbəri mbəri
they take we search chop is at we sort-out sort-out
- 80 Bé homo né chue tə homo homo homo
bé homo né chue tə homo homo homo
we tired is hunger NEG. tired tired tired
- 81 B huan mgbe də, bé jə: bé sie wə nə
bò huan mgbe də bé jə bé sie wə nə
PL. child chief of we say we take take is
- 82 Dega^{6#27} man, tə sam ɲgwə.
Dega man tə sam ɲgwə

Dega thus NEG. not NEG.

- 83 Bé gi né lu, tə sam ɲgwə.
 bé gi né lu tə sam ɲgwə
 we end is SUB.EMP. NEG. not NEG.
- 84 Mgbe b̀̀ mb̀̀ né bé lu.()
 mgbe b̀̀ mb̀̀ né bé lu
 chief they divine is we freely
- 85 Bé jə yə: mgbe sie yə.() Bí bar mi lè wa?
 bé jə yə mgbe sie yə bí bar mi lè wa
 we say say chief take you you jealous me in QN.
- 86 əə Nùàr kan jə:() ma..ma mi sela sam ɲgwə wa
 əə nùàr kan jə ma ma mi sela sam ɲgwə wa
 əə person anyone say if if I cross not NEG. QN.
- 87 Nyí la den baá la kɔgɔ.
 nyí la den baá la kɔgɔ
 speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool
- 88 Nùàr kan jə: ma mi sela sam ɲgwə wa
 nùàr kan jə ma mi sela sam ɲgwə wa
 person anyone say if I cross not NEG. QN.
- 89 Nyí la de baá la kɔgɔ,
 nyí la de baá la kɔgɔ
 speaker PAST stay PRES. PAST stool
- 90 Mì tue ɲaga né nyəgə né tə bí ɲgue nyəgə baa si.
 mì tue ɲaga né nyəgə né tə bí ɲgue nyəgə baa si
 I say clear is repair is at you listen repair good -ness
- 91 (1) Tə bí ɲgue nyəgə baa si,
 1 tə bí ɲgue nyəgə baa si
 at you Listen repair good -ness
- 92 mì tue, tə bí ɲgue baa si.
 mì tue tə bí ɲgue baa si
 I say so you understand good -ness
- 93 Ma bí vu ɲgue. () Chiə né lɔɲ,
 ma bí vu ɲgue chiə né lɔɲ
 if you leave NEG. death is space
- 94 mgbe a wò nde homo kuó go jəmu, bɔ́ sam ɲgwə.6#28
 mgbe a wò nde homo kuó go jəmu, bɔ́ sam ɲgwə.
 chief to you go tired die walk after do not NEG.
- 95 Seé sen bé homo homo, nde nde à kuó.(2)
 seé sen bé homo homo nde nde à kuó.(2)
 work his we tired tired go go he die (2)
- 96 Mì gwan ɲgwə lanen
 mì gwan ɲgwə lanen
 I want NEG. today

- 97 bé wə wò, bé kwa kə lɔ́.
bé wə wò bé kwa kə lɔ́
we take you we put at village
- 98 Njə vən wa lane. Wò wò gu kuó gu,
njə vən wa lane wò wò gu kuó gu
thing evil arrive today you you walk die walk
- 99 kwə wò gu kuó gu də.
kwə wò gu kuó gu də
tomorrow you walk die walk of
- 100 Lɔ́ bé mə nji- Ma mun nde bé.()
lɔ́ bé mə nji ma mun nde bé
village ours with thing if thus go ours
- 101 Ma lɔ́ den, lɔ́ bí yə dən dənə,
ma lɔ́ den lɔ́ bí yə dən dənə
if village here village yours yours here here
- 102 Saa baá ju, saa baá ju
saa baá ju saa baá ju
that PRES. talk that PRES. talk
- 103 Lɔ́ bí yə né lɔ́ baa sam ɲgwə.
lɔ́ bí yə né lɔ́ baa sam ɲgwə
village you yours is village good not NEG.
- 104 Chia bé bare né den nə njai də bare də.
chia bé bare né den nə njai də bare də
day we hide is stay is thing of hide of
- 105 Bé bare nə ɲgàm chi.
bé bare nə ɲgàm chi
we hide is because that
- 106 Buo huan mgbe di,
buo huan mgbe di
you-two child chief some
- 107 bu hua nji, bu hua njərədi sam.6#29
bu hua nji bu hua njərədi sam
it borrow thing it borrow something not
- 108 Ter mì kɔ nə ter tele mò, né ter mií mò 6#30.
ter mì kɔ nə ter tele mò né ter mií mò
palm I cut is palm father mine is palm mother mine
- 109 Ndeka bè bè mií mò kuó
ndeka bè bè mií mò kuó
from place PL. mother mine die
- 110 bó seé kwa nə bò ɲor chia
bó seé kwa nə bò ɲor chia
they work put is PL. speech outside
- 111 Bò bí mò kuó nə bò seé kwa nə bò ɲor chia

bò bí mò kuó nə bò seé kwa nə bò ɲor
 chiə
 Pl. e.-same-sex-sib. mine die is they do put is PL. speech
 outside

112 Nji mə Kwa^{6#31} tue nə, né le mò hən
 nji mə Kwa tue nə né le mò hən
 thing that Kwa say is is in mine this

113 Nji mə Ti tue nə, né le mò hən.
 nji mə Ti tue nə né le mò hən
 thing that Ti say is is in mine this

114 Nji mə Kwe tue nə, né le mò hən.
 nji mə Kwe tue nə né le mò hən
 thing that Kwe say is is in mine this

115 Mì huan mani, tele sam ɲgwə.
 mì huan mani tele sam ɲgwə
 I child small father not NEG.

116 Mì leteni bò, Toó hən le kuó yuo kən.
 mì leteni bò Toó hən le kuó yuo kən
 I between them Toó this PAST die leave already

117 Ter ya yiə le naa bá be Toó
 ter ya yiə le naa bá be Toó
 palm there overthere in PAST ours hand Toó

118 Toó kuó naá kən.
 Toó kuó naá kən
 Toó die PAST already

119 Njitabə yila yi ten.
 Njitabə yila yi ten
 Njitabə enter at there-is

120 Njitabə kuó, nde Dədia. A kuó kən.
 Njitabə kuó nde Dədia a kuó kən
 Njitabə die go Dədia he die already

121 Njitabə liya mə hwun sen. Kwa wə,
 Njitabə liya mə hwun sen kwa wə
 Njitabə remains with alone his Kwa take

122 a nde, a kwa Kwa.
 a nde a kwa Kwa
 he go he find Kwa

123 Bò Kwa cher né kɔ́.
 bò Kwa cher né kɔ́.
 PL. Kwa sleep is SUB.EMP.

124 A kú né ɲuna tiə. Kənəhən ma tiə yə...
 a kú né ɲuna tiə kənəhən ma tiə yə
 he orphan is child sister now if sister yours

125 ma... ma... huan yə né liya kɔ́ wə,

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ma ma huan yə né liya kɔ́ wə
if if child yours is remains SUB.EMP. take

126 huan wə, wò wə ɲgwə.
huan wə wò wə ɲgwə
child take you take NEG.

[
127 xx; wò wə
xx; wò wə
you take

128 Ta;Wò kú nyugə né bu jə:
wò kú nyugə né bu jə
you orphan repair is it say

129 Də Kwa a den né, tə a ham də ter lu.
də kwa a den né tə a ham də ter lu
of Kwa he stay is so he fat of palm freely

130 Njitabə kə mbam hən nde né be Kwa.
Njitabə kə mbam hən nde né be Kwa
Njitabə at Chefferie this go is hand Kwa

131 A le cher nə ɲgàm kú yɔgɔ né bu kɔ. A kú nyugə nə bu
a le cher nə ɲgàm kú yɔgɔ né bu kɔ́. a kú
nyugə nə bu
she PAST sleep is because orphan surpass is him SUB.EMP. he
orphan repair is him

132 Tə Kwa a dən te Njitabə kɔ də nə ter hən né
tə Kwa a dən te Njitabə kɔ də nə ter hən né
so Kwa he here so Njitabə cut of is palm this is

133 hən né... () hən né... né né (1)
hən né hən né né né 1
this is this is is is

134 né ter mə Toó kɔ lo né.
né ter mə Toó kɔ lo né
is palm that Toó cut treat is

135 Bò Kwe bò bò ??Ngɔro?? dɔ́ɔ́ pat ter bɔn. ()
bò kwe bá bá Ngɔro dɔ́ɔ́ pat ter bɔn
PL. Kwe we we Ngɔro all all palm theirs

136 Mgbe Menandi le ha né bó,
mgbe Menandi le ha né bó
chief Menandi PAST give is them

137 Ter mə Gamgbe kɔ dənə kə Makɔbo^{6#32} ka ki yə. (2)
ter mə Gamgbe kɔ dənə kə Makɔbo ka ki yə.2
palm that Gamgbe cut here at Makɔbo at there

138 Mgbe Menandi le ha nə bò ter de a ()
mgbe Menandi le ha nə bò ter de a
chief Menandi PAST give is PL. palm stay to

139 Ka ki yə kɔ bò mə nə mì siri njərədi

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ka ki yə kɔ bɔ mə nə mi siri njərədi
at at there know them with is I harm something

140 mi guli mò kə ten dubu ɲgwə.
mi guli mò kə ten dubu ɲgwə
I foot mine at there-is plant NEG.

141 Kɔ kəmbɔro chue die tə tabə 66
kɔ kəmbɔro chue die tə tábə 66
even palmnuts fall fall at earth

142 Ma mi wə mi doma yə tə tabé ɲgàm
ma mi wə mi doma yə tə tábè ɲgàm
if I take I pick-up eat at earth because

143 ma mi chu mi gwom nde kə () kə Makɔbɔ ki yiə
ma mi chu mi gwom nde kə kə Makɔbɔ ki yiə
if I return I pay go at at Makɔbɔ at overthere

144 mi kɔ ter Chàn à yən mi. (1)
mi kɔ ter chàn à yən mi.1
I cut palm chàn it refuse me

145 Bè mi kəla né də mi kela le ter njə tele mò,
bè mi kəla né də mi kela le ter njə tele mò
place I pass is of I pass PAST palm thing father mine

146 lə njə mií mò.
lə njə mií mò
PAST thing mother mine

147 Buo bɔ huan mə dalela njərədi sam ɲgwə. (3)
buo bɔ huan mə dalela njərədi sam ɲgwə 3
you-two PL. child that motive something not NEG.

148 Mgbe kuó bá sie nyugə
mgbe kuó bá sie nyugə
chief die we take repair

149 né də hən, den su, bá nyugə né^{6#33}
né də hən den su bá nyugə né
is of this stay again we repair is

150 A tue jə: bá bɔ kam kam bɔ,
a tue jə bá bɔ kam kam bɔ
he say say we PL. old old PL.

151 bá lɔ́ sie nyugə ɲgwə wa?
bá lɔ́ sie nyugə ɲgwə wa
we village take repair NEG. QN.

152 Bá lɔ́ sie ɲgwə. Lɔ́ bá sie né bə kə?
bá lɔ́ sie ɲgwə lɔ́ bá sie né bə kə
we village take NEG. village we take is place what

153 ɲgwə bá tue nyugə njə wa?
ɲgwə bá tue nyugə njə wa
NEG. we say repair thing QN.

- 154 Nùàr wò bar nùàr né mì ten ha
 nùàr wò bar nùàr né mì ten ha
 person you jealous person is I there-is until
- 155 Wò də né jə: ma mì den bè né də ki wa?
 wò də né jə ma mì den bè né də ki wa
 you of is say if I stay place is of where QN.
- 156 Tə nyí chuua sum mì wa, də mə le wa?
 tə nyí chuua sum mì wa də mə le wa
 so speaker remove remove me QN. of with remains QN.
- 157 Mì le sòn kumu naa mì jə: ter ya yiə,
 mì le sòn kumu naa mì jə ter ya yiə
 I PAST mouth open PAST I say palm there overthere
- 158 bó né ter mò
 bó né ter mò
 they is palm mine
- 159 Mì sòn kumu də ki wa?
 mì sòn kumu də ki wa
 I mouth open of what QN.
- 160 Tə bó wula sum də mə mì leteni saa (1)
 tə bó wula sum də mə mì leteni saa 1
 so they kill remove that with me beside that
- 161 Bí né ŋgue ŋaga baa si
 bí né ŋgue ŋaga baa si
 you is listen clear good -ness
- 162 bé duom ŋgam mò ndele^{6#34}
 bé duom ŋgam mò ndele
 we start divination mine shake
- 163 baán kwa bí nə ga gə lóó gi yiə.
 baán kwa bí nə ga gə lóó gi yiə
 illness find you is there at compound end overthere
- 164 Nyima chén mì furu baá nùàr gə lóó gi yiə baá taar.
 nyima chén mì furu baá nùàr gə lóó gi yiə baá
 taar
 year one I bury PRES. person at compound there overthere
 PRES. three
- 165 Bé nde furu wò fà di
 bé nde furu wò fà di
 we go bury you two other
- 166 Ma mì kuó kən, mavə nde nde chu a
 ma mì kuó kən mavə nde nde chu a
 if I die already woman go go return to
- 167 kə lóó mò, kuó chu ndo (2)
 kə lóó mò kuó chu ndo
 at compound mine die return then

- 168 Mì ñene gi naá mgbe ha ba mì nùàr^{6#35},
 mì ñene gi naá mgbe ha baá mì nùàr
 I see end PAST chief give PRES. me person
- 169 mì vraa baá mgbe wani. ()
 mì vraa baá mgbe wani
 I thank PRES. chief much
- 170 Bò ñene baá ñgam njulu.
 bò ñene baá ñgam njulu
 they see PRES. divination eyes
- 171 Mì kuru də nə də kuru mì jə:
 mì kuru də nə də kuru mì jə
 I close of is of close I say
- 172 mgbe hən: bé sie kwa naa bu
 mgbe hən bé sie kwa naa bu
 chief this we take put PAST him
- 173 A né hi, mə mangu sam ñgwə
 à né hi mə mangu sam ñgwə
 he is where with glory not NEG.
- 174 Ma lane à guo yangə də tə ter ter ter mun wa?
 ma lane à guo yangə də tə ter ter ter mun wa
 if today he house fly-aloft of at up up up thus QN.
- 175 Né ve. Mì jula né ñgàm chi (1)
 né ve mì jula né ñgàm chi 1
 is bad I flee is because that
- 176 Mə mgbe kumu ya ??tə tena ??^{6#36}
 mə mgbe kumu ya ??tə tena
 that chief open there at cut
- 177 Ma bí gwom kən bé bé jam. ()
 ma bí gwom kən bé bé jam
 if you pay already we we good
- 178 Ma bí mì vuwə ñgwə ndo, tap nde ndeè
 ma bí mì vuwə ñgwə ndo tap nde ndeè
 if you me release NEG. also war go come
- 179 Mì tue jə né mì jə: tap nde bò ñuna mò. ()
 mì tue jə né mì jə tap nde bò ñuna mò
 I say say is I say war go PL. child mine
- 180 Ma mì kuó kən, () bò ñuna mò
 ma mì kuó kən bò ñuna mò
 if I die already PL. child mine
- 181 bò mgbe nde jəmu nare né ñgwə (),
 bò mgbe nde jəmu nare né ñgwə
 PL. chief go after agree is NEG
- 182 Ngàm mì mə yonki sam ñgwə

Ngàm mì mə yonki sam ɲgwə
because I with life not NEG.

183 Bò nde dənə jə () mgbe, bò bò dim sen,
bò nde dənə jə mgbe bò bò dim sen
they go here say chief PL. PL. y-same-sex-sib. his

184 bò bɔ́ bí sen, kwa naá sòn kɔ́. 6#37
bò bɔ́ bí sen kwa naá sòn kɔ́
PL. do e.-same-sex-sib. his find PRES mouth SUB.EMP.

185 Bò bɔ́ nde jəmu nare ɲgwə də
bò bɔ́ nde jəmu nare ɲgwə də
they do go after agree NEG. of

186 Mì die gwan ɲgwə. (1)
mì die gwan ɲgwə
I fall want NEG.

187 Bò né gi yia jaṅdi man, nji bò kwa
bò né gi yia jaṅdi man nji bò kwa
they is end there school thus thing they find

188 Ma nji yɔgɔ bu kən 71
ma nji yɔgɔ bu kən
if thing surpass them already

189 À tema nji yaa due, bò bɔ́ gam nyí
à tema nji yaa due bò bɔ́ gam nyí
they send thing bush open they do help speaker

190 Bò gam nde né bu dɔ́ŋ ()
bò gam nde né bu dɔ́ŋ
they help go is them all

191 Saa né gi bò gwa tap sen,
saa né gi bò gwa tap sen
that is end PL. spear war his

192 né gi bò guli sen, né gi bò chɔgɔ sen.
né gi bò guli sen né gi bò chɔgɔ sen
is end PL. foot his is end PL. stick his

193 Ga;Man
man
thus

194 Ta; (2) To, nùàr wò bar né mì,
2 to nùàr wò bar né mì
So person you jealous is me

195 ma né ka huan di, nde kwa mgbe,
ma né ka huan di nde kwa mgbe
if is at child some go find chief

196 nde tue mə mgbe. Jə mgbe a
nde tue mə mgbe jə mgbe a
go say with chief say chief to

- 197 nji hən mə mì bɔ́ na man, mì bɔ́ naa man.
 nji hən mə mì bɔ́ na man mì bɔ́ naa man
 thing this that I do PAST thus I do PAST thus
- 198 Tema nyí le gwan ɲgwə
 tema nyí le gwan ɲgwə
 liver speaker in want NEG.
- 199 Tena mì kalɔn, mì gwom ha wò nji a. (2)
 tena mì kalɔn mì gwom ha wò nji a 2
 take me money I pay give you thing to
- 200 Ma nə muna nùàr saa mì chemə ha wò
 ma nə muna nùàr saa mì chemə ha wò
 if is thus person that I health give you
- 201 Ndeka mə mì ha wò chema.
 ndeka mə mì ha wò chema
 must with I give you life
- 202 Wò wə di saa wò tuò. () Wò ()
 wò wə di saa wò tuò wò
 you take of that you rise you
- 203 A bɔ́ ha wò. Də saa mì wò ndə nə ha^{6#38}
 à bɔ́ ha wò də saa mì wò ndə nə ha
 he do give you of that I you go is give
- 204 Də lane chén njok, kwə chén fà, njokɔ.
 də lane chén njok kwə chén fà njokɔ
 of today one disappears? tomorrow one two disappears?
- 205 Nùàr chén njok. Mì de à gwan ɲgwə ()
 nùàr chén njok mì de à gwan ɲgwə
 person one disappears? I of it want NEG.
- 206 Mì kwe baá ɲgam ha, mì ɲene gi a ɲgam pat ()
 mì kwe baá ɲgam ha mì ɲene gi a ɲgam pat
 I dig PRES. divination until I see end to divination all
- 207 Ma mì nde li ki
 ma mì nde li ki
 if I go ordeal-tree drink-ordeal
- 208 Mì nde nde kə to mgbe Kimi
 mì nde nde kə to mgbe Kimi
 I go go at before chief Kimi
- 209 bò ɲgomna kə Kimi. Mì nde mì ki nde kə dua.^{6#39}
 bò ɲgomna kə Kimi mì nde mì ki nde kə dua
 PL. official at Kimi I go I drink-ordeal go at there
- 210 Mì ɲaga nde a ka lɔ́ hən saa,
 mì ɲaga nde a ka lɔ́ hən saa
 I climb go to at village this that
- 211 nùàr nde a bò nùàr də hiun.

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- nùàr nde a bò nùàr də hiun
 person go to PL. person of different
 [
- 212 Xx; Chén chén di ka kiyə
 chén chén di ka kiyə
 one one some at overthere
- 213 Ta;Mì hən, ma mì jə:
 mì hən ma mì jə
 I this if I say
- 214 mì bɔ́ hən, ger né bí, bò huan mgbe wa?
 mì bɔ́ hən ger né bí bò huan mgbe wa
 I do this suffer is you PL. child chief QN.
- 215 Tə mì wə njə vən di.
 tə mì wə njə vən di
 so I take thing evil some
- 216 Tə mì bɔ́ bə́e bò nji. Mì yila le bu sua,
 tə mì bɔ́ bə́e bò nji mì yila le bu sua
 so I do harm PL. thing I enter in knife sua
- 217 mì sɔ́ chén, am ɲgwə mì fà sɔ́ sɔ́ sɔ́.
 mì sɔ́ chén am ɲgwə mì fà sɔ́ sɔ́ sɔ́
 I live one NEG. NEG. I two live live live
- 218 Nji bar né mì ten hən də,
 nji bar né mì ten hən də
 thing jealous is me there-is this of
- 219 kɔ́ bò tue ɲaga mì gi naá.
 kɔ́ bò tue ɲaga mì gi naá
 even they say clear I end PAST
- 220 Ga;Kie kie
 kie kie
 Expletive Expletive
- 221 Ta;Gə lɔ́ mò ɲgam jə fə^{6#40} mò né ve.
 gə lɔ́ mò ɲgam jə fə mò né ve
 at village mine divination say head mine is bad
- 222 Nyima hən mì ɲaga^{6#41} né ɲgwə
 nyima hən mì ɲaga né ɲgwə
 year this I climb is NEG.
- 223 Mì njərədi nùàr hən bə́e ɲgwə.
 mì njərədi nùàr hən bə́e ɲgwə
 I something person this harm NEG.
- 224 Bó bó huan nde yuo kə dua ga giyə manji
 bó bó huan nde yuo kə dua ga giyə manji
 they PL. child go leave at there there over-there small
- 225 né gi bò dim mò, buo nde yuo né le ju mwə^{6#42}
 né gi bò dim mò buo nde yuo né le ju mwə

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is end PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine you-two go leave is in talk field

226 Bò bɔ́ɔ tue ɲòr báə,
 bò bɔ́ɔ tue ɲòr báə
 they do say speech ours

227 bá bɔ́ɔ le sua cho gi naá kən gi naá.
 bá bɔ́ɔ le sua cho gi naá kən gi naá
 we do PAST sua chop end PAST already end PAST

228 Bò yuo njə kən bò kən nji tu
 bò yuo njə kən bò kən nji tu
 they leave thing already they already thing before

229 Bò yuo njə kən bò kan nji tu,
 bò yuo njə kən bò kan nji tu
 they leave thing already they odd thing before

230 tə bò bili jəmu wa?
 tə bò bili jəmu wa
 so they together after QN.

231 Bó kwe də mì guli ten wa? tə bó sum mì wa
 bó kwe də mì guli ten wa tə bó sum mì wa
 they dig of I foot there-is QN. to they remove me QN.

232 Te kwə () ma nùàr nde tugu mə tue:
 te kwə ma nùàr nde tugu mə tue
 so tomorrow if person go quarrel with say

233 Ma né tu hən ni wa? ()
 ma né tu hən ni wa
 if is before this who QN.

234 Bí bar mì, bí bar ɲaga ka mì læ njə kɔp kɔp kɔp
 bí bar mì bí bar ɲaga ka mì læ njə kɔp
 kɔp kɔp
 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 sɔ chén wa ɲgwə, bí fà sɔ sɔ sɔ sɔ
 bí sɔ chén wa ɲgwə bí fà sɔ sɔ sɔ sɔ
 you live one arrive NEG. you two live live live live

237 Ma bí yə mì tue nyən bí yuo ter, bí seé sua.
 ma bí yə mì tue nyən bí yuo ter bí seé sua
 if you say I say lies you leave up you work sua
 []

238 Ga;xxxxxxx xxxxx xxxxxxx xxx xxx xxxxxxx xxxxxxx

239 xxxx xxxx<=laughter
 []

240 Ta;Baán baán ndée

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baán baán ndée
illness illness come

241 Jb; Bí ñue dɔ́ɔ́
bí ñue dɔ́ɔ́
you listen all

242 Ta; Kwa mə mə mə tugu. Tugu ndə nə lɔ́ dənə (2)
kwa mə mə mə tugu tugu ndə nə lɔ́ dənə
put with with with quarrel quarrel go is village here

243 ma... ma... nùàr kan yuo huan saa né ve
ma ma nùàr kan yuo huan saa né ve
if if person odd leave child that is bad

244 be nùàr kan, yuo huan saa né ve
be nùàr kan yuo huan saa né ve
hand person anyone leave child that is bad

245 Ga; Né seé Chàn
né seé chàn
is work chàn

246 Ta; Kɔ na ka fuo gə Baa^{6#43}, nyugə né kɔ́, ɕa y est.
kɔ naá ka fuo gə baa nyugə né kɔ́ ɕa y est
even PAST at blow at East repair is SUB.EMP. ɕa y est

247 Kɔ né ka njai lə^{6#44}, bé lɔ́ bəə bə lɔ ñgue.
kɔ né ka njai lə bé lɔ́ bəə bə lɔ ñgwə
even is at thing treatment we village ours never treat NEG.

248 Bó ma né mə fa bó nde va nyugə bé jəmu.
bó ma né mə fa bó nde va nyugə bé jəmu
they if is with like they go wash repair we after

249 Kwə lɔ́ dole. () Huan mani də kan "ii",
kwə lɔ́ dole huan mani də kan "ii"
tomorrow compound cool child small of anyone

250 nùàr kuó "ii".
nùàr kuó "ii"
person die

251 Nema li^{6#45} o, bò njə kan o, bò njə kan o ()
nema li o bò njə kan o bò njə kan o
bite stomach o PL. thing odd o PL. thing odd o

252 Də saa huom ñgwə. Nùàr wò tue vən
də saa huom ñgwə nùàr wò tue vən
of that good NEG. person you say evil

253 wò yi nji ka lɔ́
wò yi nji ka lɔ́
you enter thing at compound

254 tə bɔ́ huan mə mani kuó chili gi,
tə bɔ́ huan mə mani kuó chili gi
so do child that small die close? end

255 tə tə bə nùàr kuku bə kuó chili gi.
 tə tə bə nùàr kuku bə kuó chili gi
 so so PL. person elder PL. die close? end

256 Lɔ́ɔ wa nde nde kə jemu
 lɔ́ɔ wa nde nde kə 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 chén wa ɲgwə, wò fà sɔ sɔ.
 wò so chén wa ɲgwə wò fà sɔ sɔ
 you live one arrive NEG. you two live live
 []

259 Ga;xxx xxxxx xxx xxxx xxx

260 Ta;Ma bá ka kɔ ɲgwə, () bá ke nji njulu kə baa (.)
 ma bá ka kɔ ɲgwə bá ke nji njulu kə baa
 if we at know NEG. we look thing eyes at East
 []

261 Ga;xxx xxxxx xxx

262 20 second fast exchange between Tam and Guanam, with
 263 interjections from Jacob and others, discussing
 264 whether problems arising from coffee cultivation
 265 should be mentioned during sua, or merely discussed.
 266 Guanam says that since illness means not working, it
 267 is better to cut: laughter.

268 Ta;Nɲue yə. (1) Bí kwe ka mun.
 Nɲue yə.1 bí kwe ka mun
 Listen you you dig at thus

269 Bí kwa mun yə. Fuo leli wa sə gua hən^{6#46}
 bí kwa mun yə fuo leli wa sə gua hən
 you put thus yours blow yesterday arrive his home this
 []

270 Ga; Ah ha. Yowa

271 Ta;nde mə nji. Wa sə gua hun nde mə nji
 nde mə nji wa sə gua hun nde mə nji
 go with thing arrive NEG. home this go with thing

272 Bá ke bili baá jəmu, ke ke ke dɔ́ɔɲ.
 bá ke bili baá jəmu ke ke ke dɔ́ɔɲ
 we look together PRES. after look look look all

273 Bí yə bá dənə, də bá, bá dən né mba,
 bí yə bá dənə də bá bá dən né mba
 you yours place here of us we here is freely

274 bá bá mba den ɲgwə. Bá né saa bá ke. (1)
 bá bá mba den ɲgwə bá né saa bá ke
 we we freely stay NEG. we is that we look

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- 275 Wa () fuo mə wa né hən, Chàn bɔ́ né kɔ, wa ɲgwə.
 wa fuo mə wa né hən chàn bɔ́ né kɔ wa ɲgwə
 say blow that arrive is this chàn do is SUB.EMP. QN. NEG.
- 276 Kə lɔ́ Mgbe ma sela die naa, kə ter gua sen. ()
 kə lɔ́ mgbe ma sela die naá kə ter gua sen
 at compound chief if cross fall PAST at up home his
- 277 Nùàr di sela kuwa kə ten ha. (1)
 nùàr di sela kuwa kə ten ha
 person some cross die at there-is until
- 278 Ma Mgbe sela noni né ɲgwə,
 ma mgbe sela noni né ɲgwə
 if chief cross injure is NEG.
- 279 huan di yə, né və, né huan di yə sela kuwa,
 huan di yə né və né huan di yə sela kuwa
 child some yours is woman is child some yours cross die
- 280 nùàr fà sela kuó, yuo kə mbam o.
 nùàr fà sela kuó yuo kə mbam o
 person two cross die leave at Chefferie oh
- 281 Saa né bé bé ɲene naá le ɲgam
 saa né bé bé ɲene naá le ɲgam
 that is we we see PAST in divination
- 282 Mì mə sòn tue ɲgwə, ɲgam tue naá məna kɔ́.
 mì mə sòn tue ɲgwə ɲgam tue naá məna kɔ́
 I with mouth say NEG. divination say PAST thus SUB.EMP.
- 283 Ga; Yuo məna,
 yuo məna
 leave thus
- 284 Jb; Mun
 mun
 thus
- 285 Ta; Kɔ né ka sə ɲji mə Chàn fuo gə sua naá jə
 kɔ né ka sə ɲji mə chàn fuo gə sua naá jə
 even is at his thing that chàn blow at descend PAST say
- 286 gə Baa mba nùàr sen kɔ ɲgwə, ɕa y est.
 gə baa mba nùàr sen kɔ ɲgwə ɕa y est
 at East freely person his know NEG. ɕa y est
- 287 Nùàr saa wò yila məna jəmu nùàr Kaka,
 nùàr saa wò yila məna jəmu nùàr kaka
 person that you enter thus after person Kaka
- 288 wò nde wò tulu yə ga ter.
 wò nde wò tulu yə ga ter
 you go you pull yours there up
- 289 Bò né bɔ́ mə () gua tap be,
 bò né bɔ́ mə gua tap be

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they is do with spear war hand

290 bò né bɔ́ mə mbòk tap be,
bò né bɔ́ mə mbòk tap be
they is do with axe war hand

291 bò nde wa, bò kɔ rə sum bi, ()
bò nde wa bò kɔ rə sum bi
they go arrive they cut again remove thing

292 bò yila gua dəni.
bò yila gua dəni
they enter home here

[
293 Ga;xxxxx

294 Ta;Wò kɔ rə sum brik wa?
wò kɔ rə sum brik wa
you cut again remove brick QN.

295 Tə bò Fum sum jolori kə tàbè dəni,
tə bò fum sum jolori kə tàbè dəni
sɔ Pl. witch remove chefferie at earth here

296 ma huɔm bè də ki wa?
ma huɔm bè də ki wa
if good place of what QN.

297 Nùàr wò yila ka le bu sua,
nùàr wò yila ka le bu sua
person you enter at in knife sua

298 wò sɔ chén, wanyu wò fà sɔ sɔ.
wò sɔ chén wanyu wò fà sɔ sɔ
you live one else you two live live
[]

299 Ga;Wò sɔ chén
wò sɔ chén
you live one

300 Ta;Ma bí sie né kə mgbe tema chén lɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́,
ma bí sie né kə mgbe tema chén lɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́
if you take is at chief liver one village all

301 Ga;Denə ngwagam denə yulu,
denə ngwagam denə yulu
here maize here millet

302 saa baá huɔm wò sie né hən xxxxxxxx
saa baá huɔm wò sie né hən xxxxxxxx
that PRES. good you take is this xxxxxxxx

303 Ta;bé njulu bé ke nji baa
bé njulu bé ke nji baa
we eyes we look thing East

304 Bi;Matwa nde ngale le cher due^{6#47}
matwa nde ngale le cher due

car go itchy in road open

305 xxxxx dɔ́ɔŋ pat cher due né ten
 xxxxx dɔ́ɔŋ pat cher due né ten
 xxxxx all all road open is there-is

[

306 Ga;Bò kwe nemu yuo ŋgwə
 bò kwe nemu yuo ŋgwə
 they dig water leave NEG.

307 Ta;Bé ŋgale nji be, bé wə chuar, bé ha,
 bé ŋgale nji be bé wə chuar bé ha
 we stick thing hand we take chicken we give

308 bé wə, bò njə kan bé ha. Bé vu né njai dənə,
 bé wə bò njə kan bé ha bé vu né njai dənə
 we take PL. thing odd we give we leave is thing here

309 bɔ́ɔ né nji, njai bɔ́ɔ yula.
 bɔ́ɔ né nji njai bɔ́ɔ yula
 do is thing thing thousand ten

310 Mə bé ha gi nə bò nùàr bò kwe nə bi, ()
 mə bé ha gi nə bò nùàr bò kwe nə bi
 that we give end is PL. person they dig is thing

311 logɔ nemu hən.
 logɔ nemu hən
 hole water this

312 Bó kwe loro nemu. Bó njərədi tə nene,
 bó kwe loro nemu bó njərədi tə nene
 they dig hole water they something NEG. see

313 bó nde kə cher due, bó tulu né matwa, tə tulu
 bó nde kə cher due bó tulu né matwa tə tulu
 they go at road open they pull is car at pull

314 Matwa go su ga kə Mabɔn ka kiyə,
 matwa go su ga kə Mabɔn ka kiyə
 car walk again-NEG there at Mabɔn at overthere

315 cher né ka baá mba.
 cher né ka baá mba
 road is at PRES. freely

316 Wa ga giyə ve le.() Nemu hən
 wa ga giyə ve le nemu hən
 say there over-there bad in water this

317 kənəhən nemu sela naa kə mbartɔ́ɔ hən
 kənəhən nemu sela naa kə mbartɔ́ɔ hən
 now water cross PAST at chefferie-square this

318 Ni doŋ, nua sie wò,
 ni doŋ nua sie wò
 who all thirst take you

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- 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
də wò tue mwe wə wò yila nde chu le jolori
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, bò kwa né ta kə du,
kɔ né ka kandun bò kwa né ta kə du
even is at they find is stone at ground
- 323 taa yɔgɔ né ka bò kɔ́ ɔa y est.
taa yɔgɔ né ka bò kɔ́ ɔa y est
stone surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ɔa y est
- 324 Nùàr wò nde, wò fum yə, fum yə,
nùàr 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 vən
witchcraft yours witchcraft evil
- 327 Ta; sar yə, chibi yə, wò yə bə́é nyugə
sar yə chibi yə wò yə bə́é nyugə
spearer yours night yours you eat harm repair
- 328 kan njai mba den bə́é kə mbartɔgɔ
kan njai mba den bə́é kə mbartɔgɔ
odd thing freely stay harm at chefferie-square
- 329 mə den bə́ də ki wa?
mə den bə́ də ki wa
that stay place of what QN.
- 330 Wò mavə, huan sep, () kwə lɔ́ bí yə
wò mavə huan sep kwə lɔ́ bí yə
you woman child male tomorrow village you yours
- 331 mgbe né ten sam ɲgwə
mgbe né ten sam ɲgwə
chief is there-is not NEG.
- 332 Kwə bá bɔ́ lɔ́ guo mbe chuar kɔ sie mwe ɲgwə, ^{6#48}
kwə bá bɔ́ lɔ́ guo mbe chuar kɔ sie mwe ɲgwə
tomorrow we do compound house beer chicken even take drink
NEG.
- 333 tele yə mwe ɲgwə, mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɔa y est.

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tele yə mwe ɲgwə mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est
 father yours drink NEG. mother yours drink NEG. ɕa y est

334 Mbe tə mi kɔ mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est.
 mbe tə mi kɔ mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est
 beer so I even drink NEG. ɕa y est

335 Mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est.
 mií yə mwe ɲgwə ɕa y est
 mother yours drink NEG. ɕa y est

336 Sua bé chum hən kɔ tele yə lɔ́ tena
 sua bé chum hən kɔ tele yə lɔ́ tena
 sua ours old this even father yours village amongst

337 sam ɲgwə ɕa y est.
 sam ɲgwə ɕa y est
 not NEG. ɕa y est

338 Tele yə le naa baá tena.
 tele yə le naa baá tena
 father yours PAST PAST PRES. amongst

339 Wò jə: nyí ɲeli ɲaga ka, wò ten,
 wò jə nyí ɲeli ɲaga ka wò ten,
 you say speaker disturb clear at you there-is

340 nyí nde te nyí bə́ sum
 nyí nde te nyí bə́ sum
 speaker go so speaker harm remove

341 Bí jolori wa bò nde kɔ nyí wa?
 bí jolori wa bò nde kɔ nyí wa
 you chefferie arrive they go know speaker QN.

342 Wò yila le bu sua hun
 wò yila le bu sua hun
 you enter in knife sua this

343 Wò sɔ chén wò fà sɔ sɔ
 wò sɔ chén wò fà sɔ sɔ
 you live one you two live live

344 Ga;xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx

345 Jb; Nyí bə́ ɲgam
 nyí bə́ ɲgam
 speaker harm divination

346 Nyí bə́ ɲgam
 nyí bə́ ɲgam
 speaker harm divination

347 Ta; Nyí bə́ ɲgam wa
 nyí bə́ ɲgam wa
 speaker harm divination QN.

348 Bí né bò nùàr bí mbò su bè ɲgam ()

bí né bò nùàr bí mbò su bè ñgam
 you is PL. person you divine again place divination

349 Wò ke yə. () Hən Njai fə^{6#49} sen né ve
 wò ke yə hən Njai fə sen né ve
 you look yours this Njai head his is bad

350 Muyna, fə sen né ve.
 Muyna fə sen né ve
 Muyna head his is bad

351 Ma mì kuó kən jemu baá nde a Njai,
 ma mì kuó kən jemu baá nde a Njai
 if I die already second PRES. go to Njai

352 jemu baá nde a Muyna,
 jemu baá nde a Muyna
 second PRES. go to Muyna

353 jemu baá nde a Bi.
 jemu baá nde a Bi
 second PRES. go to Bi

354 Bu bò kuku bò bó kuó gi naá
 bu bò kuku bò bó kuó gi naá
 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 kóó. Tap sie né bá fi wa
 ni le tue né mə kóó tap sie né bá fi wa
 who in say is with SUB.EMP. war take is us bush QN.

357 Né bí sar chibi, bí bóó sum nde nùàr ka lóó, (1)
 né bí sar chibi bí bóó sum nde nùàr ka lóó 1
 is you spearer night you do remove go person at village

358 Haa? (2) Nùàr wò munu ka də saa,
 haa 2 nùàr wò munu ka də 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 sɔ chén wa ñgwə wò fà sɔ sɔ
 wò sɔ chén wa ñgwə wò fà sɔ sɔ
 you live one arrive NEG. you two live live

361 Ga;Mì den^{6#50} né ñgwagam. Mì den né yulo,
 mì den né ñgwagam mì den né yulo
 I stay is maize I stay is millet

362 Yuo sapə bóó mì nemə sie mbò,
 yuo sapə bóó mì nemə sie mbò
 leave snake do me bite take freely

363 kɔ bá, tue sie bá
kɔ bá tue sie bá
even us say take us

364 Saa mi cho sua hən mbò
saa mi cho sua hən mbò
that I chop sua this myself
[]

365 Ta;Ma bí hən jə: mi tue né nyən
ma bí hən jə mi tue né nyən
if you this say I say is lies

366 bí nde seé sua hən
bí nde seé sua hən
you go work sua this

367 Ga;Bò seé cho. Bí né seé < Bí né seé <= laughter
bò seé cho bí né seé bí né seé
they do chop you is do you is do

368 Ta;Bí nde seé sua hən <= laughter
bí nde seé sua hən
you go do sua this

369 Ga;Seé bò pat, bí sua hən seé seé <= laughter
seé bò pat bí sua hən seé seé
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 seé sua di
seé seé sua di
do do sua some

372 A bí nde yila yila yuop yɔr. nde a yuop seé.
à bí nde yila yila yuop yɔr nde a yuop
seé
he you go enter enter public-affairs bòdy go to public-
affairs do

373 Mì Guanam hən kənəhən Bí seé seé
mì Guanam hən kənəhən bí seé seé
I Guanam this now you do do

374 Jb;Bí ŋgue a lu də, mə bò bɔ́ ke munə naá
bí ŋgue a lu də mə bò bɔ́ ke munə naá
you understand to day that that they do look thus PAST

375 Tətiya kə lɔ́ sam ŋgwə. Də Muyna
Tətiya kə lɔ́ sam ŋgwə də muyna
Tətiya at village not NEG. of patience

376 Ga;Bó tulu nji^{6#51} dənə sua bá ŋene ŋgwə
bó tulu nji dənə sua bá ŋene ŋgwə
they pull thing here sua we see NEG.

- 377 Jb;To, à kə lɔ́ sam ŋwə
to à kə lɔ́ sam ŋwə
So he at village not NEG.
- 378 A ke nə kə lɔ́ sen, wa: né ve.()
à ke nə kə lɔ́ sen wa né ve
he look is at village his say is bad
- 379 To () mə və sen Meya^{6#52}, () fə sen hwom nde ŋwə
to mə və sen Meya fə sen hwom nde ŋwə
So with woman his Meya head hers good go NEG.
- 380 Bò ke dənə ma né ??bi hən?? kə jumu
bò ke dənə ma né ??bi hən kə jumu
they look here if is thing this at after
- 381 Bò kɔ dua né mavə, à die naá mə hwun sen.^{6#53}
bò kɔ dua né mavə à die naá mə hwun sen
they know there is woman she fall PAST with alone hers
- 382 Huan sep di ten am
huan sep di ten am
child male some there-is NEG.
- 383 Wò kɔ bò və né mə njulu ŋap ŋap
wò kɔ bò və né mə njulu ŋap ŋap
you know PL. woman is with eyes unfinished unfinished
- 384 Də yə né man, də yə man, də yə man,
də yə né man də yə man də yə man
of yours is thus of yours thus of yours thus
- 385 wa: bé tuŋ fə sen tena tuŋ
wa bé tuŋ fə sen tena tuŋ
say we organise head hers amongst organise
- 386 Ter sen a né ten, bò ŋgan bò naa né ten
ter sen a né ten bò ŋgan bò naa né ten
palm hers to is there-is PL. cola they PAST is there-is
- 387 Gi sen kere mə bó bɔ́ ne tuŋ mə bó ne ter kɔ́
gi sen kere mə bó bɔ́ ne tuŋ mə bó ne ter kɔ́
end hers split with they do is organise with they is palm
SUB.EMP.
- 388 Ne gi mənə, bò ŋgan mənə
Ne gi mənə, bò ŋgan mənə
is end thus PL. cola thus
- 389 Wò nùàr mə wò nde, wò ka ŋuɔp
Wò nùàr mə wò nde, wò ka ŋuɔp
you person with you go you at cut
- 390 mənə ŋgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten^{6#54}
mənə ŋgan, wò chu, wò ha bu ten
thus cola you return you give him some

- 391 Wa: bó mbo baá kə ka
 Wa: bó mbo baá kə ka
 Say they divine PRES at at
- 392 wa ten baá ŋgam () fəlí ve
 wa ten baá ŋgam fəlí ve
 say there-is PRES divination threaten bad
- 393 kə sen nyən, ŋgam tue se vùrù ça y est.
 kə sen nyən, ŋgam tue se vùrù ça y est.
 even his lies divination says NEG. hidden ça y est.
- 394 Ma né ka nùàr bòn, wò jə: nyí bar bu
 Ma né ka nùàr bòn, wò jə: nyí bar bu
 If is at person theirs you say speaker jealous him
- 395 A liya sen də, leteni. Ni bɔ́ mən wa?
 A liya sen də, leteni. Ni bɔ́ mən wa?
 He remains his of, between Who do thus QN
- 396 Ma ndeka də ten a kuó yɔr
 Ma ndeka də ten a kuó yɔr
 If since of there-is he die body
- 397 Ma né mənə nan wa tə bó ŋaga
 Ma né mənə nan wa tə bó ŋaga
 if is thus how QN so they give-birth
- 398 Ne mənə wò mavə, wò huan sep a
 Ne mənə wò mavə, wò huan sep a
 is thus you woman you child man to,
- 399 wò yila le bu hən də wanyu
 wò yila le bu hən də wanyu
 you enter in knife this of else
- 400 wò yə chiə yə yə yə
 wò yə chiə yə yə yə
 you eat day eat eat eat
- 401 Ga; Sap a guaga bu e
 Sap a guaga bu e
 snake at bite him e
- 402 tu e sie bu e
 tu e sie bu e
 tree e take him e
- 403 ne mənə njai vən a ke bu e
 ne mənə njai vən a ke bu e
 is thus thing evil at look him e
- 404 Jb;Le ju ter^{6#55} ma, à ha né ka bò nùàr
 le ju ter ma à ha né ka bò nùàr
 in talk palm then she give is at PL. person
- 405 Ma à ha naá bò ka mə tema chén

Sua Oath Transcript

ma à ha naá bò ka mə tema chén
if she give PAST them at with liver one

406 Nùàr nùàr ter, mə wə né ter
nùàr nùàr ter mə wə né ter
person person palm that take is palm

407 wò wə chu kə komo^{6#56} wò ha nji bu, à naga
wò wə chu kə komo wò ha nji bu à naga
you take return at palm-oil you give thing her she lick ()

408 Ma seé dili ngwə
ma seé dili ngwə
if do straight NEG.

409 à sum su wò, à ha su nùàr di.
à sum su wò à ha su nùàr di
she remove again you she give again person other

410 Jumu mavə wò yila kela ten læ njə tele sen
jumu mavə wò yila kela ten læ njə tele sen
after woman you enter pass there-is in thing father hers

411 wa nyí wula su bu tena,
wa nyí wula su bu tena
say speaker kill again her amongst

412 wò kuku kuwa, wò chiə yə yə yə.
wò kuku kuwa wò chiə yə yə yə
you many die you day eat eat eat

413 Ma wò kə ngwə wò ke Baa ()
ma wò kə ngwə wò ke baa
if you know NEG. you look East

414 Ga;xxxxxx xxxxx

[
415 Jb;Bò nùàr seé tare nə hən.
bò nùàr seé tare nə hən
PL. person work hard is this

416 Wa bò ngue nji hən, wa; nuna Chi^{6#57} la,
wa bò ngue nji hən nuna 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^{6#58} bò mavə, <= laughter
à yila naá ten wò me bò mavə
he enter PAST there-is you measure PL. woman

419 və mò, nuna mò, wò kuó ka kuó.
və mò nuna mò wò kuó ka kuó
woman mine child mine you die at die

420 wa ngwə, wa ngwə, wa ngwə.

Sua Oath Transcript

wa ɲgwə wa ɲgwə wa ɲgwə
arrive NEG. arrive NEG. arrive NEG.

421 Ga; Sap a gua we nji sie bu we
sap a gua we nji sie bu we
snake to home fire thing take him fire

[

422 Jb; Aftə mə bó chiə gua yila ten
Aftə mə bó chiə gua yila ten
with they death house enter there-is

423 wò me ne mavə, mə bò ɲuna mò
wò me ne mavə, mə bò ɲuna mò
you measure is woman, with PL. child mine

424 wo me ne mavə, huan sep, bò ɲuna mò
wo me ne mavə, huan sep, bò ɲuna mò
you measure is woman, child male PL. child mine

[

425 Ga; Wò kuó ka kuó
 Wò kuó ka kuó
 you die at die

426 Jb; Wò kuó ka. Mì kare^{6#59} yə loro sarega yə
Wò kuó ka. Mì kare yə loro sarega yə
you die at I split eat only funeral yours

[

427 Ga; Wò kuó ka wò ɲgwagam hən də yə yə yə
Wò kuó ka wò ɲgwagam hən də yə yə yə
you die at you maize this of eat eat eat

428 Jb; Wò kuó ka, 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 loro ɲgan yə wanyu wanyu wanyu
mì kare yə loro ɲgan yə wanyu wanyu wanyu
I split eat funeral cola yours else else else

430 Ga; Wò mì Gia^{6#60} 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^{6#61} bu e
Nji a ke bu e
Thing at look him e

432 O mi tue chi e: Nji a ke bu e
O mi tue chi e: Nji a ke bu e
O I say thing e: thing at look him e

433 Ki, sap guaga bu-e Pal! Yi lè hwa ɲgu
Ki, sap guaga bu e Pal! Yi lè hwa ɲgu
Ki, snake bite him e Pal! At in hole fish

434 Nj; Buo bò Tarchimi, buo bò Tarchimi^{6#62}
Buo bò Tarchimi, buo bò Tarchimi
you-two PL Tarchimi, you-two PL Tarchimi

- 435 bi né bò huan manji mba.
 bi né bò huan manji mba.
 you is PL child small just
- 436 Də ju, ju kum, bɔ́ bə sen mənə. ()
 Də ju, ju kum, bɔ́ bə sen mənə. ()
 Of case case old do we ours thus ()
- 437 Bé bò nùàr hən də, bé né də bé fa njəgə,
 bé bò nùàr hən də bé né bé də bé fa njəgə
 we PL. person this of we is we of us like flies
- 438 bé bə njə kan ŋgue tena bə.
 bé bə njə nùàr ŋgue tena bə
 we never thing person understand cut-through never
- 439 Huan bò bò Sarki^{6#63} né bɔ́ də.
 huan bò bò Sarki né bɔ́ də
 child they PL. Sarki is do of
- 440 Wò huan sep, wò mavə
 wò huan sep wò mavə
 you child male you woman
- 441 wò nde yila le kela ten
 wò nde yila le kela ten
 you go enter in pass there-is
- 442 tema bɔ́ yula tə bò yə: né Sarki^{6#64},
 tema bɔ́ yula tə bò yə né Sarki
 liver do illness so they say is Sarki
- 443 bɔ́ də né kɔ́ no,
 bɔ́ də né kɔ́ no
 do of is SUB.EMP. also
- 444 nùàr yila le bu sua,
 nùàr yila le bu sua
 person enter in knife sua
- 445 wò sɔ́ chén, wò fà sɔ́ sɔ́
 wò sɔ́ chén wò fà sɔ́ sɔ́
 you live one you two live live
- 446 Mə yə Sarki bɔ́ naá kə, () leli
 mə yə Sarki bɔ́ naá kə leli
 that say Sarki do PAST at yesterday
- 447 à nde a yon, ke brik kə tàbè.
 à nde a yon ke brik kə tàbè
 he go to stroll look brick at earth
- 448 Kɔ́ à nde go sen, nyí nde nyí wə ka njərədi,
 kɔ́ à nde go sen nyí nde nyí wə ka njərədi
 even he go walk his speaker go speaker take at something
- 449 nyí kwa le brik,

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nyí kwa le brik
speaker found in brick

450 à bɔ́ ware nde war-, tə mə tema kɔɔ^{6#65} be wa?
à bɔ́ ware nde war tə mə tema kɔɔ be wa
he do uncover go uncover so with send needle hand QN.

451 Bò yila, bò tema ku-kuó.
bò yila bò tema ku-kuó
they enter they send die die

452 A yila le bu, à chén so, à fà so so.
à yila le bu à chén so à fà so so
he enter in knife he one live he two live live

453 Ma à ka kɔ ngwə, .
ma bò ka kɔ ngwə à ke njulu kə bà
if he at know NEG. he look eyes at East

454 Bé, bò nùàr sep, və, () wò nùàr
bé bò nùàr sep və wò nùàr
we PL. person male woman you person

455 wò yila kela ten tə bò yə: Sarki bɔ́ né nji kɔ́.
wò yila kela ten tə bò yə sarki bɔ́ né nji kɔ́.
you enter pass there-is so they say do is thing SUB.EMP.

456 Yogoten^{6#66} né mə bò huan ten, mií né ten,
Yogoten né mə bò huan ten mií né ten
Yogoten is with PL. child there-is mother is there-is

457 bò dim né mə bò huan ten,
bò dim né mə bò huan ten
PL. y-same-sex-sib. is with PL. child there-is

458 bò və né ten.
bò və né ten
PL. woman is there-is

459 Nde nyí yila kela ten^{6#67}, nyí nùàr Baa rə,
nde nyí yila kela ten nyí nùàr Baa rə
go speaker enter pass there-is speaker person Mambila again

460 nùàr Teba, nùàr yila kə le bu,
nùàr Teba nùàr yila kə le bu
person fulbe person enter at in knife

461 wò so chén wò fà so so.
wò so chén wò fà so so
you live one you two live live

462 Nùàr ka kɔ ngwə ke njulu baa. (4)
nùàr ka kɔ ngwə ke njulu baa
person at know NEG. look eyes East

463 Ga;Fuo ke ke yi ngam^{6#68}, ve kə Ndebaa,
fuo ke ke yi ngam ve kə Ndebaa
blow look look to divination bad at Ndebaa

464 à bɔ́ ɔ́ nde lɔ́ nùàr, lane lɔ́ nùàr, kwə lɔ́ nùàr
à bɔ́ ɔ́ nde lɔ́ nùàr lane lɔ́ nùàr kwə lɔ́
nùàr
he do go compound person today compound person tomorrow
compound person

465 Wò mavə kə lɔ́ sire ka ɲgam,
wò mavə kə lɔ́ sire ka ɲgam
you woman at compound witchcraft at divination

466 wò huan sep wò nde loro ɲgam
wò huan sep wò nde loro ɲgam
you child male you go hole divination

467 wò hwu nde chu vən ten, ha ɲgam tə mbò.
wò hwu nde chu vən ten ha ɲgam tə mbò
you tunnel go return evil there-is until divination so divine

468 Mì Guanam mì chɔ kə mbartogo,
mì Guanam mì chɔ kə mbartogo
I Guanam I chop at chefferie-square

469 bí wa bí mom tena, mì kə cher due^{6#69} <=Laughter
bí wa bí mom tena mì kə cher due
you arrive you wait amongst I at road open

470 bí bò mbam bò bí né bà mə jərə kela.
bí bò mbam bò bí né bà mə jərə kela
you PL. Chefferie PL. you is place with sua-enclosure pass

471 Bí mom baá mì mì chɔ sua mə akilo, mì kwa nji sam.
bí mom baá mì mì chɔ sua mə akilo mì kwa nji
sam
you wait PRES. I I chop sua with intelligence I put thing
not

472 Kwa nji sap, kwa nji lop,
kwa nji sap kwa nji lop
put thing snake put thing witchcraft

473 wò nùàr sar, wò njərə nji fəlí mì Guanam
wò nùàr sar wò njərə nji fəlí mì Guanam
you person spearer you surmount thing threaten me Guanam

474 Bí nə mə yəp, bí wə ka ɲgwagam di,
bí nə mə yəp bí wə ka ɲgwagam di
you is with theft you take at maize some

475 bí fəlí mgbe, bí bò Ndeba don,
bí fəlí mgbe bí bò Ndeba don
you threaten chief you PL. Ndeba all

476 bò və, bí sòn chén, fə bí yə tare.
bò və bí sòn chén fə bí yə tare
PL. woman you mouth one head you yours hard

477 Wò nùàr, wò nde ka fəlí nùàr,

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wò nùàr wò nde ka fəlí nùàr
 you person you go at threaten person

478 wò yə: lɔ́ ve ve. Wò kuó,
 wò yə lɔ́ ve ve wò kuó
 you say compound bad bad you die

479 wò ɲgwagam nyima hən yə yə yə < Ooo! Ooo!
 <= Cut Bundle. Laughter, and talk
 wò ɲgwagam nyima hən yə yə yə
 you maize year this eat eat eat

Guanam continued in the same vein as he chopped the bundle into fragments for about 15 seconds. remaining fragments transcribed where possible. counted from zero of cutting bundle.

480 Be ga kela ter. Chə rə gi doŋ (20)
 be ga kela ter chə rə gi doŋ
 hand right pass up chop again end all

481 Wò nùàr fəlí mì,
 wò nùàr fəlí mì
 you person threaten me

482 sua sie à wò (28) yə yə yə
 sua sie à wò (28) yə yə yə
 sua take to you eat eat eat

483 Nj; Wò né nùàr ɲene njulu wa? <= Laughter
 wò né nùàr ɲene njulu wa? <
 you is person see eyes

484 Gw; Bò və tə ka to nde
 bò və tə ka to nde
 PL. woman NEG. at before go

485 Ta; Bò te ke
 bò te ke
 they NEG look

486 wə nyuri nəma^{6#70} baá
 wə nyuri nəma baá
 take grass dry PRES.

487 Ga; Bò di, bó fɔn nde né də bò fə nùàr
 Bò di, bó fɔn nde né də bò fə nùàr
 Pl. some they search go is of PL. head person

488 Bó nde kwa lɔ
 Bó nde kwa lɔ
 they go put put.

489 Jə: nùàr tə cher due kela,
 Jə: nùàr tə cher due kela,
 say person NEG road wide pass

490 yə njai бага ləm kó fə nùàr
 yə njai бага ləm kó fə nùàr

Sua Oath Transcript

say thing good avoid precisely head person

491 Ngwagam də mò, gərə hən wò yi ma yə yə yə
 Ngwagam də mò, gərə hən wò yi ma yə yə yə
 maize of mine farm this you enter EMP eat-NEG eat-NEG eat-NEG

492 Nj; Wò də yə saa, wò naá nùàr saa də ɲene nji wa? <=
 laughter
 Wò də yə saa, wò naá nùàr saa də ɲene nji wa?
 you of yours that, you PAST person that of see thing QN

493 Ga; Wò nùàr bu saa, wò kɔ mə li yə.
 Wò nùàr bu saa, wò kɔ mə li yə.
 you person them that, you know with stomach yours

494 A kema mənə də kan ma ɲɔŋɔŋ^{6#71} <=laughter
 A kema mənə də kan ma ɲɔŋɔŋ <=laughter
 They touch thus of odd ?????

495 NJ; Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nùàr bu saa ɲene njulu
 Nea, ma wò den fada wò ne nùàr bu saa ɲene njulu
 Nea if you stay like you is person them that see eye

496 Ga; Bu mì tue də baa jə mì chɔ sua mò.
 Bu mì tue də baa jə mì chɔ sua mò.
 them I say of good say I chop sua mine

497 Mì chɔ mə sua mò kup kup hən.
 Mì chɔ mə sua mò kup kup hən.
 I chop with sua mine kup kup this

498 Buyɔr Vincent; Mi fɔn kalon^{6#72} mò
 Buyɔr Vincent; Mi fɔn kalon mò
 I search money mine

499 tɛ mì chɔ sua mò mə nji
 tɛ mì chɔ sua mò mə nji
 so I chip sua mine with thing

500 Nj; Ha nji tətàbè^{6#73}
 ha nji tətàbè
 give thing pipe

pause 1 minute

501 Ga; Tena bu mena, tena bu ɲgoro, jɔɔ sum chiə^{6#74}
 Tena bu mena, tena bu ɲgoro,
 cut-through them thus cut-through them. back

502 jɔɔ sum chiə, tue sùm sua chiə
 jɔɔ sum chiə, tue sùm sua chiə
 carry remove outside say remove sua outside

503 Wò mənə ɲgwagam hən yə yə yə
 wò mənə ɲgwagam hun yə yə yə
 you thus is maize this eat eat eat

504 Nj; Wò mə asana nde ni wa? <= to xx

Sua Oath Transcript

Wò mə asana nde ni wa? <= to xx
 you with matches go who QN

505 Ni kuó kuó, wò tue sum chia
 Ni kuó kuó, wò tue sum chia
 Who die die you say remove outside

506 Ga; Yi lóó be naá mə wò tue sum chia
 Yi lóó be naá mə wò tue sum chia
 at compound hand PAST with you say remove outside

507 wò kuó kuó.
 wò kuó kuó.
 you die die

508 Sua vula bu ngɔɔ, sua vula bu
 Sua vula bu ngɔɔ, sua vula bu
 sua leave them back sua leave them

509 tena bu ngɔɔ, a tue sum chia
 tena bu ngɔɔ, a tue sum chia
 cut-through them back they say remove outside

510 Nj; Ne mənə bu, bó vula si nji a yi dù,
 Ne mənə bu, bó vula si nji a yi dù,
 is thus them they leave injure thing they enter ground

511 Sùn sen kuó ngwə yə, sùn né sen kuó ngwə yə
 Sùn sen kuó ngwə yə, sùn né sen kuó ngwə yə
 mouth theirs die NEG NEG is mouth theirs die NEG NEG

512 Jə: ndée yiə yiə, a se wə baá kən
 Jə: ndée yiə yiə, a se wə baá kən
 say come there there they NEG take PAST already

513 Ga; Sua yə yə yə
 Sua yə yə yə
 sua eat-NEG eat-NEG eat-NEG

514 Bó né nyima yə ngwə yə, saa bó furu baá bu kən
 Bó né nyima yə ngwə yə, saa bó furu baá bu kən
 They is year eat NEG NEG that they bury PAST them already

515 Jb; Də bó, bó bóó nyima hən də yə ne ngwə.
 Də bó, bó bóó nyima hən də yə ne ngwə.
 of them they do year this of eat is NEG

516 Bó bóó njərədi ɲue nde ngwə
 Bó bóó njərədi ɲue nde ngwə.
 they do something hear go NEG

517 Bó nde tue nde yə: bó lɔ yi wə naá denə.
 Bó nde tue nde yə: bó lɔ yi wə naá denə.
 they go say go yours they treat extinguish take PAST here

518 Bó yə: naá bí hən mə nyí yimi wə naá ten, ehe.
 Bó yə: naá bí hən mə nyí yimi wə naá ten,
 they say PAST you this with speaker extinguish take PAST there-i

Appendix to Chapter 7
The transcript of Sua Kare 3 Dec 1986

Speakers:

SS, the instigator and host

Muy Andre= MA

- 1 SS;Huom né kwa baá chuar də
huom né kwa baá chuar də
good is put PRES. chicken that
- 2 Nde kwa fəlí bó, fəlí bó, fəlí bó, dɔ́ɔ́ŋ.
nde kwa fəlí bó fəlí bó fəlí bó dɔ́ɔ́ŋ
go put threaten them threaten them threaten them all
- 3 MA;mhm Nùàr jə gi aa sen (1)
mhm nùàr jə gi aa sen
person say end PAST his
- 4 SS;Nuaga^{7#6}, à de- à den tə feli bò ni.
nuaga à de à den tə feli bò ni
he stay he stay at threaten PL. who
- 5 Ha bu mə den ka mə den hən.
ha bu mə den ka mə den hən
give him with stay at with stay this
- 6 MA;Kusum^{7#7}. Nùàr mə sar, mə lɔp, mə lə.
kusum nùàr mə sar mə lɔp mə lə
spittle person with witch-spears with witchcraft with
treatment
- 7 Mì nùàr njə, mə mì lɔ né. Mì yuo sar^{7#8},
mì nùàr njə mə mì lɔ né mì yuo sar
I person that-one with I treat is I leave witch-spears
- 8 mì yuo chibi. ŋgwagam nùàr, chuar nùàr.
mì yuo chibi ŋgwagam nùàr chuar nùàr
I leave night maize person chicken person
- 9 Bò nùàr, ma mì bə́é. (1) Wò nde wula nùàr,
bò nùàr ma mì bə́é wò nde wula nùàr
PL. person if I harm you go kill person
- 10 chu chu fəlí mò.
chu chu fəlí mò
return return threaten me
- 11 Mì kɔ ŋgwə, mì nji ke kə baa.
mì kɔ ŋgwə mì nji ke kə baa
I know NEG. I thing look at East
- 12 Wò nùàr sar, wò nùàr chibi, wò jə:
wò nùàr sar wò nùàr chibi wò jə
you person witchcraft you person night you say

The sua kare oath

- 13 oo, nyí wə nyuri kwa?
oo nyí wə nyuri kwa
speaker take grass put
- 14 Nyí wə nyuri vən, nyí bə́é lɔ́ó mò,
nyí wə nyuri vən nyí bə́é lɔ́ó mò
speaker take grass evil speaker harm compound mine
- 15 bò və, bò ɲuna mò.
bò və bò ɲuna mò
PL. woman PL. child mine
- 16 mì ɲue né bu^{7#9} <= Chicken squawks, gripped firmly in the hand
mì ɲue né bu
I understand is them-S.
- 17 (18) Də və də mì nyən baá nyuri,
(18) də və də mì nyən baá nyuri
of woman that I bless/spray PRES. grass
<= During the pause MA spat a blessing on SS, on his children, and
on the chicken to be sacrificed
- 18 à den sen ke si mò hən
à den sen ke si mò hən
she stay hers look husband mine this
- 19 SS;Eee Ngu^{7#10}, tə njulu ke suú
eee Ngu tə njulu ke suú
NEG. eyes look again-NEG
- 20 MA;Nuaga te njulu ke suú (7)
nuaga te njulu ke suú (7)
NEG eyes look again-NEG
- 21 À se ten ke. (17)
à se ten ke. (17)
he NEG. there-is look
- 22 SS;Njulu tə tə ke wa (3)
njulu tə tə ke wa (3)
eyes NEG. NEG. look SUB.EMP.
- 23 MA;Nji njulu tə tabé (16)
nji njulu tə tabé (16)
thing eyes at earth
- 24 < Nde né də yə see ndo? (1) <= To DZ
nde né də yə see ndo 1
go is of yours do also
- 25 SS;A ke baá ke a
à ke baá ke a
he look PRES. look at
- 26 MA;< aha tə ke.<= To Nuaga
aha tə ke
mmhmmm NEG. look

- 27 SS;Te ke wa! Am ɲgwə
te ke wa am ɲgwə
NEG look SUB.EMP. NEG. NEG.
- 28 MA; [Sam ɲgwə
sam ɲgwə
not NEG.
- 29 SS;Tə ki. (4)
tə ki 4
NEG. annoy
- 30 Nde de baá denə.
nde de baá denə
go stay PRES. here
- 31 (3) Né mənə mə Mbiti^{7#11} dɔ́ɔ́ŋ (2)
(3) né mənə mə Mbiti dɔ́ɔ́ŋ (2)
is thus with Mbiti all
- 32 MA;Hən, m̀, m̀ yuo sar, m̀ yuo chibi.
hən m̀ m̀ yuo sar m̀ yuo chibi
this me I leave witch-spears I leave night
- 33 Ma ǹàr jə: m̀ gam nyí.
ma ǹàr jə m̀ gam nyí
if person say I help speaker
- 34 M̀ gam ka bu, temə chén.
m̀ gam ka bu temə chén
I help at him liver one
- 35 M̀ wə nyuri vən, m̀ kwa ten.
m̀ wə nyuri vən m̀ kwa ten
I take grass evil I put there-is
- 36 M̀ ge lə vən, m̀ kwa ten
m̀ ge lə vən m̀ kwa ten
I divide treatment evil I put there-is
- 37 Də tə m̀ wula bu. (.)
də tə m̀ wula bu
so so I kill him
- 38 Tə m̀ bə́ lóó sen, chu chu fə́lí mò
tə m̀ bə́ lóó sen chu chu fə́lí mò
so I harm compound his return return threaten mine
- 39 M̀ kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa.
m̀ kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa
I know NEG. eyes look at East
- 40 Wò ǹàr huan sep, wò mavə, wò jə:
wò ǹàr huan sep wò mavə wò jə
you person child male you woman you say
- 41 Oho. Wò ǹàr gam, wò ǹàr də kə wa?

The sua kare oath

- oho wò nùàr gam wò nùàr də kə wa
you person help you person of at QN.
- 42 Nyí ngəri fəlí mò.
nyí ngəri fəlí mò
speaker slander threaten me
- 43 Nyí ngəri fəlí bə və mò,
nyí ngəri fəlí bə və mò
speaker slander threaten PL. woman mine
- 44 nyí ngəri fəlí bə ɲuna mò. (1)
nyí ngəri fəlí bə ɲuna mò 1
speaker slander threaten PL. child mine
- 45 Gatenyare ke wò, maɲare ke wò
gatenyare ke wò maɲare ke wò
buried-poison look you ordeal look you
- 46 mì tena ɲuna yə kup
mì tena ɲuna yə kup
I cut-through child yours all
- 47 Wò sua bə lu wanyu,
wò sua bə lu wanyu
you descend harm SUB.EMP. else
- 48 wò njulu ke ke ke ke
wò njulu ke ke ke ke
you eyes look look look look
- 49 Nùàr di fəla ka mə temə
nùàr di fəla ka mə temə
person some listen at with liver
- 50 chén chén chén dɔ́ɔ́.
chén chén chén dɔ́ɔ́
one true true all
- 51 Bu dɔ́ɔ́ njulu ke kə baa. (2)
bu dɔ́ɔ́ njulu ke kə baa.2
them-S. all eyes look at East
- 52 < To, see baá fə lɔ́ yə kadi >=< To S
to see baá fə lɔ́ yə kadi
To work PRES. head compound yours really
- 53 SS; (1) Mì, mì jə mə mì də hən də. ()
(1) mì mì jə mə mì də hən də
(1) I I say that I of this of
- 54 Mì yuo sar, Mì yuo... (1) Mì yuo sar^{7#12},
mì yuo sar (1) mì yuo sar
I leave witch-spears (1) I leave witchcraft
- 55 mì yuo () tambani^{7#13}.
mì yuo () tambani
I leave () ant

- 56 Mì jim lóó nùàr, də mì bə́é njai nùàr di,
 mì jim lóó nùàr də mì bə́ njai nùàr di
 I tunnel-into compound person that I harm thing person some
- 57 mì yila le bu sua,
 mì yila le bu sua
 I enter in knife sua
- 58 mì ka kɔ́ ɲgwə fə̀ mò tare.
 mì ka kɔ́ ɲgwə fə̀ mò tare
 I at know NEG. head mine hard
- 59 Le bò fə́lí huna mò dɔ́ɔ́ɲ pat,
 le bò fə́lí huna mò dɔ́ɔ́ɲ pat
 in PL. threaten child mine all all
- 60 fə́lí və̀ mò, fə́lí ɲuna mò,
 fə́lí və̀ mò fə́lí ɲuna mò
 threaten woman mine threaten child mine
- 61 sɔ́ɔ́ bó nə ka mə dalela^{7#14} njə̀rə̀di
 sɔ́ɔ́ bó nə ka mə dalela njə̀rə̀di
 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 ɲgeri ka fə́lí mò
 bó ɲgeri ka fə́lí mò
 they slander at threaten me
- 65 bó jə̀: mì də bə́é də kə̀ wa?
 bó jə̀ mì də bə́é də kə̀ wa
 they say I of harm of where QN.
- 66 bə́é see mò mə chu bili né jemu ndo,
 bə́é see mò mə chu bili né jemu ndo
 harm work mine which return together is second also
- 67 hən dɔ́ɔ́ɲ pat
 hən dɔ́ɔ́ɲ pat
 this all all
- 68 Sɔ́ɔ́ né ka fuo chàɲ ɕa y est.
 sɔ́ɔ́ né ka fuo chàɲ ɕa y est
 only is at blow chàɲ ɕa y est
- 69 Né ka () be nùàr. Nùàr jə̀: mì bɔ́ɔ́ man
 né ka be nùàr nùàr jə̀ mì bɔ́ɔ́ man
 is at hand person person say I do thus
- 70 mì gam nde nə də kə̀ wa?

- mì gam nde nə də kə wa
I help go is of what QN.
- 71 Sɔgɔ cher mə mì to ka,
sɔgɔ cher mə mì to ka
only road that I cut at
- 72 nùàr ka tə kela ɲgwə.
nùàr ka tə kela ɲgwə
person at NEG. pass NEG.
- 73 Nùàr à kela te kela.
nùàr à kela te kela
person he pass so pass
- 74 Mì ɲgue ka mə bó,
mì ɲgue ka mə bó
I understand at with them
- 75 yila ka le bu hən wanyu
yila ka le bu hən wanyu
enter at in knife this else
- 76 bó chiə yə yə
bó chiə yə yə
they day eat eat
- 77 bó kɔ ɲguə, fə bó tare. (1)
bó kɔ ɲguə fə bó tare.
they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 78 Hən, den né hən.
hən den né hən
this stay is this
- 79 Ləgə fona, kɔ né də tə chiə kwə, ()
ləgə fona kɔ né də tə chiə kwə
fight search even is of at day tomorrow
- 80 tə mì () yila sum bò huan mə nji.
tə mì yila sum bò huan mə nji
so I call remove PL. child with thing
- 81 Bò baán mə kwo ka kwo,
bò baán mə kwo ka kwo
PL. illness that chase at chase
- 82 ka guo hən də.
ka guo hən də
at house this of
- 83 Və mò lì^{7#15} mə yuo ve ka hən də.
və mò lì mə yuo ve ka hən də
woman mine stomach that leave bad at this of
- 84 Sɔgɔ né ka fuo chàṅ
sɔgɔ né ka fuo chàṅ
only is at blow chàṅ

- 85 Yuo ka njai^{7#16} nùàr,
yuo ka njai nùàr
leave at thing person
- 86 né ka bò nùàr, bó yi né be ten.
né ka bò nùàr bó yi né be ten
is at PL. person they enter is hand there-is
- 87 bó jə: aa mì wa?
bó jə aa mì wa
they say aaa me QN.
- 88 Mì də mò, mì... ()
mì də mò mì
I of mine I
- 89 huan hən maga kela kuku, né də kə wa?
huan hən maga kela kuku né də kə wa
child this nmany pass many is of why QN.
- 90 Sogo bu né mə njərədi,
sogo bu né mə njərədi
only them-S. is with something
- 91 bó tue mì, mì gwom bó.
bó tue mì mì gwom bó
they say me I pay them
- 92 Ma mì ka kə ɲgwə, fə mò nde ter.
ma mì ka kə ɲgwə fə mò nde ter
if I at know NEG. head mine go up
- 93 Ma mò mə den hən də,
ma mò mə den hən də
if mine that stay this of
- 94 ma à sep gwan ɲgwə hən də,
ma à sep gwan ɲgwə hən də
if she male want NEG. this of
- 95 sogo né ka fuo chàṅ ɕa y est.
sogo né ka fuo chàṅ ɕa y est
only is at blow ɕa y est
- 96 Ma ka fuo chàṅ sam ɲgwə ()
ma ka fuo chàṅ sam ɲgwə
if at blow chàṅ not NEG.
- 97 bó yila le bu,
bó yila le bu
they enter in knife
- 98 ma bó kə ɲgwə mbò,
ma bó kə ɲgwə mbò
if they know NEG. itself
- 99 fə bó tare. (2)

fə bó tare.
head theirs hard

100 MA; Wò yə lane
wò yə lane
you say today

[
101 SS; Fəlí, fəlí baá mií mò,
fəlí fəlí baá mií mò
threaten threaten PRES. mother mine

102 Yuo den nə bili yaa^{7#17} due hən də.
yuo den nə bili yaa due hən də
leave here is together bush open this of

103 Sogo né ka, bò baán nde bili né ka bó.
sogo né ka bò baán nde bili né ka bó
only is at PL. illness go group is at them

104 Né ka be chàṅ, ɕa y est.
né ka be chàṅ ɕa y est
is at hand chàṅ ɕa y est

105 Né ke ka nùàr, wò nùàr di,
né ke ka nùàr, wò nùàr di
is look at person, you person some

106 wò ṅgər rə di.
wò ṅgər rə di
you slander again some

107 Wò jə: əhə nyí bɔ́ wò mənə no kum.
wò jə əhə nyí bɔ́ wò mənə no kum
you say yes speaker do you thus also just

108 Ngàm à nde yila də bé, də bé kə jemu
Ngàm à nde yila də bé də bé kə jemu
because they go call of we of we at second

109 bá nde Oui nde de, () kə wa?
bá nde oui nde de () kə wa
we go yes go stay () what QN

110 Kɔ́ wò le dalela ɕa y est,
kɔ́ wò le dalela ɕa y est
even you PAST motive ɕa y est

111 ma wò le dalela sam ṅgwə
ma wò le dalela sam ṅgwə
if you in motive not NEG.

112 bó yila le bu wanyu,
bó yila le bu wanyu
they enter in knife else

113 ma bó kɔ́ ṅgwə, fə bó tare.
ma bó kɔ́ ṅgwə fə bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard

- 114 Bò dim mò, mə den né bili hən,
 bò dim mò mə den né bili hən
 PL. y-same-sex-sib. mine with stay is together this
- 115 mə bò tie mò ve mò, mə den né yə də,
 mə bò tie mò ve mò mə den né yə də
 with PL. opp-sex-sib mine woman mine with stay is yours of
- 116 bó mare de ɲgwə hən də. ()
 bó mare de ɲgwə hən də
 they own of NEG. this here
- 117 Sɔɔɔ né ka bæé- Sɔɔɔ né ka see chàɲ.
 sɔɔɔ né ka bæé sɔɔɔ né ka see chàɲ
 only is at harm only is at work chàɲ
- 118 Ma né ka be nùàr, (1) né mənà huan di ya,
 ma né ka be nùàr né mənà 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 ɲgwə,
 ma ka huan di sam ɲgwə
 if at child some not NEG.
- 121 wò JJ^{7#18} dɔ́ɔ́ɲ pat,
 wò JJ dɔ́ɔ́ɲ pat
 you JJ all all
- 122 ma né ka le nji né ki bó.
 ma né ka le nji né ki bó
 if is at in thing is annoy them
- 123 Sɔɔɔ né ka fuo chàɲ ɕa y est
 sɔɔɔ né ka fuo chàɲ ɕa y est
 only is at blow chàɲ ɕa y est
- 124 Ma né ka fuo chàɲ sam ɲgwə
 ma né ka fuo chàɲ sam ɲgwə
 if is at blow chàɲ not NEG.
- 125 bó yila le bu hən wanyu,
 bó yila le bu hən wanyu
 they enter in knife this else
- 126 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə, fə bó tare.
 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare
 if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 127 MA;Kwa nyí nùàr njə, SS, nyí nùàr jə
 kwa nyí nùàr njə SS nyí nùàr jə
 find speaker person that-one SS speaker person say
- 128 nyí yuo sar, nyí yuo chibi

The sua kare oath

nyí yuo sar nyí yuo chibi
 speaker leave witch-spears speaker leave night

129 Nyí ge læ vən wula nùàr
 nyí ge læ vən wula nùàr
 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 kɔ ɲgwə ɲjulu ke kə baa
 ma nyí kɔ ɲgwə ɲjulu ke kə baa
 if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East

132 Nùàr saa ndo, nùàr mavə. huan sep,
 nùàr saa ndo nùàr mavə huan sep
 person that also person woman child male

133 wò ɲgəri fəlí nyí.
 wò ɲgəri fəlí nyí
 you slander threaten speaker

134 Wò ɲgəri fəlí bò və nyí,
 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò və nyí
 you slander threaten PL. woman speaker

135 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò ɲuna nyí
 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò ɲuna nyí
 you slander threaten PL. child speaker

136 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò dim nyí
 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò dim nyí
 you slander threaten PL. y-same-sex-sib. speaker

137 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò tie nyí
 wò ɲgəri fəlí bò tie nyí
 you slander threaten PL. opp-sex-sib speaker

138 wò ɲgəri fəlí mi nyí
 wò ɲgəri fəlí mi nyí
 you slander threaten mother speaker

139 Kɔ wò né le darelə le ve, ɕa y est.
 kɔ wò né le darelə le ve ɕa y est
 even you is in motive in bad ɕa y est

140 Wò kɔ ɲgwə, le be am ɲgwə,
 wò kɔ ɲgwə le be am ɲgwə
 you know NEG. in hand NEG. NEG.

141 ɲgəri ɲgəri ka fəlí bó
 ɲgəri ɲgəri ka fəlí bó
 slander slander at threaten them

142 Nùàr yila le bu sua
 nùàr yila le bu sua
 person enter in knife sua

- 143 Ma né ka () baán mə kwa né ka bó,
 ma né ka baán mə kwa né ka bó
 if is at illness that find is at them
- 144 ma né fuo lu chàṅ,
 ma né fuo lu chàṅ
 if is blow freely chàṅ
- 145 Gi né ga gə Baa kɔ́.
 gi né ga gə Baa kɔ́
 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 Kɔ́ lə jəmu mií jəmu tele,^{7#19}
 kɔ́ lə jəmu mií jəmu tele
 Even treatment after mother after father
- 148 kɔ́ sie né bó kɔ́,
 kɔ́ sie né bó kɔ́
 even take is them SUB.EMP.
- 149 bó né kware nyí kware
 bó né kware nyí kware
 they is beside speaker beside
- 150 Kɔ́ lə jəmu mií jəmu tele sie bó saa le.
 kɔ́ lə jəmu mií jəmu tele sie bó saa le
 even treatment after mother after father take them that in
- 151 Kaa né kaa nùàr,
 kaa né kaa nùàr
 tie is tie person
- 152 wò mavə wò huan sep.
 wò mavə wò huan sep
 you woman you child male
- 153 Wò jə: nyí ngəri fəlí lɔ́ ní wá?
 wò jə nyí ngəri fəlí lɔ́ ní wá
 you say speaker slander threaten compound who QN.
- 154 Tə nyí bəé lɔ́
 tə nyí bəé lɔ́
 so speaker harm compound
- 155 Nùàr yila le bu
 nùàr yila le bu
 person enter in knife
- 156 Ngwagam ??ngɔ́ró ngwə?? wanyu yə yə yə.
 Ngwagam ngɔ́ró ngwə wanyu yə yə yə
 maize moment NEG. else eat eat eat
- 157 Ma wò kɔ́ ngwə njulu ke kə baa. ()

ma wò kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa
if you know NEG. eyes look at East

158 Nùàr à sie né fə lɔ́ nyí ()
nùàr à sie né fə lɔ́ nyí
person he take is head compound speaker

159 Mì nùàr njə. () Ma nùàr mə tɔ́ɔ tə lə am ɲgwə
mì nùàr njə ma nùàr mə tɔ́ɔ tə lə am
ɲgwə
I person that-one if person with quarrel so treatment NEG.
NEG.

160 Hən nùàr nde nde te yila ɲgwə
hən nùàr nde nde te yila ɲgwə
this person go go NEG enter NEG.

161 Hən nùàr nde tabé bə́e re, te yila ɲgwə
hən nùàr nde tabé bə́e re te yila ɲgwə
this person go earth harm again NEG enter NEG.

162 Ni sie né kɔ́ né ka, ()^{7#20}
ni sie né kɔ́ né ka
who take is SUB.EMP. is at

163 sap, chibi, lɔp, yuui lə
sap chibi lɔp yuui lə
snake night witchcraft leaf treatment

164 MA;Ma nyí kɔ baá kən,
ma nyí kɔ baá kən
if speaker know PRES. already

165 nyí me lɔ́ nùàr yila le bu
nyí me lɔ́ nùàr yila le bu
speaker measure compound person enter in knife

166 Ma nyí kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa
ma nyí kɔ ɲgwə njulu ke kə baa
if speaker know NEG. eyes look at East

167 Nùàr sar nùàr chibi, ɲgəri fə́lí nyí,
nùàr sar nùàr chibi ɲgəri fə́lí nyí
person witch-spears person night slander threaten speaker

168 ɲgəri fə́lí ɲuna nyí.
ɲgəri fə́lí ɲuna nyí
slander threaten child speaker

169 Njeba né ??njeba?? den baá də kə wa?
njeba né ??njeba den baá də kə wa
stop is stop stay PRES. of why QN.

170 Nùàr saa wò nùàr nji ter ke ke ke
nùàr saa wò nùàr nji ter ke ke ke
person that you person thing up look look look

171 Ma wò kɔ ɲgwə,

ma wò kò ɲgwə
if you know NEG.
[]

172 SS; Jaŋ-
jaŋ-
scho-

173 Ma; kò né mə temə chén, bó njulu ke kə baa, dɔ́ɔ́ŋ. ()
kò né mə temə chén bó njulu ke kə baa dɔ́ɔ́ŋ
even is with liver one they eyes look at East all

174 SS; Jaŋdi né fəlí bò ɲuna mò,
jaŋdi né fəlí bò ɲuna mò
school is threaten PL. child mine

175 yila bu hən də.
yila bu hən də
enter knife this of

176 Sɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ né gi né ka () né see chàŋ ɕa y est.
sɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ né gi né ka né see chàŋ ɕaye
only is end is at is work chàŋ ɕa ye

177 Né ka nùàr lu mba, wò jə
né ka nùàr lu mba wò jə
is at person SUB.EMP. freely you say

178 nyí nde nde mə,
nyí nde nde mə
speaker go go that

179 ma nyí bɔ́ɔ́ mani, nyí njəre mani.
ma nyí bɔ́ɔ́ mani nyí njəre mani
if speaker do thus speaker slander thus

180 Chiə kwə mì nde nde a tə yili.
chiə kwə mì nde nde a tə yili
day tomorrow I go go to so call

181 Ma bu bɔ́ɔ́ né mə dalela, bó tue mì,
ma bu bɔ́ɔ́ né mə 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 bɔ́ɔ́ le njərədi sam ɲgwə.
ma bu bɔ́ɔ́ le njərədi sam ɲgwə
if them-S. do in something not NEG.

184 bó ɲgəri ka fəlí bé də lu kɔ́ kɔ́ kɔ́ mba man.
bó ɲgəri ka fəlí bé də lu kɔ́ kɔ́ kɔ́
mba man
they slander at threaten we of freely SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.
SUB.EMP. freely thus

185 bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu,

- bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu
they enter at in knife this else
- 186 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare.
ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare
if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 187 MA; Lane bó pat ma nyí sie fə ɲuna nyí
lane bó pat ma nyí sie fə ɲuna nyí
today they all if speaker take head child speaker
- 188 Mə bó jaŋdi jaŋ, bó go ɲgwə
mə bó jaŋdi jaŋ bó go ɲgwə
that they school school they walk NEG.
- 189 Ma né ka njərə ??dalela
ma né ka njərə ??dalela
if is at thing motive
- 190 yɔgɔ né ka bó kɔ, ɕa y est
yɔgɔ né ka bó kɔ ɕa y est
surpass is at them SUB.EMP. ɕa y est
- 191 Wò nùàr wò yuo sar, wò yuo chibi.
wò nùàr wò yuo sar wò yuo chibi
you person you leave witch-spears you leave night
- 192 Wò yila le gua mallam^{7#21}
wò yila le gua mallam
you enter in home mallam
- 193 wò te sie bó, tə nyí bæé bó.
wò te sie bó tə nyí bæé bó
you so take them so speaker harm them
- 194 Ma mallam kɔ né kɔ́
ma mallam kɔ né kɔ́
if mallam know is SUB.EMP.
- 195 Nùàr yila le bu sua
nùàr yila le bu sua
person enter in knife sua
- 196 wò sɔ chén wanyu, wò fà yə yə sɔ
wò sɔ chén wanyu wò fà yə yə sɔ
you live one else you two eat eat live
- 197 Ma dede yɔgɔ ɲgwə wò kɔ́
ma dede yɔgɔ ɲgwə wò kɔ́
if properly surpass NEG. you SUB.EMP.
- 198 dɔ́ɔ́ŋ pat bu njulu ke kə baa.
dɔ́ɔ́ŋ pat bu njulu ke kə baa
all all it eyes look at East
- 199 SS; (5) Bare re njulu ɲgu
(5) bare re njulu ɲgu
(5) close again eyes ɲgu

- 200 MA; Baá yɔɔɔ né ɲuna^{7#22} hən, à ha nan,
 baá yɔɔɔ né ɲuna hən à ha nan
 PRES. surpass is child this she fat how
- 201 à si jɔɔɔ ɲgwə, lane dɔ́ɔ́ pat,
 à si jɔɔɔ ɲgwə lane dɔ́ɔ́ pat
 she husband marry NEG. today all all
- 202 bò nùàr bò nda kulu bu
 bò nùàr bò nda kulu bu
 PL. person PL. young men bless her
- 203 SS; Né julú^{7#23}
 né julú
 is forbidden
- 204 MA; Bò nda bu gwan, bó nda kulu bu.
 bò nda bu gwan bó 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 jɔɔɔ ɲgwə.
 à si jɔɔɔ ɲgwə
 she husband marry NEG.
- 207 Ma né ka geda si né wa ɲgwə yə, ɕa y est
 ma né ka geda si né wa ɲgwə yə ɕa y est
 if is at fate husband is arrive NEG. NEG. ɕa y est
- 208 Nùàr di, wò nde, wò bə́é bu,
 nùàr di wò nde wò bə́é bu
 person some you go you harm her
- 209 wò yila le gua mallam,
 wò yila le gua mallam
 you enter in home mallam
- 210 wò nde mə siri,
 wò nde mə siri
 you go with harm
- 211 wò nde mə mgbati vən,
 wò nde mə mgbati vən
 you go with witchcraft evil
- 212 wò tue nyí bə́é wa tare: à tə si jogo.
 wò tue nyí bə́é wa tare à tə si jogo
 you say speaker harm arrive hard she NEG. husband marry
- 213 Kɔ́ () kɔ́, SS, bò və́, bó bə́é naa.
 kɔ́ kɔ́ SS bò və́ bó bə́é naa
 even even SS PL. woman they harm PAST
- 214 Gua di nuar^{7#24}, ɕa y est.

- gua di nùàr ɕa y est
home some person ɕa y est
- 215 Nùàr bəé ŋgwə,
nùàr bəé ŋgwə
person harm NEG.
- 216 wò ŋgəri fəlí ŋuna,
wò ŋgəri fəlí ŋuna
you slander threaten child
- 217 wò ŋgəri mə fəlí jə:
wò ŋgəri mə fəlí jə
you slander with threaten say
- 218 à jə: Jək^{7#25}! Ma jə: jək! A nde si jɔgɔ kwa
à jə jək ma jə jək à nde si jɔgɔ kwa
it say if say she go husband marry find
- 219 Nùàr, à yila le bu sua,
nùàr à yila le bu sua
person it enter in knife sua
- 220 à sɔ chén wanyu, à fà yə yə yə
à sɔ chén wanyu à fà yə yə yə
it live one else it two eat eat eat
- 221 Ma nùàr geda si né wa ŋgwə yə,
ma nùàr geda si né wa ŋgwə yə
if person husband is arrive NEG. NEG.
- 222 saa bu hən njulu kee kə baa.
saa bu hən njulu kee kə baa
that she this eyes look at East
- 223 SS;Huan mə guli^{7#26} kuó ka bu hən də.
huan mə guli kuó ka bu hən də
child with foot die at him this of
- 224 Sɔgɔ né ka fuo chàŋ, ɕa y est.
sɔgɔ né ka fuo chàŋ ɕa y est
only is at blow chàŋ ɕa y est
- 225 Né ka bò nùàr wò yuo wò jə:
né ka bò nùàr wò yuo wò jə
is at PL. person you leave you say
- 226 aha huan hən nde nde bà də kə wa?
aha huan hən nde nde bà də kə wa
mmhmmm child this go go place of why QN.
- 227 Sɔgɔ bu hən le dalela bó tue mì, mì gwom.
sɔgɔ bu hən le dalela bó tue mì mì gwom
only him this in motive they say me I pay
- 228 Ma ka le njərədi sam ŋgwə,
ma ka le njərədi sam ŋgwə
if at in something not NEG.

- 229 bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu,
 bó yila ka le bu hən wanyu
 they enter at in knife this else
- 230 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare.
 ma bó kɔ ɲgwə fə bó tare
 if they know NEG. head theirs hard
- 231 MA; [Mì tene^{7#27} nde né fəlí sen hən də.
 mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən də
 I break go is threaten his this of
- 232 Mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən
 mì tene nde né fəlí sen hən
 I break go is threaten his this
- 233 < Den tə tabe tə sie chuar <= To SS
 den tə tabe tə sie chuar
 stay at earth so take chicken
- 234 SS; Yuaga^{7#28} den tə tabé man!
 Yuaga den tə tabé man
 Yuaga stay at earth thus
- 235 Simon^{7#29}; Yuaga den tə tabé, kie! (7)
 Yuaga den tə tabé kie 7
 Yuaga stay at earth Expletive
- 236 SS; Sie tək! (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa
 sie tək (5) Nuaga bare njulu man wa
 take IDEO. Nuaga close eye thus EMP
- 237 MA; Huan lu fəlí ɲuna nyí nan.
 huan lu fəlí ɲuna nyí nan
 child freely threaten child speaker how
- 238 Mì nùàr njə, mì nùàr mə mì lo nə
 mì nùàr njə mì nùàr mə mì lo nə
 I person that-one I person that I treat is
- 239 Mì yuo sar mì yuo chibi,
 mì yuo sar mì yuo chibi
 I leave witch-spears I leave night
- 240 gwa nùàr, chuar nùàr, bəé nùàr.
 gwa nùàr chuar nùàr bəé nùàr
 house person chicken person harm person
- 241 Ma mì bəé (1) mə sar mə chibi mə loɔ.
 ma mì bəé 1 mə sar mə chibi mə loɔ
 if I harm with witch-spears with night with witchcraft
- 242 Chu chu fəlí bó, mì yila le bu sua
 chu chu fəlí bó mì yila le bu sua
 return return threaten them I enter in knife sua
- 243 mì so chén wanyu,

- mì sɔ chén wanyu
I live one else
- 244 mì njulu kə baa ke ke ke, ke.
mì njulu kə baa ke ke ke ke
I eyes at East look look look look
- 245 Ma mì né ka ka temə chén,
ma mì né ka ka temə chén
if I is at at liver one
- 246 te chuom huom, bé huom, nùàr huom.
te chuom huom bé huom nùàr huom
so sort-out good we good person good
- 247 Mì njulu ke kə baa.
mì njulu ke kə baa
I eyes look at East
- 248 Wò nùàr sar, wò nùàr chibi,
wò nùàr sar wò nùàr chibi
you person witch-spears you person night
- 249 wò nde mə né jəgə
wò nde mə né jəgə
you go with is swear??
- 250 ma né lə né ki wa?
ma né lə né ki wa
if is treatment is what QN.
- 251 Mì^{7#30} yila le bu sua
mì yila le bu sua
I enter in knife sua
- 252 wò sɔ chén wanyu, fà yə yə yə sɔ
wò sɔ chén wanyu fà yə yə yə sɔ
you live one else two eat eat eat live
- 253 SS;Café^{7#31} né wa ɲgwə yə
café né wa ɲgwə yə
coffee is arrive NEG. NEG.
- 254 MA;Lɔ́ yə mə gərə hən də.
lɔ́ yə mə gərə hən də
compound yours with field this of
- 255 Wò baán lane ka né ??ləm kwa le??
wò baán lane ka né ??ləm kwa le
you illness today at is only cough in
- 256 kwə né baán, kula né baán
kwə né baán kula né baán
tomorrow is illness day-after-tomorrow is illness
- 257 Kɔ né ka baán mgbe chàn^{7#32} ha naa bu baá kɔ́, ɕa y est
kɔ né ka baán mgbe chàn ha naa bu baá kɔ́ ɕa y
est

- even is at illness chief chàṅ give PAST it PRES. SUB.EMP. ça y est
- 258 Wò sar, wò chibi, nùàr mavə huan sep.
wò sar wò chibi nùàr mavə huan sep
you witch-spears you night person woman child male
- 259 Də lɔ́ yə tə nyí bə́é baá
də lɔ́ yə tə nyí bə́é baá
of compound yours so speaker harm PRES.
- 260 Wò né jəgə wò nde bə́é kɔ́
wò né jəgə wò nde bə́é kɔ́
you is swear?? you go harm SUB.EMP.
- 261 Fela dɔ́ṅ pat, lɔ́ yə huɔm ŋwə
fela dɔ́ṅ pat lɔ́ yə huɔm ŋwə
listen all all compound yours good NEG.
- 262 Kɔ né ka (1) chiə rə lu cher chum cher sua
kɔ né ka 1 chiə rə lu cher chum cher sua
even is at day again day road old road sua
- 263 bu le kɔ hən də, tamə ma wò wa Paul Biya^{7#33}
bu le kɔ hən də tamə ma wò wa Paul Biya
it PAST know this of consider even you arrive Paul Biya
- 264 Ka nùàr, nyí bə́é baá lɔ́ yə
ka nùàr nyí bə́é baá lɔ́ yə
at person speaker harm PRES. compound yours
- 265 wò yila le bu
wò yila le bu
you enter in knife
- 266 wò so wanyu wò fà yə yə yə so
wò so wanyu wò fà yə yə yə so
you live else you two eat eat eat live
- 267 < Café yə wa ŋwə <= To SS
café yə wa ŋwə
coffee yours arrive NEG.
- 268 SS; Sɔgɔ bó wa gua^{7#34} mgbe
sɔgɔ bó wa gua mgbe
only they arrive home chief
- 269 MA; Dites donc^{7#35}. Gua huɔm ŋwə
dites donc gua huɔm ŋwə
dites donc home good NEG.
- 270 Kɔ né ka () kalɔn
kɔ né ka kalɔn
even is at money
- 271 Tabá ve^{7#36} né kɔ́ ça y est
tabá ve né kɔ́ ça y est
earth bad is SUB.EMP. ça y est

- 272 Kɔ né ka be nùàr, tə nyí bəé
 kɔ né ka be nùàr tə nyí bəé
 even is at hand person so speaker harm
- 273 Nyí bəé ɲuna ɲuna yə wa
 nyí bəé ɲuna ɲuna yə wa
 speaker harm child child yours SUB.EMP.
- 274 Ma né chiə kwə wò wò nde kɔ́
 ma né chiə kwə wò wò nde kɔ́
 if is day tomorrow you you go SUB.EMP.
- 275 huan də ki wa?
 huan də ki wa
 child of what QN.
- 276 Ɗgəri fəlí ɲuna yə, li huan yuo ve
 Ɗgəri fəlí ɲuna yə li huan yuo ve
 slander threaten child yours stomach child leave bad
- 277 Kɔ né ka () kalɔn li, chàŋ ha né kɔ́
 kɔ né ka kalɔn li chàŋ ha né kɔ́
 even is at money stomach chàŋ give is SUB.EMP.
- 278 Usur ɕa y est. Kɔ né ka be nùàr
 usur ɕa y est kɔ né ka be nùàr
 truly ɕa y est even is at hand person
- 279 SS; bó wa wa gua mbe bó fela né ka nùàr
 bó wa wa gua mbe bó fela né ka nùàr
 they arrive arrive home beer they listen is at person
- 280 bó fəla də baa ɕa y est.
 bó fəla də baa ɕa y est
 they listen of good ɕa y est
- 281 MA;Mə bəé li kɔ́
 mə bəé li kɔ́
 that harm stomach SUB.EMP.
- 282 Ma né jəgə ni,
 ma né jəgə ni
 if is swear?? who
- 283 ma né kwa bəé və də ki wa?
 ma né kwa bəé və də ki wa
 if is put harm woman of what QN.
- 284 Wò kwa ɲgwə də ki wa?
 wò kwa ɲgwə də ki wa
 you put NEG. of what QN.
- 285 Wò yila le bu sua
 wò yila le bu sua
 you enter in knife sua
- 286 wò sɔ chén wanyu wò fà yə sɔ

wò sɔ chén wanyu wò fà yə sɔ
you live one else you two eat live

287 Kɔ ɲuna hua nùàr tema ɲgwə
kɔ ɲuna hua nùàr tema ɲgwə
even child breath person send NEG.

288 Chiə hua nùàr teba te kela ɲgwə.
chiə hua nùàr teba te kela ɲgwə
outside breath person fulbe NEG pass NEG.

289 Bí hua nùàr yə ɲgwə yə yə
bí hua nùàr yə ɲgwə yə yə
you breath person eat NEG. eat eat

290 Yila le bu sua
yila le bu sua
enter in knife sua

291 wò sɔ chén wanyu wò fà yə yə sɔ (1)
wò sɔ chén wanyu wò fà yə yə sɔ (1)
you live one else you two eat eat live

The chicken was beheaded (10)

292 < Mì njiba chuar ka kiyə lu mani <= to SS
mì njiba chuar ka kiyə lu mani 50
I stop chicken at overthere SUB.EMP. thus

293 (50)^{7#37} To, wa we (3)
(50) to wa we (3)
(50) To arrive fire

294 SS;To Ngu tə njulu ke wa
to Ngu tə njulu ke wa
So Ngu NEG. eyes look SUB.EMP.

295 MA;À ke baá ke
à ke baá ke
he look PRES. look

296 SS;Wò ke baá ke
wò ke baá ke
you look PRES. look

297 MA;kware tə taa. kware tə taa. kware tə taa^{7#38}
kware tə taa kware tə taa kware tə taa,
kidneys NEG.stone kidneys NEG.stone kidneys NEG.stone

298 (1) Də bí gi aa
(1) də bí gi aa
(1) for you end PAST

Appendix to Chapter 8
The transcript of the first adultery hearing
23 Nov. 1986

speakers:

bb: Bəbə

bt: one of the accused.

ch: chief

ga: Gamia

gw: Ng's Father

kg: the other accused youth.

ko: Kotap Jeremy

ng: the husband of the woman who allegedly committed adultery.

nj: njaibi

1 ch; edekɔ, ma mi duom mə nji mə, ()
edekɔ ma mi duom mə nji mə
so if I start with thing that

2 mi yila bili nə mə bí lane
mi yila bili nə mə bí lane
I call together is with you today

3 hən mi tue kwa bí nji mə manji^{8#5} mə kela naá lili. (4)
hən mi tue kwa bí nji mə manji mə kela naá lili
this I say put you thing with small with pass PAST yesterday

4 Mi tue kwa né chiə ngam (1) naá njə man be mò kum. ()
mi tue kwa né chiə ngam naá njə man be mò kum
I say put is outside because PAST thing small hand mine just

5 wò kwa naá fada njai man no. ()
wò kwa naá fada njai man no
you find PAST like thing small also

6 Mais jemu saá mi ke: à dengwə fada njai man. (7)
mais jemu saá mi ke à den né ngwə fada njai man
Mais after that I look he stay is NEG. like thing small

7 Ngàm mi njene bò sembe bò
ngàm mi njene bò sembe bò
because I see Pl. strength Pl.

8 yila kwə baá tena mbɔŋ. (4)
yila kwə baá tena mbɔŋ
enter enter PRES. amongst many

9 Bó kɔ ngwə nji mə kela naá,
bó kɔ ngwə nji mə kela naá
they know NEG. thing with pass PAST

10 ngaga baá seé bò nùàr nùàr. (4)
ngaga baá seé bò nùàr nùàr
clear PRES. work Pl. person person

- 11 mì njiba hən, njiba ter mì ke kə4?
 mì njiba hən njiba ter mì ke kə4
 I stop this stop up I look what
- 12 fabé bò və né dubu tap lum də tap mba. (6)
 fabé bò və né dubu tap lum də tap mba
 like Pl. woman is plant war only of war freely
- 13 Kɔ né huna yə, kɔ né mií yə
 kɔ né huna yə, kɔ né mií yə
 even is child yours even is mother yours
- 14 kɔ né dim yə, kɔ né bí yə, ()
 kɔ né dim yə kɔ né bí yə
 even is y-same-sex-sib yours even is e-same-sex-sib. yours
- 15 ma né lè gəchén kam,
 ma né lè gəchén kam
 if is in true just
- 16 ma wò wa bé-rə-di wò kwa bó baá bu lebu
 ma wò wa bé-rə-di wò kwa bó baá bu lebu
 if you arrive some-place you find they PRES. him hit
- 17 aha né lè ləgu. Nji mə wò
 aha né lè ləgu nji mə wò
 mmhmm is in fight thing with you
- 18 bɔ́ nde nə chén.
 bɔ́ nde nə chén
 do go is one
- 19 wò sie nde né ləgə də tal. Saá gia.
 wò sie nde né ləgə də tal saá gia
 you take go is fight of SUB.EMP. that end
- 20 Ma wò né nùàr gəchén kum, wò sie nde ləgə ma,
 ma wò né nùàr gəchén kum wò sie nde ləgə ma
 if you is person true just you take go fight then
- 21 ma né nùàr yə ma, wò wə nùàr yə, wò yuo mə nji. (1)
 ma né nùàr yə ma wò wə nùàr yə wò yuo mə
 nji
 if is person yours then you take person yours you leave with
 thing
- 22 Jemu rə wò bie nji saá lu. (2)
 jemu rə wò bie nji saá lu
 after again you ask thing that freely
- 23 Mais ma wò nji saá kɔ ɲgə,
 mais ma wò nji saá kɔ ɲgə
 mais if you thing that know NEG.
- 24 wò wa, wò yila kə mba. (1)
 wò wa wò yila kə mba
 you arrive you enter at freely

- 25 saá tue né yə: saá nji ndeka
 saá tue né yə saá nji ndeka
 that say is say that thing from
- 26 to wò naá kɔ wò mba yila ɲgə. (6)
 to wò naá kɔ wò mba yila ɲgə
 before you PAST know you freely enter NEG.
- 27 Alors, bí bò və mə mì ɲene naá bí pat, ()
 alors bí bò və mə mì ɲene naá bí pat
 you Pl. woman which I see PAST you all
- 28 bí né lè carnet mò
 bí né lè carnet mò
 you is in carnet mine
- 29 Də mò, ndeka lili.
 də mò ndeka lili
 of me from yesterday
- 30 Denə mə bá tue nə dənə, mì mì tue né mə sòn jə:
 denə mə bá tue nə dənə mì mì tue né mə sòn jə
 here with we say is here I I say is with mouth say
- 31 Saá tal bó tue ju hən gia, non () ɲgàm né yaware. ()
 Saá tal bó tue ju hən gia non ɲgàm né yaware
 That IDEO. they say talk this end non because is scorn
- 32 et mì foti ɲgwə mì bɔ́ mə mì kwa yaware
 et mì foti ɲgwə mì bɔ́ mə mì kwa yaware
 et I can NEG. I do with I find scorn
- 33 yohr mò lan(e) kɔ kwə kɔ kula. (6)
 yohr mò lane kɔ kwə kɔ kula
 body mine today or tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow
- 34 Kɔ bò kuku bò də baá mənə vii baá.
 kɔ bò kuku bò də baá mənə vii baá
 even Pl. elder Pl.of PRES.thus grey PRES.
- 35 Bó foti ɲgwə də bó wa baá,
 bó foti ɲgwə də bó wa baá
 they can NEG. of them arrive PRES.
- 36 bó yila kwa mì ha ka jolɔri.
 bó yila kwa mì ha ka jolɔri
 they enter find me until at Palace
- 37 Bó sii ləm ma tema bon gwan-e.
 bó sii ləm ma tema bon gwan-e
 they injure? only if liver theirs want
- 38 Kɔ bó baá mənə vii naá bó foti ɲgwə. (1)
 kɔ bó baá mənə vii naá bó foti ɲgwə
 even they PRES. thus grey PAST they can NEG.
- 39 To, () nde jemu naá nyɔɔ sòn, (2)
 to nde jemu naá nyɔɔ sòn

To go second PAST organise mouth

- 40 nde naá nyɔɔ sòn, () ni dón wò tasque gu, kadi (4)
nde naá nyɔɔ sòn ni dón wò tasque gu kadi
go PAST organise mouth who all you task walk? really
- 41 Ndeka leba, ndeka bò nùàr leba naá bu pat.
ndeka leba ndeka bò nùàr leba naá bu pat
from tongue from Pl. person tongue PAST them-S. all
- 42 Ni dón wò tasque gu,
ni dón wò tasque gu
who all you task walk
- 43 ngam pat bí né gi lè carnet mò,
ngam pat bí né gi lè carnet mò
because all you is end in notebook mine
- 44 Ma də mi là chiə hən sam naá ngwə,
ma də mi là chiə hən sam naá ngwə
if of I PAST outside this not PAST NEG.
- 45 mere bí la munu yə aá
mere bí la munu yə aá
perhaps you PAST thought yours PAST
- 46 mere à mi ɲene ɲgə
mere à mi ɲene ɲgə
perhaps he me see NEG.
- 47 aá nji sa kɔ ngwə.
à nji sa kɔ ngwə
they-S. thing that know NEG.
- 48 Mi, mi naá chiə hən, mi njiba lè?
mi mi naá chiə hən mi njiba lè
I I PAST outside this I stop in
- 49 chiə hən nji mə kela hən, ha mə bó nde à mə pat,
chiə hən nji mə kela hən ha mə bó nde à mə
pat
outside this thing which pass this until with they go to with
all
- 50 mi sua kela hən ɲàm tə mi ke nyəgə baá si
mi sua kela hən ɲàm tə mi ke nyəgə baá si
I descend pass this because so I look repair good -ness
- 51 ke mə mi ke də, bò nùàr jə a a də mò a
ke mə mi ke də bò nùàr jə a a də mò a
look with I look of Pl. person say to to of mine to
- 52 mi ɲaga nde diyə kə jolɔri.
mi ɲaga nde diyə kə johlɔri
I climb go of-yours at Palace
- 53 bó munu né mi bɔ́ nə ɲàm
bó munu né mi bɔ́ nə ɲàm

they think is me do is because

54 mì gwan tə ləgə nde no, ()
mì gwan tə ləgə nde no
I want to fight go also

55 duom nə dənə, see mə ɲene nji mə duom naá
duom nə dənə see mə ɲene nji mə duom naá
start is here work which see thing with start PAST

56 ha bá nji aá chərə di
ha bá nji aá chərə di
until we thing PAST stop some

57 Ngàm ma mì nde né mena
ngàm ma mì nde né mena
because if I go is thus

58 to tue nde mì kwa mənə bə mə bə nji mə
to tue nde mì kwa mənə bə mə bə nji mə
before say go I put thus place with Pl. thing which

59 mì tue kənəhən dənə (2)
mì tue kənəhən dənə
I say now here

60 nùàr yuo ha wa lè kwa mì jolɔri, yila mì mber.
nùàr yuo ha wa lè kwa mì jolɔri yila mì mber
person leave until arrive in find me Palace call me shit

61 Bí bə və bí yuo, jemu bí dubu tar^{8#6},
bí bə və bí yuo jemu bí dubu tar
you Pl. woman you leave after you plant stone

62 bí yə: Police Party^{8#7} tə bu sie. ()
bí yə Police Party tə 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 gəchén tue le gò?? bu hən (3)
ama bí nde gəchén tue le gò?? bu hən
but you go true say PAST walk him this

65 Ngam pat bí né gi le carnet mò.
ngam pat bí né gi le carnet mò
because all you is end in notebook mine

66 Kela nùàr mə wò kɔ nyí kema baá bə Police Party be yɔr
kela nùàr mə wò kɔ nyí kema baá bə police party
be yɔr
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 əhə, diyə kam mi njərədi tue ɲgə (1)
 əhə diyə kam mi njərədi tue ɲgə
 əhə of-yours just I something say NEG.
- 69 mais ma wò kema naá bu də saá, () wò né lè carnet mò ()
 mais ma wò kema naá bu də saá wò né lè carnet mò
 mais if you touch PAST him of ignite you is in mine
- 70 diyə kam, ha kwə, ha kula () ma bí jə ɲgɔr nde né gi,
 diyə kam ha kwə ha kula ma bí jə
 ɲgɔr 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 ɲgɔr hən bu, ma mi tue né bí hən,
 ɲgɔr hən bu ma mi tue né bí hən
 declaration this his if me say is you this
- 73 den né ɲgɔr mò () mə mi se den né bí hən.
 den né ɲgwə ɲgɔr mò mə mi se den né bí hən
 stay is NEG. declaration mine which I explain here is you this
- 74 Də mò bó si denə mi mba. (3)
 də mò bó si denə mi mba
 of mine they insult here I freely
- 75 Mì, mi kwə nde né chiə feli bí yə.
 mì mi kwə nde né chiə feli bí yə
 I I tomorrow go is outside like you yours freely
- 76 Bí goh, bí yuo su tə bí nyəgə su mə mi. (2)
 bí goh bí yuo su tə bí nyəgə su mə mi
 you walk you leave again so you repair again that I
- 77 Leli dənə bó tue naá ju tabé^{8#8}. (1)
 leli dənə bó tue naá ju tabé
 yesterday here they say PAST talk earth
- 78 Ju lè, lè ma naá ten àngwə.
 ju lè lè ma naá ten àngwə
 talk fish-dam fish-dam if PAST there-is NEG.
- 79 Bó tue naá ju ɲgu kula. ɲgu kula fela né də bò və. (1)
 bó tue naá ju ɲgu kula ɲgu kula fela né də bò və
 they say PAST talk fish bail fish bail like is of Pl. woman
- 80 Ju see. () tə bò nùàr nde né bé chén nde,
 ju see tə bò nùàr nde né bé chén nde
 talk work so Pl. person go is place one go

- 81 bò nùàr bó mə bé chén nde ɲgwə.
 bò nùàr bó mə bé chén nde ɲgwə
 Pl. person they with place one go NEG.
- 82 Lane mì munu né jə ma bò nùàr nde boó cher^{8#9},
 lane mì munu né jə ma bó nùàr nde boó cher
 today I think is say if they person go do road
- 83 bò nùàr boó nde ɲgwə, bó né den.
 bò nùàr boó nde ɲgwə bó né den
 Pl. person do go NEG. they is stay
- 84 Cher nde bó par, mə bó kela né ten, mì munu yə:
 cher nde bó par mə bó kela né ten mì munu yə
 road go they all with they pass is there-is I think say
- 85 Bí bò nùàr, bó tema bó, bí nde né ha bí yɔgɔ suú.
 bí bò nùàr bó tema bó bí nde né ha bí yɔgɔ suú
 you Pl. person they send them you go is until you surpass
 again-NEG.
- 86 ɲgàm né səm sòn mba see mbo mə tema nə bí (11)
 ɲgàm né səm sòn mba see mbo mə tema nə bí
 because is only mouth freely work himself with send is you
- 87 Lane mì né ka loó, () chibi bu lane kum, mì né ka loó.
 lane mì né ka loó chibi bu lane kum mì né ka loó
 today I is at village night it today just I is at village
- 88 Né wò huan sep a, () né wò mavə a, ()
 né wò huan sep a né wò mavə a
 is you child male to is you woman to
- 89 ma wò kɔ də nyi naá Police Party be yɔr kema.
 ma wò kɔ də ni naá police party be yɔr kema
 if you know of who PAST hand body touch
- 90 Né be nyí yuo baá ter mani, ma nyí kema baá yɔr sen (4)
 né be nyí yuo baá ter mani nyí kema baá yɔr
 sen
 is hand speaker leave PRES. up thus speaker touch PRES. body
 his
- 91 Bí la ma wò kwa mì, ou wò nde kwa nùàr kuú di,
 bí la ma wò kwa mì ou wò nde kwa nùàr kuú di
 you PAST if you find me ou you go find person big some
- 92 wò wa, wò tue ndika mə mì Bankim^{8#10} suaga ɲgue yə. (3)
 wò wa wò tue ndika mə mì Bankim suaga ɲgue yə
 you arrive you say from with I Bankim descend NEG. yours
- 93 ma muna am ɲgə, ma mì suaga, də to bé ten amɲgə
 ma muna am ɲgə ma mì suaga də to bé ten amɲgə
 if thus NEG. NEG. if I descend of before us there-is NEGATIVE
- 94 Ma bí né kɔ, bó boó njiba bò kita,
 ma bí né kɔ bó boó njiba bò kita
 if you is know they do stop Pl. cases

- 95 bá boó njiba le kita. () Də mò kum, gi né man.
 bé boó njiba le kita də mò kum gi né man
 we do stop PAST case of me just end is thus
- 96 Mì ha ləm né journeée lane, (1)
 mì ha ləm né journée lane
 I give only is today
- 97 kɔ̀ mì né mena ka loó kwə... kɔ́ mì né mena ka loó
 kɔ̀ mì né mena ka loó kwə kɔ́ mì né mena ka loó
 even I is thus at village tomorrow even I is thus at village
- 98 ma ngaá kwə nùàr te nde su ()
 ma ngaá kwə nùàr te nde su
 if clear tomorrow person so go again-NEG
- 99 ma ngaá kwə mə nùàr tə nde
 ma ngaá kwə mə nùàr tə nde
 if clear tomorrow with person NEG. go
- Gap, general throat clearing followed by a Fulfulde translation
 of the discussion of road work. (Approx 4 minutes)
- 100 To, fam boó ju see. () See mə boó tema nə hən, (2)
 to fam boó ju see see mə boó tema nə hən
 So like do talk work work which do send is this
- 101 see denwə də nùàr yə, mì tema kwa də nùàr di. ()
 see denwə də nùàr yə mì tema kwa də nùàr di
 work stay-NEG. of person yours I send put of person some
- 102 Non, see bá tema né hən də,
 non see bá tema né hən də
 work ours send is this of
- 103 bá tema nə see də nùàr njə, denwə də nùàr. ()
 bá tema nə see də nùàr njə den né ngwə də nùàr
 we send is work of person that-one stay is NEG. of person
- 104 Fela lu bá nde ya yə, yi cher dua yə, ni (2)
 fela lu bá nde ya yə yi cher dua yə ni
 like day we go there at at road there at who
- 105 Kə keləhen suaga bá, mə mì la tue duom nan?, ()
 kə keləhen suaga bá mə mì la tue duom nan
 at now descend? ours with I PAST say start how
- 106 bi bɔ̀gò^{8#11} hən ma, .bɔ̀gò hən
 bi bɔ̀gò hən ma bɔ̀gò hən
 thing wall this then wall this
- 107 Ndeka bó munu ngwə: bó nde né ngaá.
 ndeka bó munu ngwə bó nde né ngaá
 from they think NEG. they go is climb
- 108 Bɔ̀gò hən né ten. ()
 bɔ̀gò hən né ten

wall this is there-is

- 109 Ndeka bó munu ɲgwə: bó nde né ɲgaá
 ndeka bó munu ɲgwə bó nde né ɲgaá
 must they think NEG. they go is clear
- 110 Bɔgɔ hən né ten. ha né bó nde nyən nji,
 bɔgɔ hən né ten ha né bó nde nyən nji
 wall this is there-is until is they go forget thing
- 111 yili mò lè naá man, ha bó nde nyən nji ma.
 yili mò lè naá man ha bó nde nyən nji ma
 name mine in PAST thus until they go forget thing then
- 112 Bɔgɔ hən də à né le ten. (2)
 bɔgɔ hən də à né le ten
 wall this of it is in there-is
- 113 Dede né fada bí no, kela naá man:
 dede né fada bí no kela naá man
 properly is like you also pass PAST thus
- 114 ma nùàr wa to yə, tə bɔ́ ɲgər wa:
 ma nùàr wa to yə tə bɔ́ ɲgər wa
 if person arrive before you so do insult EMP.
- 115 əhə, lane bò əhə kwə wa né su mì wa.
 əhə lane bò əhə kwə wa né su mì wa
 no today Pl. no tomorrow arrive is again I say
- 116 əhə wò nyəgə kwa. (5)
 əhə wò nyəgə kwa
 no you repair put
- 117 to de ɲgwə ke le bɔgɔ ki yə, mə temə ɲger.()
 to de ɲgwə ke le bɔgɔ ki yə mə temə ɲger
 before stay NEG. look in wall at there with liver insult
- 118 Də mò mì jə: nji par huɔm.
 də mò mì jə nji par huɔm
 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 bɔ́ yula, (1)
 mais bí né mì tema bɔ́ yula
 Mais you is me liver do ill
- 121 bí bò lɔ́ bò bí né mì tema bɔ́ yula,
 bí bò lɔ́ bò bí né mì tema bɔ́ yula
 you Pl. village Pl. you is me liver do ill
- 122 ɲgam ma tam di mba mì su munu, mì jə:
 ɲgam ma tam di mba mì su munu mì jə

because if time some freely I again think I say

- 123 kie (bə́, mbá) rə né tam mò mba. () tam
 kie (bə́, mbá) rə né tam mò mba tam
 Expletive (insult, shit) again is time mine freely time
- 124 tam di, mì tema bɔ́ yula (4)
 tam di mì tema bɔ́ yula
 time some I liver do ill
- 125 Tue né nji né mì bɔ́ nde nə hən par,
 tue né nji né mì bɔ́ nde nə hən par
 say is thing is I do go is this all
- 126 pat bí ɲene ɲguə. (2) Dede bó gwan à bɔ́,
 pat bí ɲene ɲguə dede bó gwan à bɔ́
 all you see NEG. properly they want to do
- 127 pat bí ɲene be bí yə né gi ve. (3)
 pat bí ɲene be bí yə né gi ve.<
 all you see hand you yours is end bad
- 128 Ma mì kema ??yɔr le ju də argi^{8#12} hən manji man,
 ma mì kema ??yɔr le ju də argi hən manji man
 if I touch body in talk of moonshine this small thus
- 129 le naá chiə di hi? wa ka leteni hən,
 le naá chiə di ni wa ka leteni hən
 PAST PAST outside some where arrive at between this
- 130 Mì nde yila bili bɔ́ ka centre hən, bó naá tue mba (2)
 Mì nde yila bili bɔ́ ka centre hən bó naá tue mba
 I go call together PL. at centre this they PAST say freely
- 131 kuare kuare bó naá tue jə: mì tue ju argi
 kuare kuare bó naá tue jə mì tue ju argi
 beside beside they PAST say say I say talk moonshine
- 132 kaka guli mò se ne ten
 kaka guli mò se ne ten
 below foot mine theirs is there-is
- 133 ama ma sie ɲgwə, mì nde sie nde né kuare wa?
 ama ma sie ɲgwə mì nde sie nde né kuare wa
 but if take NEG. I go take go is beside QN.
- 134 bɔ́ və də ka centre hən,
 bɔ́ və də ka centre hən
 Pl. woman of at this
- 135 lu saá mə mì nde yila bili naá bó,
 lu saá mə mì nde yila bili naá bó
 day that with I go call together PAST them
- 136 bó bɔ́ kuare kuare bɔ́ ɲgue naá ɲguə.
 bó bɔ́ kuare kuare bɔ́ ɲgue naá ɲguə
 they Pl. beside beside Pl. understand PAST NEG.

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^{8#13} à, wò. Mgbe jə né ve, ama də be yə,
 ga à wò mgbe jə né ve ama də be yə
 Ga to you chief say is bad but of hand yours

140 mì tue né wò ma bɔ́ɔ ɲgue tue bá.
 mì tue né wò ma bɔ́ɔ ɲgue tue bá
 I say is you if do NEG. say us

141 le tu Argi kum mgbe jə: usuku.
 le tu argi kum mgbe jə usuku
 PAST before moonshine just chief say thankyou

142 O, wò né mə argi ma
 o wò né mə argi ma
 o you is with moonshine then

143 Bé bé vraá né chi ma, ma bí ha sam ɲguə
 bé bé vraá né chi ma ma bí ha sam ɲguə
 we we thank is that then if you give not NEG.

144 bé vraá sam ɲgwə, ama bó sie baá.
 bé vraá sam ɲgwə ama bó sie baá
 we thank not NEG. but they take PRES.

145 Ga;Chàn à sie bó sie.
 chàn à sie bó sie
 it take them take

146 Nj;Ni bie naá bé yə ma, ni yə yen wa?
 ní bie naá bé yə ma ni yə yen wa
 who ask PAST us yours then who say forbid QN.

147 kɔ ni tə yen wa?
 kɔ 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 bé ma.
 wò sela sie baá bé ma
 you cross take PRES. us then

150 Ma bé la tue né jə kup, argi ama,
 ma bé la tue né jə kup argi ama
 if we PAST say is say all moonshine but

- 151 njə bəé lɔ́ bɔ́ naá
 njə bəé lɔ́ bɔ́ naá
 thing harm village theirs PAST
- 152 à nji bu hən se yuo su naá ni wa?
 à nji bu hən se yuo su naá ni wa
 he thing it this NEG. leave again PAST who QN.
- 153 Wò le bie ka naá bé, wò le né fə yə yen ɲgwə.
 wò le bie ka naá bé wò le né fə yə yen ɲgwə
 you PAST ask at PAST us you PAST is head yours NEG.
- 154 Bá jə wa: yə yen. De ɲgwə jə: né wò. (3)
 bé jə wa yə yen de ɲgwə jə né wò
 we say say yours stay NEG. say is you
- 155 Ma nùàr mə bó kwa baá guo nùàr bu saá,
 ma nùàr mə bó kwa baá guo nùàr bu saá
 if person with they find PRES. house person him that
- 156 nùàr bu saá bé ha bu ha ama də ju tabé,
 nùàr bu saá bé ha bu ha ama də ju tabé
 person him that we give him give but of talk earth
- 157 də saá chi sam ɲguə, nùàr bu saá à ha haá^{8#14}
 də saá chi sam ɲguə nùàr bu saá à ha haá
 of that this not NEG. person him that he give give-NEG.
- 158 Le mun mgbe jemu chu ɲguə.
 le mun mgbe jemu chu ɲguə
 PAST thus chief second return NEG.
- 159 ga;xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 160 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
- 161 Nj;Ngàm, mbo ɲgam yə,
 ɲgàm mbo ɲgam yə
 because divine divination yours
- 162 le né kə Kimi ama nji mə bó ha bé mə mgbe,^{8#15}
 le né kə Kimi ama nji mə bó ha bé mə mgbe
 PAST is at Kimi but thing with they give us with chief
- 163 wò né kɔ jə yə Fakat
 wò né kɔ jə yə fakat
 you is know say say truly
- 164 Nji mə mgbe né ten yə
 nji mə mgbe né ten yə
 thing which chief is there-is say
- 165 nùàr ma wò wa mə nji wò ha mə mgbe.
 nùàr ma wò wa mə nji wò ha mə mgbe
 person if you arrive with thing you give with chief
- 166 Nùàr ma wò bɔ́ ɲgwə ma, ju gi
 nùàr ma wò bɔ́ ɲgwə ma ju gi

person if you do NEG. then talk end

167 nùàr ma wò kwa manji, wò ha mgbe.
nùàr ma wò kwa manji wò ha mgbe
person if you find small you give chief

168 Bé kwa né bu kóó. Yar, saá ni,
bé kwa né bu kóó yar saá ni
we put is it SUB.EMP. buffalo fate who

169 Ton saá ni, ni né ha nde né bu kóó wa: cher nde.
ton saá ni ni né ha nde né bu kóó wa cher nde
elephant fate who who is give go is him SUB.EMP. say road go

170 A cher nde saá ni. To à 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.

171 Yar hən, né hi? Ton saá né hi?
yar hən né hi ton saá né hi
buffalo this is where elephant that is where

172 Nguí saá né hi? mbe^{8#16} saá, de sen kela le tu,
nguí saá né hi mbe saá de sen kela le tu
leopard that is where chiefly-animals that of his pass in
before

173 kə kələhən bó bò yar di wula,
kə kələhən bó bò yar di wula
at now they Pl. buffalo some kill

174 bó bò njə kan wulaá
bó bò njə kan wulaá
they Pl. thing any kill-NEG

Break in recording: change of tape

175 ch;ma ju di ya gi aá, bé wə su fə di.
ma ju di ya gi aá bé wə su fə di
if talk of yours end PAST.we take again head some

176 Nj;Duom le ngamə, le ngam mə nde kə to saá.
duom le ngamə le ngam mə nde kə to saá
start in divination in divination which go at before that

177 To, bí bò, bí bò, bí ngaá,
to bí bò bí bò bí ngaá
So you Pl. you Pl. you clear

178 To, bí bò nyu^{8#17}, bí bò nyu mbam hən, chak.
to bí bò nyu bí bò nyu mbam hən
chak
So you Pl. sister's-sons you Pl. sister's-sons Palace this all

179 Mì tue kwa bí də saá kóó
mì tue kwa bí də saá kóó
I say put you of that SUB.EMP.

Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

- 180 Mì yə bí yə ma: nùàr mə den baá də sen guo, nyima.
 mì yə bí yə ma nùàr mə den baá də sen guo
 nyima
 I say you yours then person which stay PRES. of his house year
- 181 Mə à bé dua ku bé, né ni wa?
 mə à bé dua ku bé né ni wa
 with he we ask big we is who QN.
- 182 Kə kələhən, bí akili ju fə də de.
 kə kələhən bí akili ju fə də de
 at now you intelligence talk head of sing
- 183 Né bí fə waá ŋue d|ə.
 né bí fə waá ŋue d|ə
 is you head wash NEG. then
- 184 Kələhən, bí bò nyu ka mbam hən dón,
 kələhən bí bò nyu ka mbam hən dón
 now you Pl. sister's-sons at Palace this all
- 185 le naá bé Bam fà Bam taár bó ŋue,
 le naá bé Bam fà Bam taár bó ŋue
 PAST PAST we Bam two Bam three they understand
- 186 bó jə: baá su Bam fà Bam taár
 bó jə baá su Bam fà Bam taár
 they say PRES. again Bam two Bam three
- 187 bó ŋue bó wa baá fə. baá su...
 bó ŋue bó wa baá fə baá su
 they understand they wash PRES. head PRES. again
- 188 Kə kələhən jor ŋue bie yə gia də bí nde a.
 kə kələhən jor ŋue bie yə gia də bí nde a bí
 at now expletive NEG. ask yours end of you go to you
- 189 Bí bɔ́ó né nan,
 bí bɔ́ó né nan
 you do is how
- 190 bí fə wa ŋue yə. Né baá mən oh?
 nan bí fə wa ŋue yə né baá mən oh
 how you head wash NEG. NEG. is good thus QN.
- 191 Ga;Ndema, bó kɔ́ bò ndema bó fam fə mə nji.
 ndema bó kɔ́ bò ndema bó fam fə mə nji
 palm-wine they cut Pl. palm-wine they spurt head with thing
- 192 Nj;Bó fə wa ŋwe yə.
 bó fə wa ŋwe yə
 they head wash NEG. NEG.
- 193 Né bé Bam fà, Bam taár Bam tin wa bé.
 né bé bam fà Bam taár Bam tin wa bé
 is we two Bam three Bam five arrive us
- 194 Né bé Bam chén Bam fà bó ŋue jə: bó wa baá fə.

Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

né bá bam chén bam fà bó ɲgue jə bó wa baá fə
is we one two they understand say they wash PAST. head

195 Nùàr mə de ka dua, à bé yor ku bé yə
nùàr mə de ka dua à bè yor ku bè yə
person with stay at there he place body wash place yours

Lobon Zebedee gives a fulfulde summary of some of this discussion, then, after prompting (by Nj) continues to give Fulfulde resumé of the proposed road building programmes: the road linking Somié to Sambalambo and Banyo as well as the new road to Bankim via Nyamboya.

196 ch;To jemu saá ju... wò kɔ né le...
to jemu saá ju wò kɔ né le...
To after that talk you know is in...

197 le chiə yula chop chén,
le chiə yula chop chén
in day ten and-numeral one

198 le wə mə keləhən də, bò Mbor bò, bó le naá dənə.^{8#18}
le wə mə keləhən də bò Mbor bò bó le naá dənə
in moon which now of Pl. Mbor Pl. they PAST PAST here

199 (2) Bó le wa baá dənə, (1) tap kum né bɔ́ leteni nùàr.
bó le wa baá dənə tap kum né bɔ́ leteni nùàr
they PAST arrive PAST here war old is do between person

200 Jemu saá ma bí () bí chulu baá sòn, bí nyən nji tap də. (3)
jemu saá ma bí bí chulu baá sòn bí nyən nji tap də
after that if you you close PRES. mouth you forget thing war of

201 Bó le wa baá dənə, edeku mə bí wa chili né ju,
bó le wa baá dənə edeku mə bí wa chili né ju
they PAST arrive PRES. here begin with you arrive close? is
talk

202 bí né kɔ ndeka ka tu:
bí né kɔ ndeka ka tu
you is know from at before

203 ma bó le wa baá dənə baá mbi mboŋ mba.()
ma bó le wa baá dənə baá mbi mboŋ mba
if they PAST arrive PRES. here PRES. occasion many freely

204 Derua naá, bó mə fə bon ma.
derua naá bó mə fə bon ma
paper PAST they with head theirs then

205 Bam mbilin mboŋ bó naá dənə nde. (1)
bam mbilin mboŋ bó naá dənə nde
Bam times many they PAST here go

206 To lu hən bé le cho baá sua dənə, (3)
to lu hən bé le cho baá sua dənə
before day this we PAST chop PRES. sua here

- 207 bí ɲene ɲɔr mə kela mana jemu hən
 bí ɲene ɲɔr mə kela mana jemu hən
 you see declaration with pass thus after this
- 208 mə nde maá hən pat, (2)
 mə nde maá hən pat
 which go very this all
- 209 né ɲòr bó yə.
 né ɲòr bó yə
 is speech they yours
- 210 Wa ka to yə, yuo yə ɲɔr gəchén ()
 wa ka to yə yuo yə ɲɔr gəchén
 say at before you leave yours declaration true
- 211 Nùàr kan yuo dənə nde nde Mbor.
 nùàr kan yuo dənə nde nde Mbor
 person anyone leave here go go Mbor
- 212 Aáa bó yə man: aá bó yə Bò Ndeba,
 aáa bó yə man aá bó yə bò Ndeba
 aáa they say thus PAST they eat Pl. Ndeba
- 213 bó né man. Aáa bó yə man.
 bó né man aáa bó yə man
 they is thus aáa they eat thus
- 214 Yuo gə Mbor, nde dənə, bó tue mena:
 yuo gə Mbor nde dənə bó tue mena
 leave at Mbor go here they say thus
- 215 Yuo dənə nde nde gə
 yuo dənə nde nde gə
 leave here go go at
- 216 Mbor bó tue mena. (2)
 Mbor bó tue mena
 Mbor they say thus
- 217 To, () dənə bé le cho baá sua le lɔɲ bu saá
 to dənə bé le cho baá sua le lɔɲ bu saá
 To here we PAST chop PRES. sua in gap her that
- 218 Nùàr ɲi mə wò nde né tue, wò wa Mbor,
 nùàr ɲi mə wò nde né tue wò wa mbor
 person thing which you go is say you arrive
- 219 mə wò lɔ́ hən ɲi mə wò nde né tue.
 mə wò lɔ́ hən ɲi mə wò nde né tue
 with you village this thing with you go is say
- 220 ɲi saá fakət wò naá ɲgue mə tie yə,
 ɲi saá fakət wò naá ɲgue mə tie yə
 thing that true you PAST listen with ears yours
- 221 mə chiə kɔ mə ma bó bie wò,
 mə chiə kɔ mə ma bó bie wò

with day even that if they ask you

222 mə wò nùàr wò nde né bu fela.
mə wò nùàr wò nde né bu fela
with you person you go is him listen

223 () Ça y est. Ma jə də wò munu wò né mba,
ça y est ma jə də wò munu wò né mba
ça y est if say of you think you is freely

224 allah wò wa dənə wò tue, () ma wò yuo dənə,
allah wò wa dənə wò tue ma wò yuo dənə
allah you arrive here you say if you leave here

225 wò wa Mbor wò tue, wò yila le bù sua naá də ma,
wò wa Mbor wò tue wò yila le bù sua naá də ma
you arrive Mbor you say you enter in knife sua PAST of then

226 Ma ma wò jə... ma ma bó sie kwa naá wò baá kə???
ma ma wò jə... ma ma bó sie kwa naá wò baá kə
if if you say... if if they take put PAST you PRES. at

227 bó bie kwa né fada nyən,
bó bie kwa né fada nyən
they ask find is like lies

228 baá kə bó sie kwa naá wò fada nyən, ma wò né bò Mbor,
baá kə bó sie kwa naá wò fada nyən ma wò né bò mbor
PRES. at they take find PAST you like lies if you is Pl.

229 wò né kop Mbor ma, le main yə né boro yula.
wò né kop Mbor ma le main yə né boro yula
you is side Mbor then PAST main yours is thousand ten

230 Ma wò né kop dənə ma le main yə né boro yula ndo.
ma wò né kop dənə ma le main yə né boro yula ndo
if you is side here then in hand yours is thousand ten also

231 Nj;Mgbe Mbor yila mə bò və kən ma,
mgbe Mbor yila mə bò və kən ma
chief Mbor call with Pl. woman already then

232 à le dənə, à yila bò və.
à le dənə à yila bò və
he PAST here he call Pl. woman

233 bó yə: sam
bó yə sam
they say not

Section not transcribed: Lɔbɔn Zebedee gives Fulfulde summary. Sarki then added a bit more (also in Fulfulde). This was followed by an exchange between Ga and Nj about the importance of informing the women of the implications of the reconciliation with Sonkolong. The chief then talked about the arrangements for the return visit to Sonkolong. He read from a pice of paper a list of senior men who should go. There was then discussion of how money for the taxi fare could be raised. Sarki added to this in Fulfulde. Finally

- the chief told everyone to wash their clothes in anticipation of the forthcoming official visit.
- 234 Ch;də hen sɔɔ bɔ su ŋgá su ŋgám dənə bi...
də hen sɔɔ bɔ su ŋgá su ŋgám dənə bi
of this only they again clear again because here thing
- 235 nji mə wò tue mì baá ŋgue naá ŋguə.
nji mə wò tue mì baá ŋgue naá ŋguə
thing with you say me good understand PAST NEG.
- 236 Bɔ su bɔ kwa bɔ nùàr ustiar???
bɔ su bɔ kwa bɔ nùàr ustiar
they again they find Pl. person few
- 237 Bb;Ndeka bé duom hən, ndeka bé duom hən də,^{8#19}
ndeka bé duom hən ndeka bé duom hən də
must we start this must we start this of
- 238 gəchén pat mə ndeka bé duom hən,
gəchén pat mə ndeka bé duom hən
true all with must we start this
- 239 ma nde bɔ gasi baá də, Usur usur Allah də,
ma nde bɔ gasi baá də usur usur allah də
if go they succinct PRES. of truly truly allah of
- 240 jemu saá, saá ŋga saá baá see ku
jemu saá saá ŋga saá baá see ku
after that that climb that PRES. work big
- 241 saá baá dua mə wò nde yə yue yue yə.
saá baá dua mə wò nde yə yue yue yə
that PRES. there with you go say cry cry yours
- 242 Nj;Sua kum né njai chum,
sua kum né njai chum
sua just is thing old
- 243 de ŋgue yə njai de fe di, né su dua ten.
de ŋgue yə njai de fe di né su dua ten
stay NEG. say thing of new some is again there there-is
- 244 Nji chum chum.
nji chum chum
thing old old
- 245 bb;Dua baá see kuú kum.
dua baá see kuú kum
there PRES. work big just
- 246 Ma wò wa baá see kuú ma wò kwa nji yɔr yə
ma wò wa baá see kuú ma wò kwa nji yɔr yə
if you arrive PRES. work big if you find thing body yours
- 247 Nj;bɔ bɔ́ ten: bɔ́ bɔ́ mani tə huane ee ee,
bɔ́ bɔ́ ten bɔ́ bɔ́ mani tə huane ee ee
they do there-is they do thus so child

248 bó boó mani tə huan jə: ee ee. ??
 bó boó mani tə huan jə ee ee
 they do thus so child say

249 Bá yuo bá kwa né sua
 bá yuo bá kwa né sua
 we leave we put is sua

250 ha mə bu kuó nde sua ndo lu.
 ha mə bu kuó nde sua ndo lu
 until with he die go sua also freely

251 sua né su ten bí wə cho
 sua né su ten bí wə cho
 sua is again there-is you take chop

252 KG;Də mò mi tue mə Njai hən, tue né bí:
 də mò mi tue mə Njai hən tue né bí
 of me I say with Njai this say is you

253 kogo, kə mena sua,
 kogo kə mena sua
 stool or thus sua

254 Mavə den tə tabé, bu naga: Ma mi naá bu cher.<= Laughter
 mavə den tə tabé bu naga ma mi naá bu cher.
 woman stays at earth she lick if I lick it road

255 Nj;BT de yə
 BT de yə
 BT of yours

256 Bt;Də mò mi tue sòn jə né kə wa?
 də mò mi tue sòn jə né kə wa
 of me I say mouth say is what QN.

257 Gi né ka fada bá mi tue naá hən
 gi né ka fada bá mi tue naá hən
 end is at like place I say PAST this

258 Kp;ham ŋgue yə bí bu cher na baá bè chén-e wa?
 ham ŋgue yə bí bu cher na baá bè chén-e wa
 fat NEG. NEG. you her sleep PAST PRES. place one QN.

259 Bu bu cher né hi? <= Laughter
 bu bu cher né hi
 him her sleep is where

260 Bt;Bu cher nan
 bu cher nan
 her sleep how

261 Kp;Den ŋgwə jə à kwa nyí guo mə bó cher na kóó
 den ŋgwə jə à kwa nyí guo mə bó cher na kóó
 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;mi tue ɲgwə də jemu bu bu cher de,
mi tue ɲgwə də jemu bu bu cher de
I say NEG. of after her her sleep stay
- 264 mi tue ɲguə mə bu cher né naá kóó
mi tue ɲguə mə bu cher né naá kóó
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 kə guo Nɔ kiyə, kə guo Nɔ Mark, (1)
à kwa mi kə guo Nɔ kiyə kə guo Nɔ Mark
she find me at house Nɔ overthere at house Nɔ 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, mi cher ka kə dua. (1)
mə mi wa mi 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 kɔ naá mə kə də yə wò né kə dua ma. xxxxxx <= Laughter
ha à kɔ naá mə kə də yə wò né kə dua ma xxxxxx
until she know PAST with at of yours you is at there then
- 271 Ga;à kɔ naá mə kə
à kɔ naá mə kə
she know PAST with what
- 272 Bt;ama dənə à tue né jə nyí cher naá bu lu.
ama dənə à tue né jə nyí cher naá bu lu
but here she say is say who sleep PAST her anyway
- 273 Den ɲgwə ma. Den ɲgwə kɔ né mi.
den ɲgwə ma den ɲgwə kɔ né mi
stay NEG. then stay NEG. know is me
- 274 Mi, mi nə mə mwə cafe mò⁸#20, mi ge sum,
mi mi nə mə mwə cafe mò mi ge sum
I I is with field coffee mine I divide remove
- 275 Mi ha nji bu kalɔn <= Laughter
mi ha nji bu kalɔn
I give thing him money
- 276 Nj;Denɲwə mwə cafe. Denɲwə
den né ɲgwə mwə cafe denɲwə

stay is NEG. field coffee stay-NEG.

277 Bt;mi tue mena njə də kan, mi jə mi naá ten,
mi tue mena njə də kan mi jə mi naá ten
I say thus thing of anyone I say I PAST there-is

278 ndeka luli leluli
ndeka luli leluli
from day-before-yesterday day-before-yesterday

279 bí na mi bade Anḡwə mi tue né nan
bí na mi bade anḡwə mi tue né nan
you PAST I approach NEG. I say is how

280 Ga;ama, à baá mə cafe cafe tue,
ama à baá mə cafe cafe tue
but he PRES. with coffee coffee say

281 saá à né kɔ də yə né gəchén
saá à né kɔ də yə né gəchén
that he is know of say is true

282 xx;xxxxxxxx

283 Nj;ama wò baá ju cafe tue, saá kɔ jə né gəchén,
ama wò baá ju cafe tue saá kɔ jə né gəchén
but you PRES. talk coffee say that know say is true

284 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén
ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén
until after coffee say that is true

285 xx;xxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxx

286 Nj;wò baá ju cafe tue, saá kɔ jə né gəchén,
wò baá ju cafe tue saá kɔ jə né gəchén
you PRES. talk coffee say that know say is true

287 ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén
ha jemu cafe tue saá né gəchén
until after coffee say that is true

288 Bt;Mì kɔ nan. Mì ha njə rə di kɔ ŋwə
mì kɔ nan mì ha njə rə di kɔ ŋwə
I know how I give thing again some know NEG.

289 Nj;də nyí kɔ ŋwə, tue kum manji ma nji naga,
də nyí kɔ ŋwə tue kum manji ma nji naga
of speaker know NEG. say just small if thing lick

290 bó bó naga wanyu, à tue su a nyí go mba mwə cafe
bó bó naga wanyu à tue su a nyí go mba mwə
cafe
they do lick else he say again to speaker walk freely field
coffee

291 Ch;xxxxxxxx kadi

xxxxxxx kadi
xxxxxxx really

- 292 Bt;Ma njai naga bó... bó né kɔ́
ma njai naga bó... bó né kɔ́
if thing lick they they is SUB.EMP.
- 293 Nj;Bó bie naga nji mə man, mə man yə.
bó bie naga nji mə man mə man yə
they ask lick thing with small with small yours
- 294 Də mò kum, mì tue naá bí, fà dón bí yə,
də mò kum mì tue naá bí fà dón bí yə
of me just I say PAST you two all you yours
- 295 mì bí kɔ́ la bu,
mì bí kɔ́ la bu
I you know PAST her
- 296 bí tə chum. Sua bon njai tale bò
bí tə chum sua bon njai tale bò
you NEG. refuse sua theirs thing tradition? theirs
- 297 Ga;Chum də né njai mba
chum də né njai mba
refuse of is thing freely
- 298 KG;Də mò kum, mì njulu njə kɔ́ ɲgwə^{8#21}
də mò kum mì njulu njə kɔ́ ɲgwə
of me just I eyes thing know NEG.
- 299 də mò mì njərədi kɔ́ ɲgwə
də mò mì njərədi kɔ́ ɲgwə
of me I something know NEG.
- 300 Ta;huɔm ɲgwə.
huɔm ɲgwə
good NEG.
- 301 Dənə bó kwɔɔ baá kwɔɔ kwɔɔ ha bó sie baá wò nde né.
dənə bó kwɔɔ baá kwɔɔ kwɔɔ ha bó sie baá wò nde
né
here they chase PRES. chase chase until they take PRES. you go
is
- 302 Mən, huɔm ɲgwə.
mən huɔm ɲgwə
thus good NEG.
- 303 Ga;wò seé də mə (dade,dada?) baá də saá baá seé
wò seé də mə (dade,dada) baá də saá baá seé
you work of with exceed PRES. of that PRES. work
- 304 Nj;To bí ɲgwə ye, bí ma yila baá bu, ma à wa baá dənə
to bí ɲgwə ye bí ma yila baá bu ma à wa
baá dənə
To you listen yours you "really" call PRES. her if she arrive
PRES. here

305 KG;bó kwa nji^{8#22} tə tabe, bé bu naga.
 bó kwa nji tə tabe bé bu naga
 they put thing at earth we it lick

306 Oui, bó kwa nji tə tabe, bé bu naga.
 oui bó kwa nji tə tabe bé bu naga
 oui they put thing at earth we it lick

307 Bt?; Ndeka mə à wa baá tu, ndeka bé ɲene
 ndeka mə à wa baá tu ndeka bé ɲene
 must with she arrive PRES. before must we see

308 Ga;bó le naga naá le jemu wa kɔ de bó naga nde kələhən wa? ()
 bó le naga naá le jemu wa kɔ de bó naga nde kələhən wa
 they PAST lick PAST in after QN. or of they lick go now
 QN.

309 Nj;bí ɲue nji mì gwan à tue kə kələhən.
 bí ɲue nji mì gwan à tue kə kələhən
 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 ɲgue né BT kənəhən na ke sum ???ge yə hen nan
 mì ɲgue né BT kənəhən na ke sum ge yə hen
 nan
 I understand is BT now PAST look remove divide yours this
 how

312 () ɲgàm tue né nji wa:
 ɲgàm tue né nji wa
 because say is thing say

313 Sua hən né njai chum,
 sua hən né njai chum
 sua this is thing old

314 den ɲgwə nji fe di.
 den ɲgwə nji fe di
 stay NEG. thing new some

315 Né njai tal bó, də tal bó rə,
 né njai tal bó də tal bó rə
 is thing old they of old they again

316 bé wa kwa naá Sua chiə.
 bé wa kwa naá sua chiə
 we arrive put PAST sua outside

317 Sua rə né njai tal bó,
 sua rə né njai tal bó
 sua again is thing old them

318 Bé hən də, bé nde kuó gi ləm sua.
 bé hən də bé nde kuó gi ləm sua

we this of we go die end only sua

- 319 Wò ɲgue na mba le kuó naá nùàr
wò ɲgue na mba le kuó naá nùàr
you understand PAST freely PAST die PAST person
- 320 wò naá ju mbar tɔɔɔ tue,
wò naá ju mbar tɔɔɔ tue
you PAST talk square square say
- 321 à saá ju sie né nùàr den gwə tu dɔ́ɔ́ɲ
à saá ju sie né nùàr den né ɲgwə tu^{8#23} dɔ́ɔ́ɲ
he that talk take is person stay is NEG. tree all
- 322 Ama bí kɔ baá kən,
ama bí kɔ baá kən
but you know PRES. already
- 323 bí tue jə bé kɔ baá.
bí tue jə bé kɔ baá
you say say we know PRES
- 324 Aa mi tue naá dənə jə,
aa mi tue naá dənə jə
aa I say PAST here say
- 325 ama bó yila wuli baá rə bu kən,
ama bó yila wuli baá rə bu kən
but they call bring PRES. again him already
- 326 ama à jə:
ama à jə
but he say
- 327 əhə nyí te tema bí.
əhə nyí te tema bí
no speaker NEG. send you
- 328 Bí tue bí nan wa?
bí tue bí nan wa
you say you how QN.
- 329 ndeka tu, mə bó né yə bu yila ɲgwə yə də,
ndeka tu mə bó né yə bu yila ɲgwə yə də
from before with they is say him call NEG. NEG. of
- 330 bí gwan, bí gwan ka den jə: nyí à.
bí gwan bí gwan ka den jə nyí à
you want you want at here say speaker to
- 331 Huru Kum baá də, né nji nyən.
huru kum baá də né nji nyən
shrink-away just PRES. of is thing lies
- 332 Mə wò bɔ́ɔ́ ə-hə də, gwan né bɔ́ sadum.
mə wò bɔ́ɔ́ ə-hə də gwan né bɔ́ sadum
with you do yes of want is Pl. hard

- 333 (3) To bí né kɔ də mì nde à lane dənə,
to bí né kɔ də mì nde à lane dənə
So you is know of me go to today here
- 334 ma chiə fada ???gwan-e mì nde suú () ke baá bu.()
ma chiə fada ???gwan-e mì nde suú ke baá bu
if day like want I go again-NEG look PRES. him
- 335 Kɔgɔ baji jaá wa? (2)
kɔgɔ baji jaá wa
stool laugh QN.
- 336 KG;aa nji né də mì sə kɔ ɲgwə,
aa nji né də mì sə kɔ ɲgwə
aa thing is of me NEG. know NEG.
- 337 mì gwan wə ka, əə mì jə mì kɔ baá wa?
mì gwan wə ka əə mì jə mì kɔ baá wa
I want take at I say I know PRES. QN.
- 338 Nj;Mì bie né ka də bie ni. (4)
mì bie né ka də bie ni
I ask is at of ask very??
- 339 KG;Ndeka mì tue jə fadə mə mì kɔ naá ndo
ndeka mì tue jə fadə mə mì kɔ naá ndo
must I say say like with I know PAST also
[
- 340 Nj;Ama() ha mə mgbe tema naá də,
ama ha mə mgbe tema naá də
but until with chief sends PAST of .
- 341 tə tue mì kɔ də saa tə bé ɲue.
tə tue mì kɔ də saa tə bé ɲue
so say I know of that so we understand
- 342 Bí na kə Mbam hən, bí yila hapdi wa dua.
bí na kə Mbam hən bí yila hapdi wa dua
you PAST at Palace this you call fight arrive there
- 343 Bó wa, bó tue mì oho nyí kɔ ɲgwə.
bó wa bó tue mì oho nyí kɔ ɲgwə
they arrive they say me oho speaker know NEG.
- 344 Ko mena BT tue na mena, kɔ́ BT tue na mən.
ko mena BT tue na mena kɔ́ BT tue na mən
or thus BT say PAST thus even BT say PAST thus
- 345 BT də sen, à tue ɲə mì nyí kɔ né kɔ́,
BT də sen à tue ɲgwə mì nyí kɔ né kɔ́
BT of his he say NEG. me speaker know is SUB.EMP.
- 346 à tue ɲə nyí kɔ né kɔ́,
à tue ɲə nyí kɔ né kɔ́
he say NEG. speaker know is SUB.EMP.
- 347 də hən né ɲàm nyí ??njərədi kɔ ɲgwə.

Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

- də hən né ɲàm nyí ??nɲərədi kɔ ɲguə
of this is because speaker something know NEG.
- 348 Ma bó gwan né baá nji ke, bó bɔ́.
ma bó gwan né baá nji ke bó bɔ́
if they want is PRES. thing look they do
- 349 XX;Sebatu yə
sebatu yə
goodbye yours
- 350 ch;To (1)
to
So
- 351 Nj;Bí gwan de bó yə, bó nde jə wa: bé kulu né sua nyən.
bí gwan de bó yə, bó nde jə wa bé kulu né sua nyən
you want of they say they go say say we bless is sua lies
- 352 Mì gwan né ɲguə. (2) Bé, bé tue né mì jə bí chu cham ndo,
mì gwan né ɲguə bé bé tue né mì jə bí chu cham ndo
I want is NEG. we we say is I say you return refuse then
- 353 ama də bí gwan né ɲguə ndo. (3)
ama də bí gwan né ɲguə ndo
but of you want is NEG. also
- 354 Yanji^{8#24}; () nde a mì ndo, (barka mò, barkama)^{8#25}.
nde a mì ndo (barka mò, barkama)
go to me then (fate mine fate)
- 355 Tue də mò né ka kiyə bè dapə.
tue də mò né ka kiyə bè dapə
say of me is at overthere place far
- 356 Né chi saá hən mì nde naá.
né chi saá hən mì nde naá
is that that this I go PAST
- 357 Mì mbo, mì ??mberi mba də njə: lu ??geri baá manji
mì mbo mì ??mberi mba də njə lu geri baá manji
I myself I consider freely of say day lean PRES. small
- 358 ??mì sə mun su nda sə chu??
??mì sə mun su nda sə chu
I NEG. thus again young men NEG. return
- 359 lu mbo geri su à manji mani əə mberi na njə:
lu mbo geri su à manji mani əə mberi naá njə
day itself lean again he small thus consider PAST thing
- 360 mì nde mì ɲene baá wò, saá tə
mì nde mì ɲene baá wò saá tə
I go I see PRES. you that so
- 361 mì bɔ́ su a gu. A ke mì
mì bɔ́ su a gu à ke mì
I do again to walk he look me

Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

- 362 lè nde naá sarega guna mò gə Ngwe^{8#26},
 lè nde naá sarega guna mò gə Ngwe
 in go PAST funeral-feast parent-in-law mine at Ngwe
- 363 mì le naá kwa fa tap no kə ten ha.
 mì le naá kwa fa tap no kə ten ha
 I PAST PAST find like war also at there-is until
- 364 Ch;muy né ka manji mane,
 muy né ka manji mane
 patience is at small thus
- 365 mì bó bɔ́ tena sum də bu manji hən
 mì bó bɔ́ tena sum də bu manji hən
 I them do cut-through remove of it small this
- 366 Yaŋi; Barka ma. Də mò, cher mò né dapsi,
 barka ma də mò cher mò né dapsi
 fate then of me road mine is long
- 367 de sen ŋwə à né ka lɔ́ ma.
 de sen ŋwə à né ka lɔ́ ma
 of his NEG. he is at village then
- 368 Ch;Sam, lane də lane à tene nde à ki chén.
 sam lane də lane à tene nde à ki chén
 not today of today he break go he at true
- 369 Naá ŋwə bó chu
 ŋaga ŋwə bó chu
 clear NEG. they return
- 370 Xx;xxxxxxxxxx
- 371 Ga;né njai kɔgo
 né njai kɔgo
 is thing stool
- 372 Bábé; A tue ŋene ŋwe né nan nji à
 à tue ŋene ŋwe né nan nji à
 he say see NEG. is how thing to
- 373 Ga;Də mò mì tue nji kɔgo
 də mò mì tue nji kɔgo
 of me I say thing stool
- 374 Bábé; xxxxxxxx
- 375 Nj;< Də mò mì bɔ́ su rə kələhən wa? Də mò mì nde a.<=
 Laughter
 də mò mì bɔ́ su rə kələhən wa də mò mì nde a
 of me I do again again now QN. of me I go to
- 376 Ch;Də kələhən ju baá be bon.
 də kələhən ju baá be bɔɔn
 of now talk PRES. hand theirs

- 377 Ma né "əəə" né "əəə" ma, to.
 ma né "əəə" né "əəə" ma to
 if is yes is yes then So
- 378 Ma né "əhə" ma bá kela nde tə to nde.
 ma né "əhə" ma bá kela nde tə to nde
 if is no if we pass go so before go
- 379 NJ; Keləhən mgbe a, hən () ju bó...
 keləhən mgbe a hən ju bó
 now chief to this talk theirs
- 380 ju bó... Bó, bó, kə bó yila mavə,
 ju bó... bó bó kə bó yila mavə
 talk theirs They they even they enter woman
- 381 bó bɔ́ naga sua.
 bó bɔ́ naga sua
 they do lick sua
- 382 To ma mi chu chum mi jə:
 to ma mi chu chum mi jə
 So if I return return I say
- 383 buwada xxxxx bó yila be bó naga sua,
 buwada xxxxx bó yila be bó naga sua
 bush-knife they call hand theirs lick sua
- 384 ngàm mi munu ka le mò.
 ngàm mi munu ka le mò
 because I think at in mine
- 385 Ju mavə... ma die a tabé
 ju mavə ma die a tabé
 talk woman if fall to earth
- 386 à xxxxx mba yuo nde suú
 à xxxxx mba yuo nde suú
 she freely leave go again-NEG
- 387 Naá ɲuna ni wa
 naá ɲuna ni wa
 PAST child who QN.
- 388 To, () guna () see bá see ti,
 to guna see bá see ti
 So parent-in-law work we work stupid
- 389 bá kubu kubu ɲaga^{8#27},
 bá kubu kubu ɲaga
 we open open clear
- 390 ɲaga bá dɔŋ pat kubu ti né ɲgwə ()
 ɲaga bá dɔŋ pat kubu ti né ɲgwə
 clear we all all open stupid is NEG.
- 391 To, ɲjai mə bó tue naá,
 to ɲjai mə bó tue naá

To thing with they say PAST

- 392 wò ñue né ñue
wò ñue né ñue
you listen is listen
- 393 Bí né ???be sɔɔ kə be yə
bí né ???be sɔɔ kə be yə
you is hand only at hand yours
- 394 Ndeka bí be nyəgə su ndo.
ndeka bí be nyəgə su ndo
must you hand repair again also
- 395 gw;bon, Mì kum, ha kwə nde bò huan
bon mì kum ha kwə nde bò huan
bon I just until tomorrow come Pl. child
- 396 hən kum bí sum ñwə mì njərədi
hən kum bí sum ñwə mì njərədi
this just you remove NEG. me something
- 397 ndeka mì yuo tə tabé.
ndeka mì yuo tə tabé
must I leave at earth
- 398 Mì nə kɔ də jə ju sua
mì nə kɔ də jə ju sua
I is know of say talk sua
- 399 kə lɔ́ mò, nji mə mì kulu sam ñwə.
kə lɔ́ mò nji mə mì kulu sam ñwə
at village mine thing which I bless not NEG.
- 400 Mì kwɔɔ kwa də lu,
mì kwɔɔ kwa də lu
I chase find of SUB.EMP.
- 401 bó di bó kwɔɔ kwa də lɔ́,
bó di bó kwɔɔ kwa də lɔ́
they other they chase find of village
- 402 bó di kwɔɔ mən: kela baá bè man.
bó di kwɔɔ mən kela baá bè man
they other chase thus pass PRES. place thus
- 403 Bu bó mì tue né jə ()
bu bó mì tue né jə
he they me say is say
- 404 de ñwə jə bó bɔ́ né mə njə man sam ñwə
de ñwə jə bó bɔ́ né mə njə man sam ñwə
stay NEG. say they do is with thing small not NEG.
- 405 To mì () mavə yila guo,
to mì mavə yila guo
To I woman enter house

406 nde ma a yila guo,
nde ma a yila guo
go if she enter house

407 mì mbo mì lugə mə njə. Né su lane wa.
mì mbo mì lugə mə njə né su lane wa
I myself I fight with thing is again today QN.

408 Nj;Né mena bon ma naá ngam ha naá wò kɔ
né mena bon ma naá ngam ha naá wò kɔ
is thus theirs if PAST divination until PAST you know

409 gw;Mì lugə baá le lugə,
mì lugə baá le lugə
I fight PRES. PAST fight

410 mì kela mì bie bu.
mì kela mì bie bu
I pass I ask her

411 Kə keləhən baán wa baá. Mì kwa tu mì ha nji bə̀rə̀di
kə keləhən baán wa baá mì kwa tu mì ha nji
bə̀rə̀di
at now illness arrive PRES. I find before me until thing
some-place

412 bó tue yə né gə̀chén baán bó wa baá
bó tue yə né gə̀chén baán bó wa baá
they say say is true illness them arrive PRES.

413 Baán wa baá baán ndo
baán wa baá baán ndo
illness arrive PRES. illness also

414 Və mò^{8#28} mì nene né ma wò tue ɲwə mbo
və mò mì nene né ma wò tue ɲwə mbo
woman mine I see is if you say NEG. freely

415 saá baán yila (1)
saá baán yila
that illness enter

416 Kɔ si ma kwa mì jə də sen A kɔ ɲwə, ???lu mì.
kɔ si ma kwa mì jə də sen a kɔ ɲwə ???lu mì
even husband if find I say of his she know NEG freely me

417 No () ama wa: oui mì nde, nùàr hən tue,
no ama wa oui mì nde nùàr hən tue
also but say oui I go person this say

418 tue, nùàr hən tue bu kɔ́ pht <= blows raspberry
tue nùàr hən tue bu kɔ́ pht
say person this say him SUB.EMP.

419 Nde bò mgbe bó yila bu kɔ́ pht <= blows raspberry
nde bò mgbe bó yila bu kɔ́ pht
go Pl. chief they call her SUB.EMP.

- 420 nji mə ka () ndem ndem ()
 nji mə ka ndem ndem
 thing with at just-that
- 421 dua mi nùàr njə, mi kwa kwa jə mi a : "əhə"
 dua mi nùàr njə mi kwa kwa jə mi a "əhə"
 there I person that-one I put put say me to no
- 422 Ma né nyən, Ma né gəchén,
 ma né nyən ma né gəchén
 if is lies if is true
- 423 Nj;ha né ŋgam ŋgam
 ha né ŋgam ŋgam
 until is divination divination
- 424 gw;ma à wòn lu
 ma à wòn lu
 if he avoid SUB.EMP.
- 425 à tue né gəchén
 à tue né gəchén
 he say is true
- 426 Də mò, watene, bé mə mi yila jolori də,
 də mò watene bé mə mi yila jolori də
 of me say we which I call Palace of
- 427 mi tue né jə bó yila bò huan
 mi tue né jə bó yila bò huan
 I say is say they call Pl. child
- 428 ŋgàm tə mi bie fada sedako mò
 ŋgàm tə mi bie fada sedako mò
 because so I ask like witness mine
- 429 Nj;aha, né ka mun
 aha né ka mun
 mmhmm is at thus
- 430 gw;ma bó kə ŋgwə bó yuo nji bon.
 ma bó kə ŋgwə bó yuo nji bon
 if they know NEG. they leave thing theirs
- 431 To, də mò mi tue né jə kə keləhən lanen ()
 to də mò mi tue né jə kə keləhən lanen
 To of mine I say is say at now today
- 432 yuli fə hən bó,
 yuli fə hən bó
 shame head this them
- 433 kenehən wə bu ma bó kə ŋgwə
 kenehən wə bu ma bó kə ŋgwə
 now take her then they know NEG.
- 434 bó gwa cho sua mə bɔ́ mə kə
 bó gwa cho sua mə bɔ́ mə kə

they house chop sua with do with what

Lines 435-480 consist of rapid and overlapping speech which has therefore not been transcribed as reliably as the rest of the text. Some speakers have been omitted when their utterances are too low on the tape to be transcribed.

435 Yuli bɔ́ wò.
yuli bɔ́ wò
shame do you

436 Nj; bɔ́ ɲgwə, bɔ́ ɲgwə, bɔ́ ɲgwə
bɔ́ ɲgwə bɔ́ ɲgwə bɔ́ ɲgwə
do NEG. do NEG. do NEG.

437 gw; To bí nde a. () Saá də mò ha gi a, hən gi a kən.
to bí nde a saá də mò ha gi a hən gi a kən
To you go to that of mine until end to this end to already

438 Nj; Sam ɲgwə nde bie ka bie ni. () Bie ka bie ni!
sam ɲgwə nde bie ka bie ni bie ka bie ni
not NEG. go ask at ask very ask at ask very

439 Bí tə cham de.
bí tə cham de
you NEG. refuse stay

440 gw; Bó vulu. Də mò mi tue né jə bó vulu
bó vulu də mò mi tue né jə bó vulu
they leave of me I say is say they leave

441 fabé mi tue né hən də. Gi né fabé mani
fabé mi tue né hən də gi né fabé mani
like I say is this of end is like thus

442 ng; Də be kum bé bie nde su
də be kum bé bie nde su
of hand old we ask go again-NEG

443 Nj; Mi le cham sam ɲgwə.
mi le cham sam ɲgwə
I PAST refuse not NEG.

444 Mi naá ha njai cham də sam ɲgwə
mi naá ha njai cham də sam ɲgwə
I PAST until thing refuse of not NEG.

445 gw; Də mò kum, mi gwan a gədə fabé hən
də mò kum mi gwan a gədə fabé hən
of me just I want to precisely like this

446 ng; Də mò, mi gwan fadə gədə hən
də mò mi gwan fadə gədə hən
of me I want like precisely this

447 Nj; Ju né sòn sam ɲgwə
ju né sòn sam ɲgwə
talk is mouth not NEG.

- 448 XX;NG a, də sen: a né mə sòn sam ɲgwə
 NG a də sen a né mə sòn sam ɲgwə
 NG to of his he is with mouth not NEG.
- 449 a dua tue né ki wa?
 a dua tue né ki wa
 he there say is what QN.
- 450 Yianji; Nenefi wò tue nde di ye né ki wa?
 NG wò tue nde di ye né ki wa
 NG you say go of yours is what QN.
- 451 Né tele yə né tue mə wò né də ye tue,
 né tele yə né tue mə wò né də ye tue
 is father yours is say with you is of yours say
- 452 saá dua tue wò kɔ né də yə kə ma
 saá dua tue wò kɔ né də yə kə ma
 that there say you know is of yours at then
- 453 Bb;Hən nji mə bé gwan né tue də, bí né də bí kɔ wa?
 hən nji mə bé gwan né tue də bí né də bí kɔ wa
 this thing with we want is say of you is of you know QN.
- 454 Nj;GW a, nji mə boó né wò né kɔ wa.
 GW a nji mə boó né wò né kɔ wa
 GW to thing which do is you is know QN.
- 455 Ju sua, sua né njai chum saá né talebo.
 ju sua sua né njai chum saá né talebo
 talk sua sua is thing old that is tradition
- 456 To ama bò nùàr mə dənə jemu dua, bó tue yə:
 to ama bò nùàr mə dənə jemu dua bó tue yə
 So but Pl. person with here after there they say say
- 457 də Nenefi a tə sòn tue, am ɲwə lem né tele sen.
 də NG a tə sòn tue am ɲwə lem né tele sen
 of NG he at mouth say NEG. NEG. only is father his
- 458 Aáa bó chum ke né bó.
 aáa bó chum ke né bó
 aáa they refuse look is them
- 459 bó né gwan, ke né mənə bó. Sua né njai chum.
 bó né gwan ke né mənə bó sua né njai chum
 they is want look is thus them sua is thing old
- 460 Bb;Bí fà, bí yuo baá, gu bí yuo kela gə chiə də.
 bí fà bí yuo baá gu bí yuo kela gə chiə də
 you two you leave PRES. walk you leave pass at outside of
- 461 Ha mgbe a tue tue naá bí yə, bí ndée baá bí ndée baá.
 ha mgbe a tue tue naá bí yə bí ndée baá bí ndée
 baá
 until chief he say say PAST you yours you come PRES. you come
 PRES.

- 462 Nenedɔ́ŋ; Aaa bí nde də bí hi wa?
 aaa bí nde də bí hi wa
 aaa you go of you where QN.
- 463 XX;Bí yuo kela kə chiə, mgbe sum naá bó kɔ waá
 bí yuo kela kə chiə mgbe sum naá bó kɔ waá
 you leave pass at outside chief remove PAST them SUB.EMP. QN.
- 464 Bb;Mgbe sum naá bí kɔ́ wa.
 mgbe sum naá bí kɔ́ wa
 chief remove PAST you SUB.EMP. QN.
- 465 Ama də a tue naá bí yə bí ndée baá də bí ndée.
 ama də a tue naá bí yə bí ndée baá də bí ndée
 but of he say PAST you yours you come PRES. of you come
- 466 Ha bí ndée baá wanyu.
 ha bí ndée baá wanyu
 until you come PRES. else
- 467 XX;bó nde né hi wa?
 bó nde né hi wa
 they come is where QN.
- 468 Yiaŋi; Bí muyni
 bí muyni
 you patience
- 469 Nj;Mgbe də sen wa ŋgwə yə, ha də bí bí yuo baá jemu.
 mgbe də sen wa ŋgwə yə ha də bí bí yuo baá jemu
 chief of his QN. NEG. NEG. until of you you leave PRES. after
- 470 Bí yuo nde né ham nan aaa.
 bí yuo nde né ham nan aaa
 you leave go is until how aaa
- 471 gw;Né njai kweka be mò.
 né njai kweka be mò
 is thing small hand mine
- 472 TT;Kadi də keləhən de, ma kɔ baá wò jə:
 kadi də keləhən de ma kɔ baá wò jə
 really of now of if know PRES. you say
- 473 əhə mì kɔ baá, ma kɔ ŋgwə,
 əhə mì kɔ baá ma kɔ ŋgwə
 yes I know PRES. if know NEG.
- 474 wò jə: əhə mì kɔ ŋgwə. Də saá gi né mena
 wò jə əhə mì kɔ ŋgwə də saá gi né mena
 you say yes I know NEG. of that end is thus
- 475 gw;Se bɔ́, mì bie ŋgwə, ma mì bie baá kən,
 se bɔ́ mì bie ŋgwə ma mì bie baá kən
 NEG. do I ask NEG. if I ask PRES. already
- 476 sua mì sie ŋgwə.

sua mi sie ɲgwə^{8#29}
sua me take NEG.

477 Də mò mi wa leteni hən də, ma mi bie baá,
də mò mi wa leteni hən də ma mi bie baá
of me I arrive between this of if I ask PRES.

478 də mò gi né lem fada mən də.
də mò gi né lem fada mən də
of me end is only like thus of

479 Yiaɲi; əə baá baá BT
əə baá baá BT
PRES. PRES. BT

480 gw;Naá la gwan a, tə dole ɲji mə gi né sam ɲgwə,
naá la gwan a tə dole ɲji mə gi né sam ɲgwə
PAST PAST want to so cool thing which end is not NEG.

481 ɲji mə bó ɲene ɲgwə sam ɲgwə ndo.
ɲji mə bó ɲene ɲgwə sam ɲgwə ndo
thing with they see NEG. not NEG. also

482 ga;Də saá də, se den ɲgwə ɲjə fe. Də saá,
də saá də se den ɲgwə ɲjə fe də saá
of that of NEG. stay NEG. thing new of that

483 saá den né ɲjai talebo.
saá den né ɲjai talebo
that stay is thing old

484 Yiaɲi; To ke kələhən, bó bie ɲji mə bí.
to ke kələhən bó bie ɲji mə bí
To at now they ask thing with you

485 BT tə tabé leli mba mə bò kuku bò chərrep,
BT tə tabé leli mba mə bò kuku bò chərrep
BT at earth yesterday freely with Pl. elder Pl. quiet

486 mə bó tue ɲji mə bó hən də
mə bó tue ɲji mə bó hən də
which they say thing with they this of

487 tə tabé hən də, le ləm kə baá, bí bò kuku bò churəp.
tə tabé hən də le ləm kə baá bí bò kuku bò churəp
at earth this of PAST only know PRES. you Pl. elder Pl. quiet

488 Hən ma mi yila BT də, tue né yə: né neɲuɲ bá
hən ma mi yila BT də tue né yə né neɲuɲ bá
this if I call BT of say is yours is ancestors ours

489 Bb;də né a gwan də a tue də.
də né a gwan də a tue də
of is he want of he say of

490 Yiaɲi tue né jə: neɲuɲ mə yila né də ()
Yiaɲi tue né jə neɲuɲ mə yila né də
Yiaɲi say is say ancestors with call is of

Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

- 491 Yianji; To () kə kələhən mə nji saá kɔ huɔm né yə:
to kə kələhən mə nji saá kɔ huɔm né yə
To at now with thing that even good is say
- 492 ndeka wò yila wuli nùàr ku di,
ndeka wò yila wuli nùàr ku di
must you call bring person big some
- 493 bí nde gə jəmu wò tue bu yə: nyí kɔ baá saá.
bí nde gə jəmu wò tue bu yə nyí kɔ baá saá
you go at after you say him yours speaker know PRES. that
- 494 ngàm kə wa? Nùàr mə bó kwa né bu le kɔgɔ hən.
ngàm kə wa nùàr mə bó kwa né bu le kɔgɔ hən
because what QN. person with they put is him in stool this
- 495 Bó jə: a né huan mani, ama kə kələhən a baá nùàr ku.
bó jə a né huan mani ama kə kələhən a baá nùàr ku
they say he is child small but at now he PRES. person big
- 496 Jə: ma wò kɔ ngwə xxxxx jiba né ma wò jə nyí
jə ma wò kɔ ngwə xxxxx jiba né ma wò jə nyí
say if you know NEG. stop is if you say speaker
- 497 kɔ ngwə ndo saá wò kɔ ngwə.
kɔ ngwə ndo saá wò kɔ ngwə
know NEG. also that you know NEG.
- 498 Mi den dua ma kɔ ngwə wò jə nyí kɔ ngwə.
mi den dua ma kɔ ngwə wò jə nyí kɔ ngwə
I here ask if know NEG. you say speaker know NEG.
- 499 Ama wò kɔ baá wò yila wò nde né nùàr ku di,
ama wò kɔ baá wò yila wò nde né nùàr ku di
but you know PRES. you call you go is person big some
- 500 wò tue bu, wò jə bu a: nyí kɔ baá.
wò tue bu wò jə bu a nyí kɔ baá
you say him you say him to speaker know PRES.
- 501 Ngàm le mɔgɔ GW fə né bá, bá lie.
ngàm le mɔgɔ GW fə né bá bá lie
because in group GW head is us we remain
- 502 Ma wò kɔ baá, kɔ wò ??tem na mena bu be tu lu,
ma wò kɔ baá kɔ wò ??tem na mena bu be tu lu
if you know PRES. even you touch PAST thus her hand before day
- 503 saá wò gwan.
saá wò gwan
that you want
- 504 Wa: wò foti baá də mə wò yila nùàr di,
wa wò foti baá də mə wò yila nùàr di
say you can PRES. of with you call person some
- 505 wò jə bu a ndée, də nyí kɔ baá,

Transcript of the sua blessing: First Hearing

- wò jə bu a ndée də nyí kə baá
you say him to come of speaker know PRES.
- 506 nyí tema baá bu be tu lu.
nyí tema baá bu be tu lu
speaker send PRES. him hand before freely
- 507 Wò yila nùàr di, wò tue bu a: fə-guli né nyí sie.
wò yila nùàr di wò tue bu a fə-guli né nyí sie
you call person some you say him to shame is speaker take
- 508 Də hən né nji mə nyí bɔ́ɔ naá. Nde tue bɔ́ɔ yə.
də hən né nji mə nyí bɔ́ɔ naá nde tue bɔ́ɔ yə
of this is thing with speaker do PAST go say do yours
- 509 Ama də nyí bɔ́ɔ baá man. Hən né ŋɔr də bá.
ama də nyí bɔ́ɔ baá man hən né ŋɔr də bá
but of speaker do PRES. thus this is declaration of we
- 510 Bó kə né yə: də à né bè fabé man.
bó kə né yə də à né bè fabé man
they know is yours of it is place like thus
- 511 Yɔr bí yə duɔm ŋɔ: né njai chum.
yɔr bí yə duɔm ŋɔ né njai chum
body you yours start NEG. is thing old
- 512 Ch;Bábə jɔgɔ nde ke ke di yə
Bábə jɔgɔ nde ke ke di yə
B|b| carry go look look of yours
- 513 Nj;Né njai chum, fə yɔr bí yə duɔm ŋwə
né njai chum fə yɔr bí yə duɔm ŋwə
is thing old shame body you yours start NEG.
- 514 ch;to bien sur ŋue bó ŋue () də bá, bá,
to bien sur ŋue bó ŋue də bá bá
So bien sur listen they listen of we we
- 515 bə kita bə,
bə kita bə
Pl. cases Pl.
- 516 wateni dole, bó gwan baá se yuo nde né mənə.
wateni dole bó gwan baá se yuo nde né mənə
say cool they want PRES. NEG. leave go is thus
- 517 Bó bɔ́ɔ gwan mənə lane
bó bɔ́ɔ gwan mənə lane
they do want thus today
- 518 wò tue menə "aha" mì la jə wò la jə əəəə
wò tue menə "aha" mì la jə wò la jə əəəə
you say thus no I PAST say you PAST say yes
- 519 e e yuo né ŋwə.
e e yuo né ŋwə
leave is NEG.

- 520 Də kita kam, ma nùàr wa, ha nji a wò kita
 də kita kam ma nùàr wa ha nji a wò kita
 of case just if person arrive until thing to you case
- 521 əhə wò bɔ́ ɲgwə saá wò munu né,
 əhə wò bɔ́ ɲgwə saá wò munu né
 no you do NEG that you think is
- 522 ma bó ha nji a kita rə, kita bɔ́ nde ne kɔ́.
 ma bó ha nji a kita rə kita bɔ́ nde né kɔ́
 if they give thing to case again case do go is SUB.EMP.
- 523 Di yə bó ha nji kita parce que yɔ́ɔ ne lu.
 di yə bó ha nji kita parce que yɔ́ɔ né lu
 of yours they give thing case parce que surpass is day
- 524 Ga;xxxx
- 525 Ch;Wò wa le nji kita, də kita kam,
 wò wa le nji kita də kita kam
 you arrive in thing case of case just
- 526 useni ma nùàr wa kita,
 useni ma nùàr wa kita
 please if person arrive case
- 526 bí vulu tema tə ma nùàr wa mə nji,
 bí vulu tema tə ma nùàr wa mə nji
 you leave and so if person arrive with thing
- 527 wò jə: Mì yə bó di mən
 wò jə: mì yə bó di mən
 you say I say PL. some thus
- 528 Di yə kita sam ɲgwə. ə? Di yə kita sam ɲgwə.
 di yə kita sam ɲgwə ə di yə kita sam ɲgwə
 of yours case not NEG. of yours case not NEG.
- 529 Ma wò yuo wa də kita wò fela,
 ma wò yuo wa də kita wò fela
 if you leave arrive of case you like
- 530 bé xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man
 bé xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx man
 we thus
- 531 wò fela, wò ke ka bé yuo kə tu
 wò fela wò ke ka bé yuo kə tu
 you listen you look at we leave at before
- 532 əhə, kita né baá man.
 əhə kita né baá man
 yes cases is PRES. thus
- 533 Gəchén, nyən, bó tare tare tare tare pat
 gəchén nyən bó tare tare tare tare pat
 true lies they hard hard hard hard all

534 gəchén bò nyən
gəchén bò nyən
true Pl. lies

535 Yianji?; saá wò tue ɲgwə ha bó gi nde sòn bon
saá wò tue ɲgwə ha bó gi nde sòn bon
that you say NEG. until they end go mouth theirs

536 Ch;əhə, saá né kita
əhə saá né kita
yes that is case

537 Nj;xxxxxxxxxx

[

538 KG;xxxxxxxxxxxx

539 Ch;Bon
bon
bon

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- den ɲgwə à nde né mə tɔɔ wanyu
Here NEG. he go is with quarrel surely
- 10 À tɔɔ nde ɲgwə. (..) Bò wə, à tue ləm né də mane. ()
À tɔɔ nde ɲgwə bó wə à tue ləm né də mane
he quarrel go NEG. they take he say only is of thus
- 11 Mb; []
nde ɲgwə
nde ɲgwə
go NEG.
- 12 Ny; Bí mbo ma la né le... ɲue yə.né gəchén wa.?
bí mbo ma la né le ɲgue yə...né gəchén wa
you divine then PAST is PAST listen yours at true QN.
[]
- 13 Nj; Aaa mi, nùàr njə mba, ama bó, ma bò gwan né ɲgwə sua kulu,
aaa mi nùàr njə mba ama bó ma bó gwan né ɲgwə sua
kulu
me person say freely but they if they want is NEG. bless
- 14 wò nde né mən mba wa?
wò nde né mən mba wa
you go is thus freely QN.
- 15 Ga; Ama lane, bó kulu ndugu mba wa?
ama lane bó kulu ndugu mba wa
but today they bless mendaciously? freely QN.
- 16 Mb; Bò nji ləm né yor bóɔ...
bò nji ləm né yor bóɔ
Pl. thing only is body theirs
- 17 bó chén di né dənə, chén di né wa ɲgwə yə^{8#30}
bó chén di né dənə, chén di né wa ɲgwə yə
they one some is here one some is arrive NEG. NEG.
[]
- 18 XX; əhə
yes
- 19 Mb; bó gwan né sòn, bó dɔ́ɔɲ
bó gwan né sòn bó dɔ́ɔɲ
they want is mouth them all
- 20 Ny; dɔ́ɔɲ dɔ́ɔɲ né gəchén wa. Guna dɔ́ɔɲ né ???chàɲi
dɔ́ɔɲ dɔ́ɔɲ né gəchén wa guna dɔ́ɔɲ né ???chàɲi
all all is at true QN. son-in-law all is ???change
- 21 Jb; Mì tue ɲgwə
mì tue ɲgwə
I say NEG.
- 22 Mb; xxxxxxx nyí kɔ ləm né bò tele,
xxxxxxx nyí kɔ ləm né bò tele
speaker know only is Pl. father
- 23 Gw; À mbo tele ɲgàm... mə huan xxxxx
À mbo tele ɲgàm mə huan xxxxx
he divines father because with child

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 24 Ny; dɔ́ŋ né gi ki chén.
dɔ́ŋ né gi ki chén
all is end at one
- 25 AA sòn baá dɔ́ŋ pat né gi ki chén məna.
aa sòn baá dɔ́ŋ pat né gi ki chén məna
aa mouth PRES. all all is end at one thus
- 26 Gw; Bò tele dɔ́ŋ né ki chén
bò tele dɔ́ŋ né ki chén
Pl. father all is at one
- 27 Nj; əəə əəə əəə
- 28 Gw; Nue yə, nue yə. Wò nue də nue.
ngue yə ngue yə wò nue də nue
listen yours listen yours you listen of listen
- 29 Mì tue ngwə yə: tele^{8#31}. Mì kɔ tele də hi?
mì tue ngwə yə tele mì kɔ tele də hi
I say NEG. say father I know father of where
- 30 Mì jə: mì kɔ ləm né tele.
mì jə mì kɔ ləm né tele
I say I know only is father
- 31 Tele mò Lucas bò Mgbe.
tele mò Lucas bò mgbe
father mine Lucas Pl. chief
- 32 Mì tue ngwə tele: wò bie nji wa?
mì tue ngwə tele wò bie nji wa
me say NEG. father you ask thing QN.
- 33 aa (.) Wò tue mì: (.) mì jə mì kɔ ləm né bò tele,
aa wò tue mì mì jə mì kɔ ləm né bò tele
aa you say me I say I know only is Pl. father
- 34 də mə ve né hən də.
də mə ve né hən də
of with woman is This of
- 35 Ma bó jə bó wə nde né ki wa?
ma bó jə bó wə nde né ki wa
If they say they take go is at QN.
- 36 bó nde kalɔn be yə, bó nde nji bó kɔ Ngaoundere^{8#32} nde.
bó nde kalɔn be yə bó nde nji bó kɔ
Ngaoundere nde
they go money hand yours they go thing do SUB.EMP.
Ngaoundere go
- 37 bó nde lɔ wa?
bó nde lɔ wa
they go treat QN.
- 38 ???Keri bu bó tue wò, tə bó kulu sum.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

???keri bu bó tue wò tə bó kulu sum
If him they say you so they bless remove

39 Nj; əəə dɔ́ɔ́ŋ xxxxx
əəə dɔ́ɔ́ŋ xxxxx
əəə all xxxxx

[
40 Gw; Mì bie ke né mə bò tele.
mì bie ke né mə bò tele
I ask look is with Pl. father

41 Nj; aa dua dua kə kələhən tele ten am né ŋwə,
aa dua dua kə kələhən tele ten am né ŋwə
aa there there at now father there-is NEG. is NEG.

42 Gamgbe bò mgbe ten am né ŋwə^{8#33}.
Gamgbe bò mgbe ten am né ŋwə
Gamgbe Pl. chief there-is NEG. is NEG.

43 Ma və saa mə bó nde bu jogo,
ma və saa mə bó nde bu jogo
If woman that with they go her marry

44 bò tele tema naá bu kɔ́ wa.
bò tele tema naá bu kɔ́ wa
Pl. father sends PAST her SUB.EMP. QN.

[
45 Gw; Ju jɔ́ɔ́ naa kpon ju ve naá (.) Mì jə bí vulu.
ju jɔ́ɔ́ naa kpon ju ve naá mì jə bí vulu
talk marry PAST main-road talk bad PAST I say you leave

46 Ga?; Mgbe kɔ́ ten am ŋwə
mgbe kɔ́ ten am ŋwə
chief SUB.EMP. there-is NEG. NEG.

47 XX; xxxxxxxx bá naga^{8#34} ŋwə
xxxxxxx bá naga ŋwə
xxxxxxx we lick NEG.

[
48 xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bá naga ŋwə
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ma bá naga ŋwə
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx if we lick NEG.

[
49 Gw; xxxx xxx () xxxx ŋene
xxxx xxx xxxx ŋene

50 NG; mgbe kə ter tue nde ki yə den ka non
mgbe kə ter tue nde ki yə den ka non
chief at up say go at yours stay at peace

[
51 Gw; Sua kulu né ŋwə
sua kulu né ŋwə
sua bless is NEG.

52 Ng; Ju kənəhən né be bó (.) bò chok^{8#35} hən də.
ju kənəhən né be bó (.) bò chok hən də
talk now is hand theirs (.) PL. clothing this so

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 53 Bó mə tuŋ baá ju=
 bó mə tuŋ baá ju
 they that organise PRES. case
- 54 Gw; =aa hən né kə wa
 aa hən né kə wa
 This is what QN.
- 55 Ng; Mgbe kiyə à tue nde né bó kə.
 mgbe kiyə à tue nde né bó kə
 chief overthere he say go is them what
- 56 Də bí, bí tue nde né mgbe a, nyə- nyəgə ma.
 də bí bí tue nde né mgbe a nyə- nyəgə ma
 of you you say go is chief at rep- repair then
- 57 Ama bí nde né kulu sum nde né sua ma
 ama bí nde né kulu sum nde né sua ma
 but you go is bless remove go is sua then
- 58 Ma bí kulu sum baá sua də,
 ma bí kulu sum baá sua də
 If you bless remove PRES. sua of
 [
- 59 Nj; Mì jə mgbe a
 mì jə mgbe a
 I say chief to
 [
- 60 Gw; Ju né man bé ŋela nji mani,
 ju né man bé ŋela nji mani
 talk is thus we roast thing thus
- 61 Mì tue bí a, mì kə ləm né bò tele tele tele
 mì tue bí a mì kə ləm né bò tele tele tele
 I say you to I know only is Pl. father father father
 [
- 62 Nj; Mì jə wa: ha bí jə aa mgbe a,
 mì jə wa ha bí jə aa mgbe a
 I say say Until you say PAST chief to
- 63 Gw; Tele tue nde né kóó.
 tele tue nde né kóó
 father say go is SUB.EMP.
 [
- 64 Nj; mgbe le naa tue jə bò huan a
 mgbe le naa tue jə bò huan a
 chief PAST PAST say say Pl. child to
- 65 Gw; Mə tele tue jə: əə bé vulu(.) nyí(.) nyí kə né kə
 mə tele tue jə əə bé vulu nyí nyí kə né kə
 with father say say we leave speaker speaker know is know
 [
- 66 Nj; bó nde bé sip wa? Ha nyí, nyí tue nde né bò ŋuna nyí,
 bó nde bé sip wa ha nyí nyí tue nde né bò ŋuna
 nyí
 they go we male QN. Until speaker speaker say go is Pl.
 child his

- 67 Gw; À tue mə wa par sòn sen
 À tue mə wa par sòn sen
 he say with say lip mouth his
- 68 Nj; Jə nyí a: bó nde né jɔgɔ, bó jɔgɔ^{8#36} ma
 jə nyí a bó nde né jɔgɔ bó jɔgɔ ma
 say speaker to they go is marry they marry then
- 69 Gw; Mə na hiun mì tue a njərədi, bó wula mì.
 mə na hiun mì tue a njərədi bó wula mì
 with PAST different I say at something they kill me
 [
- 70 Nj; Huan sip né man, ma və né man, .bó né ki chén
 Huan sip né man, mavə né man, .bó né ki chén
 child male is thus woman is thus they is at one
- 71 Gw; Ma tele jə: nyí wəp nde né nji yə gwom,
 ma tele jə nyí wəp nde né nji yə gwom
 If father say speaker control go is thing yours pay
- 72 mì mì ma nji bən tue, chàŋ à wula mì nda.
 mì mì ma nji bən tue chàŋ à wula mì nda
 I I if thing illness say chàŋ it kill me also
- 73 Allah mì yuo, bí bɔ́ sum nji dənə.=
 allah mì yuo bí bɔ́ sum nji dənə
 Allah I leave you do remove thing
- 74 Nj; =Ma bó naa mən, bò huan sip naa mənə, bé kwa-re yə.
 ma bó naa mən bò huan sip naa mənə bé kwa-re yə
 if they PAST thus Pl. child male PAST thus we put yours
- 75 Ga; bó kɔ né yə:=
 bó kɔ né yə
 they know is say
- 76 Gw; =??xxx bò ju mavə mə huan sep,
 ??xxx bò ju mavə mə huan sep
 Pl. talk woman with child male
- 77 huan sep kum
 huan sep kum
 child male just
- 78 Ga; ?? bó kɔ né ŋgam kə wa?
 bó kɔ né ŋgam kə wa
 they know is because what QN.
- 79 Mavə bò huan sip bó né ka to mənə
 mavə bò huan sip bó né ka to mənə
 woman Pl. child male they is at before thus
- 80 ?? Nùàr huan sip, ma mavə sum yɔr tue nji né ŋgwə.
 nùàr huan sip, ma mavə sum yɔr tue nji né ŋgwə
 person child male, if woman remove body say thing is NEG.
- 81 ?? bó sela wa tue nde né naa ŋgwə. Mavə ma wə
 bó sela wa tue nde né naa ŋgwə mavə ma wə

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

they only?? say say go is PAST NEG. woman if take

82 sòm yɔr kumu nji ɲgwə, à sə den rə ka nɔ́ɔ́ɲ
 sòn yɔr kumu nji ɲgwə à sə den rə ka nɔ́ɔ́ɲ
 mouth body open thing ɲgwə she that stay again at peace

83 Gw; ma kələhən, ma didi nùàr kɔ́ gwan ɲgwə^{8#37},
 ma kələhən ma didi nùàr kɔ́ gwan ɲgwə
 if now if small person SUB.EMP. want ɲgwə

84 kula bò nji né kɔ́ ve.
 kula bò nji né kɔ́ ve
 count Pl. thing is SUB.EMP. bad

85 Mə bé ɲene njulu də gwɔm né də... gwɔ- gwɔ- gwɔm
 mə bé ɲene njulu də gwɔm né də gwɔ- gwɔ- gwɔm
 with we see eyes of gwɔm is here pay pay- pay

86 wəp njulu. Mì nji kwa ten wa?
 wəp njulu mì nji kwa ten wa
 steal eyes I thing put there-is QN.

87 Nùàr né nùàr ma.
 nùàr né nùàr ma
 person is person "really"

88 Ga; xxx xxxxx

89 Gw; Nùàr nde né kə... ??ɲwa Bí né mgbe chàɲ wa?
 nùàr nde né kə ??ɲwa bí né mgbe chàɲ wa
 person go is what NEG. you is chief chàɲ QN.

90 Nj; (...) Ki!.
 ki!

91 Ga?; Ma né muna né njai kweka mba
 ma né muna né njai kweka mba
 If is thus is thing small freely

92 Gw; Bò nùàr yi lɔ́ pat xxxxx kadi
 bò nùàr yi lɔ́ pat xxxxx kadi
 Pl. person at compound all really

93 Jb; Ma nùàr yə və yəə, ɲgwa, mə lə ndo wula ma.
 ma nùàr yə və yəə ɲgwa mə lə ndo wula ma
 If person eat woman yours penis? with treatment also kill
 then

94 kweka né wò-le wa? <=laughter
 kweka né wò-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 jɔɔ və yə, bu jɔɔ bu manji.
 À jɔɔ və yə bu jɔɔ bu manji
 he marry woman yours she marry him small
- 98 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan né ɲgwə,
 ma à la ju gwan né ɲgwə
 if he PAST talk want is NEG.
- 99 ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə, à ndée a.
 ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə à ndée a
 if she PAST talk want NEG. she come to
- 100 Jb?; Né məna ma.
 né məna ma
 is thus "really"
- 101 Mb; Ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə à ndeè aa
 ma à la ju gwan ɲgwə à ndeè aa
 If he PAST case want NEG. he come PAST
- 102 Ni; xxxx gi aa ma, ??Ma nùàr la ju gwan su, xxxx le naga.
 xxxx gi aa ma ??ma nùàr la ju gwan su xxxx le
 naga
 xxxx end PAST if if person PAST case want again-NEG xxxx
 PAST lick
- 103 Mb; {
 Ma à nde ɲgwə
 ma à nde ɲgwə
 If he go NEG.
- 104 Bí tue nde né jə: à nde ɲgwə mba.
 bí tue nde né jə à nde ɲgwə mba
 you say go is say he go NEG. freely
 {
- 105 Ga; huom né ka, də mə nji saa à naga
 huom né ka də mə nji saa à naga
 good is at of with thing that he lick
- 106 Ni; ?? Ma nùàr wa baá, nyí yue né jə: nyí sap baá
 ma nùàr wa baá nyí yue né jə nyí sap baá
 If person arrive PRES. speaker cry is say speaker mistake
 PRES.
- 107 Nyí sap baá də né nji mə bí tue kə né ka tu yə nan wa.
 nyí sap baá də né nji mə bí tue kə né ka tu
 yə nan wa
 speaker mistake PRES. of is thing with you say at is at
 before yours how QN.
- 108 Bé gwan baá die nɔ́ɔ́. Ha nji
 bé gwan baá die nɔ́ɔ́ ha nji
 we want PRES. fall quiet Until thing
- 109 hən gi aa, xxx xxx xxxx di yə tə bò tele,
 hən gi aa xxx xxx xxxx di yə tə bò tele
 this end PAST of yours at Pl. father

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 110 []
 Nj; xxx sua baá. ma né mənə sam né ŋgwə
 xxx sua baá ma né mənə sam né ŋgwə
 xxx sua PRES. If is thus not is NEG.
- 111 bó kulu kulu sua bu kɔ́.
 bó kulu kulu sua bu kɔ́
 they bless bless sua his SUB.EMP.
- 112 Ni; Tie tele yə tə
 tie tele yə tə
 ears father yours so
- 113 Mb; bó tun baá ju
 bó tun baá ju
 they organise PRES. case
 []
- 114 Nj; xxxxx chuar bé jemu.
 xxxxx chuar bé jemu
 xxxxx chicken place after
 []
- 115 Gw; Lucas ki!!
- 116 Jb; Lucas mə- əə mi jə wa: dənə kənə əə dənə den də
 lucas mə əə mi jə wa dənə kənə əə dənə den də
 with I say QN. here now here stay of
- 117 mə tun am ŋgwə. Am ŋgwə dədə
 mə tun am ŋgwə am ŋgwə dədə
 which organise NEG. NEG. NEG. NEG. small
- 118 À də dənə ten am ŋgwə ma saa né ki wa? à dua né sua
 À də dənə ten am ŋgwə ma saa né ki wa à dua
 né sua
 he of here there-is NEG. NEG. "really" that is what QN. he
 asks is sua
 []
- 119 Nj; Né mi, né mi, Njaibi,
 né mi né mi Njaibi
 is me is me Njaibi
- 120 Gw; À dua né sua.
 À dua né sua
 he ask is sua
- 121 Nj; Mi jula né sua wa?=
 mi jula né sua wa
 I flee is sua QN.
- 122 Jb; =Voilà!
- 123 Nj; ?? Sua chum də, mi jula né də nyí chi wa?
 sua chum də mi jula né də nyí chi wa
 sua old of I flee is of speaker that QN.
- 124 Jb; To, bé tue né chi saa, ma à bəé lɔ́, bó le rə né ni?
 to bé tue né chi saa ma à bəé lɔ́ bó le rə né
 ni

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- So we say is that that if he harm compound they PAST again is who
- 125 mə jemu ni?, (.) bó nde né lɔ́ wa kɔ́ də bó jə: sum bu wa?
mə jemu ni bó nde né lɔ́ wa kɔ́ də bó jə
sum bu wa
with second who they go is compound arrive SUB.EMP. of they say remove him QN.
- 126 ?? Né chi saa mə Gw à tue denə.
né chi saa mə Gw à tue denə
is that that with Gw he say here
[
- 127 Gw; Jemu né nan wa? Də mò mì kɔ ləm né bò tele.
jemu né nan wa də mò mì kɔ ləm né bò tele
second is how QN. of mine I know only is Pl. father
- 128 Bò tele tue né jə: huan né be mò
Bò tele tue né jə: huan né be mò
PL. father say is say child is hand mine
- 129 Ve; xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxxx^{8#38}
- 130 Gw; Ma bí kwa tue né jə: ama bó kulu sum,
ma bí kwa tue né jə ama bó kulu sum
If you put say is say but they bless remove
- 131 nyí nùàr jə, nyí wə né huan, nyí nde Ngaundere=
nyí nùàr njə nyí wə né huan nyí nde
Ngaundere
speaker person that-person speaker take is child speaker go
Ngaundere
- 132 Ga; =Xxx=
- 133 Gw; =À tue mì.
À tue mì
he say me
- 134 Ama ndo, nyí tue né nan ma, bó bɔ́ ke dua,
ama ndo nyí tue né nan ma bó bɔ́ ke dua
but also speaker say is how if they do look there
- 135 À dua bí ha nde né mən wa? À tue
À dua bí ha nde né mən wa À tue
he ask you Until go is thus QN. he say
- 136 Nj; əəə əəə
[]
- 137 Gw; bó, bó tue nde né jolori hən.
bó bó tue nde né jolori hən
they they say go is palace this
- 138 bó bɔ́ kulu yə sua hən. Mì tue né bí hən.
bó bɔ́ kulu yə sua hən mì tue né bí hən
they do bless yours This I say is you this
[]
- 139 Jb; xxxxxxx xxxxx

- 140 Gw; Ngor mò né laga^{8#39} ngam.
 ngòr mò né laga ngam
 speech mine is payment divination
- 141 Ni; Am ngwə ju mə tue naa mənə mə bə jə wa
 am ngwə ju mə tue naa mənə mə bə jə wa
 NEG. NEG. case with say PAST thus with they say say
- 142 Gw; bó mənə tue ngwə, iii, Ngu^{8#40}
 bó mənə tue ngwə iii Ngu
 they thus say NEG. iii Ngu
- 143 bó tue né bə hiun-i
 bó tue né bə hiun-i
 they say is place different
 [
- 144 Ga; bó gwan ngwə
 bó gwan ngwə
 they want NEG.
- 145 Gw; bó jə tele tele, bó yila mi naá Njai^{8#41}. Mi Njai yila
 ngwə.
 bó jə tele tele bó yila Mi naá Njai mi Njai yila
 ngwə
 they say father father they name I PAST Njai I Njai name
 NEG.
- 146 Ga; Də tue, də mi kum, də mi kum, mi bie bó kən.
 də tue də mi kum də mi kum mi bie bó kən
 of say of me just of me just I ask them already
- 147 Mə mi wa, mi bie bó.
 mə mi wa mi bie bó
 with me say I ask them
- 148 Mi jə ma bó gwan bó gwan əəə,
 mi jə ma bó gwan bó gwan əəə
 I say if they want they want əəə
- 149 ama ma bó wəp baá, bó wa, bó wa dənə, nde nə tə bə lɔ.^{8#42}
 ama ma bó wəp baá bó wa bó wa dənə nde nə tə
 bə lɔ
 but if they steal PRES. they arrive they arrive here go is so
 they treat
- 150 Jb; Ama bó jə baá: ha nde né ləm kalɔn
 ama bó jə baá ha nde né ləm kalɔn
 but they say PRES. give go is only money
- 151 Ga; Ama bó tue "aha"
 ama bó tue "aha"
 but they say no
- 152 a saa bó wop né ngwə, bakata, mə bó fon nde né,
 a saa bó wop né ngwə bakata mə bó fon nde né
 to that they steal is NEG. like with they search go is

- 153 bə^{8#43} le saa.
 bə le saa
 place in that
- 154 Ha am ɲgwə né ləm kweka mbah ma^{8#44}
 ha am ɲgwə né ləm kweka mbah ma
 give NEG. NEG. is only small freely then
 [
- 155 Jb; Aaa ke né wò ma, ɲgwə nùàr njə né mə wò
 aaa ke né wò ma ɲgwə nùàr njə né mə wò
 look is you then NEG. person that-one is with you
- 156 Gw; Nde nɔ́ɔ́ɲ
 ndenɔ́ɔ́ɲ
 go quiet
- 157 Də mò yula^{8#45} ke mì tə kerì wa
 də mò yula kə mì tə kerì wa
 of mine illness at me so on-top-of SUB.EMP.
- 158 Nj; Də mò: bó jɔ́ɔ́ kulu sua, də mò mì kɔ́ ləm lə^{8#46}.
 də mò bó jɔ́ɔ́ kulu sua də mò mì kɔ́ ləm lə
 of mine they carry bless sua of mine I know only treatment
- 159 Gw; Ki!, ki! ki! (1)
- 160 Ama ke, à né mə ??dede yi be,
 ama ke à né mə ??dede yi be
 but look he is with small at hand
 [
- 161 Ga; Né yɔ́ɔ́ ke.
 né yɔ́ɔ́ ke
 is surpass at
- 162 Gw; Mere né nùàr di
 mere né nùàr di
 perhaps is person some
 []
- 163 Ga; Nyugemi^{8#47} ka kiyə bóó mə akilo
 Nyugemi ka kiyə bóó mə akilo
 Nyugemi at overthere do with intelligence
- 164 mə mì hapdi gə Mbɔr chu aa ɲgam
 mə mì hapdi gə Mbɔr chu aa ɲgam
 with I hurry at Mbɔr return PAST because
- 165 xxx xxxx xxx
 []
- 166 Jb; Aaa né njai jaa na
 aaa né njai jaa na
 aaa is thing laugh PAST
- 167 Ga; ɲgàm mì ha mbi mò.
 ɲgàm mì ha mbi mò
 because I give friend mine
- 168 Mì tue naa bu a: nda huan bò bəé lɔ́ɔ́ baá bu kən.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- mì tue naa bu a nda huan bɔ́ bə́é lɔ́ baá bu
kən
I say PAST him to young-men child do harm compound PRES. it
already
- 169 Mì ha naa mə mə mə mə mə Lovə^{8#48} ga giyə də.
mì ha naa mə mə mə mə mə Lovə ga giyə də
I give PAST with with with with with Lovə there over-there of
- 170 Jb; Né bò si, bó bə́é lɔ́ və yə kɔ ma.
né bò si bó bə́é lɔ́ və yə kɔ
ma
is Pl. husband they harm compound woman yours
SUB.EMP. then
- 171 Ga; Mì hapdi né fə́lí bó ha.
mì hapdi né fə́lí bó ha
I hurry is threaten them until
- 172 Jb; Go baá "pee pee pee pee" də
go baá "pee pee pee pee" də
walk PRES. of
- 173 Ga; Nji mə mì bə́é né fə́lí bó den
nji mə mì bə́é né fə́lí bó den
thing which I harm is threaten them stay
- 174 Gw; Né wò si naa né dole.
né wò si naa né dole
is you husband PAST is cool
- 175 Wò nde a né dole.
wò nde a né dole
you go to is cool
- 176 Ga; Nùàr mə kɔ né ni? (5)
nùàr mə kɔ né ni (5)
person with know is who
- 177 Jb; Ma né və mə nùàr bə́é lu,
ma né və mə nùàr bə́é lu
If is woman with person harm anyway
- 178 diya né dili ɲgwə
diya né dili ɲgwə
of-that is straight NEG.
- 179 Gw; ???Ndeka bé kulu baa,
???ndeka bé kulu baa
must we bless PAST
- 180 Nj; Mgbe mə ju dua ten sam
mgbe mə ju dua ten sam
chief with talk there there-is not
- 181 Ga; ama bé ju baá tuɲ-
ama bé ju baá tuɲ
but we talk PRES. organise

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 182 Nj; []
 Gamgbe, Gamgbe mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə.
 Gamgbe Gamgbe mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə
 Gamgbe Gamgbe with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.
- 183 Mi mə mi den hən mi mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə.
 mi mə mi den hən mi mə ju dua ten am ɲgwə
 I with I Here this I with talk there there-is NEG. NEG.
- 184 Mvulu, Mvulu mə du naa den, à mə ju dua ten ma ɲgwə.
 Mvulu Mvulu mə du naa den à mə ju dua ten
 ma ɲgwə
 Mvulu Mvulu that ground PAST here he with talk there there-is
 then NEG.
- 185 Ke né bò və baá fà^{8#49}
 ke né bò və baá fà
 look is Pl. woman PRES. two
- 186 Ga; Né ka məna.
 né ka məna
 is at thus
- 187 Gw; Ama gi né ka mena, ???saa ndeka bé vulu baá ma
 ama gi né ka mena ???saa ndeka bé vulu baá ma
 but end is at thus that must we leave PRES. then
- 188 Ng; Ama bó ke ɲgwə.
 ama bó ke ɲgwə
 but they look NEG.
- 189 Jb; Aaa bó né mə fə bóɔn wa?
 aaa bó né mə fə bóɔn wa
 aaa they is with head theirs QN.
- 190 Ga; bó tue naa..
 bó tue naa
 they say PAST
- 191 Ng; ???Saa bí sum kə bó ka chiə tə bó tema bó fà, bó fà.
 ???saa bí sum kə bó ka chiə tə bó tema bó fà bó
 fà
 that you remove at them at outside so they send them two
 them two
- 192 Mb; əhə əhə Bí ɲue yə. Bí ɲue yə wa.
 əhə əhə bí ɲue yə bí ɲue yə wa
 yes yes you listen yours you listen yours QN.
- 193 Jb (to NG); Di yə kum, né ten
 di yə kum né ten
 of yours just is there-is
- 194 Mb; Bí tuɲ...əəə bó né mə fə bóɔ sam ɲgwə,
 bí tuɲ ... əəə bó né mə fə bóɔ sam ɲgwə
 you organise they is with head theirs not NEG.
- 195 Tema naa bó né ni wa?

tema naa bó né ni wa
sends PAST them is who QN.

196 Fabé mə, mə bó tue naa də domsa də,
fabé mə mə bó tue naa də domsa də
like with with they say PAST of doctor of

197 nùàr ha nji ləm () Ma ha naa ni?
nùàr ha nji ləm ma ha naa ni
person give thing only If give PAST who

198 Ga; To
to
So

199 Mb; Mbi yə ten am ɲgwə də. ()
mbi yə ten am ɲgwə də
occasion yours there-is NEG. NEG. of

200 Jb; xxxx

201 Nj; Və saa də, mə bó nde bu jogo. Bó le kwa naa bu le nda hi
wa?
[
və saa də 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 Də guo ni wa?
də guo ni wa
of house who QN.

203 Mb; Merre, bó ten am ɲgwə də.
merre bó ten am ɲgwə də
perhaps they there-is NEG. NEG. of

204 Nj; bó, bó mare bé chiə bá.
bó bó mare bé chiə bá
they they surpass we outside we

205 Mb; Kə kələhən né və nuaa ma,
kə kələhən né və nùàr ma
at now is woman person then

206 Gw; bó və bí yə mə bò ɲuna bóɔ, mə bó yuo dənə,
bó və bí yə mə bò ɲuna bóɔ mə bó yuo dənə
Pl. woman you yours with Pl. child theirs with they leave
here

207 bó ɲuna bí, bò huan nde ɲòr dənə,
bó ɲuna bí bò huan nde ɲòr dənə
Pl. child you Pl. child go speech here

208 mə bó nde nde yaa,
mə bó nde nde yaa
with they go go there

209 Ju ju yə kum, bie ka lóó yə kum

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

ju ju yə kum bie ka lóó yə kum
talk talk yours just ask at compound yours just

- 210 ngàm ngwa bé kuó^{8#50} gi aa wa?
ngàm ngwa bé kuó gi aa wa
because penis ours die end PAST QN.
- 211 Mb; Aaaa Gw a, də bé jə ləm bò si və saa
aaaa Gw a də bé jə ləm bò si və saa
Gw to of we say only Pl. husband woman that
- 212 Fabé mə bó tue jə:
fabé mə bó tue jə
like with they say say
- 213 Ma bó né le dopta^{8#51} nji bó tue mə Gamia.
ma bó né le dopta nji bó tue mə Gamia
If they is in doctor thing they say with Gamia
- 214 Gi né ləm məna.
gi né ləm məna
end is only thus
- 215 Jb; aha né mane. Ama ngue yə
aha né mane ama ngue yə
mmhmm is thus but listen yours
- 216 Mb; [Gamia ngue yə
Gamia ngue yə
Gamia listen you
[
- 217 Nj; xxx xxxx xxx xx
- 218 Jb; Ama bó ngòr tibi tibi si bó den né ngwə
ama bó ngòr tibi tibi si bó den né ngwə
but they speech short short -ness they here is NEG.
- 219 Ga; Am ngwə də mò, mi tue su məna ma.
am ngwə də mò mi tue su məna ma
NEG. NEG. of mine I say again thus then
[
- 220 Mb; Saa kò né ni
saa kò né ni
that know is who
[
- 221 Jb; Saa gua də () Né chi saa ama bó né de nji
saa gua də né chi saa ama bó né 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 né ten
nji mə tue baá hən də bó wə nde xxx xxx ma ler né
ten
thing with say PRES. this so they take go xxx xxx if loose
is there-is
- 223 a saa bó ha nyí kalon, () tə nji mɔ, bó tue naga.
a saa bó ha nyí kalon, tə nji mɔ bó tue naga
to that they give speaker money so thing wait they say clear

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 224 Jb; aa né fada né lɔ́ né də bá ma.
aa né fada né lɔ́ né də bá ma
aaa is like is compound is of we then
- 225 Ga; əhə mani
əhə mani
yes thus
- 226 Tue ndape kɔ, ha bí tue ndape né ki?
tue ndape kɔ ha bí tue ndape né ki
say prolix SUB.EMP. Until you say prolix is what
- 227 Jb; də saa, ɲgòr saa se huɔm né ka məna.
də saa ɲgòr saa se huɔm né ka məna
of that speech that NEG. good is at thus
- 228 Mb; eeee eeee eee wa? Am ɲgwə, gi né ka fabé məna ndo ma
eeee eeee eee wa am ɲgwə gi né ka fabé məna ndo ma
eeee eeee eee QN. NEG. NEG. end is at like thus also "really"
- 229 Ny; Gw tue né məna ɲgam kwə bé kɔ ma Gw xxx xxxx
Gw tue né məna ɲgam kwə bé kɔ ma Gw xxx xxxx
Gw say is thus because tomorrow we know if Gw xxx xxxx
- 230 Jb; [Hən né hən
hən né hən
This is this
- 231 bá bie né chi ma
bá bie né chi ma
we ask is that "really"
- 232 Ny; Gw tue né mena, à jə: Gamia né be yə, bí mgbe fà.
Gw tue né mena à jə Gamia né be yə bí mgbe fà
Gw say is thus he say Gamia is hand yours you chief two
- 233 Ma bí jə wa: bí nde wəp né lu wa, bí tue ɲaga də.
ma bí jə wa bí nde wəp né lu wa bí
tue ɲaga də
If you say say you go control is SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. you say
clear so
- 234 Ma bí jə sam né ɲgwə bí tue ɲaga
ma bí jə sam né ɲgwə bí tue ɲaga
If you say not is NEG. you say clear
- 235 Də nyí kum ma bí jə: əəə bó nde né lɔ,
də nyí kum ma bí jə əəə bó nde né lɔ
of speaker just if you say əəə they go is treat
- 236 bó kulu sua.Mani
bó kulu sua.mani
they bless sua thus
- 237 Jb; [Mani də bí yuo
mani də bí yuo
thus so you leave

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 238 Ny; Də Gw, à tue Gw məna ndo.
də Gw à tue Gw məna ndo
of Gw he say Gw thus also
- 239 Jb; Ma wop né ɲgwə cher wə kalɔn wò ha Gamia^{8#52}
ma wop né ɲgwə cher wə kalɔn wò ha Gamia
If control is NEG. road take money you give Gamia
- 240 Mb; Kɔ Gamia hən Kɔ Gamia də ɲgue sòn bò si hən də
kɔ Gamia hən kɔ Gamia də ɲgue sòn bò si hən də
Even Gamia this Even Gamia of listen mouth Pl. husband this
of
- 241 Jb; [əəhəə mani
əəhəə mani
yes thus
- 242 Gamia ɲgue a kə baá re mə bó man də ma
Gamia ɲgue a kə baá re mə bó man də ma
Gamia listen to at PRES. again with they thus of then
[
- 243 Mb; Sɔgɔ Gamia sen ɲgue sòn bò si saa,
sɔgɔ gamia sen ɲgue sòn bò si saa
only Gamia his listen mouth Pl. husband that
[
- 244 Ny; À tue né chi ma, À tue né chi saa ma.
À tue né chi ma À tue né chi saa ma
he say is that then he say is that that then
- 245 Mb; Ha à sua nde né mə hən no
ha à sua nde né mə hən no
Until he descend go is with this also
- 246 Ga; Də mò, naa mi ɲgue né mə bó ma.
də mò naa mi ɲgue né mə bó ma
of mine PAST I listen is with them then
- 247 Jb; Gamia à hwune baá kə də saa nɔɲ, hən baá rə chi saa bè mə
Gamia à hwune baá kə də saa nɔɲ hən baá rə
chi saa bè mə
Gamia he tight-lipped PRES. at of that peace this PRES. again
that that place with
- 248 à ɲgòr kware kware dənə.
à ɲgòr kware kware dənə
he speech beside beside here
- 249 Nj; Sua kulu baá kulu, kulu ha huan də, bó nde dənə lo dənə.
sua kulu baá kulu kulu ha huan də bó nde dənə lo
dènə
sua bless PRES. bless bless give child here they go here
treat here
- 250 Mb; aaa!
- 251 Nj; Dole sua də bò kulu né bó nde né huan dən lo dən, ndo.
dole sua də bò kulu né bó nde né huan dən lo dən ndo

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- also cool sua so they bless is they go is child here treat Here
- 252 Ga; Dole hən də no, dole bó bɔ́ nde ka bu lɔ den
dole hən də no dole bó bɔ́ nde ka bu lɔ den
cool This of also cool they do go at him treat here
- 253 Nj; Lɔŋ de sua né hiən, lɔŋ də lə né hiən.
lɔŋ de sua né hiən lɔŋ də lə né hiən
space of sua is different space of treatment is different
- 254 Jb; Məna ni. To Ma la yuo chop chén^{8#53} baá mən mən mən mən
ma,
məna ni to ma la yuo chop chén baá mən mən
mən mən ma
thus very?? so if PAST leave and-numeral one PRES. thus thus
thus thus really
- 255 ma ???njok gwan
ma ???njok gwan
If that-person? want
[]
- 256 Nj; Njok
- 257 Jb; Ma bó gwan a mə sòn bon,
ma bó gwan a mə sòn bon
If they want to with mouth theirs
- 258 bó Gamia: Oui, gwom ŋgwə. bó gwom baá lə dənə.=
bó Gamia oui gwom ŋgwə bó gwom baá lə dənə
Pl. Gamia pay NEG. They pay PRES. treatment here
- 259 Ga; = To =
= to =
So
- 260 Jb; bó gwom mi mbo baá jam.
bó gwom mi mbo baá jam
They pay me divine PRES. good
- 261 Tə bó ŋene bɔ́ nji kela,
tə bó ŋene bɔ́ nji kela
so they see Pl. thing pass
- 262 kela sua, bó cho. Nji mə bó, bó... bó...
kela sua bó cho nji mə bó bó bó
pass sua they chop thing which they they they
- 263 bɔ́ nùàr njə kɔ́ nde a, fabé mə bó bɔ́ kɔ́ nde à kɔ́.
bɔ́ nùàr njə kɔ́ nde a fabé mə bó bɔ́ kɔ́ nde à kɔ́
Pl. person thing know go to like with they do know go he
SUB.EMP.
- 264 Gw; []
Yili tə yila
yili tə yila
name so names
- 265 Ga; Də hən xxx xxxx xxx kɔ́

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

də hən xxx xxxx xxxx xxx kɔ

- 266 Jb; Ama tam ɲgwə
ama tam ɲgwə
but none NEG.
- 267 Gw; ha mi a kwə a sɔn, à tue nde mə sɔn
ha mi a kwə a sɔn à tue nde mə sɔn
Until I at change to mouth he say go with mouth
- 268 Mb; Ha nùàr kwə ma
ha nùàr kwə ma
Until person change then
- 269 Gw; Ngam huan nda xxx xxx
ɲgam huan nda xxx xxx
because child young-men
- 270 Ga; [Huan hən xxxxx xxx hapdi ɲgwə=
huan hən xxxxx xxx hapdi ɲgwə
child this argue NEG.
- 271 Kg; =Bé tue naa tu bé tue gəchén
bé tue naa tu bé tue gəchén
we say PAST before we say true
- 272 Mb; Nùàr tue nde nji mə mi tue naa də.
nùàr tue nde nji mə mi tue naa də
person say go thing with I say PAST of
- 273 Mi ma mi () tue den né ju chén bu saa də
mi ma mi tue den né ju chén bu saa də
I if I say here is talk one it that of
[]
- 274 Nj; Né mi mi tue jə: də chi saa bé lo guom baa.
né mi mi tue jə də chi saa bé lo guom baa
is me I say say of that that we treat pay PAST
- 275 Nde gwom baá ka jumu bò fə=
nde gwom baá ka jumu bò fə
go pay PRES. at after PL. head
- 276 Ga; =Nde kə jemu tə bò ke
nde kə 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.

- 277 Ch; Seé bí yə, bí bò kuku bò ka Somié <=laughter
seé bí yə bí bò kuku bò ka sɔn yə
work you yours you Pl. elder Pl. at mouth yours
- 278 Aibe fula aibe <=laughter
aibe fula aibe
mistake like?? mistake

- 279 Wò yila moptere nùàr nde ɲgwə, ()
wò yila moptere nùàr nde ɲgwə
you call meeting person go NEG.
- 280 wò tue go nùàr nde ɲgwə.()
wò tue go nùàr nde ɲgwə
you say walk person go NEG.
- 281 Hən sɔgɔ bí nji bò pat,
hən sɔgɔ bí nji bò pat
This only you thing Pl. all
- 282 sɔgɔ mì yon ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa ɕa y est.
sɔgɔ mì yon ka gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa gwa ɕa
y est
only I stroll at house house house house house house
ɕa y est
- 283 Ga; Saa bó nde ɲue.
saa bó nde ɲue
that they go NEG.
- 284 Ch; Oui, mais normalement c'est comme ça
- 285 Nj; Ma lu saa mì ma, mì bu ɲene ɲgwə,
ma lu saa mì ma mì bu ɲene ɲgwə
If day that I if I him see NEG.
- 286 lu saa à de rə bè hiən-i^{8#54}
lu saa à de rə bè hiən-i
day that he stay again place different
- 287 To lane ma à de su a bè hiən-i.
to lane ma à de su a bé hiən-i
To today if they(Sing) stay again to place different
- 288 Ga; xxx xxx
- 289 Ch; Wò yila moptere nùàr pat ndée.
wò yila moptere nùàr pat ndée
you call meeting person all come
- 290 To, () ma wò la tue, ma tue l'heure ka kə loó bí yə né məna.
to ma wò la tue ma tue l'heure ka kə loó bí yə né
məna
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 pal le moptere
I stay in meeting I name name all all all in meeting
- 292 ()Njai də nùàr hən, nùàr hən tue mì ɲue ɲue kam,
()njai də nùàr hən nùàr hən tue mì ɲue ɲue kam
()thing of person this person this say I listen NEG. at-all
- 293 Tue mì di yə wa?

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

tue mi di yə wa
say I of you QN.

294 Ga; xxx mi boó né nan wa?
xxx mi boó né nan wa
xxx 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 dɔ́ŋ né ni, né bé ka mə aibe ni.
tam dɔ́ŋ né ni né bé ka mə aibe ni
none all is who is we at with mistake very??

297 Nj; aa?
aa

298 Ch; Dua né den ka aibe mò .
dua né den ka aibe mò
there is stay at mistake mine

299 Dua né le nde né sə tuŋ ma ha bè wòŋ nde gi kum
dua né le nde né sə tuŋ ma ha bè wòŋ nde
gi kum
there is in go is NEG. organise "really" until place world
go end very

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

301 Ni; Bt a, ke keləhən bé mom den nji mə yuo nde kə sòn yə,
Bt a ke keləhən bé mom den nji mə yuo nde kə sòn
yə
Bt to look now we wait here thing with leave go at mouth
yours

302 mə wò tue nde nji mə Gamia. Tə bé ɲele yuo.
mə wò tue nde nji mə Gamia tə bé ɲele yuo
which you say go thing with Gamia so we disturbed leave

303 Ch; Tourjours la patience

304 Mb; Bé mom nde né chi tal
bé mom nde né chi tal
we wait go is that SUB.EMP.

305 Ga; Né də ka ɲòr chén bii hən də, mə
né də ka ɲòr chén bii hən də mə
is of at speech one thing this of with

306 Ny; [Né mani
né mani
is thus

307 Mb; əə Bé mom né ka chi
əə bé mom né ka chi
We wait is at that

- 308 []
 Ny; Ngor tue né mani mə mi bie né ka mə bó
 ngòr tue né mani mə mi bie né ka mə bó
 speech say is thus with I ask is at with them
- 309 Ma bó tue nyən mba mba nde ka tu,
 ma bó tue nyən mba mba nde ka tu
 If they say lies freely freely go at before
- 310 à ça y est waga sam ngwə
 à ça y est waga sam ngwə
 it ça y est fast not NEG.
- 311 Mb; À yuo nde tɔgɔ tɔgɔ
 À yuo nde tɔgɔ tɔgɔ
 it leave go quarrel quarrel
- 312 Ny; À saa yuo nde né tɔgɔ.
 À saa yuo nde né tɔgɔ
 he that leave go is quarrel
- 313 Ga; aa denə bé tue nde nde né ki wa?
 aa denə bé tue nde nde né ki wa
 aaa here we say go go is what QN.
- 314 Né ləm kɔ ngòr chén hən fela den mə mi bie né hən də
 né ləm kɔ ngòr chén hən fela den mə mi bie né hən
 də
 is only SUB.EMP. speech true this like here with I ask is
 this so
- 315 Mi bie né chi. à bəé nji baá dua, bé ɲue ɲaga.
 mi bie né chi à bəé nji baá dua bé ɲue ɲaga
 I ask is that he harm thing PRES. there we understand clear
- 316 () né ka le mɔgɔ dənə.
 né ka le mɔgɔ dənə
 is at in group here
- 317 Nj; Gw ndeka, mi tue nji né mə mgbe, mi tue nji né mə
 Gamgbe. ()
 Gw ndeka mi tue nji né mə mgbe mi tue nji né mə
 Gamgbe
 Gw must I say thing is with chief I say thing is with
 Gamgbe
- 318 Mb; Də bé, bé bie nji su né mə bu
 də bé, bé bie nji su né mə bu
 of we we ask thing again is with him
- 319 Nj; Də Gamgbe bɔ́ bie bí bí, bí, bí bò jɔgɔ və.
 də Gamgbe bɔ́ bie bí bí bí bí bò jɔgɔ və
 of do ask you you you you Pl. marry woman
- 320 Ma mi nde à bəé nji nyí, bí nde né kalɔn ha né nyí wa,
 ma mi nde à bəé nji nyí bí nde né kalɔn ha né nyí
 wa

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

If I go to harm thing speaker you go is money give is speaker QN.

321 Nji?? də tə mì nde lɔ nyəgə su huan bu saa, ??
nji də tə mì nde lɔ nyəgə su huan bu saa
thing of so I go treat repair again child him that

322 Bí bə́é lɔ́ baá kən. ()
bí bə́é lɔ́ baá kən
you harm compound PRES. already

323 Mb; Aa bó tue nji də mə bu
aa bó tue nji də mə bu
aaa they say thing of with him

324 Ga; Né ka mən, wò nde né mə sòn yə.
né ka mən wò nde né mə sòn yə
is at thus you go is with mouth yours

325 Nj; Chuar, à tue nde né ka mə sòn sen.
chuar à tue nde né ka mə sòn sen
chicken he say go is at with mouth its

326 Ga; Ma wò tue mì a, wò wə nde né kɔ, wò lɔ nde né kɔ,
ma wò tue mì a wò wə nde né kɔ wò lɔ nde né
kɔ

If you say me to you take go is SUB.EMP. you treat go is SUB.EMP.

327 Hən mì ha nde né kalɔn tə tə mì hapdi mə nji to.
hən mì ha nde né kalɔn tə tə mì hapdi mə nji to
This I give go is money so so I hurry with thing before

328 Né ləm tibi si mani.
né ləm tibi si mani
is only short -ness thus

329 Ch; () Oui ma ngòr yuo kela chiə, huom né tue. (2)
oui ma ngòr yuo kela chiə huom né tue
if speech leave pass outside good is say

330 Ngàm () né tare də né hən də,
ngàm né tare də né hən də
because is hard of is this of

331 bé tare né (1) bó tue né...ju bò huan mani mba.
bé tare né 1 bó tue né...ju bò huan mani mba
place hard is they say is talk Pl. child small freely

332 Bé tue ngwə () ngòr gəchén di dua.
bé tue ngwə ngòr gəchén di dua
we say NEG. speech true some there

333 Bò huan mani, bó bie nde bó no,
bò huan mani bó bie nde bó no
Pl. child small they ask go them also

334 bó sòn bóɔ bie nde né kə?

bó sòn bóó bie nde né kə
they mouth theirs ask go is what

- 335 Njai bie ten am ɲgwə. dɔ́ɔ́ɲ xxx ɲene ɲgwə
Njai bie ten am ɲgwə dɔ́ɔ́ɲ xxx ɲene ɲgwə
Njai ask there-is NEG. NEG. all see NEG.
- 336 Kənəhən () Mose^{8#55} à tue né бага.(4) Le bòn bu saa,
kənəhən Mose à tue né бага.(4) le bòn bu saa
now Mose he say is good (4) in group it that
- 337 saa baá tue le bòn bu saa à ten am ɲgwə. (1)
saa baá tue le bòn bu saa à ten am ɲgwə (1)
that PRES. say in group it that he there-is NEG. NEG.
- 338 To ma "le decision" də mò, (2) nde Gamia də kuú,
to ma "le decision" də mò nde Gamia də kuú
To if "le decision" of mine go Gamia of big
- 339 À se tue ɲgwə. Mì hən, ɲgàm chí mə mì gwan ɲgwə tue.
À se tue ɲgwə mì hən, ɲgàm chí mə mì gwan ɲgwə tue
he NEG. say NEG. I this because this with I want NEG. say
- 340 Mais nde yuo kela mì kum, mì foti tue le lɔ́ɲ bu hən.
mais nde yuo kela mì kum mì foti tue le lɔ́ɲ bu hən
mais go leave pass I just I can say in space it this
- 341 Bu hən jə wa: à né tibisi. Mose wa və, () bon.
bu hən jə wa à né tibisi mose wa və bon
him this say QN. he is short say woman bon
- 342 Nde wa və, à ke: mystique bóó baá ten (1)
nde wa və à ke mystique bóó baá ten
go arrive woman she look do PRES. there-is
- 343 Nde mystique bóó baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bé jumu, ()
nde mystique bóó baá, (3) À ha nji su nde bé jumu
go mystique do PRES. (3) he give thing again go place
after
- 344 di ya den ɲgwə giye,
di ya den ɲgwə giye
of yours stay NEG. overthere
- 345 bò kiye də bò maga baá sòn ten amɲgwə=
bò kiye də bò maga baá sòn ten amɲgwə
Pl. overthere of Pl. big PRES. mouth there-is NEG.
- 346 Gw; =Mən
mən
thus
- 347 Ch; Bé nji nde né dopta kɔ́ɔ́. ^{8#56}
bé nji nde né dopta kɔ́ɔ́
We thing go is dispensary SUB.EMP.
- 348 Bé bóó nde né kə bu, bé bóó baá kə bu. Bé bóó naa kɔ́ɔ́.
bé bóó nde né kə bu bé bóó baá kə bu bé bóó naa kɔ́ɔ́

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

we do go is at it we do PRES. at it we do PAST SUB.EMP.

349 Diya né oblige, parceque ve naa le be bá, ()
 diya né oblige parceque ve naa le be bá ma né ɲaga e
 of that is oblige parceque woman PAST in hand ours

350 ma né ɲaga e çe soir
 ma né ɲaga e çe soir
 if is clear e çe soir

351 bó bò nùàr bəé naa də bu, bó tuɲ nde a kɔ́.
 bó bò nùàr bəé naa də bu bó tuɲ nde a kɔ́
 they Pl. person harm PAST of her they organise go to
 SUB.EMP.

352 Di ya ju Mose ten am su, bó parler nde bu tibisi mən.
 di ya ju Mose ten am su bó parler nde bu
 tibisi mən
 of yours talk Mose there-is NEG. again-NEG they parler go
 him short thus

353 XX; əhə
 əhə
 yes

354 Ch; əhə
 əhə
 yes

355 Ny; Bí Gw su gwan a mani. À gwan a mən də, tə bò bò bɔ́.
 bí Gw su gwan a mani À gwan a mən də tə bò bò bɔ́
 you Gw again want to thus he want to thus so so they they do

356 Ch; Di yə kum ɲgwə, bé wə nde a mən.
 di yə kum ɲgwə bé wə nde a mən
 of yours just NEG. we take go to thus

357 Ma ma bí bɔ́ né facture^{8#57} né mə kə, né mə kə lu,
 ma ma bí bɔ́ né facture né mə kə né mə kə lu
 If if you do is is with price is with price SUB.EMP.

358 Ma wò wa, wò jə: mi né mə facture de né hən. Tibi si hən.
 ma wò wa wò jə mi né mə facture de né hən tibi -
 adj hən
 If you arrive you say I is with of is this short -
 ness this

359 XX; əəə əəə <= Laughter

360 Ga; Kadi ma facture den ɲgwə kənəhən wa?
 kadi ma facture den né ɲgwə kənəhən wa
 really if NEG. now QN.

361 Ch; Den ɲgwə də wò bie nde né bu lu.
 Den ɲgwə də wò bie nde né bu lu
 stay NEG. of you ask go is him anyway

362 Də yə wò nde né gwom wa, wò gwom né ɲgwə wa?

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

də yə wò nde né gwom wa wò gwom né ɲgwə wa
of yours you go is pay QN. you pay is NEG. QN.

363 Aaa ma à jə nyí gwom né ɲgwə no, wò bɔ́ó né nan.
aaa ma à jə nyí gwom né ɲgwə no wò bɔ́ó né nan
aaa if he say speaker pay is NEG. also you do is how

364 Wò vulu, wò yə^{8#58} bu kadi?
wò vulu wò yə bu kadi
you leave you eat him really

365 Jb; Bí yə bu nan
bí yə bu nan
you eat him how

366 Ga; Foti ɲgwə (3) Mì yə bu nan
foti ɲgwə mì yə bu nan
can NEG. I eat him how

367 Jb; Ama nùàr bu hən xxx xxxx saa baá paɲpaɲ ju.
ama nùàr bu hən xxx xxxx saa baá paɲpaɲ ju
but person him this xxx xxxx that PRES. mills case

368 Né də wò me nde né bu le kilo^{8#59} wa?
né də wò me nde né bu le kilo wa
is of you measure go is him in QN.

369 Kɔ né də wò bɔ́ó nde né bu nan wa?
kɔ né də wò bɔ́ó nde né bu nan wa
Even is of you do go is him how QN.

370 Né saa gər ɲene badi ma.
né saa gər ɲene badi ma
is that pain see approach "really"

371 Allah, ha mbi fà mì xxxxx xxxx xxxx <=laughter
Allah ha mbi fà mì xxxxx xxxx xxxx
Allah Until occasion two I xxxxx xxxx xxxx

372 Ch; Mì sə kwa baá ju, bòn mə bòn ooo <=laughter
mì sə kwa baá talk də bòn mə bòn ooo
I NEG. put PRES. case of group with group

373 Vraiment c'est comme ca.<=laughter

374 Nj; xxxxxxxx

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 Chàn guan né jɔgɔ və nùàr, də mə kulu gi aa, <=
Laughter
ma chàn guan né jɔgɔ və nùàr də mə kulu gi baá, <

- 391 Ny; xxx tele bá, né də xxxxxxxxxxxx
xxx tele bá né də xxxxxxxxxxxx
xxx father ours is of xxxx xxxxxx
- 392 Kp; Di yə kum ju tam su
di yə kum ju tam su
some yours just case none again-NEG
- 393 Nj; Mgbe tue də ka()
mgbe tue də ka
chief say of at
- 394 Kp; Di yə kənəhən, ju yə dua ten am su
di yə kənəhən ju yə dua ten am su
of yours now case yours there there-is NEG. again-NEG
- 395 Gw; Və də kan, bí kɔ^{8#60} kə mbam yuo jɔɔɔ.
və də kan bí kɔ kə mbam yuo jɔɔɔ
woman of anyone you know to palace leave first
- 396 Və də kan, wò kɔ kə mban ngàm bá bò mbam bò,^{8#61}
və də kan wò kɔ kə mban ngàm bá bò mbam bò
woman of anyone you know to palace because we Pl. palace Pl.
- 397 bá né bò nùàr ti.
bá né bò nùàr ti
we is Pl. person stupid
- 398 Də mi mi munu jə lɔ́ né chén.()
də mi mi munu jə lɔ́ né chén
of me I think say village is one
- 399 Wò ɲene mani bò ??vəla baá
wò ɲene mani bò ??vəla baá
you see thus they push PRES.
- 400 Nj; oi lɔ́ né ka chén məna, lɔ́ fà sam
oi lɔ́ né ka chén məna lɔ́ fà sam
oi village is at one thus village two not
- 401 Gw; Né məna yi guo yi lɔ́.
né məna yi guo yi lɔ́
is thus at house at village
- 402 Kwa né ma kam hən də, à yɔɔɔ nde kə?
kwa né ma kam hən də à yɔɔɔ nde kə
find is woman old this so she surpass go what
- 403 Njərə yɔɔɔ ɲgwə ndo.
njərə yɔɔɔ ɲgwə ndo
thing surpass NEG. also
- 404 Bí ?né kusum^{8#62}. Bó nde nde.
bí ?né kusum bó nde nde
you is spittle they go go
- 405 Chàn ha nji bó saa də kə to
chàn ha nji bó saa də kə to

chàn give thing them luck of at before

406 kə yər lɔ́^{8#63} ??gər lane ndo??, kadi.
kə yər lɔ́ ??gər lane ndo kadi
at body village pain today also really

407 Tue bá hi, né ka lɔ́ ?gə la njo?, né bá hi? ()
tue bá hi né ka lɔ́ gər lane njo né bá hi
say place where is at village pain today also is place where

408 Kə kələhən fatere báə () fona fon,
kə kələhən fatere báə fona fon
at now section ours search search

409 nji mə bó fona par né gi kə fatere báə,
nji mə bó fona par né gi kə fatere báə
thing which they search skin is end at section ours

410 XX; mun sam. mun sam sam sam
mun sam mun sam sam sam
thus not thus not not not

411 Gw; Ha bó tema báə lu, à né ki.
ha bó tema báə lu à né ki
Until they send us SUB.EMP. it is what

412 Bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu, bó kə bò nji
bó ju kare lu bó ju kare lu bó
kə bò nji
They talk interleaf SUB.EMP. they talk interleaf SUB.EMP.
they know Pl. thing

413 (2) Ju sam ɲgwə, chàn à ha nji bó kə tu kə tu (.)
(2) ju sam ɲgwə chàn à ha nji bó kə tu kə tu
(2) talk not NEG. chàn it give thing them at before at before

414 Bó né mə yaa bóɔ, bó né mə nda bóɔ
bó né mə yaa bóɔ bó bó né mə nda bóɔ
They is with young women theirs they is with young men theirs

415 bó né mə ke bó dɔ́ɔɲ, chàn a ha nji bó kə tu. Fabé...
bó né mə ke bó dɔ́ɔɲ chàn a ha nji bó kə tu
fabé
they is with look them all chàn it give thing them at before
like

[
416 Ga; Bò njai də bó: bó né yaa, bó né nda
bò njai də bó bó né yaa bó né nda
Pl. thing of them they is young women they is young men

417 Nj; Yaa yə né yaa, nda yə né nda ndo.
yaa yə né yaa nda yə né nda
ndo
young women yours is young women young men yours is young men
also

418 bó kə nde bò nji hi wa.
bó kə nde bò nji hi wa

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

They know go Pl. thing where QN.

419 Gw; Wò kɔ mə wò tue jə, Ma və a, tə tue.
wò kɔ mə wò tue jə ma və a tə tue
You know which you say say woman woman to NEG. say

420 À kə ke, À ke a () nde nde
À kə ke À ke a nde nde
she at look she look at go go

421 Wò huan sep nde a ??mwo a?? kɔ ɲgwə,
wò huan sep nde a ??ma wò a kɔ ɲgwə
you child male go to if you to know NEG.

422 ma wò wula ɲgwə.
ma wò wula ɲgwə
if you kill NEG.

423 bò mavə di kumu^{8#64} wula su bu tə tə tə tə nji də vule
bò mavə di kumu wula su bu tə tə tə tə nji
də vule
Pl. woman some corpse kill again them-S. NEG. NEG. NEG. NEG.
thing of leave

424 Ga; []
nùàr fabé
nùàr fabé
person like

425 Nj; Diyə né fakít
diyə né fakít
Of yours is certainly

426 Gw; Aaa mi hən né den, mi né den naa sua^{8#65} hən nde né sie
naa
aaa mi hən né den mi né den naa sua hən nde né sie naa
aaa I This is here I is here PAST sua this go is take PAST

427 Nj; []
Ama baá məna à vulu =
ama baá məna à vulu
but PRES. thus she leave

428 =vula. baá və saa, ama vula tə nji də vule
vula baá və saa ama vula tə nji də vule
leave PRES. woman that but leave so thing that leave

429 Di yə kum né fakít.
di yə kum né fakít
of yours just is true

430 Mb; Di yə kum, né bó.
di yə kum né bó
of yours just is them

431 Ga; À bɔ́ó né məna de tə nji də vule
À bɔ́ó né məna de tə nji də vule
he do is thus so so thing of leave

432 Ma vu a nde né vule ma və, si sen huan sep

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

ma vu a nde né vule mavə si sen huan sep
If leave to go is leave woman husband hers child male

433 Nj; Né fakit
né fakit
is truly

434 Ga; Né sua sen tuŋ də sa
né sua sen tuŋ də sa
is sua his organise of that

435 Gw; []
Bó wula^{8#66} də mə nan, de ŋgwə ju sua.
bó wula də mə nan de ŋgwə ju sua
They kill of with how stay NEG. talk sua

436 Ma à ke, à jɔgɔ baá kən, mə ma və
ma à ke à jɔgɔ baá kən mə mavə
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 nùàr ten. () Huan nda də^{8#67}
allah wula sum à wula sum nùàr ten huan nda
de
kill remove he kill remove person there-is child young
man of

439 Nj; []
əhə Ma à vulu =
əhə ma à vulu
əhə if he leave

440 =ma, à ha lə be ma və. À jə ma və a:^{8#68}
ma à ha lə be mavə À jə mavə a
really he give treatment hand woman he say woman to

441 Jb; À wula bu, wula bu
À wula bu wula bu
she kill him kill him

442 Nj; Ma və à nde ha... À wə lə, à ha be ma və də, ma və nde =
À nde ha à wə lə à ha be mavə də mavə
nde
she go give he take treatment he give hand woman that woman
go

443 =wula sum bò si də.
wula sum bò si də
kill remove Pl. husband that

444 Né ŋgam kə bó bɔ́ sɔ́ saa naa sòn kɔ́.
né ŋgam kə bó bɔ́ sɔ́ saa naa sòn kɔ́
is because what they do ignite PAST mouth SUB.EMP.

445 Də saa bé né gi kɔ́ gi.
də saa bé né gi kɔ́ gi
of that we is end SUB.EMP. end

- 446 Jb; Ma nùàr kulu baá vè yè, kɔ à né mənà mə lə,
 ma nùàr kulu baá vè yè kɔ à né mənà mə lə
 if person bless PRES. woman yours Even he is thus with
 treatment
- 447 À nde né wò wula.
 À nde né wò wula
 he go is you kill
- 448 Ma bó bɔ́ bɔ́ nyəgə nde né sòn,
 ma bó bɔ́ bɔ́ nyəgə nde né sòn
 If they do repair go is mouth
- 449 ma nùàr kula né vè yè kɔ́ bɔ́ né mə nan.
 ma nùàr kula né vè yè kɔ́ bɔ́ né mə nan
 if person bless is woman yours SUB.EMP. do is with how
- 450 Bó nde né wò wula.
 bó nde né wò wula
 They go is you kill
- 451 Ga; Bó, bó bɔ́ saa sòn, nde dole
 bó bó bɔ́ saa sòn nde dole
 They they do ignite mouth go cool
- 452 Jb; Bó wula mənà dede mənà.
 bó wula mənà dede mənà
 They kill thus small thus
- 453 Ga; Də saa də sòn ɲgwə. () Də saa də san ten am.
 də saa də sòn ɲgwə də saa də san ten am
 of that of mouth NEG. of that of deny there-is NEG.
- 454 Nj; Ma ma vè bɔ́ né wò ndeka to jɔgɔ di yè kum,
 ma mavè bɔ́ né wò ndeka to jɔgɔ di yè kum
 if woman do is you from before first of you just .
- 455 huɔm ɲgwə də bí, bí den
 huɔm ɲgwə də bí bí den
 good NEG. of you you stay
- 456 Ama ɲgàm ma mun sam ɲgwə nde nde ka to a fada
 ama ɲgàm ma mun sam ɲgwə nde nde ka to a fada
 but because if thus not NEG. go go at before to like
- 457 À wula sum mba.
 À wula sum mba
 he kill remove freely
- 458 Ma wò ???toku rə bu, ma bili rə né bu,
 ma wò toku rə bu ma bili rə né bu
 If you together again her if together again is her
- 459 À wula sum wò kə kələhən.
 À wula sum wò kə kələhən
 he kill remove you at now

- 460 Də se kum sɔ ɲgwə
də se kum sɔ ɲgwə
of NEG. just live NEG.
- 461 Ga; Hən nùàr bɔ́ və yə bó saa baá sòn^{8#69},
hən nùàr bɔ́ və yə bó saa baá sòn
This person do woman yours they ignite PRES. mouth
- 462 kɔ bɔ́ mə nan à nde né wò wula
kɔ bɔ́ mə nan à nde né wò wula
Even do with how he go is you kill
- 463 Nj; Kə kələhən də saa də, sɔ ɲgwə.
kə kələhən də saa də sɔ ɲgwə
at now of that of live NEG.
- 464 Ma ma və bɔ́ né wò, wò mbo, wò bɔ́ né bu ndo.
ma mavə bɔ́ né wò wò mbo wò bɔ́ né bu ndo
if woman do is you you divine you do is her also
- 465 ma wò tugu nde bu, à wula sum wò
ma wò tugu nde bu à wula sum wò
If you quarrel go her she kill remove you
- 466 də saa kə kələhən de sɔ ɲgwə.
də saa kə kələhən de sɔ ɲgwə
of that at now stay live NEG.
- 467 À wula sum wò, lu yə mbo le su ka to.
À wula sum wò lu yə mbo le su ka to
she kill remove you day yours freely in again-NEG at before
- 468 Gw; Kan, kan, kuli ɲəŋ/ɲgwə.
kan kan kuli ɲgwə
odd odd NEG.
- 469 Jb; Kan, kan kuli ɲgwə, bé tue né nan.
kan kan kuli ɲgwə bé tue né nan
odd odd NEG. we say is how
- 470 Nj; Wa tu bu tue ɲaga baá
watu bu tue ɲaga baá
say he say clear PRES.
- 471 Gw; Nùàr kan chɔ chɔ chok tə tue.
nùàr kan chɔ-chɔ-chok tə tue
person anyone IDIO.: babble NEG. say
- 472 Chɔ chɔ chog tə tue. Chɔ chɔ chog tə tue.
chɔ chɔ chog tə tue chɔ-chɔ-chog tə tue
IDIO.: babble so say IDIO.: babble so say
- 473 Saa baá tue Kg! bí məna? tə tue
saa baá tue Kg bí məna tə tue
that PRES. say Kg you thus NEG.say
- 474 Ha nde nde bò huan kuó gi, nùàr kuó mə bili bó
ha nde nde bò huan kuó gi nùàr kuó mə bili bó

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

Until go go Pl. child die end person die with together them

475 Ngam dua ka kɔ tue nan wa
ngam dua ka kɔ tue nan wa
because there at know say how QN.

476 Ama, bí ɲue a wa, bí bò Gumbe bò.
ama bí ɲue a wa bí bò Gumbe bò
but you listen to SUB.EMP. you Pl. Gumbe Pl.

[
477 Nj; Tam saa bá, bá kɔ né rə ɲi wa.
tam saa bá bá kɔ né rə ɲi wa
none that we we know is again thing SUB.EMP.

478 Ha ju mə ɲaga de
ha ju mə ɲaga de
Until case with clear very

[
479 Gw; Mì ju yula di
mì ju yula di
I case illness very

480 Nj; Nùàr di nde mì mbo bu mba,
nùàr di nde mì mbo bu mba
person some go me divine him freely

481 ama yili mò kɔ ɲgwə.
ama yili mò kɔ ɲgwə
but name mine know NEG.

482 Də mì kum, mì yire den né, də jə: mì baá nùàr ku
də mì kum mì yire den né də jə mì baá nùàr ku
of me just I attempt here is of say I PRES. person big

483 ju sua sen né be bá. Bá bá tue gi rə nde né kɔ́.
ju sua sen né be bá bá bá tue gi rə nde né kɔ́
talk sua his is hand ours We we say end again go is SUB.EMP.

484 Ma chuar nde a be mò, mhm saa mì nde a bɔ́ wade bɔ́
ma chuar nde a be mò mhm saa mì nde a bɔ́ wade bɔ́
If chicken go to hand mine mhm that I go to do division do

485 Gw; Chàn né ten. À tue né də tue.
chàn né ten À tue né də tue
chàn is there-is it say is of say

[
486 Nj; Chàn jə bu yə a: bí né kuùn bí yə kun.
chàn jə bu yə a bí né kuùn bí yə kun
chàn say him yours to you is avoid you yours
avoid

487 Le bò ju nùàr hən mə mì ɲue a,
le bò ju nùàr hən mə mì ɲue a
in Pl. talk person this with me understand to

488 saa mì kum mì kɔ ɲgwə, ɲjai mò kɔ ɲgwə()

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

saa mi kum mi ko ɲgwə ɲjai mò ko ɲgwə
that I just I know NEG. thing mine know NEG.

489 Mii mò ko ɲgwə. (10)
mii mò ko ɲgwə
mother mine know NEG.

Gamia & a Mboro have a Fulfulde conversation: omitted but simultaneous with the below until the Mboro's departure.

490 Gw; Kənəhən, Ng a, ɲji də ɲji hən bí bɔ́ sum baá kən,
kənəhən Ng a ɲji də ɲji hən bí bɔ́ sum baá kən
now Ng at thing of thing This you do remove PRES.
already

491 Nde ɲgòr ?nùàr safi^{8#70} kən, bò bɔ́ sum. (1)
nde ɲgòr ?nùàr safi kən bò bɔ́ sum
go speech person with-treatments already they do remove

492 Hən də, à la sen və sen, nùàr ɲjə, bəé ɲgwə.
hən də à la sen və sen nùàr ɲjə bəé ɲgwə
This here he PAST his woman his person that-one harm NEG.

493 Wò gwan ?nduan sen, wò tue né kɔ́. (1)
wò gwan ?nduan sen wò tue né kɔ́. (1)
You want division his you say is SUB.EMP.

494 To à^{8#71} sen, bí tue tue, tue go di am ɲgwə,
to à sen bí tue tue tue go di am ɲgwə
To he his you say say say walk other NEG. NEG.

495 à nə mə luɲ ɲjulu^{8#72}
à nə mə luɲ ɲjulu
she is with open eyes

496 Və jə à də sen, à né mənə
və jə à də sen à né mənə
woman say she of hers she is thus

497 Də yə né də mò ma^{8#73}. <=laughter
də yə né də mò ma.<
of yours is of mine "really"

498 XXX; ɲue dɔ́ɔɲ xxxxxxxxxxxx
ɲgue dɔ́ɔɲ xxxxxxxxxxxx
listen all

499 Gw; Fabé mə Ve na də sen nùàr ɲjə də.
fabé mə ve na də sen nùàr ɲjə də
like with (Ve,bad?) PAST of his person that-one that

500 Nda, bó bɔ́ yɔr den baá yi guo saa ma.
nda bó bɔ́ yɔr den baá yi guo saa ma
young men they do body stay PRES. at house that then

501 Ni se yula sen kə né nùàr te hi wa?
ni se yula sen kə né nùàr te hi wa
who NEG. illness theirs look? is person at? where QN.

- 502 Ch; Moptere^{8#74} né kwə de <= to Joseph
 moptere né kwə de<
 meeting is tomorrow then
- 503 Gw; Ma naa la ve né ɲgwə yə,
 ma naa la ve né ɲgwə yə
 if PAST PAST bad is NEG. NEG.
- 504 kɔ lane né mənə tiə ma,
 kɔ lane né mənə tiə ma
 even today is thus sister then
- 505 sɔgɔ mi kɔ́ kɔ́ kɔ́
 sɔgɔ mi kɔ́ kɔ́ kɔ́
 only I SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP. SUB.EMP.
- 506 mi bɔ́ su a bu gè gè gə bu hən
 mi bɔ́ su a bu gè gè gə bu hən
 I do again to him suffering suffering suffering him this
- 507 Nj; Ma la né bè bɔ́ Luo bɔ́, ma né mənə né ki wa?^{8#75}
 ma la né bè bɔ́. Luo bɔ́ ma né mənə né ki wa
 if PAST is place Pl. Luo Pl. if is thus is what QN.
- 508 Mi sela kwa wə su mò.
 mi sela kwa wə su mò
 I cross find take again mine
- 509 Bé bɔ́ gə Luo bɔ́, ama né mənə də kwa,
 bé bɔ́ gə Luo bɔ́ ama né mənə də kwa
 Place Pl. at Luo Pl. but is thus of find
- 510 mi kwa wə njai mò
 mi kwa wə njai mò
 I find take thing mine
- 511 Ch; Muya yɔgɔ kə, kɔ́ kə.
 muya yɔgɔ kə kɔ́ kə
 patience surpass what even what
- 512 Njai pat ma gua muya,
 njai pat ma gua muya
 thing all if home patience
- 513 Chàn bɔ́ kɔ ɲgwə dede baá sòn kə le muyna yə kɔ́ ()
 chàn bɔ́ kɔ ɲgwə dede baá sòn kə le muyna yə kɔ́
 chàn do know NEG. small PRES. mouth at PAST patience yours
 SUB.EMP.
- 514 Saa bó kɔ́ bu
 saa bó kɔ́ bu
 that they know him
- 515 Gw; Muya də mò yɔgɔ na kɔ́, də mò mi homo jə:
 muya də mò yɔgɔ na kɔ́ də mò mi homo jə
 patience of mine surpass PAST SUB.EMP. of me I tired say

Departure of a Fulbe man from Mbor or Mbum

- 516 Ma ɲgue dənə ɲgam də hənə kɔ ɲgwə
 ma ɲgue dənə ɲgam də hənə kɔ ɲgwə
 if understand here because of this know NEG.
 []
- 517 Ch; Chàn Chàn kɔ nde, bé gwom kənəhən dede
 =
 chàn chàn kɔ nde bé gwom kənəhən dede
 chàn chàn know go we pay now small
- 518 =muya yə kɔ, Mose.
 mua yə kɔ mose
 patience yours even
- 519 Le wòn hən dede bó bɔ́ múya ni. Bɔ́, Bɔ́ bɔ́ mənə nan. =
 le wòn hən dede bó bɔ́ múya ni bɔ́ bɔ́ bɔ́ mənə nan
 in world this small one do patience very?? do do do thus
 how
- 520 =Nùàr bɔ́ mənə nan,
 nùàr bɔ́ mənə nan
 person do thus how
- 521 Chàn kɔ nde bé gwom nde né mua yə kɔ́. (4)
 chàn kɔ nde bé gwom nde né mua yə kɔ́
 chàn know go we pay go is patience yours SUB.EMP.
- xx; xxxx xxx
- 522 Nj; aaaha né ka mən. Nde bé bé dua naa,
 aaaha né ka mən nde bé bé dua naa
 is at thus go we we there PAST
- 523 bé dua naa fada mənə.
 bé dua naa fada mənə.
 we there PAST like thus
- 524 Jə Bt a, nde wə kə baá chuar yə wə.
 Jə Bt a nde wə kə baá chuar yə wə
 say Bt to go take at PRES. chicken yours take
- 525 Ga; Də mua kum, né ten.
 də mua kum né ten
 of patience just is there-is
- 526 Ch; Nji à de mənə na, den menə naa, ma wa nji,
 nji à de mənə na den menə naa ma wa nji
 thing he stay thus PAST stay thus PAST if arrive thing
- 527 wò ha nji a mə chàn ni.
 wò ha nji a mə chàn ni
 you give thing to with very
- 528 Chàn kɔ né bó gwom nde kɔ́.
 chàn kɔ né bó gwom nde kɔ́
 chàn know is they pay go SUB.EMP.

- 529 Ga; Dole (4)
dole
cool
- 530 Nj; Ki!, (3)
- 531 Jb; Nda bí ñene né hən də,
nda bí ñene né hən də
young men you see is this of
- 532 nji bó yila né və jɔgɔ hən də yə-
nji bó yila né və jɔgɔ hən də yə
thing they call is woman marry this that yours
- 533 NJ; Ma və tue jə fadə à ha, à jɔgɔ və wa.
mavə tue jə fadə à ha à jɔgɔ və wa
woman say say like she give he marry woman SUB.EMP.
- 534 ɲari à la və go duom nde.
ɲari à la və go duom nde
disorder he PAST woman walk start go
- 535 Ga; Ki!
- 536 Gw; Am ɲgwə huan di go wuwa kənəhən ma. <=laughter
am ɲgwə huan di go wuwa kənəhən ma.<
NEG. NEG. child other walk fast now "really"
- 537 Né ??ɲun̄kare??^{8#76} <=laughter
né ??ɲun̄kare
is centipede
- 538 Né li wa? fela né li xxxxxx tubu ɲgwə
né li wa fela né li xxxxxx tubu ɲgwə
is stomach QN. like is stomach become pregnant NEG.
- 539 Nj; []
À ke ke də yə.()
À ke ke də yə
he look look of you
- 540 Ga; Ki! () À kə kələhən À sela baá yə dede,
ki! À kə kələhən À sela baá yə dede
Ki! he look? now he cross PRES. yours small
- 541 Nj; də mə à go duom baá yə və. À bəé bɔ́ɔ nan wa?
də mə à go duom baá yə və À bəé bɔ́ɔ 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; Bé bɔ́ɔ né nan
Bé bɔ́ɔ né nan
we do is how

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 544 Ga; Tue: () tam chu dɔ́ŋ le moptere bó naa tue.
tue tam chu dɔ́ŋ le moptere bó naa tue
say time time all in meeting they PAST say
- 545 Ma dede nùàr yi baá sòn mani
ma dede nùàr yi baá sòn mani
if small person there PRES. mouth thus
- 546 Nùàr tɛ ten badi^{8#77}
nùàr tɛ ten badi
person NEG. there-is approach
- 547 Chu mə lu də, nùàr ten badi ɲgwə,
chu mə lu də nùàr ten badi ɲgwə
time when day that person there-is approach NEG.
- 548 Ma nùàr- ma nyuri yila^{8#78}, gomə tene^{8#79}, wòn tene baá,
ma nùàr ma nyuri yila gomə tene wòn tene baá
if person if grass enter belt break world break PRES.
- 549 Saa, bó bɔ́ yə hən.
saa bó bɔ́ yə hən
that they do yours this
- 550 WB; Chum chu à tan ten^{8#80}
chum chu à tan ten
time time he market there-is
- 551 Ga; To, Chu mə lu bade, nùàr də sen fale^{8#81} ɲgwə
to chu mə lu bade nùàr də sen fale ɲgwə
So time with day approach person that theirs upset NEG.
- 552 Nj; Wa: yu-yula, huan né yula. Ama yula ɲgwə^{8#82}
wa yu-yula huan né yula ama yula ɲgwə
say illness child is ill but ill NEG.
- 553 saa mi tue wa: né nyən.
saa mi tue wa né nyən
that I say say is lies
- 554 Bó, bɔ́ jɔ́gɔ hən, gə nda di,
bó bɔ́ jɔ́gɔ hən gə ndagá di
they do marry this at bed some
- 555 ma mi naa lebu naa ɲgwə ga gə Njere giyə^{8#83} <=Laughter
ma mi naa lebu naa ɲgwə ga gə Njere giyə
if I PAST hit PAST NEG. there at Njere over-there
- 556 Bò və né mən, bò sep mən ndo.
bò və né mən bò sep mən ndo
Pl. woman is thus Pl. male thus also
- 557 Nda də mə mi lebu ɲgwə né gə
Nda də mə mi lebu ɲgwə né gə
young men of which I hit NEG. is at
- 558 takere nda də hi?
takere nda də hi

what sort young men of where

- 559 Ga; Ma sela naa nan bé le tu no wa. Né nan bé le to no wa?
 ma sela naa nan bé le tu no wa né nan bé le to no
 wa
 if cross PAST how we in before also QN is how we in before
 also QN.
- 560 Bí bí fà, né yuo chibi teni, né mə nə leteni chibi
 bí bí fà né yuo chibi teni né mə nə leteni chibi
 you you two is leave night period is with is between night
- 561 Nj; Sarki, Sarki ndée le jɔɔ naa kə wa yuo də le naa
 Sarki Sarki ndée le jɔɔ naa kə wa yuo də le naa
 Sarki Sarki come in first PAST what QN. leave of PAST PAST
- 562 Ngonbi le jɔɔ mbe yaa, saa Sarki le naa le sep nda.
 Ngonbi le jɔɔ mbe yaa saa Sarki le naa le sep
 nda
 Ngonbi PAST carry beer young women that Sarki PAST PAST in
 male young men
- 563 Sarki ???kum wanyu də.
 Sarki ??kum wanyu də
 Sarki just else of
- 564 Né lu mə bó nde à mbe yaa saa mwe.
 né lu mə bó nde à mbe yaa saa mwe
 is day with they go to beer young women that drink
- 565 Se bó jə ndée ndée ndée bó nyəm we
 se bó jə ndée ndée ndée bó nyəm we
 so they say come come come they extinguish fire
- 566 se baá ləm kɔ vɔɔ mba.
 se baá ləm kɔ vɔɔ mba
 so PRES. only even game freely
- 567 Bí ke kware ju saa
 bí ke kware ju saa
 you look beside case that
- 568 Ga; Njərədi ten yuo ɲgwə.
 njərədi ten yuo ɲgwə
 something there-is leave NEG.
- 569 Né dənə sɔɔ ma bò Gumbe
 né dənə sɔɔ ma bò Gumbe
 is here only if Pl. Gumbe
- 570 chibi jɔɔ yelili denɲgwə mə bò və maɲi
 chibi jɔɔ yelili den ɲgwə mə bò və maɲi
 night carry evening stay NEG. with Pl. woman small
- 571 Chiə bó ɲoro baa ɲene Ki!
 chiə bó ɲoro baá ɲene ki!
 outside they back PRES see Ki!

- 572 Nj; Ki!.
- 573 Gw; Bò sep mēna, bò vè mēna eeheee (20)
 bò sep mēna bò vè mēna eeheee
 Pl. male thus Pl. woman thus
- 574 To, Bò nda bɔ́ nji.
 to bò nda bɔ́ nji
 To Pl. young men do thing
- 575 Naa mi tue né jə:
 naa mi tue né jə
 PAST I say is say
- 576 kwun mò né ve ndeka mə duɔm ()
 kwun mò né ve ndeka mə duɔm
 forehead mine is bad from with start
- 577 nji mò pat né bá ŋgam. Né mēna naa.
 nji mò pat né bá ŋgam né mēna naa
 thing mine all is place divination is thus PAST
- 578 Kənəhən, sua mə bó kulu də huan mani tam,
 kənəhən sua mə bó kulu də huan mani tam
 now sua which they bless of child small none
- 579 huan mani ma à jɔɔ vè, à huan mani sam su.()
 huan mani ma à jɔɔ vè à huan mani sam su
 child small if he marry woman he child small not again-NEG
- 580 Chàn aa bɔ́ tɛ tubu bu fela gə mə mi ŋene kə bili
 chàn aa bɔ́ tɛ tubu bu fela gə mə mi ŋene
 kə bili
 chàn PAST do NEG. conceive her like suffering which I see
 at together
- 581 jumu hən də, mə mi kwa, kwa ŋgam tɛ.
 jumu hən də mə mi kwa kwa ŋgam tɛ
 after this that which I put put because so
- 582 Allah saa də bé nùàr à kuó dɔ́ɔŋ kum kuó
 allah saa də bé nùàr à kuó dɔ́ɔŋ kum kuó
 that of we person they-S. die all just die
- 583 (3) Tue ŋ- tue ka də tue.
 (3) tue ŋ- tue ka də tue
 (3) say NEG. say at of say
- 584 Nj; Wò né twa hi?#84
 wò né twa hi
 you is roast where
- 585 Gw; Allah () Ma jibi ka man,
 Allah ma jibi ka man
 Allah if shake at thus
- 586 mə nde nde jumu, nji bí bɔ́ mbar də,
 mə nde nde jumu nji bí bɔ́ mbar də

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

with go go after thing you do square that

587 bí see tena, wò nde nde ha wò kò wò gwom ɲgwə
 bí see tena, wò nde nde ha wò kò wò gwom ɲgwə
 you work cut-through, you go go until you know you pay
 NEG.

588 Wò ɲene gə jumu.
 wò ɲene gə jumu
 you see suffering after

589 Jb; (1) aa bó di né man,
 (1) aa bó di né man
 (1) aaa they other is thus

590 Nj; [xxxxxxxx

591 Jb; Bó di jumu saa fona se,
 bó di jumu saa fona se
 they other after that search NEG.

592 Nj; [xxxxxxxx

593 Jb; Bó di vən ten
 bó di vən ten
 they other evil there-is

594 Nj; [] xxxxxxxx. To
 xxxxxxxx to
 so

595 Jb; Di yə né ju də bò huan-
 di yə né ju də bò huan
 of yours is talk of PL. child

596 də bò nùàr ten. Bò nùàr nùàr né ten.
 də bò nùàr ten bò nùàr nùàr né ten
 of Pl. person there-is Pl. person person is there-is

597 Gw; [À tue ka né nan wa? Də bò nùàr né ten.
 À tue ka né nan wa də bò nùàr né ten
 he say at is how QN. of Pl. person is there-is

598 Də bó, bò bò mií né ten,
 də bó bò bò mií né ten
 of them PL. Pl. mother is there-is

599 bò nùàr kan né ten.
 bò nùàr kan né ten
 Pl. person anyone is there-is

600 bò nùàr kan ten, () To.
 bò nùàr kan ten to
 Pl. person anyone there-is To

601 Ng à né ka go né go, 8#85
 Ng à né ka go né 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; Né ka mēna
 né ka mēna
 is at thus
- 604 Gw; Mì tue ka dē mò mēna.
 mì tue ka dē mò mēna
 I say at of mine thus
- 605 ama mì ŋene ka,
 ama mì ŋene ka
 but I see at
- 606 Jb; mì jə mì ŋene ka ŋgam dē ŋene naa. (2)
 mì jə mì ŋene ka ŋgam dē ŋene naa
 I say I see at divination of see PAST
- 607 NG; Né ka sua, sua cho ka bé kɔ́ (2)
 né ka sua sua cho ka bé kɔ́ (2)
 is at sua sua chop at us SUB.EMP.
- 608 Nj; Né бага фà dɔ́ŋ wa,
 né бага фà dɔ́ŋ wa
 is good two all QN.
- 609 NG; Bó jə фà dɔ́ŋ xxxxxx
 bó jə фà dɔ́ŋ xxxxxx
 they say two all
- 610 Nj; []
 Bé naga Bé naga Bó Bó wə njai bon.
 bé naga bé naga bó bó wə njai bon
 we lick we lick they they take thing theirs
- 611 Bó sum nde né njai sua,
 Bó sum nde né njai sua
 they remove go is thing sua
- 612 Bó sum nde chuar sua kɔ́, bó sum kalɔn kɔ́, bə cho sua.
 bó sum nde chuar sua kɔ́ bó sum kalɔn kɔ́
 bə cho sua
 they remove go chicken sua SUB.EMP. they remove money
 SUB.EMP. they chop sua
- 613 Aaa nde né nùàr chén də, ndeka bé bɔ́ sum bó^{8#86}
 aaa nde né nùàr chén də ndeka bé bɔ́ sum bó
 aaa go is person one of must we do remove them
- 614 Jb; []
 Né mēna
 né mēna
 is thus
- 615 Nj; Bé bɔ́ sum bé denə wa.
 bé bɔ́ sum bé denə wa
 we do remove us here QN.

- 616 Jb; Ha nde nde də jemu nde né waga chén né bó,
 ha nde nde də jemu nde né waga chén né bó
 until go go of second go is fast one is they
- 617 bé nyugə su né bó
 bé nyugə su né bó
 we repair again is them
- 618 Nj; aaa sum bu kalon də.(3)
 aaa sum bu kalon də
 aaa remove it money that
- 619 Mb; Fabé...fabé Bt hən də, ma də jemu waga chu a,
 fabé...fabé Bt hən də ma də jemu waga chu a
 like like Bt this of if of after fast return to
- 620 ma tue wò tue ɲgwə né kóó, jumu sua fela mə né gi chén.
 ma tue wò tue ɲgwə né kóó jumu sua fela mə né gi
 chén
 if say you say NEG. is SUB.EMP. after sua listen with is end
 one
- 621 Mì tue né hən.
 mì tue né hən
 I say is this
- 622 Gw; Né ka ɲgòr bu aa.
 né ka ɲgòr bu aa
 is at speech his to
- 623 Mb; [Né ɲgam ka...ɲgam kam
 né ɲgam ka...ɲgam kam
 is divination old divination old
- 624 À den ɲgwə njai mba de.
 À den ɲgwə njai mba de
 it stay NEG. thing free very
- 625 Gw; Né ka məna
 né ka məna
 is at thus
- 626 Ga; xxxx
- 627 Gw; Wò yə nùàr am ɲgwə gia.
 wò yə nùàr am ɲgwə gia
 you eat person NEG. NEG. end
- 628 Bó bóó su wò dole ndo bó bó bó dole ndo.
 bó bóó su wò dole ndo bó bó bó dole ndo
 they do again you cool also they they they cool
 [
- 629 XX; aaaaiiii
- 630 Gw; Hən né njai dole=
 hən né njai dole
 this is thing cool

- 631 Nj; =Fa dua né kwunere saa (1)
 fa dua né kwunere saa 1
 like there is refuser that
- 632 Də guŋ^{8#87} kaga né kalon né də kalon də tare.
 də guŋ kaga né kalon né də kalon də tare
 of okra pick is money is of money of hard
- 633 Fə sua né chuar.
 fə sua né chuar
 head sua is chicken
- 634 Mb; [Chuar
 chuar
 chicken
- 635 Nj; Fə sua né chuar, kalon hən né tare mba (4)
 fə sua né chuar kalon hən né tare mba
 head sua is chicken money this is hard freely
- 636 Jb; Ha nji be Ng tə à ha mgbe^{8#88} (2)
 ha nji be Ng tə à ha mgbe
 give thing hand Ng so he give chief
- 637 Nj; Kalon né njai tare mba
 kalon né njai tare mba
 money is thing hard freely
- 638 Fə sua né chuar də.
 fə sua né chuar də
 head sua is chicken that
- 639 Jb; Ng wə chuar, ha nji mgbe
 Ng wə chuar ha nji mgbe
 Ng take chicken give thing chief
- 640 Ny; () Wò sie ɲgwə, ju tue né ɲgwə.
 wò sie ɲgwə ju tue né ɲgwə
 you take feather talk say is NEG.
- 641 Ch; Hən à né chuar chén, chuar taar sam ɲgwə
 hən à né chuar chén chuar taar sam ɲgwə
 this it is chicken one chicken three not NEG.
- 642 MB; Sie ɲgwə saa
 sie ɲgwə saa
 take feather that
- 643 Nj; à sie ɲgwə chuar.
 à sie ɲgwə chuar
 he take feather chicken
- 644 Ch; À sie ɲgwə no
 À sie ɲgwə no
 he take feather also
- 645 Nj; Sie ɲgwə Bt sie ɲgwə.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- sie ɲgwè Bt sie ɲgwè
take feather Bt take feather
- 646 Mb; Ha nji bu, bili nji mə bu.
ha nji bu bili nji mə bu
give thing him together thing with him
- 647 Ny; [Sie mə chuar də.
sie mə chuar də
take with chicken of
- 648 NJ; [Sie mə chuar də.
sie mə chuar də
take with chicken of
- 649 Mb; əə mənə (2)
əə mənə (2)
thus
- 650 Ch; La famille qu'il cherche il vont voir tout comme ça ()
- 651 Ny; Bí den cher ma, bí ???yuo ter
bí den cher ma bí yuo ter
you stay road then you leave up
- 652 Ch; Wə kalɔn saa wə ma. L'argent. ()
wə kalɔn saa wə ma l'argent
take money that take then
- 653 Ni bóɔ né kɔ wa? Bí wə né wə
Ni bóɔ né kɔ wa? Bí wə né wə
who do is know QN. You take is take
- 654 Nj; aa bí aa
aa bí aa
aaa you aaa
[
- 655 Ga; Ha nji Baba
ha nji Baba
give thing Baba
- 656 Nj; (1) Mose à wə tɛ kalɔn saa wə ma. Bí jə: baá sam su ndo.
(1) Mose à wə tɛ kalɔn saa wə ma bí jə 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 di yə
wò kum baá di yə
you just PRES. of yours
- 658 NJ; Aaa wə nji chɔɔ bí gwan
aaa wə nji chɔɔ bí gwan
aaa take thing stick you want
[]
- 659 Ch; fada bóɔ né kɔ ??kuɔp mba ni^{8#89} Bó bóɔ ni wa?
fada bóɔ né kɔ kuɔp?? mba ni bó bóɔ ni wa
like do is know scrape freely who. they do who QN.

- 660 Ni; Njaibi wə su kɔ́ wa?
 njaibi wə su kɔ́ wa
 take again SUB.EMP. QN.
 [
- 661 NJ; əə!
- 662 NI; Ha be Niŋə^{8#90} 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 né ləm be bóɔ
 sua sen né ləm be bóɔ
 sua his is only hand theirs
- 667 A sɔgɔ mi se kuɔp súu kɔ́
 a sɔgɔ mi se kuɔp súu kɔ́
 to only I NEG. scrape again-NEG SUB.EMP.
- 668 Ni; À kuɔp né lu kɔ́, À nyən ɲgwə. ()
 À kuɔp né lu kɔ́ À nyən ɲgwə
 he scrape is VB.EMP. SUB.EMP. he forget NEG.
- 669 Nj; To bù né be ni wa?
 to bù né be ni wa
 To knife is hand who QN.
- 670 (3) Nùàr ma mə bù man be, à ha nji
 (3) nùàr ma mə bù man be à ha nji
 (3) person if with knife small hand he give thing
- 671 MS; (4) Ho yo.
- 672 Nj; (3) Ha nji
 (3) ha nji
 (3) give thing
- 673 Mb; Ha nji (1)
 ha nji (1)
 give thing (1)
- 674 Ny; Ha ɲgwə Ngomni à né mə sua be^{8#91} ma.
 ha ɲgwə Ngomni à né mə sua be ma
 give NEG. Ngomni he is with sua hand then
- 675 Nj; Wò sela wò kuɔp

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

wò sela wò kuɔp
you cross you scrape

676 Ngomni à né kuɔp kɔ́.
Ngomni à né kuɔp kɔ́
Ngomni he is scrape know

677 Ma ma mi kuɔp vaa də kɔ, mi sə mò guo yə suú. ()
ma ma mi kuɔp vaa də kɔ́ mi sə mò guo yə suú
if if I scrape torso of SUB.EMP. I NEG. mine house yours
again-NEG

678 Wə də, wə nji hən, wò kela chiə.
wə də wə nji hən wò kela chiə
take of take thing this you pass outside

679 Ni; Bí la yə den baá də bí wanyu
bí la yə den baá də bí wanyu
you PAST yours stay PRES. of you else

680 NJ; eee

681 Ny; Wò ha nji bò huan mani, bò huan ɲela.^{8#92}
wò ha nji bò huan mani bò huan ɲela
you give thing Pl. child small Pl. child roast

682 Wò ha nyí, nyí ɲela né kɔ ma.
wò ha nyí nyí ɲela né kɔ ma
you give speaker speaker roast is SUB.EMP. then

683 Nj; Bó kuɔp kə chiə. Bí kwa nde né be mani.
bó kuɔp kə chiə bí kwa nde né be mani
they scrape to outside you put go is hand thus

684 Bt a, bí yuo kela də chiə.
Bt a bí yuo kela də chiə
Bt to you leave pass of outside

685 Bí fà dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ bí yə, bí kwa nde né be mani.
bí fà dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ bí yə bí kwa nde né be mani
you two all you yours you put go is hand thus

686 Bó kulu kə chiə.
bó kulu kə chiə
they bless at outside

687 Ni; Mi kɔ kɔ ma.
mi kɔ kɔ ma
I know know then

688 Nj; (4) kuɔp kɔp chiə (2)
(4) kuɔp kɔp chiə
(4) scrape side outside

689 Ni; Bó kuɔp gi, bó ɲela yə ma.
bó kuɔp gi bó ɲela yə ma
they scrape end they roast yours then

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

690 Ny; Bí sie kwa də be ma. Sie kwa mə be <=laughter
 bí sie kwa də be ma sie kwa mə be
 you take put of hand then take put with hand

691 Ny (to Merup); Də bí bɔ́ fona wuli bò jar.
 ny to də bí bɔ́ fona wuli bò jar
 of you do search bring Pl. firewood

692 Nj; Yuo kela chiə tu. Mì na ha nde kuɔp kuɔp né ka be.
 yuo kela chiə tu mì né ha nde kuɔp kuɔp né
 ka be
 leave pass outside before I PRES until go scrape scrape is
 at hand

693 () Né ka le be, () tə kuɔp né kɔ́.
 () né ka le be () tə kuɔp né kɔ́
 () is at in hand () so scrape is SUB.EMP.

694 Gw; aaa gi ka yɔr mò.
 aaa gi ka yɔr mò
 aaa end at body mine

695 Ha nùàr nùàr yula yɔr ɲuna mò
 ha nùàr nùàr yula yɔr ɲuna mò
 until person person ill body child mine

696 Jb; () Den dua Ng
 () den dua Ng
 () stay there Ng

697 Nj; (1) Bí kwa be mani, bə bə bə chén-e,
 (1) bí kwa be mani, bə bə bə chén-e
 (1) you put hand thus place place place one

698 bí kwa bə chén-e mba ee bə chén-e mba
 bí kwa bə chén-e mba ee bə chén-e mba
 you put place one freely place one freely

Between lines 699-707 the ndungu sua is being scraped.

699 Jb; Bí fà bili bò mbi
 bí fà bili bò mbi
 you two together Pl. friend

700 Gw; Də hən mò ma kwa bu jemu,
 də hən mò ma kwa bu jemu
 of this mine if put him second

701 ma mì kwa, allah, mì wɔpə né bu.
 ma mì kwa allah mì wɔpə né bu
 if I find I organise is him

702 Nj; (4) Wò kuɔp, wò kuɔp nji kɔp di, bò nji kɔp di.
 4 wò kuɔp wò kuɔp nji kɔp di bò nji kɔp di
 you scrape you scrape thing side other Pl. thing side other

703 Ny; À kuɔp kɔp fà dɔ́ɔ́
 À kuɔp kɔp fà dɔ́ɔ́

he scrape side two both

- 704 Mb; (2) Də mə mgbe tue naa də, à tue naa gəchén.
 (2) də mə mgbe tue naa də à tue naa gəchén
 (2) of which chief say PAST here he say PAST at true
- 705 hən né ??nɔɔ vən=
 hən né ??nɔɔ vən
 this is meat evil
- 706 Gw; =ndeka bí naa bɔ́ ɲgwə,
 ndeka bí naa bɔ́ ɲgwə
 from you PAST do NEG.
- 707 wò jula kwa hən də,
 wò jula kwa hən də
 you flee put this here
- 708 Hən də chi jula kwa mì ka lɔ́,
 hən də chi jula kwa mì ka lɔ́
 this here this flee find me at compound
- 709 NJ; 8#93Ma baa kuɔp, wò wə tabé wò kwa le nyɔɔ də.
 ma baa kuɔp wò wə tabé wò kwa le nyɔɔ də
 if PAST scrape you take earth you put in finger of
- 710 Wò kema kwa tabé tə ɲgo??
 wò kema kwa tabé tə ɲgo
 you touch put earth at left
- 711 Gw; Allah. Tue jula paɲpaɲ ləm jə:
 allah tue jula paɲpaɲ ləm jə
 allah say flee mill only say
- 712 nùàr bu hən À bɔ́ nan ma.
 nùàr bu hən À bɔ́ nan ma
 person him this he do how "really"
- 713 To, tue naa bò Mvu, bò Mvulu bò bò dim, bò Kg su, bò Kg
 to tue naa bò Mvu bò Mvulu bò bò dim
 su
 To say PAST Pl. Mvu Pl. Mvulu Pl. Pl. y.-same-sex-sib. Pl.
 Kg again
- 714 bó ndée hən kə yɔr mò,
 bó ndée hən kə yɔr mò
 they come this at body mine
- 715 Bó jə: bó nde naa tə bó nde mì tue.
 bó jə bó nde naa tə bó nde mì tue
 they say they go PAST so they go me say
- 716 Mì jə: mì kɔ ɲgwə.
 mì jə mì kɔ ɲgwə
 I say I know NEG.
- 717 Jb; Watu bá tue: tə tue. Wa: tə tue
 watu bá tue tə tue wa tə tue

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

say we say NEG. say say NEG. say

- 718 Nj; Ma wò wə baá tabé wò kwa le (ngor,ngo) də, wò naga.
 ma wò wə baá tabé wò kwa le (ngor ngo) də wò naga
 if you take PRES. earth you put in (speech,left) of you lick
- 719 Wò kulu nji bó tə tema^{8#94}, wò kulu nùàr di le tema,
 wò kulu nji bó tə tema wò kulu nùàr di le tema
 you bless thing them at liver you bless person other in liver
- 720 Wò naga mə leba ma.
 wò naga mə leba ma
 you lick with tongue then
- 721 Wò naga su mə be ngo məna. Məna.
 wò naga su mə be ngo məna məna
 you lick again with hand left thus thus
- 722 Wò naga su mə ngo fii
 wò naga su mə ngo fii
 you lick again with left again
- 723 Gw; Njə baá mi kə ngwə.
 njə baá mi kə ngwə
 thing PRES. I know NEG.
- 724 B́ den nɔ́ɔŋ, bí vulu ka mi.
 bí den nɔ́ɔŋ bí vulu ka mi
 you stay quiet you leave at me
 [
- 725 Mb; aaa ju hən də, B́ ŋue də ŋue yə.
 aaa ju hən də bí ŋue də ŋue yə
 aaa talk this here you listen of listen you
- 726 B́ jə bu a: wò sum sen nde bɔ́ɔ chiə wa
 bó jə bu a wò sum sen nde bɔ́ɔ chiə wa
 they say him to you remove his go do outside QN.
- 55 secs talk about cars due from Banyo (mainly Njaibi and Jacob)
 omitted
- 727 Go luli bó yuo gə Mbor, ma bó chu chu, ma bó né yi lɔ́ɔ^{8#95}
 go luli bó yuo gə Mbor ma bó chu
 chu ma bó né yi lɔ́ɔ
 walk day-before-yesterday they leave at Mbor if they return
 return if they is at compound
- 728 MS; À tue né ka mən
 À tue né ka mən
 he say is at thus
- 729 Mb; Ngàm
 ngàm
 because
- 730 MS; B́ tə see tə sen
 bí tə see tə sen
 you NEG. work at his

- 731 Mb; wò ɲene ma?
wò ɲene ma
you see then
- 732 Nj; Ju gi aa
ju gi aa
talk end PAST
- 733 Gw; Nde a tamə nde bɔ́ sɔ́ suu
nde a tamə nde bɔ́ sɔ́ 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; Mì kɔ-le cho baá lu^{8#96}
mì kɔ-le cho baá lu
I know chop PRES. freely
- 737 den ɲgwə bá...
den ɲgwə bá
stay NEG. we
[
- 738 Ny; Sɔ́ɔ bó kulu gi aa
sɔ́ɔ bó kulu gi aa
only they bless end PAST
- 739 Nj; wò kulu gi aa də dɔ́ɔ́ bó cho ki chén.
wò kulu gi aa də dɔ́ɔ́ bó cho ki chén
you bless end PAST of all they chop at true
[]
- 740 Ny; de rə də mə liya nə bó cho kela ki chén
de rə də mə liya nə bó cho kela ki chén
of again of with remains is they chop pass at true
- 741 Nj; Bó li nde ke
bó li nde ke
they stomach go look
- 742 Ny; aa bé- Lu bó kulu gi aa dɔ́ɔ́ bó cho,
aa bé lu bó kulu gi aa dɔ́ɔ́ bó cho
aaa we day they bless end PAST both they chop
- 743 bó cho ləm nji, bó cho ləm nji.
bó cho ləm nji bó cho ləm nji
they chop only thing they chop only thing
- 744 Mb; Lu ma chén di wa, ma chén di wa
lu ma chén di wa ma chén di wa
day if one other arrive if one other arrive
- 745 bó() bó() Bó cho baá ki chén ma.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- bó bó bó cho baá ki chén ma
they they they chop PRES. at true "really"
- 746 Ny; aa
- 747 Mb; Bó sie aa baá kulu fà dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́
bó sie aa baá kulu fà dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́
they take PAST PRES. bless two both
- 748 Ny; dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ki chén saa bó cho cho ki chén
dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ki chén saa bó cho cho ki chén
both at true that they chop chop at true
- 749 (5) ɲu wò nde jar foni wa. (2)
(5) ɲu wò nde jar foni wa
(5) you go firewood search QN.
- 750 Ni; Gamia yuo baá wa, tɛ à nde kwə ha bé kalɔn ten.
gamia yuo baá wa tɛ à nde kwə ha bé kalɔn ten
Gamia leave PRES. QN. so he go tomorrow give we money there-
is
[]
- 751 Nj; Dap (1) À yuo dap.
dap (1) À yuo dap
far (1) he leave long
- 752 Ny; (3) Wò jə: nyí ndeka sie sie ɲgwè, sie!
(3) wò jə nyí ndeka sie sie ɲgwè sie!<
(3) you say speaker must take take feather take
- 753 o jula denə! <=laughter
o jula denə!
flee here
- 754 Nj; O Bí ɲela su wa? Bí nde ɲela ɲela ma.
o bí ɲela su wa bí nde ɲela ɲela ma
o you roast again-NEG QN. you go roast roast "really"
- 755 Mb; Bó nde né ɲela, bó nde jar foni.()
bó nde né ɲela bó nde jar foni
they go is roast they go firewood search
- 756 Ny; Mì sie, mì tue: ??nyima oi
mì sie mì tue ??nyima oi
I take I say year
- 757 Wò nde sie ma, sie ka sie bu, wò wə wə.(1)
wò nde sie ma sie ka sie bu wò wə wə
you go take then take at take it you take take
- 758 Ni; Bé mom den né hən. Mə ɲela baa kən.
bé mom den né hən mə ɲela baá kən
we wait here is this when roast PRES already
- 759 Ha bé nde wə kwo sen mə bé nde dua.
ha bé nde wə kwo sen mə bé nde dua
until we go take bone his that we go there

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 760 Ny; Mì tue naa mæna. Wò jumu nde wə kwa be.
 mì tue naa mæna wò jumu nde wə kwa be
 I say PAST thus you after go take put hand
- 761 Nj; Bé nde mə kuɔ
 bé nde mə kuɔ
 we go with scrape
- 762 ch; To usuko. Né be bò nùàr kuú ()
 To usuko. Né be bò nùàr kuú
 So thank-you is hand PL person big
- 763 Nj; Nenedɔŋ^{8#97} wò kwa mì leyili hən, ??fə bé kuɔp????
 Nenedɔŋ wò kwa mì leyili hən \$\$fə bé kuɔp\$\$\$
 Nenedɔŋ you find me evening this like we scrape
- 764 wa, mì fə yi ter tu.
 wa mì fə yi ter tu
 say I attach? at up tree
- 765 ()0 Nyakati ma wò fə ser bé hiun-i <=laughter
 ()0 Nyakati ma wò fə ser bé hiun-i
 ()0 Nyakati if you attach? upside-down place different
- 766 Ny; (2) Wò kɔ su a də jə: wò ha nji, ha nji.
 wò kɔ su a də jə wò ha nji ha nji
 you know again at of say you give thing give thing
- 767 Wò yuo a ha mì, Wò nji chu də bu lɔ́,
 wò yuo a ha mì wò nji chu də bu lɔ́
 you leave to give me you thing return of him compound
- 768 kenəhən wò nde baá rə mə nji wanyu <=laughter
 kenəhən wò nde baá rə mə nji wanyu
 now you go PRES. again with thing else
- 769 Nj; Mì mò mə dɛŋgor^{8#98} ten am ŋgwə wa?
 mì mò mə dɛŋgor ten am ŋgwə wa
 I mine with dɛŋgor there-is NEG. NEG. QN.
- 770 WB; Né ten wa?
 né ten wa
 is there-is QN.
- 771 Nj; Dɛŋgɔr sua wa?
 dɛŋgɔr sua wa
 dɛŋgɔr sua QN.
- 772 Gw; À jaa ten-
 À jaa ten
 he laugh there-is
- 773 Ny; xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 774 Nj; Ma mì li^{8#99} mənɔgɔ ma wò kuó ŋgwə,
 ma mì li mənɔgɔ ma wò kuó ŋgwə
 if I stomach morning if you die NEG.

- 775 leyili saa wò kuó baá.
 leyili saa wò kuó baá
 evening that you die PRES.
- 776 Né dɛngɔr mò də. (6)
 né dɛngɔr mò də
 is dɛngɔr mine that
- 777 Ki! wòn! () Wòn bəé baá njai. Oi (4)
 ki! wòn wòn bəé baá njai oi
 Ki! world world harm PRES. thing
- 778 Bu bɔ́ cho baá hən, (1) əə mena né ki wa?
 bu bɔ́ cho baá hən (1) əə mena né ki wa
 he do chop PRES. this thus is what QN.
- 779 Ni; Wòn bəé baá njə. Mən né kə:
 wòn bəé baá njə mən né kə
 world harm PRES. thing thus is what
- 780 Bé kulu bu ten am ɲgwə.
 bé kulu bu ten am ɲgwə
 we bless him there-is NEG. NEG.
- 781 Ch; Kg à né de sen san də hi wa?
 Kg à né de sen san də hi wa
 Kg he is of his refuse here where QN.
- 782 Nj; Mì kɔ nji wa? Naa munjɔgɔ hən mì naa mə Mvulu tue
 mì kɔ nji wa naa munjɔgɔ hən mì naa mə Mvulu tue
 I know thing QN. PAST morning this I PAST with Mvulu say
- 783 Bt?; ama mì mə nji fela ɲgwə, mì ɲgue né lu.
 ama mì mə nji fela ɲgwə mì ɲgue né lu
 but I with thing like NEG. I understand is VB.EMP.
- 784 xx; Bí bɔ́ né nan wa? (1)
 bí bɔ́ né nan wa
 you do is how QN.
- 785 Nj; Bí, bé bɔ́ də nan wa?
 bí bé bɔ́ də nan wa
 you we do of how QN.
- 786 Bí njai jula, bí ɲene və nùàr jula chu,
 bí njai jula bí ɲene və nùàr jula chu
 you thing flee you see woman person flee return
- 787 njai nùàr jula chu ki! ki! ki!, ki! ki! ki!. ()
 njai nùàr jula chu ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ki! ()
 thing person flee return Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! Ki! ()
- 788 Wò tue nde né nan. ()
 wò tue nde né nan
 you say go is how
- 789 Ny; Kalɔn né dua, bé wa. ()
 kalɔn né dua bé wa

money is there we say

- 790 Nj; Wò tue nde né nan
wò tue nde né nan
you say go is how
- 791 Ny; Chu heli kalon né dua, bé wa.
chu heli kalon né dua bé wa
time-period when money is there we say
- 792 Ni; Chu ha nji à mē kalon tē wa
chu ha nji à mē kalon tē wa
time-period give thing he with money NEG. speak
- 793 Mb; Kō ləm...
kō ləm
even only
- 794 Ni; À kō ləm bō lu mba wanyu
À kō ləm bō lu mba wanyu
he know only Pl. day freely else
- 795 tē mē à mumu ŋwə yə də jə: kalon nde nde né ten saa,
tē mē à munu ŋwə yə də jə kalon nde nde né ten
saa
so with he think NEG. NEG. of say money go go is there-is
that
- 796 Mì yuo kela.
mì yuo kela
I leave pass
- 797 Chu mē bé bōó mōgo su ama
chu mē bé bōó mōgo su ama
time-period with we do group again but
- 798 Nj; ndée nùàr kan, dim nùàr di
ndée nùàr kan, dim nùàr di
come person any y.-same-sex-sib person some
- 799 Ni; Ama sela naa mēna, bō ler cher wa?
ama sela naa mēna bō ler cher wa
but pass PAST thus they loose road QN.
- 800 Nj; Mì jə: mì tue Bt ma, le tējōgo kup,
mì jə mì tue Bt ma le tējōgo kup
I say I say Bt then PAST first all
- 801 À baá də və də guom, go duom yə^{8#100}.
À baá də və də guom go duom yə
he PRES. of woman of pay walk start yours
- 802 () À baá və go duom
À baá və go duom
he PRES. woman walk start
- 803 Ch; tue kadi, see baá mē sama
tue kadi see baá mē saa ma

- 820 Nj; Aa mi su nde nde ma? bie də bie ma.
aa mi su nde nde ma? bie də bie ma
aaa I again go go then ask of ask then
- 821 Ma bó jɔgɔ ju yə: guo mi wa? naa su wa2,
ma bó jɔgɔ ju yə guo mi wa naa su wa2
if they carry talk yours house me QN. PAST again QN.
- 822 À kwa kwa bó kə chiə?
À kwa kwa bó kə chiə
she find find them at outside
- 823 xx; À kwa bó kə chiə.
À kwa bó kə chiə
she find them at outside
- 824 Ny; Bó tue naa: mavə mavə, né be, né ka njai nùàr ka ju.
bó tue naa mavə mavə né be né ka njai nùàr ka ju
they say PAST woman woman is hand is at thing person at case
- 825 Wò bò nji sɔgɔ bɔ́-
wò bò nji sɔgɔ bɔ́
you Pl. thing only do
- 826 Nj; Ama mavə saa à né ka de sen <=laughter
ama mavə saa à né ka de sen
but woman that he is at of hers
- 827 Ny; Wò nji sɔgɔ bɔ́. () Mavə kum, wò kɔ ɲgwə kələhən.
wò nji sɔgɔ bɔ́ mavə kum wò kɔ ɲgwə kələhən
you thing only do woman just you know NEG. now
- 828 Kela mi, ma kuo^{8#102}, wò chu: lane kələhən
kela mi ma kuo wò chu lane kələhən
pass I if reciprocally you return today now
- 829 À kwa huan né mba. ()
À kwa huan né mba
she find child is freely
- 830 Nj; Ma və də=
ma və də
if woman of
- 831 Ny; =Wò huan sep wò jula kɔ́, saye
wò huan sep wò jula kɔ́ saye
you child male you flee SUB.EMP.
- 832 Nj; [Né mənə bó jə:
né mənə bó jə
is thus they say
- 833 bó yə bò və kələhən bò huan mənə bó bɔ́ vən né tə, bɔ́...
bó yə bò və kələhən bò huan mənə bó bɔ́ vən né tə
bɔ́
they say Pl. woman now Pl. child small they do evil is
there-is do

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

834 À kə bó
 À kə bó
 he permit them

Short break in recording: change of tapes (T207a/T207b)

835 Nj; Né wò yula, ju gi aa
 né wò yula ju gi aa
 is you ill talk end PAST

836 NG; [À nji bɔ́ó né hən ndo
 À nji bɔ́ó né hən ndo
 he thing do is this also

837 MS; Hən də bò və bó bɔ́ó né chi, də bó gwom ɲgwə.
 hən də bò və bó bɔ́ó né chi də bó gwom ɲgwə
 this of Pl. woman they do is that of they pay NEG.

838 Nj; [Hən də
 hən də
 this of

839 MS; Ma bó le naa bɔ́ó gwom-e, kwə lu heli
 ma bó le naa bɔ́ó gwom-e kwə lu heli
 if they PAST PAST do pay tomorrow day when

840 huan sep la sie mənə bu nan wa
 huan sep la sie mənə bu nan wa
 child male PAST take thus her how QN.

841 À sela gwan ɲgwə.
 À sela gwan ɲgwə
 he only?? want NEG.

842 Nj; Də hən, bé njiba la ju də baán.
 də hən bé njiba la ju də baán
 of this we stop PAST talk of illness

843 Né Bt nde né wò, à ha nde né chuar.
 né Bt nde né wò à ha nde né chuar
 is Bt go is you he give go is chicken

844 Wò Bt bó tue bu: bó wula sum wò.
 wò Bt bó tue bu bó wula sum wò
 you Bt they say him they kill remove you

845 Nde mə chuar, nde na, nde na wə (3)
 nde mə chuar nde na nde na wə
 go with chicken go PAST go PAST take

846 Də mò kum, mì kulu baá sua, ju mò gi aa. (3)
 <= Claps hands three times
 də mò kum mì kulu baá sua ju mò gi aa
 of me just I bless PRES. sua talk mine end PAST

847 XXX; Qu'est ce qu'il faut encore bien parler?

848 Nj; Də mò kum, mì sua mò né Luwa chum. (4)

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- də mò kum mì sua mò né luwa chum. (4)
of mine just I sua mine is law old (4)
- 849 Ma bí naa də tue. Ma bí njai nùàr jula ɲgwə (8).
ma bí naa də tue ma bí njai nùàr jula ɲgwə (8)
if you PAST of say if you thing person flee NEG. (8)
- 850 Ny; Njai chiə chén (1) gi aa, keləhən liya ??də mò kum?? <=
Laughter
njai chiə (1) chén gi aa keləhən liya ??də mò kum
thing outside(1) one end PAST now remains of me just
- 851 Nj; Bé chiə fà wa? Di yə Nyakati
bé chiə fà wa di yə Nyakati
we day two QN. of yours Nyakati
- 852 Ni; Wò jə: kwə kwə tə tue də. Wa chiə chén
wò jə kwə kwə tə tue də wa chiə chén
you say tomorrow tomorrow to say of say day one
- 853 mə bó mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ ha
mə bó mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ mgbəŋ ha
with one mill? mill? mill? mill? mill? mill? until
- 854 Nj; eeee
- 855 Ni; Njə chiə chén nan ma. (2)
njə chiə chén nan ma. (2)
thing day one how "really" (2)
- 856 WB; Njai, Jərə yə, né bí yə suú tuar^{8#103} kuú-si di
Njai jərə yə né bí yə suú tuar kuú-si
di
Njai sua-enclosure yours is yours yours ginger roast big
some
- 857 Nj; aaa?
- 858 WB; Jərə bí yə né suú terep mbə mbole wa?
jərə bí yə né suú terep mbə mbole wa
sua-enclosure you yours is ginger strength pop pop QN.
- 859 Nj; Jərə yi Beya wa?
jərə yi Beya wa
sua-enclosure to Beya QN.
- 860 WB; Yi Beya^{8#104} <=laughter
yi Beya
at Beya
- 861 Mb; À né mə bò njia, à nde mə-
À né mə bò njia à nde mə
he is with Pl. thing he go with
- 862 Nj; Aa bí bu fuo chək^{8#105} ɲgwə,
aa bí bu fuo chək ɲgwə
aaa you him blow cloth NEG.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 863 fuo chok bade baá, à fuo chok né nan, njai né nan.<= Laughter
fuo chok bade baá à fuo chok né nan njai né nan
blow cloth approach PRES. he blow cloth is how thing is how
- 864 WB; ase
- 865 Nj; À né chok fuo né ngwə yə
À né chok fuo né ngwə yə
he is cloth blow is NEG. NEG.
- 866 WB; Ma fuo yɔɔɔ?
ma fuo yɔɔɔ
if blow surpass
- 867 Mb; Kə wa? Ma baá wòn mò, kələhən mì né mə vu mən
kə wa ma baá wòn mò kələhən mì né mə vu mən
what QN. if PRES. world mine now I is with wife thus
- 868 Nj; Bó naa fuo chok naa tu le
bó naa fuo chok naa tu le
they PAST blow cloth PAST before PAST
- 869 Mb; Hə?
- 870 Nj; Bó naa fuo chok nde ()
bó naa fuo chok nde
they PAST blow cloth go
- 871 Ch; Le tu bó né fuo mən wa? ()
le tu bó né fuo mən wa
in before they is blow thus QN.
- 872 Mb; Le tu bó fuo chok yə^{8#106},
le tu bó fuo chok yə
in before they blow cloth yours
- 873 gə jemu mani, ma baá habaru^{8#107} ɲene ɲgwə.
gə jemu mani ma baá habaru ɲene ɲgwə
at after thus if PRES. news see NEG.
- 874 Bó gwan né puɲ wə ma, puɲ kan puɲ kan puɲ kan.
bó gwan né puɲ wə ma puɲ kan puɲ kan puɲ
kan
they want is reclaim take then reclaim any reclaim any
reclaim any
- 875 Wiya B; oooo ()
- Section untranscribed: c. 2 minutes of talk between Mb, Nj and Ch
- 876 ch; Ju bí yə, bí bò Kg hən, (3) né ju də le gəchén kum
ju bí yə bí bò Kg hən, 3 né ju də le gəchén kum
talk you yours you Pl. Kg this is talk of in at true just
- 877 bí nji mə akilo (3)
bí nji mə akilo (3)
you thing with intelligence (3)

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 878 parce que den ɲgwə ju wuwaga safi bí munu kənehən. ()
 parce que den ɲgwə ju wuwaga safi bí munu
 kənehən
 parce que stay NEG. talk very-fast tradition you think now
- 879 Bí ɲene né lane, ju manji fe-fela, fela ɲgwə.
 bí ɲene né lane ju manji fe-fela fela ɲgwə
 you see is today talk small like like NEG.
- 880 əhə bé nde kə chiə,
 əhə bé nde kə chiə
 yes we go at outside
- 881 kwə fe-fela fela ɲgwə, bí nde kə chiə. (3)
 kwə fe-fela fela ɲgwə bí nde kə chiə. (3)
 tomorrow like like NEG. you go at outside (3)
- 882 əə Dans la généralité bé né bi dossiers parceque,
 əə dans la généralité bé né bi dossiers parceque
 əə dans la généralité we is thing dossiers parceque
- 883 bé dɔ́ɔ́ŋ kela nji mə ɲomnati bɔ́ɔ́ né dɔ́ɔ́ŋ.
 bé dɔ́ɔ́ŋ kela nji mə ɲomnati bɔ́ɔ́ né dɔ́ɔ́ŋ
 we all pass thing with officials do is all
- 884 ɲomnati ke dossiers, à ke bé ma.
 ɲomnati ke dossiers à ke bé ma
 officials look he look us then
- 885 Bé kita né bé wa tam dɔ́ɔ́ŋ,
 bé kita né bé wa tam dɔ́ɔ́ŋ
 we case is us arrive time all
- 886 Bó né kwa wa: ki! bò hən bò,
 bó né kwa wa ki! bò hən bò
 they is put say Ki! Pl. this Pl.
- 887 bó gwan né kə né bó bɔ́ɔ́ ju kela.
 bó gwan né kə né bó bɔ́ɔ́ ju kela
 they want is at is they do talk pass
- 888 Le lɔ́ɔ́ man bò nùàr bó gwan né ju wani,
 le lɔ́ɔ́ man bò nùàr bó gwan né ju wani
 in village thus Pl. person they want is case much
- 889 Bó ha né gi ten.
 bó ha né gi ten
 they until is end there-is
- 890 To né ɲgàm chi wò ɲene mì hən mì den bɔ́ɔ́,
 to né ɲgàm chi wò ɲene mì hən mì den bɔ́ɔ́
 To is because that you see me this I stay do
- 891 ɲene kɔ ɲjai də wò ɲene wa:
 ɲene kɔ ɲjai də wò ɲene wa
 see know thing of you see QN.
- 892 lane bii kita bɔ́ɔ́ né mì njulo kə turum ()

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- lane bii kita bɔ́ né mì njulo kə turum
today thing case do is I accompany at down
- 893 Le nyima, ma hapdi, ma maga kɔ mə kita chén kɔ fà,
le nyima ma hapdi ma maga kɔ mə kita chén kɔ fà
in year if hurry if many even with case one or two
- 894 saa maga yogo.
saa maga yogo
that very surpass
- 895 Bé mə bɔ́ pat né mì gwan né kita wula lɔ́.
bé mə bɔ́ pat né mì gwan né kita wula lɔ́
we that do all is I want is cases kill village
- 896 XX; əəəəə
- 897 Ch; Usukɔ. To, ju problem bí yə, bí bò Kg hən də.
usukɔ to ju problem bí yə bí bò Kg hən də
thank-you To talk you yours you Pl. Kg this of
- 898 Mì le tue wa, mì le tue a Kg.
mì le tue wa mì le tue a Kg
I PAST say say I PAST say to Kg
- 899 Mì jə Kg a: à fona kalɔn.(1)
mì jə kg a à fona kalɔn
I say Kg to he search money
- 900 Ngam mì le ɲene bi facture,
ngam mì le ɲene bi facture
because I PAST see thing
- 901 bó le nyara facture kə, () bó naa ha mì.
bó le nyara facture kə bó naa ha mì
they PAST write at they PAST give me
- 902 Né bó, bó nyaa facture, bó le ha mì,
né bó bó nyaa facture bó le ha mì
is them they write they PAST give me
- 903 tə mì ɲene nji bó, bó ha naa bó ha naa.()
tə mì ɲene nji 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 mì.()
bó le nyaa facture bó ha mì
they PAST write they give me
- 905 Mì tue baá Kg mbo. () Kg jə mì a: əhə.
mì tue baá Kg mbo Kg jə mì a əhə
I say PRES. Kg himself Kg say me to no
- 906 Bò njai də bó nyaa bili, bó nyaa bili
bò njai də bó nyaa bili bó nyaa bili
Pl. thing of they write together they write together
- 907 bò nji də nyí kɔ ɲgwə.()

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- bò nji də nyí kɔ ɲgwə
Pl. thing of speaker know NEG.
- 908 To bó di nyí né kɔ, nyí né kɔ, () bu mbo à kwa di ya. (1)
to bó di nyí né kɔ nyí né kɔ bu mbo à
kwa di ya
So they other speaker is know speaker is know him himself he
put of yours
- 909 À tue a si və mbo, mə kalɔn a fona.
À tue a si və mbo, mə kalɔn a fona
he say to husband woman himself with money to search
- 910 À le naa wə le wəé də hi wa?
À le naa wə le wəé də hi wa
he PAST PAST take PAST month of where QN.
- 911 Mom wəé də hi wa? Mom wəé də hi wa? ()
mom wəé də hi wa mom wəé də hi wa
wait month of where QN. wait month of where QN.
- 912 Bi bu hən də, mi tue wò gəchén,
bi bu hən də mi tue wò gəchén
thing it this of I say you true
- 913 Di ya də ɲgaa sam ɲgwə.
di ya də ɲgaa sam ɲgwə
of yours then clear not NEG.
- 914 Bó bu yila ɲgwə, bu nde də ɲgaa.
bó bu yila ɲgwə bu nde də ɲgaa
they him call NEG. her go of clear
- 915 Parceque () marriage () né mə bi luwa ten. (1)
parceque marriage né mə bi luwa ten
is with thing law there-is
- 916 Lane wò jɔgɔ və, wò ke charactor mavə.
lane wò jɔgɔ və wò ke charactor mavə
today you marry woman you look woman
- 917 Wò homo ɲgwə, wò jə Non,
wò homo ɲgwə wò jə non
you tired NEG. you say Non
- 918 () character yə hən mi homo ɲgwə.
character yə hən mi homo ɲgwə
character yours this I tired NEG.
- 919 Dede nji mə wò bɔ́ su, mi homo ha ɲgwə.
dede nji mə wò bɔ́ su mi homo ha ɲgwə
small thing which you do again I tired until NEG.
- 920 Ndée nji a. () Gua de né hiun.
ndée nji a gua de né hiun
come thing to home stay is different
- 921 Lane wò jɔgɔ və. () Bí yə və né guo.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- lane wò jɔgɔ və bí yə və né guo
today you marry woman you yours woman is house
- 922 Lane wò ɲene mavə torter mbi a
lane wò ɲene mavə torter mbi a
today you see woman transgress occasion at
- 923 Ehe, və mò a: chúu.
ehe və mò a chúu
ehe woman mine to return-here
- 924 Wò hapdi, mavə jə: sam, nyí wò sam ɲgwə.
wò hapdi mavə jə sam nyí wò sam ɲgwə
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.
- 925 Wò hapdi, mavə jə: sam nyí wò sam ɲgwə.
wò hapdi mavə jə sam nyí wò sam ɲgwə
you hurry woman say not speaker you not NEG.
- 926 Bòɲ bu saa né su de hiun. (2)
bòɲ bu saa né su de hiun.
group her that is again of different
- 927 Bé foti ɲgwə kə kələhən, bé melanger pedales.
bé foti ɲgwə kə kələhən bé melanger pedales
we can NEG. at now we
- 928 Bon, lane su mavə à né mə huan be né ten,
bon lane su mavə à né mə huan be né ten
bon today again woman she is with child hand is there-is
- 929 sum mavə à né mə huan be sam ɲgwə, pat né ten.
sum mavə à né mə huan be sam ɲgwə pat né ten
remove woman she is with child hand not NEG. all is there-is
- 930 Ma lane wò gwan a kita,
ma lane wò gwan a kita
if today you want to case
- 931 Wò munu kwa gi cher deja pat. (1)
wò munu kwa gi cher deja pat
you think put end road deja all
- 932 Né le cher də hi wa? né le cher bu hən wa?
né le cher də hi wa né le cher bu hən wa
is in road of where QN. is in road him this QN.
- 933 Né le cher bu hən wa? Né le cher bu hən wa?
né le cher bu hən wa né le cher bu hən wa
is in road him this QN. is in road him this QN.
- 934 Né le cher bu hən wa? ()
né le cher bu hən wa
is in road him this QN.
- 935 Ma wò ɲene cher də wò bili nde né ten,
ma wò ɲene cher də wò bili nde né ten
if you see road of you together go is there-is

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 936 Wò tue kələhən bí wə də biyə en gros.
wò tue kələhən bí wə də biyə en gros
you say now you take of you-yours
- 937 Le see ɲɡaa naa mə... Gaŋfi bò Li^{8#108} dua.
le see ɲɡaa naa mə Gaŋfi bò Li dua
in work clear PAST which Gaŋfi and Li there
- 938 Ju bí yə nde nde: Bí tə wə ju mə sembe.
ju bí yə nde nde bí tə wə ju mə sembe
case you yours go go you NEG. take talk with strength
- 939 Gaŋfi nùàr, bu bu né bé chén.
Gaŋfi nùàr bu bu né bé chén
Gaŋfi person he he is place one
- 940 Ma bí buo den a fà, à nde wò tue kə chaque fois
ma bí buo den a fà à nde wò tue kə chaque fois
if you you-two stay to two he go you say to
- 941 mì né bu yila: Gaŋfi e, kə wa?,
mì né bu yila Gaŋfi e kə wa
I is him call Gaŋfi e what QN.
- 942 ma bí ɲene, ɲuna bí yə né be bò nùàr. ()
ma bí ɲene ɲuna bí yə né be bò nùàr
if you see child you yours is hand Pl. person
- 943 Né və bí yə, () lane tam chu mə mì né tue jə:
né və bí yə lane tam chu mə mì né tue jə
is woman you yours today time time-period with I is say say
- 944 aha bò nùàr né bu kulu, bò nùàr né bu kulu
aha bò nùàr né bu kulu bò nùàr né bu kulu
mmhmmm Pl. person is her bless Pl. person is her bless
- 945 parce que bí bé guo dua yoŋ nde bá. ()
parce que bí bé guo dua yoŋ nde bá
you never house there stroll go never
- 946 Lane ma, kə kwə, le nyima, wò wə mənə sɔɡɔ ɲɡwagam chén,
lane ma kə kwə le nyima wò wə mənə sɔɡɔ ɲɡwagam chén
today if or tomorrow in year you take thus even maize
one
- 947 və mò wə ɲɡwagam, nde huan. Yɔɡɔ kənəhən nə kə kə?
və mò wə ɲɡwagam nde huan yɔɡɔ kənəhən nə kə
kə
woman mine take maize go child surpass now is SUB.EMP.
what
- 948 Savalon chén jə və mò wə, bí yə nyí kulu huan mə nji,
savalon chén jə və mò wə bí yə nyí kulu huan
mə nji
one say woman mine take you yours speaker bless
child with thing

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 949 yɔɔɔ kənəhən nə kɔ́ kə?
yɔɔɔ kənəhən nə kɔ́ kə
surpass now is SUB.EMP. what
- 950 To bí kwa ləm cher mba njərədi ten am ɲgwə.
to bí kwa ləm cher mba njərədi ten am ɲgwə
To you find sleep sleep freely something there-is NEG. NEG.
- 951 Kələhən kita tue nde wò: huan né bí yə wa? Né də mì.
kələhən kita tue nde wò huan né bí yə wa né də mì
now case say go you child is you yours QN. is of me
- 952 ()To, chén, fà, né renvoir.
()to chén fà né renvoir
()So one two is renvoir
- 953 Wò, sum naa mavə kɔ́, ma né kita tue né jə
wò sum naa mavə kɔ́ ma né kita tue né jə
you remove PAST woman SUB.EMP. if is case say is say
- 954 ma wò sum baá mavə, () wò njərədi bie ɲgwə
ma wò sum baá mavə wò njərədi bie ɲgwə
if you remove PRES. woman you something ask NEG.
- 955 Jb?; Də nyí ma, nyí jɔɔɔ ni ma
də nyí ma nyí jɔɔɔ ni ma
of speaker then speaker marry who
- then
- 956 Ch; Saa né dua bi marriage.
saa né dua bi marriage
that is there thing
- 957 Ma wò sum né kɔ, wò njərədi bie ɲgwə.
ma wò sum né kɔ́ wò njərədi bie ɲgwə
if you remove is SUB.EMP. you something ask NEG.
- 958 Mais, ma mavə torter né kɔ́,
mais ma mavə torter né kɔ́
mais if woman transgress is SUB.EMP.
- 959 kɔ kɔ́rota be sen liye né ɲgwə, Də yə wò nde né bie.()
kɔ kɔ́rota be sen liye né ɲgwə də yə wò nde né bie
even needle hand hers remain is NEG. of yours you go is ask
- 960 To, mì bɔ́ a bu hən də, né condition.
to mì bɔ́ a bu hən də né condition
To I do to her this of is
- 961 Condition sen, né ki wa?
condition sen né ki wa
condition hers is what QN.
- 962 Bé ke né yə: né baán. Baán də puis que
bé ke né yə né baán baán də puis que
we look is yours is illness illness that
- 963 mə à né nùàr baán, Kg a, le bí,

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

- 978 Den ɲgwə də bé bɔ́ naa bu kə guo oui.
den ɲgwə də bé bɔ́ naa bu kə guo oui
stay NEG. of we do PAST her at house
- 979 Ngam gwan né ɲgwə.
ɲgam gwan né ɲgwə
divination want is NEG.
- 980 Bò di gwan né ɲgwə kɔ́ chén.
bò di gwan né ɲgwə kɔ́ chén
Pl. other want is NEG. even one
- 981 Ma bə́é naa bu kɔ́ (1) Ma bə́é naa bu kɔ́
ma bə́é naa bu kɔ́ ma bə́é naa bu kɔ́
if harm PAST her know if harm PAST her SUB.EMP.
- 982 Ch; [B́í bə́é naa mavə, tue né kɔ́, =
bí bə́é naa mavə tue né kɔ́
you harm PAST woman say is SUB.EMP.
- 983 =mavə bə́é naa bí kɔ́?
mavə bə́é naa bí kɔ́
woman harm PAST you SUB.EMP.
- 984 () Aa saa né kita fe nde nde yuo yə.
aa saa né kita fe nde nde yuo yə
aaa that is case new go go leave yours
- 985 Puisque də mò, mì ɲue naa, Də ve naa mavə kɔ́, bó jə: oui.
puisque də mò mì ɲue naa də ve naa mavə kɔ́
bó jə oui
of me I understand PAST of bad PAST woman SUB.EMP.
they say
- 986 Tj; [B́ó bə́é naa bu hi wa?
bó bə́é naa bu hi wa
they harm PAST her where QN.
- 987 Ma baán wa baá le famille, bí yə famille dɔ́ɔ́ŋ pat
ma baán wa baá le famille bí yə famille dɔ́ɔ́ŋ pat
if illness arrive PRES. in you yours all 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
non parce que non se (4)
non parce que non NEG. (4)
- 990 Mb; xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 991 Tj; xxxxxxxxxxxx
- 992 Nj; Wò tə jə: nyí gwan a jɔ́gɔ́ bu kadi <=laughter
wò tə jə nyí gwan a jɔ́gɔ́ bu kadi
you at say speaker want to marry her really

- 993 Tj; Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan
 mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan
 I marry NEG. how
 []
- 994 Jb; À jɔɔɔ baá və ma, tue bu mane
 À jɔɔɔ baá və ma tue bu mane
 he marry PRES. woman then say her thus
- 995 Tj; Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə yə nan wa?
 mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə yə nan wa
 I marry NEG. NEG. how QN.
- 996 Mì huan sep sam ɲgwə?
 mì huan sep sam ɲgwə
 I child male not NEG.
- 997 Jb; (1) Kələhən Mose
 (1) kələhən mose
 (1) now
 []
- 998 Tj; (1) Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan?
 (1) mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə nan
 (1) I marry NEG. how
- 999 Jb; Ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò bɔ́ ndo
 ma bí nyəgə chu fone wò bɔ́ ndo
 if you repair return search you do also
- 1000 Ju mò né kə?
 ju mò né kə
 talk mine is what
- 1001 Naa bí fale tu, bí fale ɲgwə.
 naa bí fale tu bí fale ɲgwə
 PAST you upset before you upset NEG.
 []
- 1002 Tj; Bí jə mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə. Mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə bu nan
 bí jə mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə mì jɔɔɔ ɲgwə bu nan
 you say I marry NEG. I marry NEG. her how
- 1003 Jb; Ke nùàr hən, mə tuɲ bí
 ke nùàr hən mə tuɲ bí
 look person this that organise you
- 1004 yuo dua. Baá nyima mun wa?
 yuo dua baá nyima mun wa
 leave there PRES. year how-many QN.
 []
- 1005 Tj; Duɔm, duɔm naa yə yɔr mò .
 duɔm duɔm naa yə yɔr mò
 start start PAST at body mine
- 1006 Jb; À yuo su lane wa?
 À yuo su lane wa
 he leave again today QN.
 []
- 1007 Tj; Bò nùàr jə wò jɔɔɔ xxx xxx
 bò nùàr jə wò jɔɔɔ xxx xxx

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

Pl. person say you marry

- 1008 né də bò nùàr, bò huan né bò kə? (1)
 né də bò nùàr bò huan né bò kə
 is of Pl. person Pl. child is PL. what
- 1009 Nj; Bí ju jula=
 bí ju jula
 you talk flee
 you talk flee
- 1010 Jb; =Né ləm ka yə < ju ka ləm yə, né sòn mò sam.
 né ləm ka yə ju ka ləm yə né sòn mò
 sam
 is only at yours talk at only yours is mouth mine
 not
- 1011 Ngor yə njulu chi am Hən né jor.
 ngòr yə njulu chi am hən né jor
 speech yours eyes that NEG. this is good?
- 1012 Tj; Ju hən gi aa? Mì bu hən, ma jɔgɔ bu, huan jɔgɔ bu,
 ju hən gi aa mì bu hən ma jɔgɔ bu huan jɔgɔ bu
 talk this end PAST I her this if marry her child marry her
- 1013 wò və... wò wò wò ni?
 wò və wò wò wò ni
 you woman you you you who
- 1014 Jb; Kələhən né mavə, ma à si gwan ɲgwə kɔ
 kələhən né mavə ma à si gwan ɲgwə kɔ
 now is woman if she husband want NEG. SUB.EMP.
- 1015 Kp; Bí sere njai bí yə. Bò mgbe tue né kul, de nyí tam ɲgwə.
 bí sere njai bí yə bò mgbe tue né kul de nyí
 tam ɲgwə
 you separate thing yours yours PL. chief say is whisper of
 speaker none NEG.
- 1016 Kələhən né də mì kɔ, né...
 kələhən né də mì kɔ né
 now is of I know is
- 1017 Tj; Wò wa am: də mì, mì nde jɔgɔ.
 wò wa am də mì mì nde jɔgɔ
 you say NEG. of me I go marry
- 1018 Nj; ()To, Mgbe ha baá cher. (3)
 to mgbe ha baá cher
 To chief give PRES. road
- 1019 Ny; À ha bó cher nan?
 À ha bó cher nan
 he give them road how
- 1020 Kp; À ha bó cher kə? (2.5)
 À ha bó cher kə?
 he give them road what

- 1021 À bie nji. à bie nji see sen de.
 À bie nji à bie nji see sen de
 he ask thing he ask thing work his of
- 1022 XX; [xxxx xxxx xxx
- 1023 Kp; À bie né njai sen.
 À bie né njai sen
 he ask is thing his
- 1024 XX; [xxxxx
- 1025 Ni; də və sɔ́ ɲgwə, nde və mgbe sɔ́ ɲgwə,
 də və sɔ́ ɲgwə nde və mgbe sɔ́ ɲgwə
 of woman live NEG. go woman chief live NEG.
- 1026 Nj; Am ɲgwə nji manji ma
 am ɲgwə nji manji ma
 NEG. NEG. thing small then
- 1027 Ng?; Né və də be sen am ɲgwə
 né və də be sen am ɲgwə
 is woman of hand his NEG. NEG.
- 1028 Ng?; Də mò mì chɔ́gɔ hən=
 də mò mì chɔ́gɔ hən
 of mine I stick this
- 1029 Mb; =Bí ɲgue yə
 bí ɲgue yə
 you listen yours
- 1030 TT; Jacob, yaafi oda xxxxxxxx oda
 Jacob, yaafi oda xxxxxxxx oda
 Jacob, forgive law xxxxxxxx law
- 1031 Nj; [Mgbe tue gi aa kən Bé ɲue baá kən.
 mgbe tue gi aa kən bá ɲue baá kən
 chief say end PAST already we listen PRES. already
- 1032 TT; Oda, ta- odo yaafi namu on,
 Oda, ta- odo yaafi namu on
 law this person forgive even his
- 1033 À né ləm nə mənə vi allah, ona.
 À né ləm nə mənə 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 ɔ́dɔ́n nɔ́nɔ́n allah yaafi kum dən bana nina
 ɔ́dɔ́n nɔ́nɔ́n allah yaafi kum dən bana nina
 he is thus allah forgive then stay like that
- 1036 Də mə hotimi bana ni, da hallah debbo on na

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

Də mə 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 kən. Mì tue gi aa.
mgbe tue gi aa kən mì tue gi aa
chief say end PAST already I say end PAST

1039 Mì furu Kg. Kg à né hi?
mì furu Kg Kg à né hi
I bury Kg Kg he is where

1040 Bé Kg dubu ??????
bé Kg dubu
we Kg plant

1041 () Ngwə à né kə do ki yə ma.
ngwə à né kə do ki yə ma
NEG. he is at here at yours then

1042 À ka denə kela bá ke wa?
À ka denə kela bá ke wa
he at here pass we what QN.

1043 À sela denə, nyí kela nde kə lɔ́ Kg,
À sela denə nyí kela nde kə lɔ́ Kg
he cross here speaker pass go at compound Kg

1044 am ngwə Kg sela ha nji bu ma.
am ngwə Kg sela ha nji bu ma
NEG. NEG. Kg cross give thing her then

1045 À sela li be Kg, ha bu. ()
À sela li be Kg ha bu
she cross PAST hand Kg give him

1046 Wò ha nji də yə né kə
wò ha nji də yə né kə
you give thing of yours is what

1047 TA; Mawodebu hawti debbo dopti sarena. () To Allah ()
Mawodebu hawti debbo dopti sare na. () To Allah ()
Notable gather woman accompany house this () So Allah

1048 Né yaafi allah le ndugu bu hən
né yaafi allah le ndugu hən
is forgive allah in area this

1049 Ni; Mií mò tue naa mì kɔ né nji wa
mií mò tue naa mì kɔ né nji wa
mother mine say PAST me SUB.EMP. is thing QN.

1050 Nj; ama nji ka tu mgbe nde bá ke wa
ama nji ka tu mgbe nde bá ke wa
but thing at before chief go we look QN.

- 1051 À nde nji ka tu mgbe, tã mgbe tue su bu kã wa?
 À nde nji ka tu mgbe tã mgbe tue su bu kã wa
 she go thing at before chief so chief say again her at QN.
- 1052 À nde kã yor Kg, À wa kã lɔ́ Kg,
 À nde kã yor Kg À wa kã lɔ́ Kg
 she go at body Kg he arrive at compound Kg
- 1053 À li be tutulu Kg, ha nji bu.
 À li be tutulu Kg ha nji bu
 she PAST hand verandah Kg give thing him
- 1054 À yuo mgbe dã ki yã. ()
 À yuo mgbe dã ki yã
 she leave chief of at yours
- 1055 Mb; Né ju mã, nùàr mã hãn, tue bé kwã kɔ́.
 né ju mã nùàr mã hãn tue bé kwã kɔ́
 is talk with person with this say we change SUB.EMP.
- 1056 () Dã hãn dã, wò le ju dã sòn mgbe yuo aa,
 dã hãn dã wò le ju dã sòn mgbe yuo aa
 of this here you in talk of mouth chief leave PAST
- 1057 Nue né ju dã yã mã bé chu nde?
 ñgue né ju dã yã mã bé chu nde
 listen is talk of yours with we return go
- 1058 Tj; aha, dã mò nde jaa, jam tam.
 aha dã mò nde jaa jam tam
 mmhmmm of me go laugh good none
- 1059 Nj; À nde a tutulu Kg,
 À nde a tutulu Kg
 he go to verandah Kg
- 1060 À li yi be baá Kg, ha bu.
 À li yi be baá Kg ha bu
 he PAST there hand PRES. Kg until him
- 1061 Tj; aaaaa. () Duom né be yã sɔ́ ngwã
 aaaaa duom né be yã sɔ́ ngwã
 start is hand yours live NEG.
- 1062 Nj; Nde kã tã tutulu Kg, li fada nde bé kã wa?
 nde kã tã tutulu Kg li fada nde bé kã wa
 go at at verandah Kg PAST like go place what QN.
- 1063 Ny; [Ki! vulu ki!
 ki! vulu ki!
 Ki! leave Ki!
- 1064 Nj; Ju fada man nde tã yila. Nde tue Kg,
 ju fada man nde tã yila nde tue Kg
 talk like thus go to call go say Kg
- 1065 Tue Kg a, ha nji nyí.

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

Tue Kg a, ha nji nyí
say Kg to give thing speaker

1066 Kg ha wò. Wò mē nji fada Nde^{8#109} ki yə?
Kg ha wò wò mē nji fada nde ki yə
Kg give you you with thing like Nde at there

1067 Fada fada ma ju wa fada nùàr nde né ten kpel.(5)
fada fada ma ju wa fada nùàr nde né ten kpel.5
like like if talk arrive like person go is there-is quickly

1068 Ny; Mgbe jə: muyni, mən am ɲgwə,
mgbe jə muyni mən am ɲgwə
chief say patience thus NEG. NEG.

1069 mē à nde a gi aa kən no.
mē à nde a gi aa kən no
with he go to end PAST already also

1070 Nj; À bé fə gi a kən.
À bé fə gi a kən
aaa we head end to already

1071 Bé tə jaa wa?
bé tə jaa wa
we at laugh QN.

1072 Bé tə sòn kumu su ndo.(9)
bé tə sòn kumu su ndo
we at mouth open again-NEG also

1073 aaa, jaa nde né ka wa.
aaa jaa nde né ka wa
aaa laugh go is at QN.

Break in recording for a few minutes

1074 Mb; Huna la kə tu né ɲuna Njai.
huna la kə tu né ɲuna Njai
child PAST at before is child

1075 Mə tue də ɲuna Kg də, né ɲuna Njai
mə tue də ɲuna Kg də né ɲuna Njai
with say of child Kg of is child thing

1076 Nj; Nyima netun Nyima netun=
nyima netun nyima netun
year twenty year twenty

1077 =Kg nji də gwom de ɲgwə.
Kg nji də gwom de ɲgwə
Kg thing of pay of NEG.

1078 Mb; À né ɲuna Njai fada ɲuna nùàr sua
À né ɲuna njai fada ɲuna nùàr sua
he is child thing like child person sua

1079 Nj; Kə nyima netun Kg bu nji də gwon de ɲgwə.(1)

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

ko nyima netun Kg bu nji də gwon de ɲgwə
even year twenty Kg he thing of pay of NEG.

- 1080 ɲgue mi, wò sua. Wò sua wò ɲaga,
ɲgue mi wò sua wò sua wò ɲaga
listen me you descend you descend you climb
- 1081 wò sua, wò ɲaga (3) <= Laughter
wò sua wò ɲaga
you descend you climb
- 1082 Mb; ɲgue mi
ɲgue mi
listen me
- 1083 Wò temə tə nji ɲgwə, to kware baá.
wò temə tə nji ɲgwə to kware baá
you send so thing NEG. To beside PRES.
- 1084 ɲue mi, Vəju né ɲuna ni wa?#110
ɲgue mi Vəju né ɲuna ni wa
listen me Vəju is child who QN.
- 1085 Kələhən mə wò jula ten. <
kələhən mə wò jula ten
now with you flee there-is
- 1086 Xx; Bó tue mə akilo akilo
bó tue mə akilo akilo
they say with intelligence intelligence
- 1087 Nj; (2) Aa? ɲue mi, mgbe tue gi də sen yiə: fiuŋ!
(2) aa ɲgue mi mgbe tue gi də sen yiə fiuŋ
(2) aaa listen me chief say end of his overthere all
- 1088 Wò den jemu, wò nde də yə bé hiuni.
wò den jemu wò nde də yə bé hiuni
you stay after you go of yours place different
- 1089 Baán boó naa koó, bé naa baán bón baán.
baán boó naa koó bé naa baán bón baán
illness do PAST SUB.EMP. we PAST ill theirs ill
- 1090 To ju baán də, bé jə: əhə bé boó nan wa?
to ju baán də bé jə əhə bé boó nan wa
So talk illness of we say yes we do how QN.
- 1091 (1) Ma huan saa də den ka guo,
1 ma huan saa də den ka guo
if child that of stay at house
- 1092 À né die lom tare wa?
À né die lom tare wa
he is fall sleep hard QN.
- 1093 Ga; À né die lom tare hən
À né die lom tare hən
he is fall sleep hard this

Transcript of the sua blessing: Second Hearing

1094 Nj; əə?

1095 Ga; À ka fo ɲgwə wa? <= Laughter
 À ka fo ɲgwə wa
 he at brush NEG. QN.

1096 Nj; Ma wò né gwan və də, wò nde né le akilo akilo né.
 ma wò né gwan və də wò nde né le akilo akilo
 né
 if you is want woman of you go is in intelligence
 intelligence is

1097 Ga; Kaa bu le yuui wa?=
 kaa bu le yuui wa
 tie her in string QN.

1098 Mb; =À sie mə à le cher lom né kə guo də,
 À sie mə à le cher lom né kə guo
 də
 he take with she in sleep sleep is at
 house of

1099 À lo na hi wa?
 À lo na hi wa
 she flies PAST where QN.

1100 (1) Ma à yə baá guo nùàr. Bó baá see bu jə: à ma su və.
 (1) ma à yə baá guo nùàr bó baá see bu jə à ma
 su və
 (1) if she at PRES. house person they PRES. do her say she
 then again-NEG woman

1101 Nj; Də saa à nde denə ma à nde vulu tu tu tulu tu baá ki
 chén.
 də saa à nde denə ma à nde vulu tu tutulu tu
 baá kichén
 of that he go here if he go leave before verandah before
 PRES. true

1102 Ma nùàr tu naa nùàr, njai nde naa bu,
 ma nùàr tu naa nùàr njai nde naa bu
 if person before PAST person thing go PAST her

1103 bó wə nji né ha wò no.
 bó wə nji né ha wò no
 they take thing is give you also

1104 Ga; To
 to
 So

1105 Nj; Wò nde né wə kadi, wò wò wò wə nji mə akilo akilo de.
 wò nde né wə kadi wò wò wò wə nji mə akilo
 akilo de
 you go is take really you you you take thing with
 intelligence intelligence of

[

if thing mistake PAST of

1121 Nde mi yila moptere wò nde ngwə, to
nde mi yila moptere wò nde ngwə to
go I call meeting you go NEG. so

1122 Ama go ngwə nde jə: mi ɲue naa ngwə
ama go ngwə nde jə mi ɲue naa ngwə
but walk NEG. go say I listen PAST NEG.

1123 Ga; To
To
so

1124 TT; xxxxx

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 [Includes Map, and some interesting pages about the Mambila. Includes population figures.]
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[Reference to the Makka witch-craft expulsion cult.]

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Kabri, A. written down by R.W.H. du Boulay. 1951. Some notes on tribal life in Mambila: mainly Kabri & Warwar villages. In *The Mambilawa: Anthropological Notes*, pp 57-76. Rhodes House: Nightingale Papers MSS Afr s 1518 (3).

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

Kangla, A. 1973. *Jenesis 1-35*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

[Mambila Bible text, Gembu dialect ,.]

Kangla, M. 1974. *Chir Gul Gi-neh (Transport Book)*. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.

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Kerbellec, M. 1931. *Rapport de Tournee: Subdivision de Banyo*. Unpublished Report. A.N.Y.: APA 11780/E.

Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 1955. On Swearing: An Account of some Judicial oaths in Northern Nigeria. *Africa* 25: 43-53.

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

_____. 1958. *Adamawa Past & Present*. London: OUP for IAI.

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

Kucynski, R. R. 1939. *The Cameroons & Togoland: A demographic Study*. London: London:.

[Mambila figure taken from Percival 1938.]

Kwulde, M. 1973. *Derua Nyame*. Jos: Institue of Linguistics.

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

LI.DE.CO. 1972. *Survey for the inclusion of the productive Potential of the Mambila Plateau in the context of the Nigerian Economy*. Unpublished report: Rome.

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

Lort-Phillips, D. 1967. *Future Land policy in Mambilla*. Mimeograph.

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

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

Mangbon, J. W. 1978. *Drink and the Innocent Policeman (Striking lesson Series)*.

[A novella written by a Mambila man!]

- McComb, A. L., Ojo, G. O. A. and Jackson, J. K. 1970. *Fertiliser response of Eucalyptus grandis sown in a basaltic soil from the mambilla Plateau, Nigeria*. Samaru, Zaria: Savanna Forestry Research Station, Research Leaflet No. 2.
[In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]
- Meek, C. K. 1931a. *A Sudanese kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun speaking peoples of Nigeria*. London: Kegan Paul; Trench & Trubner.
[Spider divination mentioned briefly (328/9), but only to give yes no answers - no mention of a set of cards is made. Meek suggests this may be a Chamba borrowing.]
- Meek, C. K. 1931b. *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria Vol. 1*. London: Kegan Paul.
[Chapter 9 "Mambila" pp532-582 is the earliest published account of the Mambila by an anthropologist, and it remains the only source of information about the religion (but see Kabri above). Meek worked through interpreters and had to leave precipitously due to illness, so this cannot be wholly trusted. The autograph manuscript of this is in Rhodes House library but it is verbatim with the published version.]
- _____. 1936. Marriage by Exchange in Nigeria: a disappearing institution. *Africa* 9: 64-74.
[Mambila are used as an example but nothing is added to the account in Meek 1931b.]
- _____. 1957. *Land Tenure & Land Administration in Nigeria & the Cameroons (Colonial Research Studies 22)*. London: HMSO.
- Meyer, E. 1939. Mambila-studie. *Zeitschrift fur Eingeboren Sprachen* 30: 1-52, 117-148 & 210-232.
[This is the only published grammar of Mambila, of Warwar and Mbanga dialects.]
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[p. 247 has one paragraph about Mambila the only interesting thing of which is that Lt Thiel made some unpublished linguistic notes in 1909.]
- _____. 1947. Kamerun. In *Afrika; Handbuch Angewandten Volkerkunde*, (Ed.) A. H. Bernatzik. pp 623-703. Innsbruck: Schlusserverlag.
[Two page summary of Mambila p 643/4 based on Meek and Meyer's own work.]
- Migeod, F. W. H. 1924. The British Cameroons: its Tribes & Natural Features. *Journal of the Africa Society* 23: 176-187.
- _____. 1925. *Through British Cameroons*. London: Heath Cranston.
- Milner, J. n.d. *The Fred and Diana Uhlman Collection of African Sculpture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne: Hatton Gallery.
[Figure 64 Seated mother & Child is ascribed to Mambila but this is an uncertain attribution which D.Z. doubts.]
- Mohammadou, E. 1964. L'Histoire des Lamidats de Tchamba et Tibati. *Abbia* 6: 15-158.
[The Mambila figure only in passing.]
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- Mould, A. W. S. 1960. *Report on Rapid Reconnaissance Soil Survey of the Mambila Plateau*. Zaria, Nigeria: Bulletin 15, Soil Survey section, Regional Research Station, Ministry of Agriculture, Samaru, Zaria, Nigeria.
[Reference from Hepper 1966. In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]
- MRT Consulting Engineers (Nigeria) Ltd. 1978. *DONGA RIVER Pre-feasibility Study*. Kaduna ? : Upper Benue River Basin Development Authority.
[The sociological section seems incomplete and based on some easily available sources (mainly on the Tiv). Population figures are based on the 1952 Census, and the Mambila are not referred to at all!]
- Murdock, G. 1959. *Africa: its peoples and their Culture History*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
[Reference on p.91ff, based on Meek and Percival. No original contribution.]
- Ngoh, V. J. 1987. *Cameroon 1884-1985. A Hundred Years of History*. Yaoundé: Navi Group.
[Mambila mentioned p 223 based on articles in Abbia.]
- Nicodeme, M. B. (translator). n.d. *Catechisme at Cantique en Langue Bobah (Mambila)*. Ngaunderé: Eglise Evangelique Luthérienne du Cameroun.
[Mambila text, Somie dialect, non-standard orthography.]
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- Nightingale, M. B. L. 1958-9. *Monthly Touring Reports*. Rhodes House MSS Afr s 1518.
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[Mambila examples p 190-194.]
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[Administrative details only.]

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[Some material about the Mambila.]
- Percival, D. A. 1934. *The Mambilla Tribe*. Unpublished Report. Nigerian National Archives; Yola Profile 2698.
[Not yet consulted.]
- _____. 1934. *Personal Diary 3rd Tour*. Rhodes House MSS BRIT EMP s 364.
- _____. 1935a. *Mambila Tribe Ethnological Report of by C.K. Meek 1929*. copy in I.A.I. library in 1950's. Not known if now in Manchester. Copy in the personal collection of F. Rehfish.
[Includes a mention of Nggue cult coming from the Tikar.]
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[Not yet consulted. possible identical with Percival 1935 b.]
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[Long and most detailed of the Intelligence reports. The copy that is in UK lacks the village lists, which continue much detailed demographic information, as well some religious information. One of the most comprehensive reports available, more trustworthy than Meek on many points.]
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[Details of the 1936 census among the Mambila.]
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[The IAI copy is part 3 only, being a summary of his Intelligence report, including some population figures.]
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- Perrin, M. J. 1974a. Mambila. In *Ten Nigerian Tone Systems*, Studies in Nigerian Linguistics, 4, (Ed.) J. Bendor-Samuel. pp 93-108. Jos: Institute of Linguistics.
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[Also written of Gembu dialect - equally interesting.]
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- Perrin, M. J. and J. T. Bendor-Samuel. 1971. A Note on Labialisation in Mambila. In *Actes du 8me Congres International de Linguistique Africaine I (Ann. Un. Abidjan Ser. H.)*, pp 119-129.
[Early paper by Perrin. The topic was later fully dealt with in Perrin & Hill 1969.]
- Perrin, M. J. and Hill, M. V. 1969. *Mambila (Parler d'Atta): Description Phonologique*. Yaoundé: Universite Federale du Cameroun.
[The definitive work on Mambila language, containing about 1000 words used in examples, comparative (40) word lists of many Mambila dialects and some grammatical information in the tone chapter which conflicts with the tonal system as recorded by Meyer (qv Meyer 1939).]
- Pollock, J. H. H. 1927. *Bungwum-Mbembe Area Assessment Report*. Rhodes House MSS Afr s 797.
[Includes detailed description of Spider divination.]
- Prescott, J. R. V. *The Evolution of Nigeria's International & Regional Boundaries 1961-1971. B.C. Geog. Series No.13*. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd.
[Nothing of interest, only passing references to Mambila.]
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[Published verbatim as Rehfish 1972.]
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[A chapter from the thesis (1956 & 1972).]
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[Description of competitive beer giving, mobilising village wide production.]
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[Interesting account of dreams, illness and witchcraft are connected, and attitudes to imported cloth are discussed.]
- _____. 1972. *The Social Structure of a Mambila Village*. Zaria: Ahamadu Bello University: Sociology Department (Occ. Paper 2).
[The published MA thesis (1956), a detailed account of Warwar village, with most information relating to Ndiel hamlet where Rehfish resided. It covers agriculture

residence and marriage patterns, land tenure political structure and kinship. Religion is conspicuously absent. Still, it is an excellent piece of work that sets the scene for any subsequent work.]

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Schneider, G. 1951. The Village Smithy of Kwadja. *Nigerian Field* 16: 179-183. [Strictly Kwadja is a Kaka village. The description is not very informative.]

_____. 1955. Mambila Album. *Nigerian Field* 20: 112-132. [Superseded by Rehfisch's work it does contain some fascinating photographs. Schneider was in Warwar in the late 1940's.]

Schwartz, N. B. A. 1972. *Mambilla-Art & Material Culture (Milwaukee Publicatuons in Primitive Art 4)*. Milwaukee: Public Museum. [Both this and Tong 1976 (which virtually reduplicates this book, but with some different illustrations) is based on Schneider's collection made whilst working as a missionary in Warwar (and Gembu?). The quality of the collection is stupendous and it contains both masks and masquerade suits with names, thus providing a good starting point for further enquiry.]

Sieber, R. 1980. *African Furniture and Household Objects*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. [p151 Birthing stool from Kate White collection.]

S.I.L. 1980. *Introduction to Phonemic Analysis*. High Wycombe: S.I.L. [Two Mambila examples are used.]

Sondue, M. r.). 1963. *Mambila 2580 3A & 3B*. Buenas Nuevas: Buenas Nuevas. [78rpm record of two small bible passages.]

Strumpell, F. 1910. Vergleichendes Worterverzeichniss der Heidensprachen Adamauas. Mit Vorbemerkungen von B. Struck. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborene Sprachen* XLII: 444-488. [Early vocabulary lists of many Northern tribes, and as such an invaluable resource. The Mambila are only mentioned, in that Lt. Thiel had taken a word-list (which remains untraced).]

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Swire, P. W. 1956. *Mambila: Grazing and herd economics*. Departmental report, Veterinary and Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Unit, Northern Nigeria. [In the LRD library Tolworth but not yet consulted.]

Taylor, F. W. 1932. *Fulani-English Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP. [p131 has following entry: "MABILAJO, Mabila'en, a pagan tribe in the french part of Adamawa; the Mambilas."]

Tessman, G. 1932. Die Volker und Sprachen Kamerun. *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen* 78: 113-120&184-190.

- Tong, J. Y. 1967. *African Art in the Mambila Collection of Gilbert D. Schneider*. Athens; Ohio: J. Y. Tong.
[See notes to Schwartz 1972, above.]
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[Contains two pages on Mambila, based on Meyer only.]
- Warnier, J. P. 1985. Échanges, développement et hiérarchies dans le Bamenda pré-colonial (Cameroun). *Studien zur Kulturkunde*, 76, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
[Mambila 123, 132, 145: (Trade routes).]
- Weladji, C. 1982. The Cameroon-Nigerian Border. *Abbia* 38-39-40: 213-271.
[p 238 cites Migeod (157) deposing Mambila and FulBe replacing them.
239: Glasson: deposed Yipso Mambila chief of Kuma, replaced by Hama Joda of Jalingo
“a new town barely 3 yrs old”
241 mambila (Nigeria) 3885 km²
Mambila (cam) + konja 976 in 18 villages.]
- Welmers, W. E. xxxx. Checklist of Languages & Dialect Names. In. In *Current trends in Linguistics* 7, (Ed.) T. Sebeok.
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[See above, Williamson & Shimizu 1968.]
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[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.]
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[Preliminary version of chapter 3 above Zeitlyn's PhD. Subsequent fieldwork has corrected the linguistic speculation about the divinatory invocation.]
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[The published form of this bibliography.]

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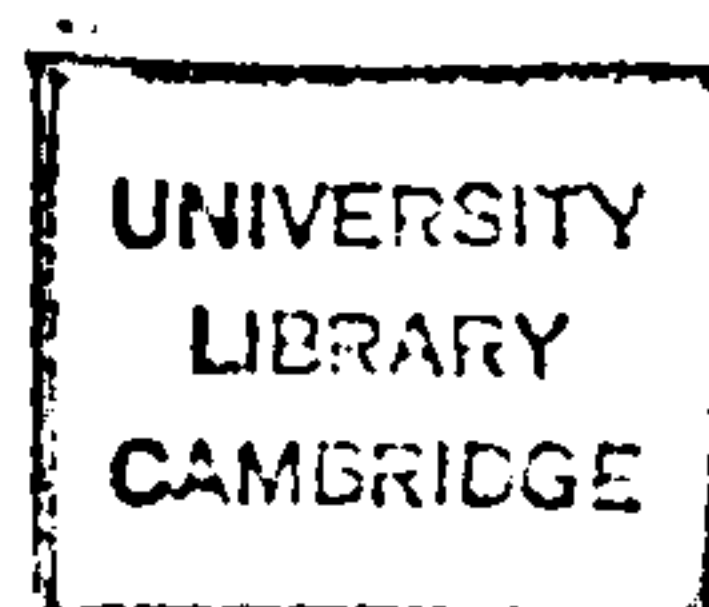
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Transcription conventions

“[” 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:

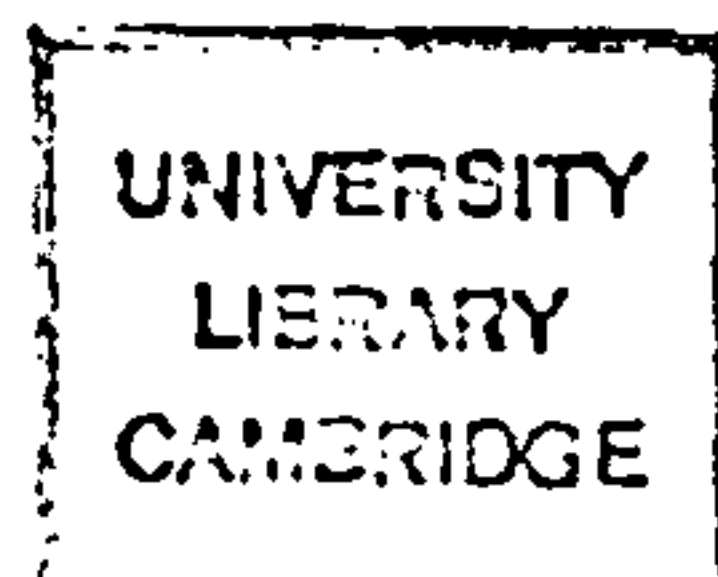
NEG: Negation marker

QN: Question marker

PRES: Present tense marker

PAST Past tense marker

SUB EMP: Emphasis on the subject.



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