

## Appendices

### APPENDIX A Note on Yamba Kinship Terminology

Yamba kinship terminology tells us how the Yamba see and experience their world of kin and how they themselves classify their kinship universe. As is the case with other classificatory kinship terminologies Yamba use a limited number of distinctions to classify a large number of people.

There are many ways one can address or refer to kin (see Zeitlyn 1993: 202-4). Yamba do not use only kin terms, but also pronouns, titles, names, nicknames, Christian names, teknonyms, and, for strangers or those not acquainted with the kinship ties linking the people who are referred to or addressed, descriptive terms. In normal conversation pronouns, names or titles are most common in referring to or addressing people. But with regard to names there is a strong prohibition against mentioning the personal names (*lin toŋ*) of relatives, especially in address. This is also the case between husband and wife and between juniors and seniors. *Lin toŋ* is the name a child is given soon after birth when his navel cord falls off, hence the name *lin toŋ* - 'navel-name'. It is not unusual that a child is given several 'navel-names' by different people. One is always given by the father of the child, another by the mother. But friends or other family members, too, who come to greet the mother and her newborn child may give a name to the child. All these names are referred to as *lin toŋ* but only one will finally 'stick' almost as if by 'natural selection'. Later in life 'navel-names' or personal names become an intensely private matter. To use personal names is felt to demonstrate a lack of respect for one's elder or spouse. They are never used in address, but only referentially, and then not very frequently<sup>64</sup>. According to most of my informants, husband and wife will avoid calling each other by their personal names even in private. Between friends, close non-kin and marriageable youth personal names are likewise taboo. In order to find out somebody's personal name one has to ask the straight question, 'What is your *lin toŋ*?' Sooner or later, all people are given a nickname (*lin ŋgoa* or *lin ŋge* or 'nyanga name' in Pidgin English) or a Christian name. In the latter case, it does not matter whether somebody is a Christian or not. These are the names most often used in addressing or referring to kin and other people. It is also very common that spouses call themselves and are called by others by teknonyms. As soon as a couple's first child is born and given a name people begin to address and refer

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64. In the following diagrams 'name' means nickname or Christian name.

to them as ‘father of N.’ or ‘mother of N.’, whatever the child’s name happens to be. In this connection the child’s name may be his/her personal name, nickname or Christian name.

Kinship terms are a common feature in public discourse. A companion would invariably explain his relationship between himself and other people we met when introducing me to them. He would never just tell me a person’s name. If a person was not a relation of his, my companion would specify that person’s relationship to somebody I knew. Kinship relationships manifest themselves most clearly at funerals and death celebrations. On the death of a kinsperson, people would explain their kinship obligations in terms of what they have to give or what they would receive from whom.

Kinship relationships feature prominently in cases of affliction. Divination may reveal that an affliction or death was caused by the anger of in-laws, in-laws of behind, or even by the *tan̄kwe* (MMF). One’s in-laws may have failed in their affinal obligations towards their own in-laws. According to Yamba belief the victims of such afflictions are always those who are the most vulnerable in the chain of affinal relationships, i.e. the children of the bride-receiver. The bad luck of a hunter may be traced back to his *tɛ̀ʼtsə* (MF or MB). He may have failed to give him the part of an animal (*ɲguɲ nyam*) he killed in the communal hunt.

Knowledge of kinship ties is also important when somebody wants to get married. The descent group will try to make sure that there are no exogamic or incest prohibitions which could endanger a future marriage. Marrying too close a relation may result in supernatural sanctions (*nsah*). *Nsaɲ* is also the special term both for kin in Lower Yamba (in Upper Yamba it is called *ncan*) and for the rite which is performed to ward off afflictions caused by marrying a close relative.

Traditionally, residence was patrilocal. Nowadays, more than half of the Yamba people lives outside their natal area. But even so individuals define themselves as originating from the village of their patrilineage. Two Yamba who meet for the first time would ask each other where they come from, i.e. the village of origin of their patrilineage, and where their respective mothers come from. Questions would be asked as to which quarter of a village his or her father comes from, the name of the ‘compound’ (lineage) and the lineage head to establish if they are kin. The same questions would also be asked with regard to their respective mothers. But in general one does not get the impression that the Yamba are overly preoccupied with kinship relationships.

Descent is patrilineal, with lineage headship passing to the next most senior member. The members of a descent group or patrilineage are called *boate'* in Yamba ('father's children). Mother's father or mother's brother are referred to and addressed as *tɛ'tsə*, a term which is inclusive and is applied to all male members of the mother's patrilineage. Among the Yamba the privileged position of the *monje'* vis-à-vis all the matrikin is emphasised, rather than a special tie with one individual. The reciprocal of *tɛ'tsə* is *monje'* (sister's/daughter's son).

In what follows, I will give the kinship terms in the dialect spoken in Lower Yamba which differs from other dialects of Upper (or Central) and Eastern Yamba.<sup>65</sup>

### Lineal Terminology

Agnatic kin: how the speaker (Ego)<sup>66</sup> refers to/addresses his/her patrikin (Fig. 5). The speaker (EGO) refers to/addresses his/her agnatic kin

Ego addresses and refers to all male members of his father's and grandfather's generation as 'fathers' (*tɛ'*). In reference the kinship term *te'* is often combined with a nickname or Christian name, e.g. *te'* Monday. Ego calls his paternal grandfather *te'-cici*. He refers to and may address the lineage head as *te'-nemen* ('father who controls us') and those in the line of succession as *te'-nemuake'* ('small fathers').

Within his own generation Ego addresses and refers to his older brother(s) and older sons of his father's brother(s) as *dida'* ('big brother') or *nunemen* (first born, my senior) and he calls those younger than he is *momɛ*. Male members of his own generation who are not descended from the same grandparents he refers to and addresses as *mo-te'* (pl. *boa-te'*). Ego calls his children *mo* (pl. *boa*), the children of his senior 'brothers' *mo-dida'* (pl. *boa-ne-dida'*), and those of his junior 'brothers' *mo-momɛ* (pl. *boa-momɛ*). He addresses them by their nicknames or Christian names.

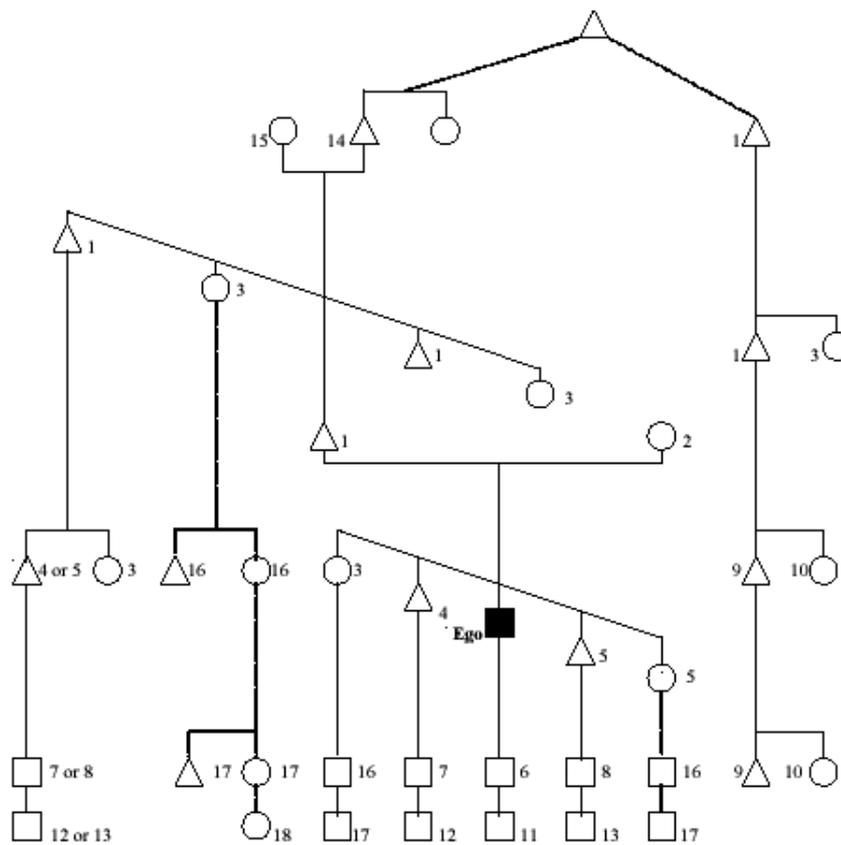
All female dependents of the lineage are usually lumped together under the term *njɛ'gu* ('sister', marriage; i.e. 'sister' to be married off). Ego addresses and refers to his senior sister(s), his father's sister(s), his father's brother(s)'s

65. This accounts for the difference in terms given, for example, in Fig.2 of Chapter Two where I use the dialect as spoken in Upper Yamba (especially Mfe and Bom): *ntsəgu* (father-in-law; in Gom: *tɛ'tsə[gu]*); *ntsəgu nə maŋkon* (father-in-law of 'behind'; in Gom: *tɛ'tsə koa*), etc

66. Women speakers use the same words as men in referring to/addressing agnatic kin.

daughter(s) if they are older than he is as *bəba* ('big sister')<sup>67</sup>. He calls his junior sisters and his father's brother(s)'s daughter(s) if they are younger than he is *mome*. Thus no sex difference in terminology is made between Ego's junior brothers and sisters and the children of his father's brother(s) if they are younger than he. They are all referred to and addressed as *mome*.

**Figure 5** How the speaker (EGO) refers to/addresses his/her agnatic kin



67. In Bom, the father's older sister is called *ngoon*

Key:

	Reference	Address		Reference	Address
1	<i>tɛ'</i>	<i>tɛ'</i>	12	mo-mo-dida'	name
2	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	13	mo-mo-momɛ	name
3	<i>bəba'</i>	<i>bəba</i>	14	<i>tɛ'cici</i>	<i>tɛ'(cici)</i>
4	<i>dida'/ ɲune-men</i>	dida'	15	<i>mɛcici</i>	<i>mɛ(cici)</i>
5	<i>momɛ</i>	name	16	<i>monjɛ'</i>	<i>monjɛ'</i> or name
6	mo	name	17	<i>monjɛ'koa</i>	name
7	mo-dida'	name	18	<i>ɲkwɛ</i>	name
8	<i>mo-momɛ</i>	name			
9	<i>mo-tɛ'</i>	name			
10	<i>ɲjɛ'gu</i>	<i>ɲjɛ'gu</i>			
11	mo-mo-moa	name			

Yamba place great emphasis on the agnatic lineage which is organised as a judicial, economic, and religious corporation. A man's most important kinship relations are with the members of his own lineage. On the other hand, uterine kinship is also important and extends over three generations. Ego addresses and refers to the children of the female members of the descent group (*ɲjɛ'gu*) as *monjɛ'* ('sister's child'). He calls the children of the daughter(s) of a *ɲjɛ'gu* (uterine grandchildren of a *ɲjɛ'gu*) *monjɛ'koa* ('sister's child of behind') and the daughter(s) of a *monjɛ'koa* (*mo*)*ɲkwɛ*. There is an almost mystical interrelationship between these three generations which may manifest itself in afflictions or in fecundity and well-being. For example,

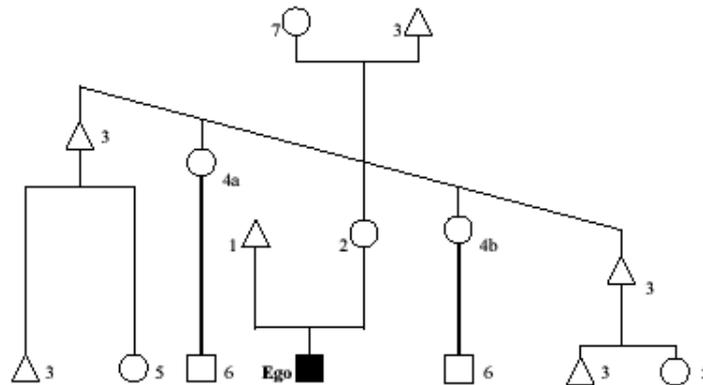
grandparents on the mother's side must not drink from the same cup as their uterine grandchildren. If they did they would drink their spittle which would affect their joints, especially their knees. After the delivery of several children, the daughter's husband (i.e. the son-in-law) would have to perform the ritual called 'spittle of the child' (*ntyɛ muin* in Upper Yamba, *nzərə* in Lower Yamba) on behalf of these children on the MM and MF to reverse the ill effects (see Chapter Two where further examples are given).

When a female agnate (*njɛ'gu*) marries and moves to the compound of her husband she does not lose membership of her natal patrilineage. She will continue to maintain ties with her own lineage. However, if all the bridewealth payments have been completed by her husband, at her death, she must be buried in her husband's compound. Failure to do so would result in affliction. Her children would fall ill or even die.

Ego refers to and addresses all male members of his mother's lineage as *tɛ'tsə* irrespective of their generation or seniority. The reciprocal term is *monjɛ'* ('sister's son'). Ego enjoys a privileged relationship with all the members of his mother's descent group. He calls his maternal grandmother (MM) *mɛ-cici* (but his maternal grandfather is *tɛ'tsə*). He refers to and addresses his mother's senior sister(s) as *mɛ-nemen* (big mother) and her junior sisters as *mɛ-nemuake'* or *mɛ-nemuin* (little mother). Their children he calls *mo-me* (child, mother)

A *monjɛ'* is respected and feared by his mother's kin. He is believed to have a beneficial influence on the well-being of his mother's patrilineage but may also be the source of misfortune if he feels slighted. A *monjɛ'*'s privileged position is due to this beneficial influence he is believed to exert on his mother's kin. Thus he may go to his *tɛ'tsə*'s raffia bush and help himself with some cups of palm wine notwithstanding the protective medicine (*raŋ*) his *tɛ'tsə* has placed there. The reason given is that whenever somebody 'opens' a palm tree or raffia bush, i.e. begins to *tap* new wine, he will call one of his *monjɛ'* to make a libation with the first wine (*dzə te* or *dzə ŋka'*) tapped. This is believed to ensure an abundant flow of palm wine. Another example of the privileged relationship a *monjɛ'* enjoys is that he may snatch things from his *tɛ'tsə* like wine, fowls, clothes, or even goats. But this does not happen at a regular basis or at any time. Most often it happens during seasonal dances or at rituals (when the *tɛ'tsə* receives fowls, palm wine and other items)..

Figure 6 How the speaker (Ego) refers to/addresses his/her mother's lineage



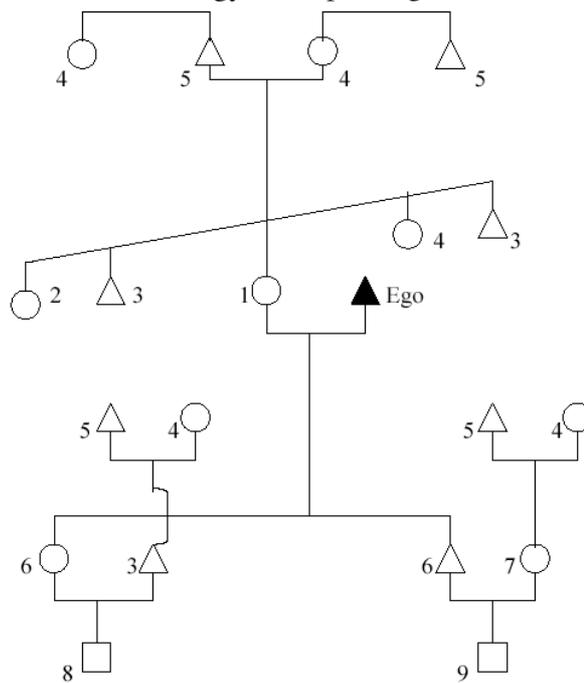
Key:

	Reference	Address
1	<i>tɛ'</i>	<i>tɛ'</i>
2	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
3	<i>tɛ'tsə</i>	<i>tɛ'tsə</i> (privileged relationship)
4	4 a: <i>mɛ(-nemɛn)</i>	<i>mɛ(-nemɛn)</i> (big mother)
	4 b: <i>mɛ(-nemoakɛ')</i>	<i>mɛ(-nendui)</i> (small mother)
5	<i>mo-tɛ'tsə</i>	<i>mo-tɛ'tsə</i> , also name
6	<i>mo-mɛ</i>	<i>mo-mɛ</i> , also name
7	<i>mɛ(-cici)</i>	<i>mɛ(-cici)</i>

The beneficial influence of a *monjɛ'* on his mother's kin has as behavioural correlate in the protective role a MF/B (*tɛ'tsə*) plays in the life of his *monjɛ'*. For example, if a *monjɛ'* feels threatened by the witchcraft of his agnates he may settle for a time at least among his matrilin in order to protect himself and his children. Many other examples could be added here (see Chapter Two).

A question that could be asked is whether the privileges of a *monje'* among his matrikin should be seen as a delayed compensation for his father's payment or as residual inheritance. My informants usually stress the fact that the matrikin benefited from the bridewealth received from their *nje'gu* (i.e. the mother of the *monje'*), bridewealth which was used to procure a wife for one of the male members of the mother's patrilineage. There is no indication that in former times property among the Yamba was inherited within the matrilineage.

Figure 7. Affinal Terminology Man speaking



## Key

	Reference	Address
1	<i>ηgwe</i>	name or teknonym (mother of N.) after birth of child
2	<i>kəmoa</i>	<i>kəmoa</i> ; name
3	<i>mo-tsə(-gu)</i>	<i>mo-tsə</i> ; name
4	<i>malen(-gu)</i>	<i>malen</i> ; (respect relationship)
5	<i>tɛ'tsə(-gu)</i>	<i>tɛ'tsə</i> ; if junior to Ego: name; if senior: respect relationship [ <i>tɛ'm</i> – my 'father']
6	<i>mo</i>	name
7	<i>ηgwe-moa</i>	<i>ηgwe-moa</i>
8	<i>monjɛ'</i>	<i>monjɛ'</i>
9	<i>mo-mo-am</i>	name

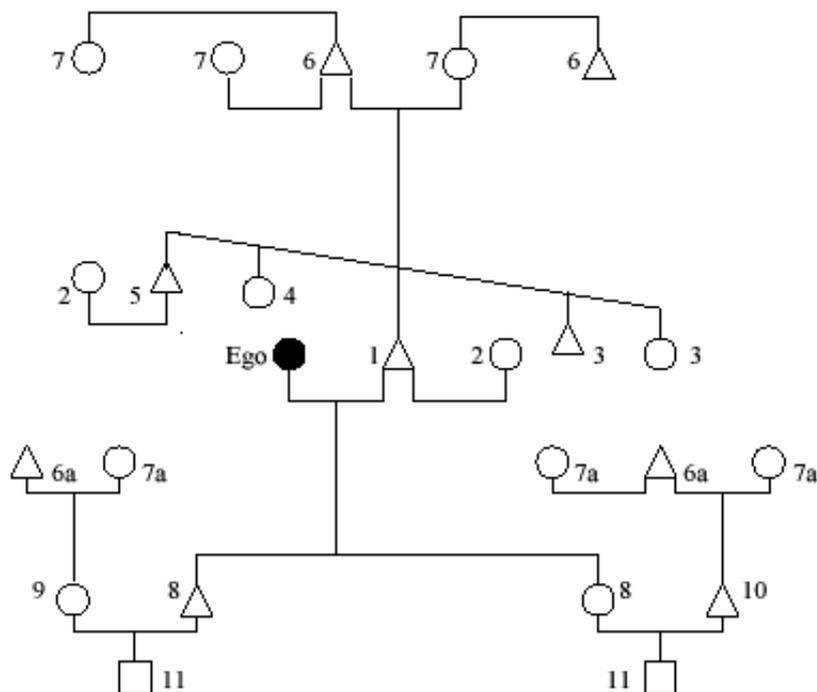
Ego refers to his wife as *ηgwe-am* (my wife). When addressing her he will either use her nickname/Christian name or, after the birth of the first child, a teknonym ('mother of N.'). It would be lacking in respect to use her personal name (*lin toη*). Seniority determines Ego's relationship with his wife's siblings and this is reflected in the distinction made in the terminology. The wife's junior sister(s) is referred to and addressed as *kə moa* ('nursebaby') and her junior brother(s) as *mo-tsə* (children, in-law). They may also be called by their nicknames or Christian names. A respect (not avoidance) relationship exists between the husband and his wife's senior siblings and parents. Ego refers to and addresses his wife's senior brother(s) and her father by the same term *tɛ'tsə* and his wife's senior sister(s) and her mother *malen*. His children's parents-in-law Ego also calls *tɛ'tsə* and *malen*. If they are junior to Ego he may also refer to or address them by their nicknames/Christian names.

A joking relationship exists between the wife and the junior siblings of her husband. She refers to and addresses them as *kə moa* ('nursebaby') because they are likely to look after her children. Respect (not avoidance) informs the relationship between the wife and her husband's senior brother(s) whom she refers to as *kwa'ηwe lum* ('big man' or senior man of my husband). This respect relationship is relaxed after some years when she may address him with the term *hunemen lum* (which has a similar meaning as *kwa'ηwe lum*) or by his nickname/Christian name.

At the beginning of a marriage there is strict avoidance relationship between the wife and her husband's senior sister(s) whom she calls *ba-moa*, her mother-in-law (*malen[-gu]*) and her father-in-law (*talen[-gu]*). Avoidance consists mainly in the fact that the wife does not speak to her *ba-moa*, *malen-gu* and *talen-gu* although they may speak to her. If she is asked something or wants to tell them something she does so via a third person who is present. After the birth of several children respect replaces avoidance. The initiative is taken by the 'avoided' person who presents the wife with a dish of a fowl cooked in a lot of oil (*fa cop*).

Although the wife refers to and addresses the parents-in-law of her children with the same terms as for her own parents-in-law (*talen-gu/malen-gu*) there is no avoidance relationship.

**Figure 8.** Affinal Terminology Woman speaking



## Key

	Reference	Address
1	<i>lum</i>	name; after birth of child: 'father of N.'
2	<i>ηgwe-dzə</i>	<i>ηgwe-dzə</i> ; name
3	<i>kə-moa</i>	<i>kə-moa</i> ; name; joking relationship
4	<i>ba-moa</i>	avoidance relationship; after several children - ritual, then <i>ba-moa</i> , name
5	<i>kwa'ηwe lum</i>	respect relationship in the beginning; then <i>kwa'ηwe lum</i> or <i>ηunemen lum</i> (no ritual), name
6	<i>talen(-gu)</i>	avoidance relationship; after several children ritual to allow woman to speak to her parents-in-law, then <i>talen-gu</i>
		6a – no avoidance relationship; <i>tε'tsə-gu</i> or <i>talen-gu</i> , name
7	<i>malen(-gu)</i>	avoidance relationship; after several children ritual to allow woman to speak to her mother-in law, then <i>malen-gu</i>
		7a – no avoidance relationship; <i>malen-gu</i> , name
8	<i>mo</i>	personal name
9	<i>ηgwe-moa</i>	<i>ηgwe-moa</i> , name
10	<i>mo-tsə(-gu)</i>	<i>mo-tsə-gu</i> , name
11	<i>mo-moa</i>	name

**APPENDIX B****Glossary of Yamba Terms**

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>bəŋse bum</i>	A rite performed for twin-parents so that they may eat newly harvested crops
<i>boate'</i>	Children of (one) father; descent group
<i>bo rum</i>	Witch-njangi
<i>babak</i>	A dance; in Nkwi it is the last dance which closes all seasonal dances. It also occurs at the end of the cam performance
<i>Bu-Fəm</i>	Upper Nkwi; one of the two 'sides' of the hamlet
<i>bu'lak</i>	'Quarter' or compound; descent group
<i>bu</i>	Camwood
<i>buə' ŋwaŋwe</i>	'Carrying off' the woman (prior to her seclusion)
<i>bwin nfu' ka'</i>	'People of the grass-burning area; Upper Yamba
<i>bwin nfu' nte</i>	People of the palm tree area; Lower Yamba
<i>cak tu</i>	Skull shrine
<i>cam</i>	Seasonal cult and dance which takes place in January
<i>cimbi</i>	Major Yamba cult and dance. <i>Cimbi</i> is 'brought out' in November. The <i>cimbi</i> cult also performs during the wake of adult men in which case it is often referred to as <i>rum kpɛ</i>
<i>coŋ</i>	Peace
<i>co ŋgo kpɛ</i>	A rite to 'wash away death'
<i>co' ntse' ruk</i>	To remove the stopper of the jug of wine at <i>sare gu</i> ; sign that the bride agrees to the marriage
<i>cum so'</i>	'Sit down, <i>so</i> '; in Nkwi, a shrine situated above the chief's compound consisting of a large boulder surrounded by smaller stones

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>dakwa</i>	Rolls of groundnut paste mixed with corn flour
<i>duə ŋkum</i>	'Medicine' given to the newly chosen chief during his seclusion
<i>dzəp fe</i>	'Pounding the mistake'; ritual of cleansing following a violent death
<i>dzəp nsah</i> ( <i>ncah</i> )	A ritual to 'cool' the effects of a breach of incest prohibitions or rule of exogamy
<i>dzok bum</i>	'Shrine, tradition' (also called <i>kum bum</i> ); a descent group based shrine. All six descent groups ( <i>bu'lak</i> ) of Nkwi have a <i>dzok bum</i>
<i>dzok cuk</i>	A fertility shrine consisting of a stone circle. Women with reproductive problems and men suffering from temporary impotence are treated there. In Nkwi, the <i>dzok cuk</i> is in the custody of the descent group of Ku-Yang (Lower Nkwi)
<i>dzok kie</i>	A fertility shrine consisting of a scatter of small round pebbles which represent the 'eggs' of women ( <i>mbaŋ buin</i> ). It is a shrine to enhance the fertility of all the women of the hamlet. In Nkwi it is in the custody of Foa-Nyongu's descent group
<i>dzok nyam</i>	Hunting shrine of the huntmasters
<i>dzok si</i>	see <i>dzok swi</i>
<i>dzok swi</i>	'Place of pepper'; a lineage based hunting shrine where the ritual 'sharpening of the spears' ( <i>zə koŋ</i> ) takes place
<i>dzok taam</i>	A lineage based hunting shrine where traps and guns are 'fixed'
<i>dzonŋ</i>	A shrine consisting of a sod of <i>nzə</i> grass
<i>faŋ ŋgu se'</i>	To raise the alarm cry
<i>fe moa garu</i>	To initiate a young boy into the <i>garu</i> cult
<i>fɛ</i> ( <i>fɛs</i> )	Twins

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>fike ŋge'</i>	'Moving out' the bride after seclusion on the day of the bridal dance
<i>Foa-Make</i>	Chief of Nchak, one of the six hamlets of Gom
<i>Foa-Makong</i> ( <i>Foa-Bubuŋ</i> )	Chief of Nkwi
<i>Foa-Nyongu</i>	Head of the <i>nda rum</i> of Lower Nkwi (Ma-Kwak)
<i>fopke moa (fo' mven)</i>	A rite to 'lock' the 'second vision' ( <i>lis baa</i> ) of a child
<i>fua</i>	A descent group owned hunting area
<i>fua'</i>	A dish of cooked meat given as payment to a cult
<i>fua' (nforo)</i>	Adultery committed by a wife married under the bridewealth system
<i>fu ncəp</i>	Leaves or herbs used in rituals
<i>gaamgə</i>	Place where animals are butchered after a communal hunt
<i>garu</i>	One of the major Yamba cults; the cult performance takes place in August
<i>go' swi moa</i>	'Grinding of the child's pepper'; a hunting ritual to restore the efficacy of spears neutralised by the blood of birth
<i>gwe so' (gwe rah)</i>	Ritual execution of cannibal witches
<i>jum nwi</i>	'To drive god'; obligatory payment given to ritual specialist if the final payment ( <i>taŋse bum</i> ) is not given straight away
<i>kak (kaka')</i>	Dry stalks of a certain grass
<i>kayam</i>	A Yamba cult; young boys using voice disguisers accompany the <i>so'</i> masks. They also go to houses, in which women have locked themselves up, to beg for food
<i>kəa nzəm</i>	Final payment of a descent group to the MF of a <i>monje'</i> (Z/DS)
<i>ko ka'</i>	'Take nothing'; unauthorised concubinage

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>kokse koŋ</i>	“Raising the spear”; hunting ritual; a spear with an animal skull poised on its tip is stuck unto the roof of the <i>cak tu</i> (skull shrine)
<i>kom tu cimbi</i>	‘Shave head <i>cimbi</i> ’; the action of cutting a round hole into the base of a new calabash horn; one of the two stages of initiation into the <i>cimbi</i> cult
<i>kom tu garu</i>	“Shave head <i>garu</i> ”; to repair the <i>garu</i> instruments (voice disguisers)
<i>kop</i>	Palm bush
<i>kopte bum</i>	‘Exchange, tradition’; the exchange of leaves and visits by the <i>so</i> ’ cult members between Nkwi and Nchak, two hamlets of Gom
<i>kwi koŋ</i>	see <i>zə koŋ</i>
<i>lam fua</i> ’	‘Cooking’ the transgression of adultery; a ritual to neutralise the effects of adultery by a wife on children and husband
<i>lam nchim</i>	A rite to counteract or avert the mystical danger arising from past violence between the lineages of the bride and bridegroom
<i>lam nƒässie</i>	‘Cooking the grave’; a ritual to cancel the ‘bad words’ or prohibition uttered by an ancestor
<i>lam rom</i>	‘Cooking the ill will’ of a deceased; the final rite of the death celebration
<i>ləŋ</i>	A type of fern used in the twin ritual
<i>lilik</i>	A thick, fleshy climber, leathery to the touch used in the twin ritual
<i>liŋ</i>	resin
<i>lis baa</i>	‘Two eyes’; second sight, clairvoyance
<i>lyəm ŋka</i> ’	Feasting gifts given to the bride-giver for four annual dances
<i>mabi</i>	Twin mother

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>ma' be' kpɛ</i>	Rite of exoneration from witchcraft
<i>ma-ja'tə</i> ( <i>majara</i> )	Fruit of the wild garden egg ( <i>Solanum sp.</i> )
<i>majom ŋgoŋ</i>	Name for the <i>cimbi</i> dance which follows the annual cult performance. It is an informal dance mainly for young men for their pleasure and entertainment and may go on for several weeks
<i>maleŋgu</i>	Mother-in-law
<i>Ma-Kwak</i>	Lower Nkwi, one of the two 'sides' of Nkwi, a quarter of Gom
<i>ma-lɔlɔi</i> ( <i>ma-tsəntsən</i> )	Shadow; ethereal body
<i>mambij</i>	A circular area surrounded by stones which serve as seats used by the chief and descent group heads for settlement of cases, discussion of community affairs, and performance of rituals. It is also the place where many Yamba cults start and end their activities. In Upper Nkwi the skull hut ( <i>cak tu</i> ) is attached to the <i>mambij</i> . It is a place forbidden to women and the uninitiated.
<i>ma-ŋgo so'</i>	'Mother of <i>so</i> '; part of the <i>so</i> ' fibre suit, which covers the hand and the arm up to the elbow, used in the initiation of young boys into the <i>so</i> ' cult
<i>matitik</i>	A women's dance; women carry long raffia poles ( <i>mbarj matitik</i> ) which they rhythmically knock on the ground while dancing. The <i>matitik</i> dance, in Nkwi, is performed conjointly with the <i>cam</i> cult in January
<i>ma-tsəm ŋgwi</i>	'Mother, to cover, seeds of guineacorn'; one of the five horn instruments of the <i>cimbi</i> cult
<i>mayawɛ</i>	One of the dancing songs of the <i>cimbi</i> cult
<i>ma-yoŋse</i>	Breath, spirit
<i>mbarjgoŋ</i>	'Down country'; Mambila area

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>mbak</i>	Wicker rattles; rattlesacks
<i>mbe</i>	Leopard; leopard transform
<i>mbambuəm</i>	A large, heart-shaped and strongly scented leaf used in many Yamba rituals to ‘lock’ things
<i>mbuk kop</i>	Palm bush shrine
<i>melak</i>	A major shrine, consisting of a large boulder surrounded by smaller stones arranged like a pavement, where ‘things are made cool’. Yefak is the custodian of the <i>melak</i>
<i>mi rum</i>	‘To pay, juju’; initiation fee
<i>monje’</i>	Sister’s/daughter’s son
<i>mvə’ cam</i>	Bird effigy whose body is made out of a calabash; used in the annual <i>cam</i> dance
<i>mvəp fə</i>	‘Fowl, deceased’; fowl given by newly chosen huntmaster at the death of the old huntmaster
<i>mvəp kop</i>	‘Fowl, palm bush’; a marriage gift demanded by the bride-giver from the bride-receiver following the first pregnancy of the bride to ‘fix’ the palm bush
<i>mvəp tsə</i>	‘Fowl, blood of birth’; fowl given by the bride-receiver to the bride-giver to counteract the effects of the blood of birth after the delivery of the first child by the bride in her mother’s house
<i>natə kpɛ</i>	‘Sleep, death’; wake (sometimes also called <i>noŋ kpɛ</i> )
<i>natə ŋka’</i>	Sleep, feast’; all-night dance
<i>ncah</i>	see <i>nsaŋ</i>
<i>nca rum</i>	‘Ground, juju’; earth taken from the <i>shie so’</i> ; paradigm of coolness
<i>ncum barə</i>	Drum, stranger’; double-membrane drum
<i>ncum kpɛ</i>	‘Drum, death’; drum played at death celebrations

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>ndaŋ so'</i>	The final 'running dance' of the <i>so'</i> cult performance. In Nkwi the <i>so'</i> masquerade passes up and down the hamlet three times before entering the <i>mambiŋ</i>
<i>ndap gu</i>	'House, marriage'; the house the bride-receiver has to build for his mother-in-law
<i>nda rum</i>	'Hut, juju'; an open hut with a loft in which the sacra of all the cults are stored
<i>ndeŋdeŋ</i>	(Also called <i>mandeŋ</i> or <i>mandik</i> ), women's dance; the musical instruments consist of pieces of wood which the women beat with short sticks. The sound produced is like that of a xylophone
<i>ndəm ŋge'</i>	Medicine in powder form given to the bride during seclusion to secure her love and loyalty to her husband
<i>ndo tsə</i>	Horn of the red-flanked duiker ( <i>Cephalophus rufilatus</i> )
<i>ndugu</i>	Bridegroom
<i>ndum sen</i>	'Hill, green grasshoppers'; one of the dancing songs of the <i>cimbi</i> cult
<i>ndu</i>	Worm-cast
<i>ne rum</i>	A white, chalky type of mushroom which grows on rotting trees ( <i>Mycelium</i> of <i>Lentinus tuber-regium</i> )
<i>nisi ŋge'</i>	Seclusion of bride
<i>nisi kop</i>	Initiation of a young man when he is given a part of the family palm bush
<i>njaŋ</i>	Iron rattles, bundle of bells
<i>nje'gu</i>	A female dependent of the descent group
<i>njəbrə</i>	Incestuous relationship within the descent group
<i>nji</i>	Quarterhead
<i>noŋ ŋka'</i>	see <i>natə ŋka'</i>
<i>noŋ krɯ</i>	see <i>natə krɯ</i>

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>nsah</i>	Affliction caused by violating rules of exogamy
<i>ntaamse</i>	Barrier medicine; witch trap
<i>nte</i>	Prestige goods
<i>ntəŋ</i>	Bamboo structure to which a corpse was tied for the duration of the wake
<i>ntesa</i>	Witch-market
<i>ntyε muin</i>	‘Spittle of child’; a rite performed to restore the strength of the grandparents after their granddaughter has delivered two or more children
<i>nyε’</i>	Bushcow
<i>nzə</i>	A special type of grass
<i>nzɯr</i>	Cult associated with the skulls of ‘law animals’ and enemies killed in war
<i>nzɯr cocoŋ</i>	‘Wet/fresh <i>nzɯr</i> ’; hunters and warriors who have killed a ‘law animal’ or enemy in war are members of <i>nzɯr cocoŋ</i> . The song associated with them is also referred to as <i>nzɯr cocoŋ</i>
<i>nzɯr yuyum</i>	‘Dry <i>nzɯr</i> ’; the heads of two descent groups of Nkwi are the custodians of the <i>nzɯr</i> cult. The male members of these descent groups are members of <i>nzɯr yuyum</i> . They have not killed a ‘law animal’ or an enemy in war. The song associated with them is also called <i>nzɯr yuyum</i>
<i>ŋgam</i>	Divination; spider; set of leaf-cards used in divination
<i>ŋgam bo</i>	Hand divination
<i>ŋgam se</i>	Spider divination
<i>ŋga ncəp</i>	Medicine man; ritual specialist
<i>ŋga ncəp fəs</i>	Ritual specialist who performs the twin ritual
<i>ŋga nisi ŋge</i>	Ritual specialist who attends to the bride during her seclusion

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>ngap</i>	Antelope ( <i>Tragelaphus sp.</i> )
<i>ngiŋ so'</i>	'Running dance' of the <i>so'</i> cult performed on the morning of the last day of the <i>so'</i> cult performance
<i>ngu</i>	Poison ordeal
<i>ngu'</i>	Red feather; crimson primaries of the green-crested touraco ( <i>Tauraco persa</i> ) which those who have killed an enemy in war or a 'law animal' wear on their caps
<i>nguiŋ</i>	Alarm cry, death cry
<i>nguiŋ nyam</i>	The portion of an animal given to the 'first spear'; the part given to the MF ( <i>tɛ'tsə</i> )
<i>ngwa nyam</i>	Huntmaster
<i>ŋka' baba</i>	'Dance, women'; a women's dance following the <i>cimbi</i> and <i>garu</i> cult performances, sometimes referred to as women's <i>garu</i>
<i>ŋka' lak</i>	'Dance, settlement'; seasonal dance ( <i>ndehndeh</i> ) following the <i>so'</i> cult performance
<i>ŋka' ngwu</i>	'Dance, rizga ( <i>Coleus dazo</i> )'; seasonal dance following the <i>cimbi</i> and <i>cam</i> cult performances
<i>ŋkey</i>	Scraping stick; 'confession stick'
<i>ŋkəŋ</i>	Double iron bell, gong
<i>ŋkəŋ</i>	'Peace plant' ( <i>Dracaena spp.</i> )
<i>ŋkum</i>	Chief
<i>ŋkɨp so'</i>	A notched flute used in the <i>so'</i> cult performance
<i>ŋkwa'</i>	Switches wielded by the participants of the <i>so'</i> cult
<i>ŋkwɛ</i>	Slave

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>ɲwantap</i>	Most important and most powerful of all the Yamba cults. Its sacra consist of two earthenware pots (or calabashes, in Upper Yamba): <i>ɲwantap ɲgoŋ</i> (male <i>ɲwantap</i> ) which is periodically brought out to “lock” the roads, and <i>ɲwantap malak</i> (female <i>ɲwantap</i> )
<i>ruk</i>	Palm wine
<i>ruk bwin cimbi</i>	‘Wine, breasts, <i>cimbi</i> ’; wine given as payment to ‘touch the breasts of <i>cimbi</i> ’; one of the two stages of initiation into the <i>cimbi</i> cult
<i>rum</i>	Generic term for all Yamba cults. Its <i>sacra</i> and performances are forbidden to women and the uninitiated
<i>rɯm</i>	Cannibal witchcraft
<i>rah</i>	‘Medicine’ (usually a herb) to protect property from thieves; also used in the burial rite
<i>sa</i>	Shape changing
<i>sam (samdə)</i>	‘Running dance’
<i>sare gu</i>	Rite of making public the marriage
<i>sea ɲgo so’</i>	Initiation into the <i>so’</i> cult
<i>sen</i>	A strongly scented shrub
<i>shie garu</i>	A major shrine consisting of a tree surrounded by a scatter of stones. It is a shrine where the hamlet is made ‘cool’
<i>shie so’</i>	‘Grave of <i>so</i> ’; a place near the <i>mambiŋ</i> where broken or torn <i>rum sacra</i> are buried
<i>siŋ mvəp</i>	Gizzard
<i>so</i>	‘Marriage shovels’; bridewealth was paid in these peculiarly shaped ‘shovels’
<i>so’ de ca’ mbiŋ’</i>	<i>So’</i> salutes the hamlet’; first ‘running dance’ of the <i>so’</i> cult performance
<i>so’ ghah</i>	Hunting <i>so’</i>

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>so' kɸɸ</i>	Funeral <i>so'</i>
<i>so' tap</i>	(Also called <i>so' cak</i> ), one of the major Yamba cults; the only masquerade of the Yamba. The annual cult performance takes place in June
<i>soŋgoŋ</i>	'Witch-breeze'
<i>susuŋ</i>	Elephant grass ( <i>Pennisetum purpureum</i> )
<i>swi co'</i>	Malagueta pepper
<i>taabi</i>	Twin father
<i>ta fak</i>	'Hut, farm work'; an open hut with a loft in which Yefak stores the <i>sacra</i> connected with his office
<i>tajo</i>	A marriage dance
<i>taŋkwe</i>	'Father, slave'; MMF or his positional successor
<i>taŋse bum</i>	Final payment given to ritual specialist
<i>ta rum</i>	'Fall, juju'; affliction caused by <i>rum</i> if women or the uninitiated see the cult <i>sacra</i> or its performance
<i>tɛ'tsə</i>	Mother's father/brother (MF/B), a term often used to include all matrikin
<i>tɛ wum</i>	'Stand on, hunt'; first communal hunt which opens the hunting season
<i>təm nzəp</i>	The rite of 'sprinkling cool water'
<i>tin və so'</i>	'Spread, ashes, <i>so'</i> '; ritual component performed if the <i>so'</i> cult performance does not take place (every two years)
<i>to fua</i>	'Burn, grass'; to hunt over a hunting bush owned by a descent group by burning the grass
<i>to garu</i>	'To call <i>garu</i> '; to 'move out' <i>garu</i>
<i>tsə</i>	Red-flanked duiker ( <i>Cephalophus rufilatus</i> )
<i>tsə moa</i>	Blood of birth

Yamba term	Gloss
<i>twin yo moa</i>	'Cut, elephant grass, child'; an omen-taking ritual before the hunting season
<i>tup</i>	Stomach, rumen
<i>wum nyam</i>	Mock hunt performed at the death of a huntmaster
<i>Wufa'</i>	Quarterhead of Lower Nkwi (Ma-Kwak), second to the chief of Nkwi
<i>Yɛfak</i>	Farm-master, "priest"; second in importance to the chief in ritual matters
<i>yo</i>	Soft leaves of the elephant stalk (top section)
<i>ywin ngwe</i>	'Buy wife'; bridewealth marriage
<i>zɛ'</i>	Spirit double; 'devil'
<i>zə koŋ</i>	Rite of 'sharpening the spears' (in Upper Yamba called <i>kwi koŋ</i> )

### Days of the Yamba Week (Gom Dialect)

*ntelak* Country Sunday

*nteki*

*ntebom*

*nteviŋ*

*ntɛmvuen*

*ntɛsəm*

*ndɛs*

*ntɛzuru*