

APPENDIX I

PHOTOGRAPHS

Aerial photographs of Somié, illustrating the extent of deforestation that has taken place between 1948 and 1984. Photographs courtesy of D. Zeitlyn.

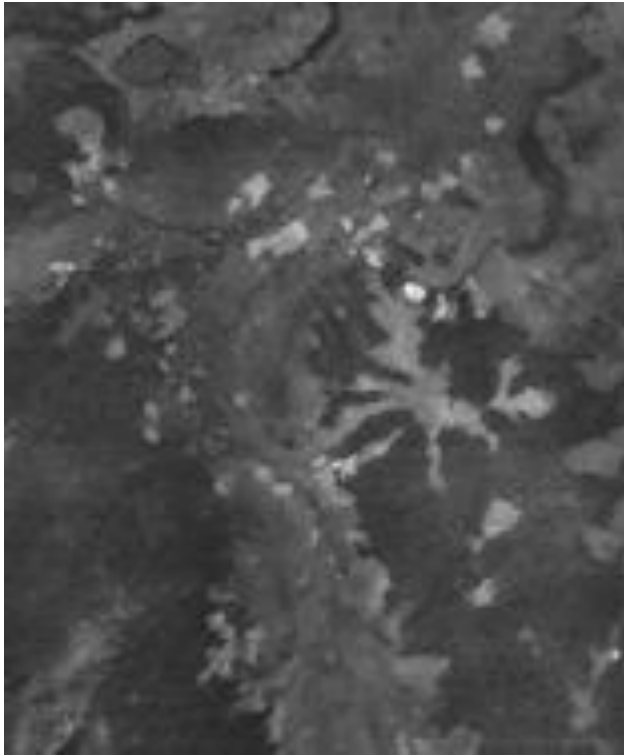


Figure 19. Aerial photograph from 1948 .

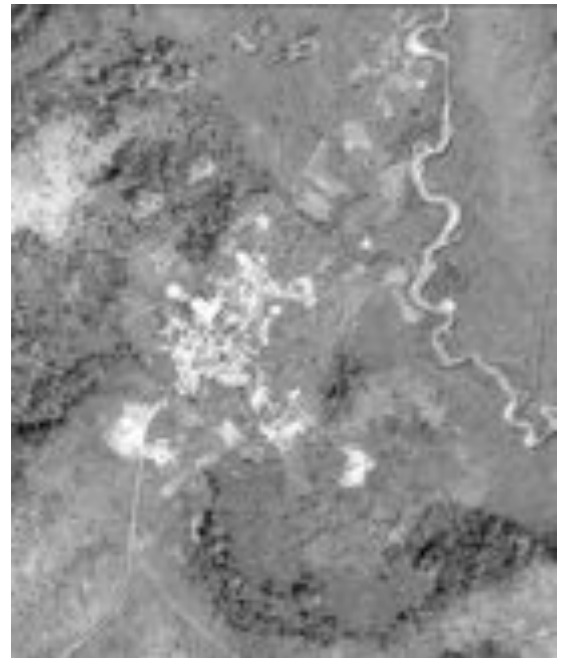


Figure 20. Aerial photograph from 1984.

PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN THE FIELD (R. Komaromi)

Generally, everyone in Somié, young or old, female or male, was delighted to have their photograph taken and took pride in posing. The only exception were Fulbe girls, who adamantly refused and took equal pride in **not** letting me take their picture.



Figure 21. Young Mambila boys who accompanied me on a walk across the ridge overlooking Somié village (in the background). They showed great interest in me looking at plants, although they knew very few names for wild tree species far from the village.



Figure 22. A nine year old girl who, in spite of having malaria was sent home by her mother from the field to start the long process of boiling the "black oil" from the kernels of the oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*).



Figure 23: Fulbe woman showing the leafy green **lalo**



Figure 24. Daniel Gangfi, my plant collection field assistant, recording information about a tree in the savanna (photo R.K.).

APPENDIX II

TABLES

Table 1**Socio- demographic data for 37 research participants**

E: Years spent in school

L : Number of languages spoken

YOS : Number of years spent outside of Somié

Name	Code	Sex	Age	E	L	Occupation	YOS	Occupation codes
Veyo Marguerite	1F57	F	57	5	6	1	10	1: agriculturist
Waŋ Christine	2F70	F	70	1	3	1	4	2.healer
Kea Monique	3F60a	F	60a	2	2	1	0	3 : housewife/cook
Tua Julienne	4F60a	F	60a	0	3	1	1	4: market vendor/commerce
Theya Monique	10F60a	F	60a	1	2	1	0	5: carpenter
Wom Marguerite	16F80a	F	80a	1	2	1,2	0	6: artist/musician
No Henriette	17F47	F	47	6	3	1,3	0	7: palm nut, coffee farmer
Leke Regine	21F35	F	35	9	3	1	0	8: construction
Lofe Monique	32F35	F	35	7	3	1	1	9: mechanic
Tabesam Louise	39F50a	F	50a	5	2	1,2		10: driver
Mbiti Martine	9F19	F	19	6	4	1,4	10	11: fishing
Lomi Clarisse	18F24	F	24	8	3	1,4	6	12: government work
Tiesam Elisabet	19F26	F	26	6	3	1	0	13: forestry/nursery
Ge Marie	27F18	F	18	7	3	1,4	0	14: student
Temagoue J.	31F24	F	24	13	3	1,3,4	4	
Fadi Matu	34F20	F	20	8	3	1,3	0	
Vekuu Baba M	35F19	F	19	6	4	1,3	2	
Mea Mirabel	36F18	F	18	5	3	1,4	6	
Nyagati Francois	5M80a	M	80	0	2	1,7,8	20a	
Lilie Jonas	6M33	M	33	7	4	1,9,10	8	
Leban Gevede	7M80	M	80	0	2	1,5,7	5	
Bekimi Jean C.	8M40	M	40	10	7	1	8	
Baba Joel	11M58	M	58	9	4	1,5,8,10,11, 12	3	
Yilyioko Martin	14M47	M	47	6	3	1,10,13	0	
Djidabe Jonas	15M32	M	32	15	5	1,6,12	20	
Sule Bager	20M52	M	52	14	5	1,8	29	
Ndissam Claude	26M34	M	34	11	3	1,4	4	
Mama Simon	28M77	M	77	5	3	1,2,7	9	

Djumbiti	12M16	M	16	8	4	1,14	13
Elouard							
Candel Mela	13M16	M	26	11	4	1	4
Kounaka	22M23	M	23	7	3	4	5
Prosper							
Nuarsam	23M27	M	27	6	3	1	17
Antoine							
Leju Lazare	24M26	M	26	17	3	1	0
Kunaka Fidel	25M28	M	28	15	3	1	2
Juni Robert	30M27	M	27	10	3	1,7	9
Bondjou Fabien	33M23	M	23	9	3	1	4
Suop Silvestre	37M30	M	30		3	1,2	

Table 2

Form used to record data collected during freelist exercises and structured interviews

Inf ID:

Date:

A. Dites- moi, en Patois (Mambila) les noms des arbres que Vous connaissez.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

B. Dites- moi, en patois (Mambila), les noms des autres plantes qui ne sont pas des arbres, comme par exemple des herbes et des vignes.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

Questions for interview questionnaire

(Example ; questions repeated for three trees and three other plants):

T1a: Est-ce que tu connais des autres noms pour ça (en Ffulde, Français ou des autres langues)?

T1b: Où est-ce que ça pousse?

T1c: Est-ce que tu peut me montrer ça?

T1d: Est-ce qu'on utilise ça pour quelque chose?

T1e: Pour quoi?

T1f: Quel partie est-ce qu'on utilise?

T1g: Comment est-ce qu'on utilise/ prépare ça?

T1h: Est-ce que tu peut préparer/ utiliser ça toi meme?

T1i: Qui t'a enseigné sur ça?

Table 3

Form used to record demographic data collected during structured interviews

Inf ID:

Date:

1. Nom

2. Age:

3. Sex:

4. Vous parlez quelles langues ?

5. Vous avez passé combien d'années à l'école?

6. Vous est né où?

7. (if not born in Somie) ça fait combien d'années que Vous êtes à Somié?

8. Est-ce que Vous avez passez du temps en dehors du village?

9. (if yes) Combien d'années est-ce que Vous avez passé en dehors?

10. Quel est votre occupation?

Table 4.**Summary list of tree species mentioned on freelists and collection walks**

Species and family name supplied by the National Herbarium in Yaounde (Y);
By reference in D.J. Mabberley's *Plant Book* (2008).
Uncertain names marked with *

Coll #	Species	Family	Mambila name	Code	Uses
			bàgà	T1	
			bàm	T2	Leaves help banana to ripen
			bachet (Fr)	T3	
			baṅ	T5	
	<i>Ficus thoningii</i> Blume	MORACEAE	bó	T6	planted for twin births
			bəṅbəṅ	T7	edible fruit
	<i>Albizzia</i> Benth.	LEGUMINOSEAE	boob wulei	T4	firewood
			boob bli	T8	
	<i>Coffea robusta</i>	RUBIACEAE	(luye) café	T9	
			dùlùmber	T68	incense chases snakes
			fuo	T11	
			fuú	T12	
			fɔgɔ	T13	
24	<i>Trema orientalis</i> (Y)	ULMACEAE	fúrukùm	T14	low quality firewood
			giliba	T15	medicinal
58	<i>Psorospermum febrifugum</i> (Y)	HYPERICACEAE	gela		
			gò	T16	planks, roofing
			gombo	T17	sweet edible fruit
			gùm	T18	
	<i>Psidium guajava</i> L.	MYRTACEAE	guàyámé	T20	edible fruit
28	<i>Syzigium macrocarpa</i> (Y)	MYRTACEAE	hibí	T21	edible fruit
6	<i>Tephrosia vogelii</i> *	PAPILLONOIDEAE	jársár	T22	fallow crop, firewood
			jogo	T23	medicinal
	<i>Pilostigma thoningii</i> (Schumach.) Milne-Redh.*	LEGUMINOSEAE	kékéma	T24	fix hoe handles, medicinal
			kpalekok	T25	
			kimbán	T26	enclosures
			kumbu	T27	
			kunduṅ	T28	
			Kúmu	T71	
	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i> (L) Gaertn.	BOMBACACEAE	komó	T29	construction

			kúliweéh	T30	enclosures
	<i>Citrus</i> L	RUTACEAE	lemú	T31	edible fruit
	<i>Erythrophlaeum guineense</i> (D.) *	CESALPINOIDEAE	líí	T32	firewod; planks; poison in divination
			lamngér	T33	enclosures
			lífkùlù	T34	used in divination
	<i>Raphia</i> spp	PALMAE	loro	T35	
			marafi	T36	
			mafani	T37	medicinal
			mandélêm	T38	
			mbikú	T39	edible leaves
	<i>Mangifera</i> L.	ANACARDIACEAE	maṅgoró	T40	edible fruit; firewood
			mvua	T41	
17	<i>Vitex doniana</i> (Y)	LAMIACEAE	mvuúr	T42	
70	<i>Voacanga thouarsi</i> (Y)*	APOCENACEAE	mètək	T43	medicinal; cash crop
			mangalí	T44	
	<i>Milicia excelsa</i> (Welw.) C. Berg	MORACEAE	ndoṅ	T45	
			nyanbendoṅ	T46	
			ṅgií	T47	
3	<i>Nauclea latifolia</i> (Y)	RUBIACEAE	ṅulamar	T19	medicinal
50	<i>Markhamia tomentosa</i> (Bentham) K. Schum.ex. Engl (Y)	BIGNONIACEAE	njàmñjér, suár	T66	
	<i>Persea americana</i> Mill.	LAURACEAE	píâ	T48	edible fruit; firewood
5	<i>Crossopteryx febrifuga</i> (Y)	RUBIACEAE	se	T49	firewood
			tablár	T50	timber
					oil, wine, broom , medicinal
8	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> Jacq.	PALMAE	teér	T54	
	<i>Anogeissus leiocarpus</i> CD Guill pen (Y)	ANOGEISSUS	tùbù	T51	firewood, medicinal
	<i>Baphia nitida</i> Afzel. Ex Lodd	LEGUMINOSEAE	tuú beér	T55	construction; red dye used in ritual ointment
32	<i>Terminalia macroptera</i> (Y)	COMBRETACEAE	tulu	T52	
			tuú huòòm	T53	
			tuú ngaàṅ	T56	medicinal
			tuú soú	T64	in funerary rites
			tuú tuòòm	T58	
			tuú yuama	T69	fishpoison traditionally used as cotton
			tuú yilí	T59	
			tuú Yùòm	T63	edible fruit
			van	T60	edible fruit
			wòobè	T61	
			wurdé	T67	incense chases snakes
38	<i>Vernonia amygdalena</i> (Y)	COMPOSITAE	yoó	T62	edible leaves, medicinal

Table 5.

Summary list of plant species (grasses, herbs, vines and bulbs) mentioned on free lists and collection walks

Species and family name supplied by the National Herbarium in Yaounde;

By reference in D.J. Mabberley's *Plant Book* (2008).

Uncertain names marked with *

Revised identifications by Kew.

Coll #	Species	Family	Mambila name	Code	Uses
			bàwè	H1	helps take off palm nuts
			bubogó	H2	edible seed
64	<i>Crotalaria</i>	PAPILLONOIDEAE	bò veéh		medicinal
	<i>Epathorium odoratum</i>	COMPOSITAE	bìnjammê	H3	medicinal
7	<i>Eleusine indica</i> (L.) Gaertn (Y)	POACEAE	càgàmbor mabonn	H4	
11	<i>Paspalum paniculatum</i> (Y)	GRAMINAE	cagàmbor tela	H5	
			càgàndoŋ	H6	
	<i>Cucurbita</i> L. ssp	CUCURBITACEAE	cèb	H7	edible leaves and fruit
34	<i>Bidens pilosa</i> (Y)	COMPOSITAE	cìnjolo	H8	medicinal
15	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> (Y)	EUPHORBIACEAE	ceiŋ	H9	
	<i>Ipomoea</i> ssp. L.	CONVOLVULACEAE	Dàŋkélaŋ	H10	edible tuber
	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i> L.	MALVACEAE	Daar	H11	
4	<i>Cyphostemma adenocaula</i> (Stend.) Descoing *(Y)	VITACEAE	daar tèrè	H12	edible leaves
	<i>Dicrocephala integrifolia</i> *	COMPOSITAE	dor, nyen suàgà	H13	
			Dùr	H14	
	<i>Tithonia diversifolia</i> (Hemsl.)	COMPOSITAE	fleur jalusi	H15	
20	<i>Solanum torvum</i> (Y)	SOLANACEAE	Feér		
45	<i>Martynia annua</i> (Kew identification)	PEDALIACEAE	Fleur 1		ornamental
	<i>Caesalpinia pulcherrima</i> L.	FABACEAE	Fleur 2		
67	<i>Plectranthus glandulosus</i> Hook f. (Y)	LAMIACEAE	Fuo uye	H101	in funerary rites; ritual medicine
	<i>Plectranthus esculentus</i> N. E. Br.	PLECTRANTHUS	gueè-tágie	H16	edible tuber
	<i>Hibiscus abelmoschus</i> L.	MALVACEAE	Gaŋ	H17	edible fruit
58	<i>Psorospermum febrifugum</i> (Y)	HYPERACEAE	Gela		
51	<i>Sesamum indicum</i> (K)	PEDALIACEAE	Gubudo	H47	

73	<i>Pennisetum purpureum</i> Schum.	POACEAE	guíí	H19	enclosures; edible leaves, fruit
66	<i>Biophytum petersianum</i> Klotz (Y)	OXALIDACEAE	gùlù hin-cílí hin	H20	medicinal
			gwogob	H21	edible fruit
	<i>Amaranthus L. ssp.</i>	AMARANTHACEAE	huéh	H22	edible leaves
12	<i>Panicum maxima</i> Jacq. (Y)	POACEAE	jolo	H23	oath aswearing, ritual medicine
			k ògòjùm	H24	
	<i>Echinochloa colona</i> Link. (Y)	POACEAE	kabe	H25	
31	<i>Mussaenda eritrophylla</i> (Y)	RUBIACEAE	kilikàŋ	H26	weed
			kukuii	H27	
			kaga	H28	weed
			Kògòjùm	H95	
			Kogombum	H98	traditionally used as torch
			kotemone	H29	
	<i>Musa L. ssp.</i>	MUSACEAE	kunu	H30	
	<i>Manihot esculenta</i> Crantz	EUPHORBIACEAE	kúkúm	H31	
	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i> (L.) Scott	ARACACEAE	kwéé	H32	edible tuber
	<i>Cajanus cajan</i> Linn. Millsp. (Y)	PAPILLONOIDEAE	kweri	H33	edible fruit
	<i>Sida acuta</i> Burm. f. (Y)	MALVACEA	libi nàgà	H34	edible root
65	<i>Sida rhombifolia</i> Linn. (Y)	MALVACEAE	libi beér	H35	in ceremony and medicine
	<i>Solanum L.</i>	SOLANACEAE	luàgà	H36	
	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i> (Y)	POACEAE	luií	H37	roof, mattress, enclosures
			lapsur (Fu)	H38	edible leaves
			lalo		edible leaves
			logò sàb	H99	medicine
			logò siéŋguíí	H100	ritual medicine
56	<i>Lippia multiflora</i> *	VERBENACEAE	loro*		
			mágáfùm	H39	
			manabu/nemadu	H40	medicine; ritual
			mandué	H41	
			màkàbé	H42	
			màkpelaáŋ	H43	
			manjérêb	H44	edible leaves
			mbabur	H45	
37	<i>Alectra ssp</i> (Y)	SCROPHULARIACEAE	mgbéra	H46	
33	<i>Spilanthes filicaulis</i> (Schum. Thonn.) C.P.Adams	COMPOSITAEA	mbentò	H48	medicine
33	<i>Spilanthes filicaulis</i> (Schum. Thonn.) C.P.Adams (Y)	COMPOSITAEA	mbentò	H48	medicine

	<i>Physalis angulata</i> Linn. (Y)	SOLANACEAE	mvagaà	H97	
			mvu	H96	
			nder	H49a	
			nder noon	H49	
			ndèr tònn	H50	
30	<i>Clerodendron scandens</i>	Lamiaceae	Nó	H52	ritual medicine
62	<i>Cyperus articulatus</i> L. (Y)	CYPERACEAE	njàgà	H53	medicinal, antimalarial
10	<i>Mariscus alternifolius</i> Vahl	CYPERACEAE	njàgà	H54	edible roots; weed
			ndé		
49	<i>Phyllanthus muelleriana</i> (Y)	EUPHORBIACEAE	ndétogo		
	<i>Amaranthus</i> ssp. L.	AMARANTHACEAE	ndèr mvomndè	H55	
	<i>Cucurbita</i> L. ssp	CUCURBITACEAE	nàṅ (cèb nàṅ)	H57	
71			ngán		
	<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> L.	SOLANACEAE	ngan sar		edible fruit, medicinal
35	<i>Commelina benghalensis</i> (Y)	COMMELINACEAE	ṅgèna télaá	H58	medicinal
63	<i>Aneilema umbrosum</i> (Vahl) Kunth. (Y)	COMMELINACEAE	ṅgèna mabonn	H59	
48	<i>Solanum nigrum</i> L. (Y)	SOLANACEAE	njebanyɔɔṅ	H60	
			ndènṅdèn	H61	
	<i>Zea mays</i> L.	POACEAE	ṅgwàgàmè	H62	staple crop
	<i>Cyperus procerus</i> (Y)	CYPERACEAE	njieè	H63	
	<i>Phyllanthus muelleriana</i> (Y)	EUPHORBIACEAE	ndétogo	H97	medicinal
71	<i>Celosia leptostachya</i> Benth. (Y)	AMARANTHACEAE	ngán		
			njieè	H63	medicinal, edible leaves
30	<i>Clerodendron scandens</i> (Y)	LAMIACEAE	nó		
			nyànbendoṅ	H64	
52	<i>Scrophia dulcis</i> Linn. (Y)	SCROPHULARIACEAE	nyuri huaáj naár *		
18	<i>Ageratum conizoides</i> (Y)	COMPOSITAE	nyuri cimî	H65	medicinal
42	<i>Oxalis radicata</i> A.Rich (Y)	OXALIDACEAE	nyuri sér	H66	medicinal
59	<i>Polygonum acuminatum</i> H.B.K. (Y)	POLYGONACEAE	nyuri sèm/ cap	H67	
53	<i>Impatiens irvingii</i> (Y)	BALSAMINACEAE	nyuri sèm/ cap		
			nyuri njuù	H68	medicinal
			nyuri	H69	
			nyuri	H69	
			mbàṅ		
			nyàn	H70	
			nyèn	H71	

1	<i>Ocimum gratissimum (Y)</i>	LAMIACEAE	nyúinjí san mabonn	H91
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68	<i>Ocimum basilicum</i> (Y)	LAMIACEAE	san tela		condiment, medicinal
	<i>Cucurbita</i> L. ssp	CUCURBITACEAE	sengar	H81	
			sesar	H82	spearshaft
	<i>Arachis</i> L. ssp.	LEGUMINOSEAE	sèngâr	H83	
64	<i>Aframomum cf melegata</i> (Y)	ZINGIBERACEAE	soó	H80	divination, base of healing
			sop	H84	
	<i>Lageneria</i> Ser. ssp. *	CUCURBITACEAE	sulimbié	H85	edible seed
	<i>Tristemma leiocalyx</i> Cogn.	MELASTOMATAACEAE	tàgàmbè		
46	<i>Dioscorea</i> ssp. (Y)	DIOSCORACEAE	tìeè	H73	edible fruit
60	<i>Leea guineense</i> (Y)	LEACEAE	teéh		in funerary rites
	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> Jacq.	ARACACEAE	teér	H74	
52	<i>Emilia coccinea</i> (Y)	COMPOSITAE	tiendoòb	H75	ritual medicine
60		SOLANACEAE	tíndar	H92	edible leaves
	<i>Xanthosoma sagittifolium</i> (L.) Schott]	ARACACEAE	tombi	H93	edible tuber
			tubu	H76	divination
			ngaám		
			tútubú	H77	erosion control, weed
			tútùòb	H78	
			wèlè	H86	indicates water
72	<i>Ipomoea</i> ssp. (Y)	CONVOLVULACEAE	wòòŋ		traditionally in soap making
38	<i>Vernonia amygdalina</i> Del. (V)	COMPOSITAE	yoó	H87	edible leaves; medicinal
			yuar	H88	
	<i>Sorghum Moench</i>	GRAMINAE	yulu	H89	staple food; used in ceremonies
			yuií	H90	

Table 6.

Summary list of “top 22” plants from freelist mention

Code	Mambila name	Species	Family	Other name	Freelist mentions
<u>Trees</u>					
T52	tulu	<i>Terminalia macroptera</i>	COMBRETACEAE	kuula-hi/je	22
T42	mvuúr	<i>Vitex doniana</i>	LAMIACEAE	galbiije	18
T8	boob/bangò	<i>Albizzia spp</i>	LEGUMINOSEAE		16
T32	lií	<i>Erythrophlaeum guineense</i> (D.)	CAESALPINOIDEAE		16
T24	kékéma	<i>Pilostigma thoningii</i> (Schumach.) Milne-Redh.	LEGUMINOSEAE	barkeji	16
T51	tùbù	<i>A. leiocarpus</i> CD			
T39	mbikú	<i>Guill pen</i>	ANOGEISSUS		15
T40	manjoró	<i>Mangifera L.</i>	ANACARDIACEAE		13
T45	ndonj	<i>Milicia excelsa</i> (Welw.) C. Berg	MORACEAE	Iroko	12
T48	piâ	<i>Persea americana</i> Mill.	LAURACEAE	avocat	12
T62	yoó	<i>Vernonia amygdalena</i>	COMPOSITAE	ndolé	12
<u>Grasses, herbs, vines</u>					
H19	guií	<i>Pennisetum purpureum</i> Schum.	POACEAE		22
H4	càgàmbor	<i>Eleusine indica</i> (Linn) Gaertn	POACEAE		both
H5	cagàmbor tela	<i>Paspalum paniculatum</i>	GRAMINAE		together
H34	libi nàgà				16
H35	libi beér	<i>Sida rhombifolia</i>	MALVACEAE		both

		Linn.		together
				16
H37	luií	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>	POACEAE	16
H60	njebany ^{၁၁၅}	<i>Solanum nigrum</i> L.	SOLANACEAE	13
		<i>Cucurbita</i> L. spp		
H7	cèb		CUCURBITACEAE	waigore 12
H63	njieè			gene(Fu) 11
		<i>Echinochloa colona</i>		
H25	kabe	Link.	POACEAE	10
		<i>Epathorium</i>		
H3	bìnjammê	<i>odoratum</i>	COMPOSITAE	9
		<i>Cyperus articulatus</i>		
H53	njàgà	L.	CYPERACEAE	
		<i>Mariscus</i>		both
H54	njàgà	<i>alternifolius</i> Vahl	CYPERACEAE	together 9

Table 7

Individual knowledge scores based on trail walk

Sample size: 22 plants

ID total number of plants correctly identified in the field
U total number of plant uses given on trailwalk

GROUP 1

	ID	U
01F57	22	18
02F70	22	18
03F60a	22	21
32F32	22	17
39F50a	22	23

GROUP 2

09F25	22	13
18F24	22	14
27F18	22	14
31F24	22	14

GROUP 3

08M40	22	23
11M58	22	23
20M52	22	28
26M34	22	20

GROUP 4

12M16	18	14
23M27	20	14
25M28	21	18
33M23	21	20
37M30	22	20

Table 8.

Individual knowledge scores based on identifying and naming uses in the field

0	no name or wrong	0
1	name generic local	1
2	name/ use	2
3	binomial local/use	3
4	diff. types	4
5	all/use	5

Example:

Informant	local name	Use	score
001-F-54	Tulu	Firewood	2
	Boob/Bangò	Firewood	5
	Mvuúr	firewood	2
	Lií	poison	2
		Malaria, broken	
	Kékéma	bones	2
	Túbú		1
	Mbikú	Edible leaves	2
	Maᅅgoró	Edible fruit	2
	Ndoᅅ	timber	2
	Piâ	Edible fruit	2
	Yoó	wounds	2
	Guii		1
	Cágámbor	medicinal	1
	Libi	Ritual ointment	5
		Roof	
	Luií	construction	2
	Njebanyᅅᅅᅅ	Edible leaves	2
	Nyuri cimí	wounds	3
	Cèb	Edible leaves	2
	Njiè		4
	Kabe		1
	Binnjamê	Cut wounds	2
	Njàgà	malaria	2
		Total	49

Table 9**Yearly activity calendars for men and women**

Month	Women	Men
January	inspect and clean debris on field after burning collect dry wood	slash and burn fields, harvest coffee
February	clean burnt field with machete pay tractor to plough field plant yam, groundnuts	cut forest for farm, clean field burn forest
march	plant groundnuts, corn, women plant fields	women plant fields work in coffee, plant cassava, oil palm harvest
April	weeding fields, work in kapti	weeding in fields, oil palm harvest
May	weeding corn fields, peanut fields, kapti	weeding corn fields, peanut fields; work in coffee; pepper farm; oil palm
June	plant manioc, groundnuts	start harvesting corn
July	work on manioc fields, harvest, plant more	start harvest corn
August	harvest corn and groundnuts plant	corn harvest
September	weed manioc fields	
October	calm period	rest
November	cut firewood	rest; transhumance starts
December	cut firewood, two weeks celebration time and rest period	start harvest coffee

Table 10**Free list mentions of tree/ plant varieties and tree/plant uses by groups**

Sample size: total of 74 trees and 98 other plants elicited through free lists from 36 individuals

	Women1	Women 2	Men 1	Men 2
TREES	39	35	50	28
PLANTS	42	36	60	33
TOTAL	81	71	110	61

Free list mentions of tree/ plant varieties and tree/plant uses by groups

	F	FW	M	TR	CO	CR	O		
T TOTAL	14	20	17	5	7	6	1	1	6
P TOTAL	22	0	19	8	6	5	3	14	5
TOTAL T/P	36	20	36	13	13	11	4	15	11

TREES	F	FW	M	TR	CO	CR	O	NU	UK
Women 1	8	12	10	2	3	0	0	0	0
Women 2	10	9	3	0	1	0	1	1	4
Men 1	8	10	15	6	5	5	0	1	0
Men 2	12	18	12	2	5	4	0	1	6
PLANTS	F	FW	M	TR	CO	CR	O	NU	UK
Women 1	5	0	13	3	1	0	4	7	3
Women 2	12	0	3	1	2	0	0	13	12
Men 1	12	0	10	10	1	2	0	8	1
Men 2	6	0	5	1	3	1	1	12	1

Total number of all plants mentioned in use categories (free lists and trail walks)

Sample size: 39 individuals

	F	FW	M	R	CO	CR	O	NU	UK
Women 1	13	12	23	5	4	0	4	7	16
Women 2	22	9	6	1	3	0	1	13	1
Men 1	20	10	25	16	6	7	0	9	7
Men 2	18	18	17	3	8	5	1	13	

Table 11

Summary table of plants used medicinally and in ritual		
	Based on free lists (38 individuals) and ID trail walks (18 individuals)	
Trees	Scientific name	Medicinal use
bó	<i>Ficus thoningii</i> Moraceae	twin birth; broken bones
feér	<i>S.torvum</i> Solanaceae	chiggers; aches; male 'hernia'
giliba		abscess, lower back
gùm		jaundice', headache
lífkùlù		divination
mafani		teeth;chest; back
mandélém		teeth
mètɔk	<i>Voacanga</i> spp. Apocynaceae	hernia, worms
tùbù	<i>A. leiocarpus</i> CD Guill pen Anogeissus	jaundice; stomach;diarrh;teeth
tulu	<i>Terminalia macroptera</i> Combretacea	diarrhea,intestinal worms
tuú tuɔɔm		to chase snakes
dùlùmber		TR incense chases snakes
Grasses,	herbs, vines:	
bìnjammê	<i>Epathorium odoratum</i> Compositae	cut wound; abscess
cínjolo	<i>Bidens pilosa</i> Compositae	aches,jaundice
jolo	<i>Panicum maxima</i> Jacq. Poaceae	oath swearing, protection
manabu		child birth
mbentò	<i>Spilanthes filicaulis</i> Compositae	teeth; child birth
némadù		helps child to walk
nó	<i>Clerodenron scandens</i> Lamiaceae	umbilical chord
njàgà	<i>Cyperus articulatus</i> L. Cyperacea	malaria; fevers
□gèna télaá	<i>Commelina benghalensis</i> Commelinaceae	eyes; menstr
njieè		vertige'(epilepsy); malaria
nyuri cimî	<i>Ageratum conizoides</i> Compositae	chbirth; wounds;eyes;headache
nyuri sér	<i>Oxalis radcosa</i> A.Rich Oxalidaceae	gives appetite
nyuri njuù		teeth
nyuí		Stomach, headache
tiendoòb	<i>Emilia coccinea</i> Compositae	poisoning
tubu □gaám		divination
soó	<i>Aframomum cf melegata</i> Zingiber	divination,base of healing
yoó	<i>Vernonia amygdalena</i> Compositae	children crying; intestinal worms

Table 12

Food plants based on information from free lists and trail walks

Total number of foods mentioned as food from freelists and trail walk information: 35

Name	Other name	Scientific name	Part eaten
Total number of cultivated food plants: 11 (2 trees, 9 plants)			
Cèb		<i>Cucumis</i> spp. Cucurbitaceae	leaves and fruit boiled
Gueè-tágie	carotte	<i>Coleus esculentus</i> Plectranthus	tuber boiled
Kwéé	taro	<i>Ilocasia esculenta</i> Araceae	tuber boiled
ngwàgàmè	corn, maize, butali(Fu)	<i>Zea mays</i> Poaceae	grains
Sulimbié		<i>Lageneria</i> spp.	seeds boiled in sauce
Gaŋ	okra		fruit boiled in sauces
Tombi	macabo		F/tuber, boiled
Maŋgoró			fruit raw
Yulu	mil	<i>Sorghum</i> spp. Poaeceae	grains; trad. staple
Píá	avocat		
Total number of semi-wild food plants: 10 (1 tree, 8 plants, 1 cross cutting category tree/plant)			
Daar tèrè		<i>Cyphostemma</i> (stend.) Descoing Vitaceae	leaves boiled in sauce
Daar		<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i> Malvaceae	leaves boiled, flower in drinks
Kweri		<i>Cajanus cajan</i> Linn. Millsp.	
Lapsur (Fu)		Papillonoideae	dry seeds (pea) boiled
Mgbéra			leaves boiled in sauce
Tieè	wild yam		leaves boiled
Huéh			fruit boiled
Tíndar		<i>Solanum</i> spp.	leaves boiled
Teér	palmier,darli(Fu)	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> Palmae	oil, wine,broom of branches
Yoó	ndolé	<i>Vernonia amygdalena</i> Compositae	
Total number of wild food plants: 15 (9 trees, 6 plants)			
Manjérèb			leaves boiled
Bubogó			
Gwogob			fruit, eat raw
Njàgà		<i>Mariscus alternifolius</i> Vahl Cyperaceae	racemes raw, sweet

Njieè	gene(Fu)	<i>Cyperus procerus</i> Cyperaceae	race,mes raw, sweet
Bàgà			fruit raw
Bṳṅbṳṅ			edible fruit
Gombo			eat fruit ,sweet
Hibí		<i>Syzigium macrocarpa</i> Myrtaceae	fruit raw
Mbikú			leaves in sauce
Mvuúr	galbijje	<i>Vitex doniana</i> Lamiaceae	fruit raw
Se	rima jogoo-hi/je	<i>Crossopteryx febrifuga</i> Rubiaceae	fruit raw
Tùbù		<i>A. leiocarpus</i> CD Guill pen Anogeissus	fruit raw
Van			fruit raw
Tuú Yùòm			fruit boiled or grilled

Table 13

Trailwalk use elicitation exercise: Sample size: 16 individuals

Trees mentioned as firewood by different groups

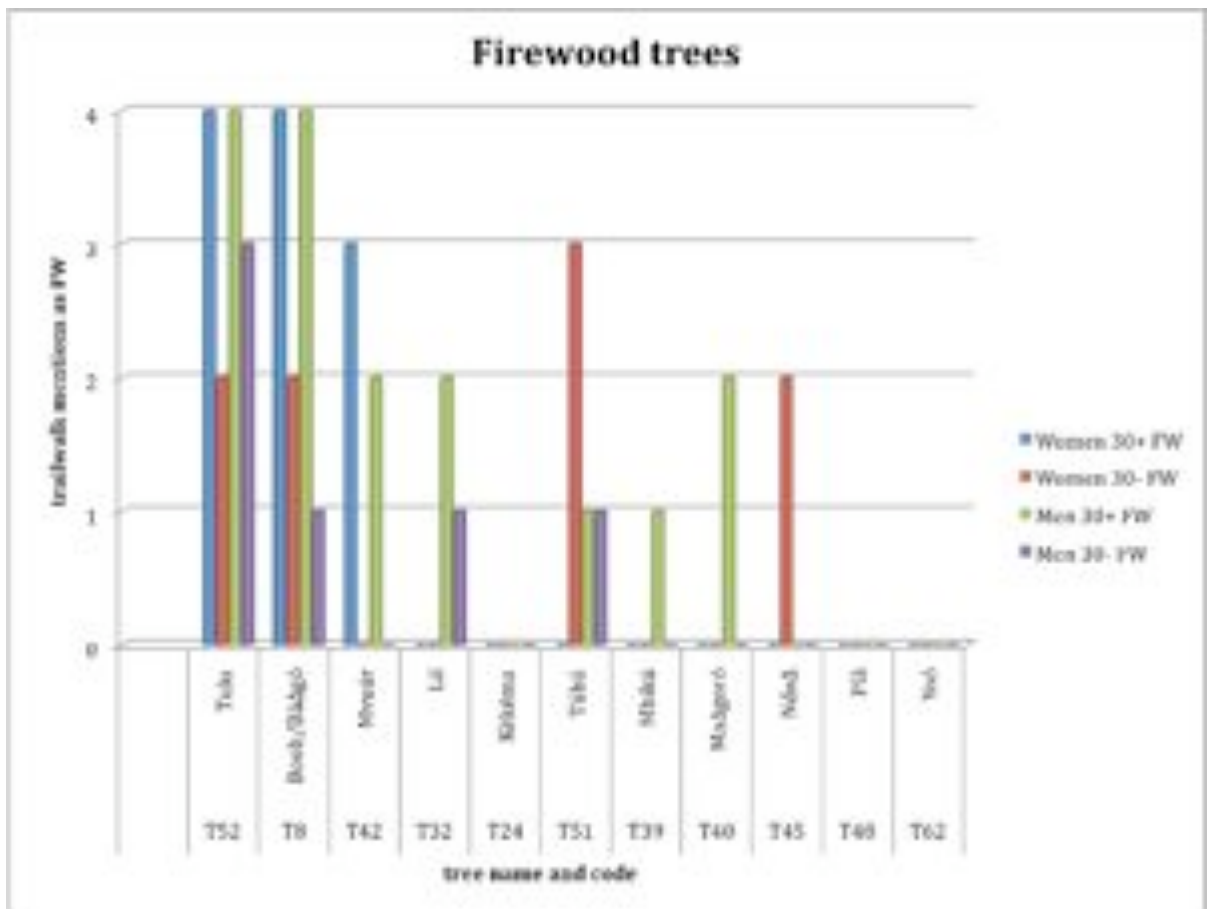


Table 14

Trees and other plants mentioned as sources of food (wild or cultivated)

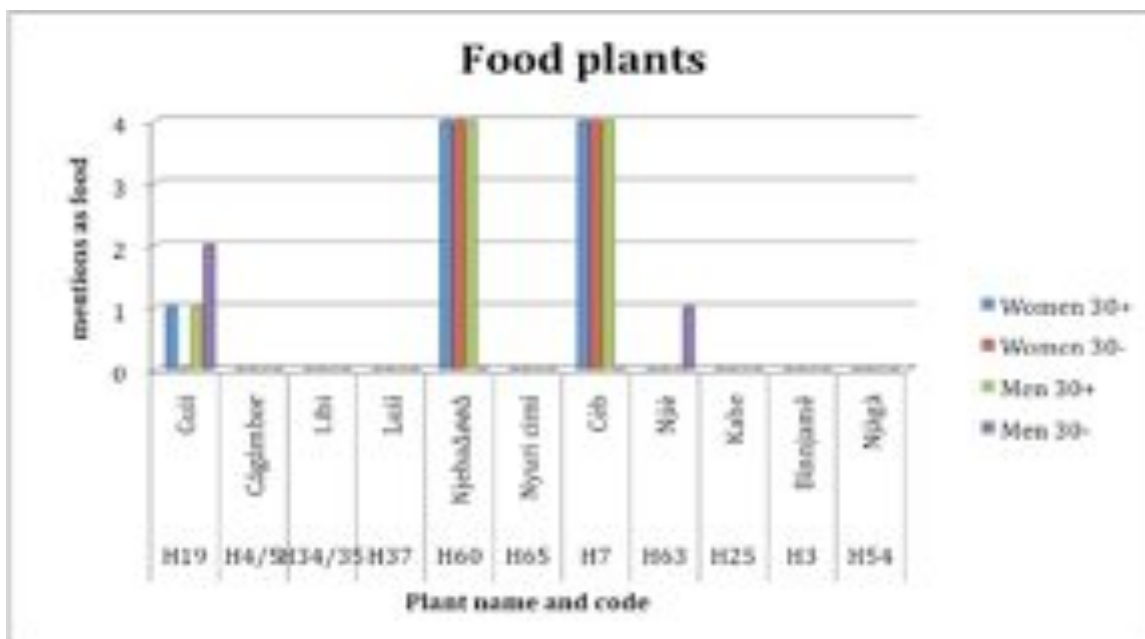
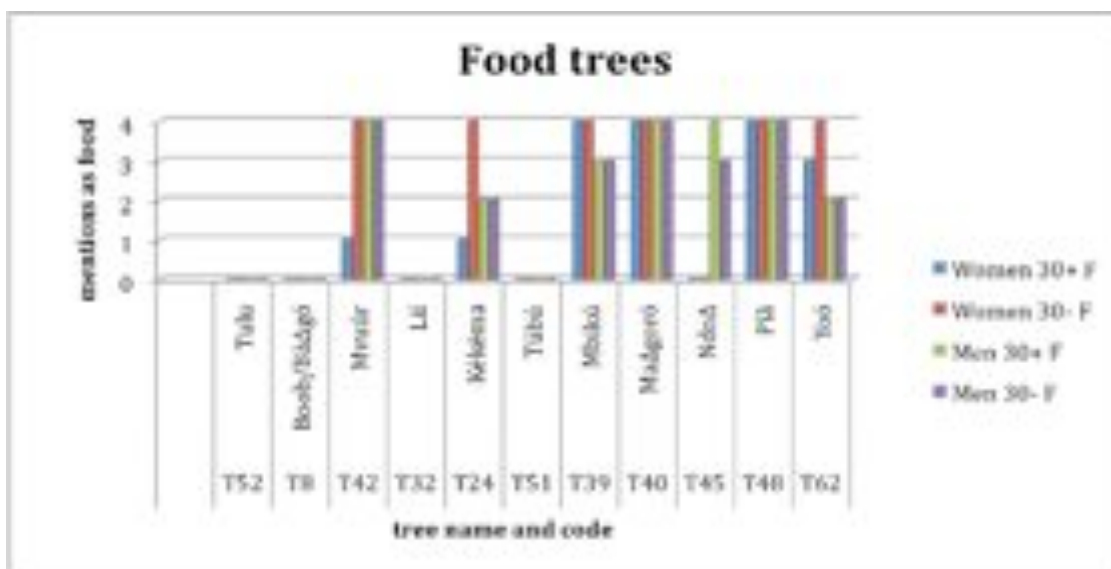


Table 15

Free list analysis (trees) with ANTHROPAC showing variation in clustering of individuals in groups

Free list mentions of trees from 36 individuals

Women between 30 and 84 years

Women between 15 and 30 years

Men between 30 and 88 years

Men between 15 and 30 years



Table 16

Free list analysis with ANTHROPAC showing variation in clustering of individuals in groups

Free list mentions of grasses, herbs, vines and bulbs collected from 36 individuals

Women between 30 and 84 years

Women between 15 and 30 years

Men between 30 and 88 years

Men between 15 and 30 year

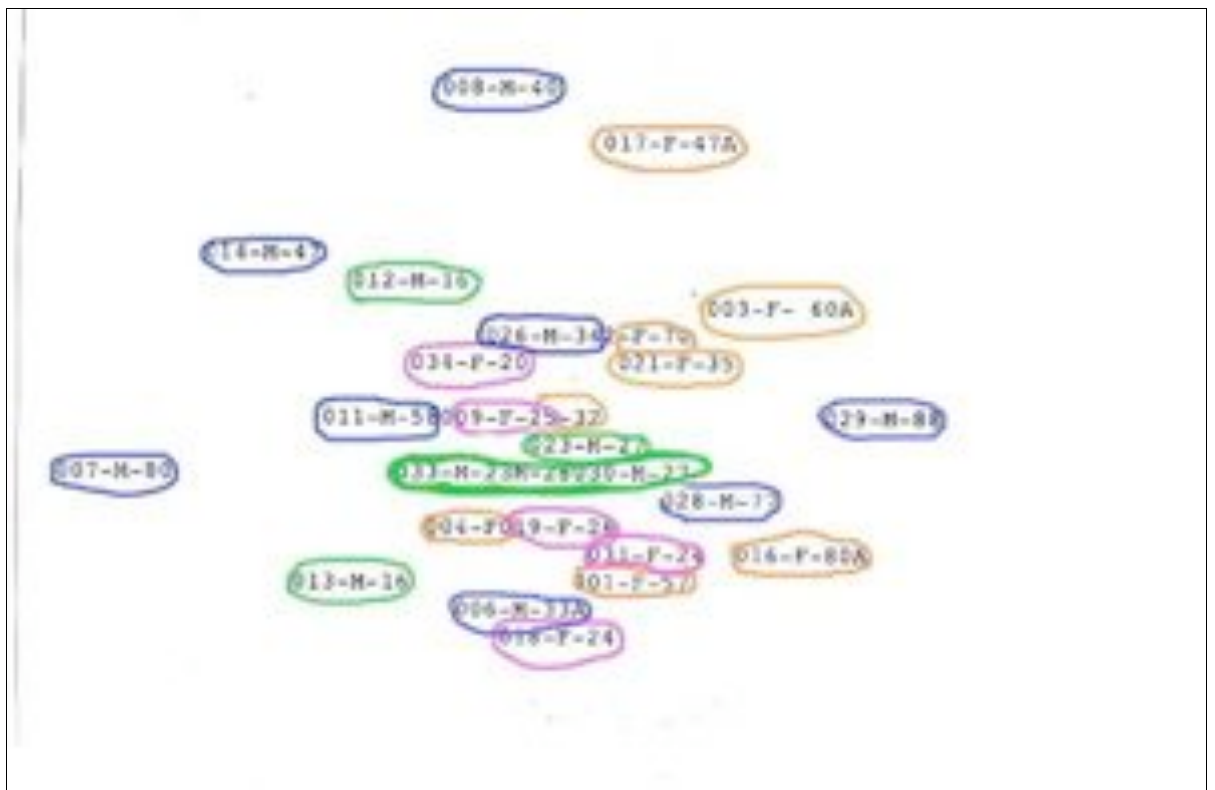
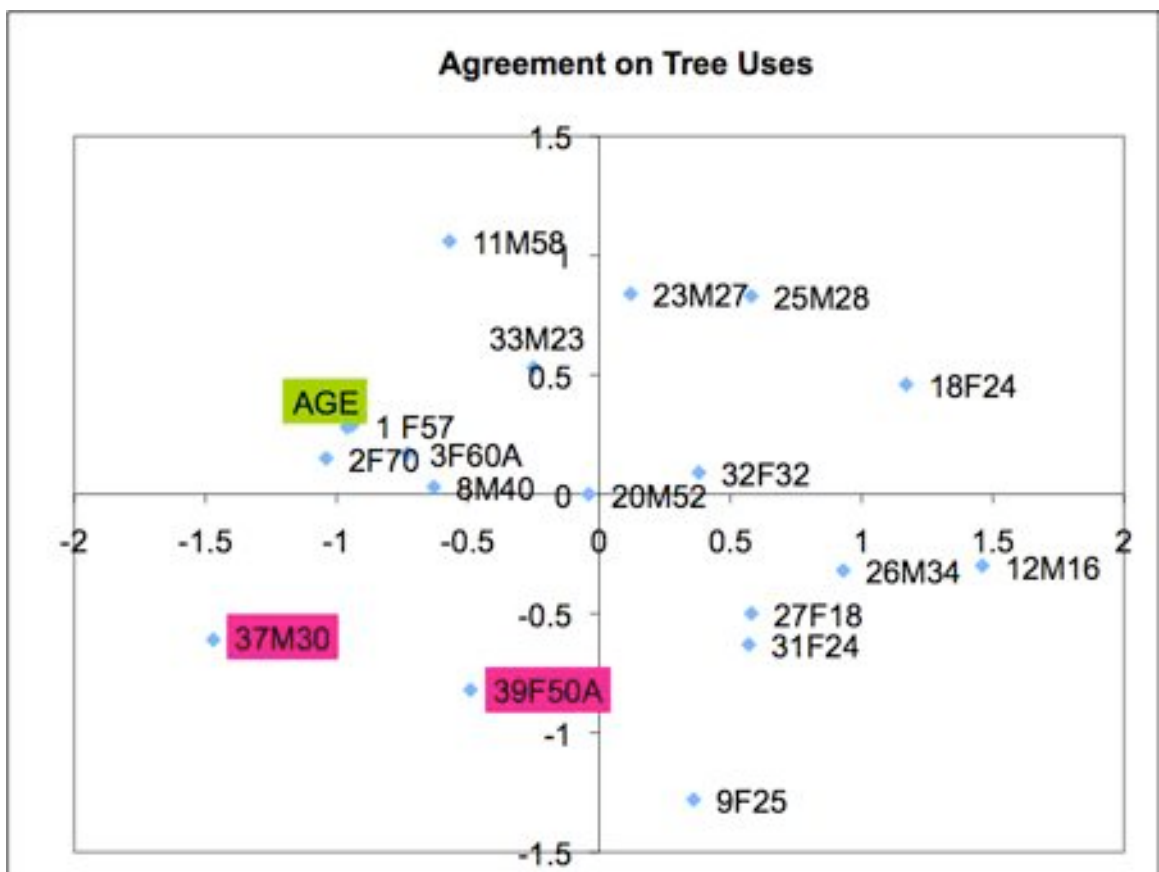


Table 17

Agreement on tree uses on trail walk analysed with ANTHROPAC regression analysis

Sample size: 18 individuals

Arrow shows AGE dimension increasing from lower right to upper left. This is a statistically significant relationship ($p < .013$) that explains about half ($r^2 = 0.48$) of the variation among informants with regards to uses of trees given



Agreement on tree uses on trail walk

Variable Mult R R-Squared Probability

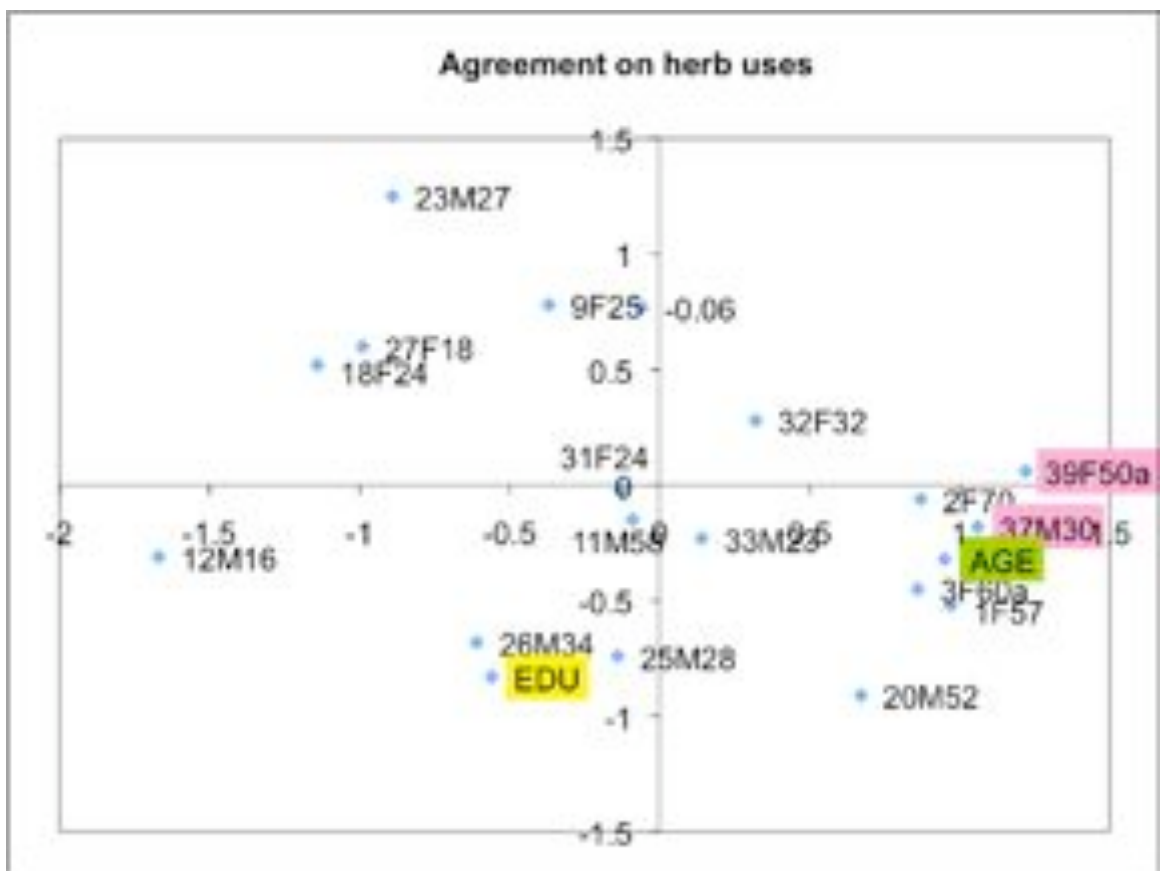
Variable	Mult R	R-Squared	Probability
AGE	0.691	0.477	0.013
EDU	0.468	0.219	0.163
SEX			0.002

X	Y
01F57	0.29
02F70	0.15
03F60a	0.17
08M40	0.03
09F25	-1.28
11M58	1.06
12M16	-0.3
18F24	0.46
20M52	0
23M27	0.84
25M28	0.83
26M34	-0.32
27F18	-0.5
31F24	-0.63
32F32	0.09
33M23	0.53
37M30	-0.61
39F50a	-0.82
AGE	0.28

Table 18

Agreement on plants (grasses, herbs) on trail walk analysed with ANTHROPAC regression analysis

Sample size: 18 individuals



Agreement on plant uses (grasses, herbs) on trail walks

PROFIT: Regression results against MDS plot of agreement on herb uses

Variable	Mult R	R-Squared	Probability
AGE	0.708	0.501	0.005
EDU	0.535	0.286	0.089
SEX		0.001	0.59

x	Y
01F57	-0.52
02F70	-0.06
03F60a	-0.45
08M40	0.77
09F25	0.78
11M58	-0.15
12M16	-0.31
18F24	0.52
20M52	-0.91
23M27	1.25
25M28	-0.74
26M34	-0.68
27F18	0.6
31F24	-0.02
32F32	0.28
33M23	-0.23
37M30	-0.18
39F50a	0.06
AGE	-0.32
EDU	-0.83
+	0

Table 19**Summary list of transmission channels of ethnobotanical knowledge**

Patterns in ethnobotanical knowledge transmission							
Data based on freelists illustrating how knowledge about plants in particular domains is transmitted							
		1	mother				
		2	friend				
		3	grandparent				
		4	father				
		5	child experience				
		6	family member				
		7	spouse				
		8	friend				
		9	specialist				
		10	village member				
		11	stranger				
		12	school				
		13	neighbour				
							Constr.
NAME	Inf.code	Food	Medicine	Firewood	Ritual	/Craft	Weed
Veyo Marguerite	1F57	1	1,2,6	1	5		1
Waŋ Christine	2F70		1,6				
Kea Monique	3F60a		1,4,6				
Tua Julienne	4F60a		1,4,6				
Theya Monique	10F60a		1	1			4
Wom Marguerite	16F80a		4	4	6	4	4
No Henriette	17F47	1,4,5	1,4,11				
Leke Regine	21F35			1,7,12			5,6
Lofe Monique	32F35		1,6,13	1			
Tabesam Louise	39F50a						
Mbiti Martine	9F19	1		1			
Lomi Clarisse	18F24	1,5		1			
Tiesam Elisabet	19F26	1,11	3	1			
Ge Marie	27F18	1		1,3			3
Temagoue	31F24	1	1				

Josephine							
Fadi Matu	34F20	4					4
Vekuu Baba Marti	35F19	1					
Mea Mirabel	36F18	1		1			
Nyagati Francois 5M80a							
Lilie Jonas	6M33	5,7	4				
Leban Gevede	7M80		4	4	4		
Bekimi Jean Claude	8M40	8		4,5,8		4	4
Baba Joel	11M58	1	4	1,4,5	4	4	
Yilyioko Martin							
(Lugha)	14M47	1,11	4,9,11			9,11	
Djidabe Jonas	15M32	1	1,4		4	4	
Sule Bager	20M52		4,8		1,5,6	4,6	
Ndissam Jean							
Claude	26M34	1,4		1,4		1,4,9	
Mama Simon	28M77		4		4		
Djumbiti Elouard 12M16 1,4,5 3							
Candel Mela	13M16	1,4,5		1			
Kounaka Prosper	22M23	5		1			1,4
Nuarsam Antoine	23M27	1,5	4				
Leju Lazare	24M26	1,6		6		6	4
Kunaka Fidel	25M28		6			4,6	

Table 20**Knowledge transmission channels for different use categories based on free lists from 36 individuals**

	Food	Medicine	Firewood	Ritual	CO\CR	Weed
Mother	17	10	11	1	1	2
Friend	0	1	0	0	0	0
grandparent	0	1	1	0	0	2
Father	7	12	5	4	7	6
child experience	7	0	2	2	0	2
family member	1	6	1	2	3	2
Spouse	1	0	1	0	0	0
Friend	1	2	1	0	0	0
Specialist	0	1	0	0	2	0
village member	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stranger	2	2	0	0	1	0
School	0	0	1	0	0	0
neighbour	0	1	0	0	0	0

Appendix III

Statements

1. Note on orthography

The orthography used in this study is based on Mona Perrin's (Perrin 1987) revised *Alphabet and Orthography Statement for the Mambila Language* (2005). Some deviations from the above-mentioned orthography stem from the fact that Mona Perrin's dictionary was written for the Mambila dialect of the neighbouring village Atta. As this study was done in collaboration with the Mambila Dictionary Project, which aims to compile dictionary data for the Mambila dialect of Somié, all orthographic transcriptions of Mambila plant names were supplied by my research assistant Daniel Tchiebeu, who is an active member of the Mambila Dictionary Committee and who was formally trained for this type of linguistic work. He has worked extensively with Dr. Bruce Connell and Dr. David Zeitlyn on Mambila orthography. I am greatly indebted to his infatigable help and assistance with the transcriptions.

2. Voucher specimen collections

80 Mambila plant names for the Mambila Dictionary Project. Initially, I had worries concerning plant collection in the wet tropics and identification in the field because many trees were not expected to be in flower, and because there was no botanical field guide available for the area of my study. Voucher specimen collection methods such as the Schweinfurt method, and carrying large equipment such as pruning poles and big saws presented logistical difficulties and were discouraged by my tutors at Kent and Kew, as well as by the director of the National Herbarium in Yaounde, Cameroon.

Equipped with a plant press from the Ethnobiology Lab at Kent University, jewellers tags and small zip lock bags donated from Kew, as well as 20 blotting papers and 20 corrugated metal separators, which I left with the National Herbarium, in Yaounde as a gift from Kew, I decided to follow the advice of Kew specialists, and organised the remaining collection materials onsite.

Newspapers are sold in Cameroon in bulk by shops that specialise in car repairs and painting, and cardboard is easy to come by on market day when vendors pack up their ware.

The three additional plant presses that a local carpenter in the village made for me were simple plywood sheets cut to size and with large holes drilled into them for air circulation. Straps to tie them together were cut from the inner tubes of car tires.

I generally took one plant press into the field and collected plant specimens in a preliminary press between sheets of newspaper (fig. 25), and subsequently arranged them between blotting paper and metal sheets upon my return to the house. I tried to collect mainly plants that were mentioned on free lists, however, fertile specimens were preferred and influenced my choice of specimen collection. For each voucher specimen, I noted GPS position, basic description of the plant and its surroundings. I also recorded the uses named for it by my field assistant (on tape) and tried to note uses mentioned by villagers who curiously followed my "daily drying routines". I also tried to take a photograph of the plant in the field or on a sheet of white paper (fig.26) for future identification purposes, but this was often difficult due to weather conditions or time constraints in the field.



Figure 23. Collecting in the field (photo D. Zeitlyn)



Figure 24. Voucher specimen of *Terminalia macroptera* (R.K)

I left the plants in the press overnight, hung them above cooking fires early in the morning, and took them into the sun later in the day (fig 26).



Figure 25. Drying specimens in the sun (photo R.K.)

collection, changing moist papers and rearranging the position of still moist plants in the presses. This system proved simple and effective, but it had a few organisational drawbacks. As the number of voucher specimens increased, so did the time spent on their drying and sorting, as some plants that were more fleshy than others, needed special attention.

Too slow drying sometimes resulted in mould forming on the specimen, or leaves and flowers began to fall off. At the end of my stay, some people were happy to have the used newspapers, and accidentally might have taken some of the pressed specimens between the sheets.

I transported the specimens in a hard case donated by Kew and delivered one copy at the National Herbarium in Yaounde where they were taxonomically identified by herbarium specialists for a fee. As I had only one copy of some of the specimens, I was told to take some of the more common species to Kew as the herbarium in Yaounde neither has sufficient space for voucher specimen storage, nor enough material to mount specimens.

Export permits for the voucher specimens (phytosanitary form) were obtained at the Douala airport at a fee, before I left Cameroon.

Labels for the herbarium specimens were handwritten onto printed label forms in Yaounde, and, at Kew, were entered into the Kew database and prepared according to specifications set out in Bridson and Forman (1999). Specimens were not sterilised or treated for pests in Yaounde but underwent a 48 hour sterilisation procedure in a freezer at Kew before being taken into the herbarium for further handling.

Currently, they are in the process of being mounted and subsequently, identified by Martin Cheek and other specialists in Cameroonian flora (fig.26).



Figure 26. Mounted specimen of **tulu** (*Terminalia macroptera*)

3. Letter from the Mambila Language Committee to the University of Kent at Canterbury

Doléances du Comité de Langue Mambila.

Le Comité de traduction a vu l'intérêt général pour la langue Mambila parce que 40% et 20% de la population savent lire et écrire en mambila de Somié. A cet effet nous demandons à l'University of Kent de nous chercher les voies et moyens afin de doubler nos efforts dans la traduction des mots mambila. Non seulement pour nous vanter mais pour construire l'avenir de nos enfants qui doivent garder l'identité patrimoniale qui est leur langue maternelle. La langue qui fait l'objet du développement de la Communauté doit être répandue par écrit. Madame Reka vous éprouvera les témoignages sur ladite langue à travers les noms des plantes trouvés.

L'équipe du dictionnaire Mambila a travaillé depuis quatre ans (4-8) sans aucune motivation, actuellement le travail est en baisse pour cette raison.

Comme il y a les différentes dialectes dans la Communauté, nous ne voulons plus que les langues étrangères gagnent notre propre langue et nous remercions M. Bruce Cornell pour avoir guidé le Comité à transcrire correctement notre propre dialecte de Somié. Par exemple nous avons déjà les articles en mambila, nous avons aussi le Nouveau Testament en mambila, tout ceci grâce à l'initiative des Européens. Nos remerciements

Vont aussi à l'encontre du Dr David Zeitlyn
qui a beaucoup travaillé parmi nous sur la langue
et y a de cela plus de vingt ans. Nous ne
cessons pas aussi de remercier le partenariat qui
existe entre nous, l'effet de tisser harmonieuse-
ment cette relation bilatérale à travers nos
étudiants qui viennent régulièrement chez nous
pour qu'on évolue toujours tous ensemble. Et
grande fut notre joie. Fin de citation.

L'équipe est constituée de cinq
membres présents trois hommes et deux femmes d'où il
s'agit de :

- 1- Soussoué Michel
- 2- Tchikéou Daniel
- 3- Bodé René
- 4- Véyo Marguerite
- 5- Mbiti Dominique.

Fait à Somié le 14-06-09
par le Comité de Langue Mambila
à Somié

Le Secrétaire : *Hugo* et le Secrétaire : *[Signature]*

The Mambila Language Committee was established in 1998 with the aim to promote mother-tongue education in the Mambila dialect of Somié and to assist the Mambila Dictionary Project. According to their information, teaching efforts have, to date, resulted in literacy skills for approximately 50 villagers who can now read (only approximately 15-20 of these can also write). Presently, the committee is to a large extent inactive, due to a lack of funds for teaching materials. In this letter, the Committee expresses their gratitude to the University of Kent for their cooperation and interest, and for the students who keep coming to the village.

4. Reflections on the fieldwork

Conducting research in a foreign environment represents an adventure of inner and outer journeying. It is my passion for the discipline of people and plants, and my deep respect and sense of comradeship for all fledgling ethnobotanical fieldworkers that inspire me to share some of these deeply personal observations. May both the discipline and the disciples benefit from it.

The balancing act between objective, quantifiable observation and the more organic and human participant observation that is continuously present in any researcher-participant interaction, combined with the physical and psychological challenges of fieldwork affected me during my 5 week stay in the village in multitudinous ways.

Psychologically, I experienced a shift in the sense of privacy and the need to define my own cultural and personal identity as well as my role as a representative of Kent University. I felt observed by the "communal eye of the village" no matter what I did or where I went in the village and found that this affected my behaviour in several, often irrational ways. As my entire identity in the village was based on me being a student, and therefore on a very low budget, I was reluctant to spend money in the village on things that could have helped me when I was ill, depressed or simply in need of human company. I therefore initially avoided buying bottled water which is very expensive and a sign of relative "wealth", as well as cooked food on market day and gifts from the market for myself or for presents. Having to maintain a "hard" point on matters of finance when people came to ask me for money turned out to be the principal difficulty of my stay, often affecting me emotionally and creating a "me -and -them " feeling that was otherwise absent in my relations with the villagers.

Maintaining a cultural identity and at the same time respecting the local culture was, in general, an effortless dance. However, there are invisible processes at work when one is on unfamiliar grounds having to adjust to things that might be opposite to one's own belief systems. Having to sit through a church gathering on International Women's Day when I was suffering of my third day of malaria-like fever, was one of these tests, and resulted in subsequent conversations with people about my, readily accepted, non- affiliation to any world religion. Similarly, I had to consciously distance myself from accepting "special remedies" from a traditional practitioner for certain health problems such as a sudden bout of severe constipation brought about (most probably) by the change in diet and as a result of high fever. I also observed that the belief in witches started to "contaminate" me, and I became very conscious of never closing the door while I was in the house during the day, or to consume food by myself behind closed doors.

As I encountered some plants that I had personal experiences with as herbal remedies, I started to

make my own 'medicine' and shared knowledge of their preparation and use with anyone who showed interest. My ways of self- medicating without the use of Western medicine gave me a reputation of being knowledgeable with plants, and the chief, his first wife and several other individuals sought out my opinion on health issues .

The daughter of a renowned traditional practitioner accepted my powder made from a plant unknown to the Mambila (*Mimosa pudica*) as a relaxant and sleep inducer when she was suffering from fever and insomnia due to pains caused by her wisdom teeth. These interactions were the highlights of my stay in the village and gave me inspiration for further research ideas on the cross- fertilisation of medicinal plant uses across cultures. They also encouraged individuals who were knowledgeable in this domain to share their knowledge with me in exchange.

In retrospect, I want to emphasise that being open minded and patient with oneself and others is the best recipe for a " safe sail" on the deeply personal voyage into the field.

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