Anthropology

Wesley Sadler

II

About 10,000 + words

May 1950—

Cont of Kpoa Vai, p1–
Twins, 60
Water Spirits, 63
etc: see inside,
p1

The burial of the leading yada bee nu of Wooze, & one who was ~~also the~~ probably also the relig. leader of the town.

The unusual features of this burial were as follows:

~~1. The yaa (the Dinner's medium) was taken from the dead dinner's supply~~

1. Before dada, the dead man, died, he gave his yaa to another man. So, when dada was lying on the mound, the man placed some of the yaa

W.C = water child
W.P. = " people
sp = spirit
spl = soulplayer
sps = spirits
W sp = water spirits
> = become

Last date entry in Anth I is
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Kpaava cont'd < BkI, Anth, P 65

ask, "Bɛ e wɔ̃ini gɛ̃ kpaavai zei wũ mɔ? " The volunteer will get up & go to him & sit in the mat before him. Then the spl will place the bucket on his or her head. (Here the ~~sexes~~ sex line is not drawn). Note: the bucket is set; that is, it's bottom rests on the person's head.

The spl will knock the bucket with his finger & tell the person what the people want to find out from the spirit. Then the spl will tell him to ~~where~~ where he should go in the sp. world, & , if that person is not there (that particular sp. ~~not~~ might be ~~in~~ another town), he is advised to seek

* > ti

another one. The spl continues to hold the bucket as he talks.

ɩpaavai lɛ liini* bɛ́ (the top does not work with all people). ~~If the "traveller" does not agree with him (anitɔ́ɔ́ ɛ lɛ~~ 5/15/50

If the bucket does not agree with the traveller, the spl will remove the bucket from his head. He can discern this lack of "agreement" because the traveller will appear like one in a deep, eyes closed, swaying.

If the bucket does not agree with the person (~~th~~ such a person will be sitting there, wide awake), he will tell him to go & ask for another volunteer.

* na yeni = the food.

Some spokers, as soon as they put the bucket on the person's head, will tell him not to eat anything when he arrives in the sp. world. Other spks give this advice as soon as they see it is going to "take." (ine le na yeni* ini).

The there is no law against the spectators talking, it is usually quiet, as the spk is talking & should be heard.

~~A simple~~ The knocking on the bucket is steady, tired, soft, regular. The room is quiet. It is dark.

The person is sitting, unsupported by person or object. The knocking sometimes continues 10 or 15 minutes after the speech stops

The "trouble" (or special Lasma name for him) sits

In their fashion + the bpl sits behind him. When the person begins to fall (hypnotized, I believe), the bpl will say to the bucket (it is the bucket that is controlling the travellers): "Foo va vele (straight back towards the bpl). When the traveller is beginning to ~~wart~~ ~~wear~~ wobble, the bpl will say to him, "yee ka kparvai va. The person has been holding it all the time, but this is now just a reminder. The bpl does not touch the person or the bucket (except to touch the bucket, even when the person is ~~to~~ ~~the~~ stretched out on the ground). When the person is lying flat on his back, still holding the bucket on his

head; the spl will continue to knock the bucket for 10 or 15 mins.

To go back: as soon as the bucket is ~~also~~ placed on the man's head, the spl knocks & gives the mag. The mag is given only once. Sometimes it is a short mag, sometimes a long one, given in a monotone. A sample mag: folomo (the traveller), li ɛ bo koboi (the sp they want to extract) ma ga gé wɔini gé kwɛ̃ ani zizi ja valo ɔɔ lɛ valozu (zizi is the sick human)? Borelaale gé lɛ kwɛ̃ni nii e jɛɛ la (has happened to him — the cause of the sickness), ani nu ta ja e kɛɛ e zeebɛzu (if anyone made him sick) bo gé ma.

ani kuboi lɛ na, bo galakpai (the alternate spirit) ga — & then the song about Zizi is repeated. Then: nɛ lɛ yeni ta nɛpɛ mi/na (and to folomo); ani yà yeni mi na na, yà za. gé te lui (the spirits of the relatives who want this information) ga tamaa.

Now the spl continues knocking on the bucket until he sees signs that the bucket is agreeing with the person. If no signs of agreeing, he removes the bucket & calls for another volunteer. If he sees that it is taking, & he begins to wobble, he will now say to the bucket, "too ve vele," as the person is

stretched out on his back, the spl will cont to knock on the bucket for 10 or 15 mins.

To go on: now the traveller begins to produce or to respond. If his mother or father is dead, he will see one of them first & start crying (sometimes with tears), sometimes loudly. The spl will say to the traveller:

love bá (the sp seer) è li ɛ̃. The traveller will obey & pass on. He will reach the river, the spl will tell him to ask for a certain person on the other side to come & cross him. (bo tokpa ma é va é è love). The traveller will say, "galakpai,

~~(the one the spl has instructed the traveller to call to get tokpa), ya è tèvè,~~
~~now the spl will say to him.~~
Now the traveller will say to the spl: "Ba yá tèvè? (who will cuss me). The spl: tokpa jazaja ke é è lèvè. Then the traveller will say aloud (and anyone in the room will hear him say it), "Ya è tèvè!" tokpa will come & cuss him. Peter does not know what they is used to effect the cursing. The traveller enters the town; he asks for the sp the spl instructed him to find. When he finds the ~~person~~ sp he will say to the sp, "Wèè ya gàazù (I am a stranger). ~~Begin~~

1. See page 12 X-Y

//Beginning with his
Conversation with the
sp sought, the people in
the house & the spl do
not understand or even hear
what is sd between them.
After the traveller & the
sp have met, the sp will
take the traveller into a big
kitchen that is in the
qtr (just as we do with a
stranger on this side),
& there the traveller will
see his ~~fm~~ relatives sps.
The sps not there & needed
will be sent for. The
big person who is sick will
be seen in ~~the sp~~ there, in
the sp kitchen, ~~lying~~
~~imprisoned~~ imprisoned to a kpeewai.

When anyone needed is
present in the kitchen, the
sp ~~dengo~~ sought will
say to the traveller, "Why

did u come (or who sent you or what is your reason for coming) again, was, this is just as they do with a stranger in this side. Then the traveller will deliver the msg of the spl. This msg is called Kwena-bo (repent). // 4
When the repent is heard, the traveller will tell the spl what the spo have replied. ~~do~~ The traveller says this aloud & everyone present can hear & understand it. If the reply is that zizi will live, the sp will take such & such to be done before zizi can be assured of a cure & released to them. Perhaps the spo will want the person who has engaged the

sandpaper to get this information to make one or 2 sacrifices at once: powder rice & place it on the rd; or: ~~gots~~ place kola nuts on the rd & leave it there, or give Zizi's clothes to a bright skinned person or to a black " one, or Zizi's father's sp should be fed, Zizi, his bros & sisters helping to gather them; or as soon as Zizi is released, he must feed all the sps of the gts; or Zizi has cheated his living relatives in the gts & they, the sps, have made him sick for that & are holding him for it, or Zizi has bound himself under a.

curse that he must kill his bro (by ~~medicine~~ magical med or by med poison or by supernatural powers), & the sp's have made him sick & are holding him for it.

X-y: The material, was, between //s, pp 9-10, is not heard by the people in the house, but they know it is taking place (for, I believe, it is what takes place when a stranger insults them here or earth).

An important note before going on. 1). The sp's kpaova is not sought for ~~a sick~~ the sp's advice about a sick person unless the person is very sick. 2). a very sick

person's sp is in the sp world.
3) A slightly sick person's
spirit is within him. 4). The
~~[illegible] to~~ living body of the very
sick person is called mavooyo gi,
~~an empty thing~~ (~~the shell is~~
(the empty shell or skin left behind
by any living thing, the living
thing itself leaves it).

5/17/50

While the traveller is
giving this report from the spirits,
the spl will say that the msg
given to the traveller is given
to him by means of the
spl. ~~Everybody~~ The spl says, &
everybody believes, that
it is a spl in the sp world
who ~~[illegible]~~ has told the
~~[illegible]~~ to whom the earthly
spl has directed him what
to say. That is, a sp spl
~~has~~ is the one who gave the

bys the information in the report which the traveller has relayed to the earthly sp & the people in the hut.

During the report, the traveller is lying on the mat, his eyes closed, still ~~on~~ holding the bucket to his head. He speaks in a natural voice. Perhaps he will be trembling a bit & maybe sweating, for, remember, he has been in contact with the sps of the sp world. Occasionally he will cry, actual tears, for 2 or 3 minutes, because he has seen his mother or father or ~~see~~ some other dear one. The spl will tell him to stop crying, & he will obey. The spl will say this in a kindly way, knocking on the bucket as he does so. Perhaps the

traveller will see a fearful looking person in the spirit world, & this will make him cry.

While the ~~spl~~ traveller is giving the report, the spl continues to knock on the bucket. When the spl is ~~intently~~ or questioning the traveller, he ~~is~~ knocks on the bucket.

A woman may be the traveller. The ~~spl~~ spl is a man. Peter knows of no woman having a Kpaava.

The traveller waits until ~~the whole~~ a whole paragraph or so has been given to him by the spl, & then he relays it to the spl in the room (or earth). If the traveller has a bad memory at the time, the msg is given in short relays.

It appears that the traveller never has to get the sp to ~~repeat~~ repeat.

~~When the message is completed~~ Peter has not ~~see~~ been present when ~~the traveller, though~~ someone present, though the spl or directly, has asked the traveller a question after the bucket has been placed on his head. But he does believe it is possible to ask a question at this time.

The traveller does not relay the msg to the earthly spl through his one. Everyone present can hear ~~it~~ & understand.

When all the information has been relayed, the spl says to the ~~bucket, knocking on~~

bucket (Peter believes it is the bucket, for if to the spos, the plural pron. would be used), ~~the handle on~~ knocking on it softly: "Be ba é va", sometimes repeating it once or twice. Then the Travellers begins to open his eyes, apparently coming to himself, perhaps as tho coming out of a sleep, loosening his grip on the bucket, & slowly sit up, & then go slowly to a standing position. Then he will go & sit down by the people. Then the people present will begin to laugh at the traveller & ask him, "Vaa Be na?" Reason for laughing: his crying when he saw the spos. Perhaps the

* kpa is a word used with wishing.

spl will laugh too, & maybe he will say: "è luovɛ, è yii lɛ loonì," because he cried.

Sometimes a traveller, when he goes to his own house, will cry (tears), saying, "I wish ~~you~~ God stayed there forever." (gò yɛ na sa kpa*). Such a person has a close & dear relative in the sp world. People present will advise him to stop crying, telling him ~~that~~ if he ~~[illegible]~~ continues crying while he is going to his ~~farm~~ farm, say, the lord sp will catch him (~~catch~~ so = make him sick & die).

Because ~~a person is not~~

~~which~~ the lord sp might oblige & catch & him come him to die & carry him to the sp world.

Yes, note the very close contact between people of this world & the sp world. With travellers going back & forth frequently, plus the other contacts, the tie is never broken as long as human remembrance remains.

I believe that the voice of the spl & the knocking on the bucket plus the submission of the travellers, together with the great imagination of these people, ~~I believe that this confusion of circumstances makes~~ plus the almost (if not complete)

complete similarity between the sp world & this world — — this combination of circumstances makes it possible for a traveller to actually see the things he does, ~~& appearance in the sp~~ in what he thinks is the sp world, especially in regard to recently departed loved ones. I cannot understand, though, ~~these~~ his relaying such reports about Zizi as are written in the preceding pages.

Peter, however, has this remark to make. When a spl knows ~~that~~ he is going to be asked to perform with his bucket, he will go to a fellow member of his society

~~* this or that = say, better in the tra~~
~~all nits, which we are not say nuzzel tads~~
~~without cause~~

always ⇐ the moni
society. The spl will
ask his fellow moni
members what ~~he thinks the~~
they (the moni members) think
is the cause of Zizi's
sickness. Wishing to help him,
they will tell him what they
think is the cause of his
sickness (a natural cause
is never blamed for the
sickness: injure water, say).
~~They will say, "è ji ge jeni~~
~~su tei zuwi nii è nit~~
~~yeeni* è seebei nii marti~~
~~Weni." The spl will~~
~~answer: "say, yes."~~
~~They will say: "è ji ge jeni~~
~~su tei nu yila è jeni~~
~~seebezu tai zu, bovelaale~~
~~nii nii nuil nii tee ta ga~~
~~è keeni? = you ancestors who~~
~~are gone, who sick in time (lost~~

years, say), ~~because~~
~~this that this person died~~
Before going on: the mani people
— a spl is always a mani
person — stick together, helping
one another with important. ~~If~~
~~a mani~~ Anything important
in the village (& a serious
sickness is important) will
be known to all of them.

Now suppose ~~an~~ a relative of Zizi (the very sick man) goes to the Spl & tells him he wants to use his budget to ascertain the fate of Zizi. If this spl does not already know (know should be in quotation marks) the cause of Zizi's sickness, he will go to a fellow mani reader & ask him. The mani reader will point out that one before so & so hollered in the village at night without cause & that later he > very sick, the breaking of this law causing the sickness. Now, not long ago Zizi hollered in town, & he is very sick; & so, putting 2 & 2 together, Zizi's sickness is due to his hollering in town.

Pete & others, including ~~[illegible]~~ natives people who are not spls or mini people, believe that the spl always gets a fellow mini to cure & be the travellers, nothing believe that the bucket agrees with him, &, as the spl's ~~[illegible]~~ previous prompting, reports (from the sp world) the cause of Zizi's sickness & the things the ~~[illegible]~~ relatives are to do to release him.

In brief, Pete & others think the whole thing is faked. That everyone with whom the bucket agrees is a plant by the spl.

Note, however, that Pete believes that the ~~[illegible]~~ pleased travellers ~~[illegible]~~ cries real tears because he actually believes he sees his ~~[illegible]~~ loved

departed relative in the sp world. This brings up the following question: ~~does the trouble~~ how much is the troubler fooling the people & how much does he actually believe ~~that~~ he experiences.

5/18/50

Peter has not witnessed the following, but he has heard reports about it several times: If someone in a town steals something & hides it in the bush, the victim will go to a Kpaava owning spl & ask him to use his Kpaava to discover the thief & the whereabouts of the stolen goods. Anybody may attend. The troubler in

this case is a mani of
argue with whom the bucket
agrees.

The troubles undergoes the
same procedure as ~~the~~
described above, ~~the~~ spl
hooting & talking (vɛ wũmɔ yɛni
na gɛ́ wõni ɛ́ na lɛ ga
gi ɛ́) until the troubles
falls back, ~~asks~~ in his "trance".
~~The~~

Here the spl continues hooting
in the bucket until the
troubles gets up & walks out
of the house, still holding
the bucket on his head, the
people present & the spl
following ~~the troubles.~~ him
as he leads them to the
hiding place of the stolen
goods. He will say, "Tawaa."
The spl will instruct
him, "Kulo," and he will

take it out & show it to the people. When this is done the spl will look at the bucket & say ~~it~~ to the bucket, "Be bá é va."
And the traveller will return to himself. Peter does not believe the traveller's eyes are closed while he is leading the way to the stolen articles. Then everyone will return to the town.
Peter does not know what spirit ~~upon~~ informs the traveller of the identity of the thief, but someone in the sp world ~~does~~ does, but when he & the others return to the house, he reveals the name of the thief.

Some spls direct the traveller to ply upon the thief & not the hiding place.

To go back a bit: the spl directs the traveller, when he is on the road & the spl is hooking in the bucket, that he is to go to the sp world for this information, but Peter does not know what sp is to be contacted there.

When the spl has directed the traveller to swerve in the sp world to reveal the thief only & not the hiding place of the goods, he will give the traveller a stick about 3 feet long & as thick as my thumb & tell him, "yà wɔ́ɔ na wũmɔ nui va, kpóove (beat) gà nii." Then, with the bucket still on his head & while he is still "under," he will go into the village & look

for the thief. "looking for" is a misleading expression, for the traveller, by now, knows who he is & will go directly to him, going even as far as Fisibu to get him if he is there.

When he reaches him, he beats the thief with the stick, hard, ~~still~~ now holding the bucket with one hand. The thief will ask: "zeba ve?" The traveller: "gà è boovezu, boveloale yà yà ~~folomo na~~ è folomo na boai wũmɔa." If the person does not immediately admit his guilt, the traveller will continue beating him until he says that he is the

one. The people of the hut & the spl are still with him.

When the person confesses, the spl. knocks on the bucket & says, "Be bá é va."

The person cries "to" & the bucket is removed from his head & return to their homes. The matter is now revealed. Folomo now has the right to request his knife & to levy a fine on him as permitted by the law of the town. The person will have to comply. The thief, once he returns the stolen goods & pays the fine to Fl, is free. The biggest penalty is the disgrace involved, showing that stealing is a bad thing. Perhaps the

people will talk about this thing for a couple years. The only ~~thing~~ stealing considered mild, is the theft of palm wire, but a fine is paid for it just the same. Pete believes $1,50 is the fine for stealing palm wire.

The price for using the services of the spl & his bucket is no more than his services without the bucket.

A 3rd use of the bucket, similar to ~~[illegible]~~ the above: Suppose 4 people live in 1 house, & ~~the~~ the owner of the house has his knife (etc) stolen. If no one will confess, he will carry them to the

sandpapers & a moni or
screw with show the bucket
apples will have the "
placed on his head & will
travel to the sp world, returning
with the information of the
thief's identity. He will
have the stick placed in his
hand & will be instructed
to beat the one of the 3
who has stolen the knife.
Confessions, etc, follow.

While the beating is
going on, the travellers eyes
will be closed. When the sp
brings him out of it, he
will sit down on the floor,
blinking & acting generally as
though he has just been
aroused from a deep sleep.

If the thief attempts to move from the traveller while the beating is going on, the traveller will follow him & continue beating him. The people present will not allow him to escape. In some cases even after the thief confesses the people say that he should have more beating.

Note: the traveller sits on the floor because the beds in the room are for important people first, & witnesses, the room is packed & all seats are taken by the time the spl "brings him back."

The traveller is not paid for his services.

Peter's exploration: all this is accomplished through the cooperation between the employes. If the expl sought does not have the information he needs, he will say to his client, "I am busy today," or, "I have other work to do," etc. "Come back tomorrow," and before tomorrow the expl seeks his fellow men members & asks this information & aid.

I told Peter that this is decidedly weak, for ~~how~~ ~~does~~ surely it is easy to conceal sure objects for a day or 2 or even months. Yes, this is a weak exploration. But then

Pelo added that after the thief will say, later, that he is not the thief at all, & will declare that the cpl (he does not blame the troublers) is not telling the truth. But the people in town will not accept this. They will declare that the cpl is reliable that the accused is lying.

Remember, Wes, that the ~~thief~~ accused is beaten, his escape cut off until he confesses. This is duress. (The people will not hold him to be beaten, but they will shoo him away from them & will not allow him to escape). Pelo has never heard of an accused taking such a case to the DC, because he is a

members of the Bush society & maybe 2 or 3 other societies, & to take such a matter to the court concerning yr fellow society members, just isn't done.

The kpaava is not used very often to discover the thief, maybe only once or twice in a period of 2 yrs in a town like Worzi. It has not happened since we have been in this village. Peter believes it is not used more often because of the great disgrace it brings on the accused. If some catches Y.P. as the thief if one of his things (I am not speaking of using the kpaava here), he will settle

the matter quietly with
F.l & only a few people
(maybe 2 more) will know
about it.

The native people believe
in this Kpaora business.
There is no doubt in Peter's
mind about this. But Peter
believes it is simply something
used by the mainis & the
splayers to dupe the people.

A aps life in the sp
world is n to ~~it~~ his life here.
They born children there, they
suffer there, have accidents,
fatal accidents, have wet farms,
rainy & dry season, eat, drink,
have a regular season for farming,
have court cases, splayers, chiefs,

Zowos, blacksmiths, wear the same clothes they have here, etc & etc.

~~Making a sacrifice~~

Bringing a gift to a sp, through the sp stone, & on the advice of the spl. Suppose the spl tells you to make a gift of kpodo to yr father's spirit in the interest of your sick brother. You beat the rice (or, as it is not ~~sacrifice~~ secret, give it to your wife to beat for you) & place it on a clean banana ~~leaf~~ leaf & ~~place~~ carry it to the caretaker & ~~you yourself place it~~ he will place it near the sp stone, saying to the sp stone, "gá nii ve è ya yina = ta tuuli."

The next & the nice story
there varnite (purpose of being
there " is unknown to Peter).
The following a.m. the counsellor
& the girls & a few of his
relatives go to the pp stone
& the counsellor will take the
kola nuts & split ~~on of the~~ (coat?)
them, one big one. Then he will
say ~~,~~, through the pp. stone,
to the pp ~~,~~ (the pp is
now in the pp stone), "Fl ja
zeebezu, borelaale e' faa
yōwu jeeni ga yè, na vaa
na gé (he & the relatives, whom
he represents, by the way) va
su yie lei[1] wuuzu ga
faa nee nii, nee le sa
kono faa yōwu jee la, be ba."

1. We have come to put cold water
inside what Fl has done.

(continued)

Then he will take all the pieces of kola nuts in his hand & drop them on the pp stone. The pattern of the ~~fall of the~~ position of the fallen nuts will determine whether the pp is going to obey.* The controller will study the nuts & say, perhaps, ~~that~~ the pp has agreed, he is happy & will forgive. Then he will ~~take the~~ scrape, with his finger-nail, the small white part ~~in the~~ near the centre of each kola nut & sprinkle it on the pp stone. Then he will take a little of the pounded rice & sprinkle it on the pp stone. While the white part of the kola nut is being sprinkled on the pp stone, he will say, "Yà Vaa Nee

* Pitter does not know what would happen if these positions were.

ya" (This is yr gift). He says the same thing when he sprinkles the spoons.

Then he will take the Kola nuts & ÷ among the relatives present, keeping one for himself. The people will eat their part, but he will grind his up with his teeth & spit it onto the op stone, with force. Then he will pick up the op stone & see that every part of it is covered with the chewed kola ~~nut~~ nut. Then he will take the remainder of the powdered rice & scatter it on the banana ~~leaf~~ leaf.

Remember the op is now in the op stone & all the ~~above is~~ above is done for the op.

When the kola nuts show ~~that~~ the sp does not accept the gift, the ~~cautoh~~ cautoh will continue to pick up ~~#~~ & ~~then~~ drop the kola nuts until they indicate that the gift has been accepted. When the " is finally accepted, ~~when the~~ the cautoh will take the ~~x~~ halves of 1 kola nut & say to the sp, through the stone, "a yà dèi zìji." Then he will drop the 2 halves on it. If 1 piece turns up & the other down, the cautoh knows that the medicine (here the sp stone is considered as medicine) has taken his part. ~~He will~~ The cautoh will continue to drop until the halves fall in the way which indicates

that the stone has taken his part.

To go back: all the talking is done to the sp., through the sp stone. The sp. is now in the stone. The above paragraph is confusing. Peter says the gift is given to the sp through the stone; but the gift (2 halves of the Kolo suit) is given to the medium (here: the stone), & a sp. is not medium. Thus the confusion. Peter still believes that the gift is given to the sp through the stone & not to the stone. Note: we cannot talk to the sp in these circumstances without losing the stone; on the other hand we do not talk to the stone when we want to address a spirit. This seems to be evidence in form of Peter's conclusion.

When the sp stone has taken its part of the gift, the caretaker will take any piece or pieces of Kola nut & chew it & spit it on the sp stone as before, & rub it over it so that every part of the stone has received the gift. Then the ceremony is over & the caretaker picks up the stone & puts it in its resting place.

Note: oft repeated dropping of the Kola halves before they indicate that the sp accepts, indicates that the sp is reluctant to agree. People like medicine that will agree with the 1st dropping of the nuts.

Unroasted rice is an acceptable gift to a spirit. Gifts that are acceptable among humans are, if ~~delicious~~ chosen by the spl, acceptable as gifts to sp.

Reading the fallen kola nuts (Peter knows part of this, not all): If u go to a man & tell him ~~that~~ u want yr wife to have a child (a man who has medicine which will make a woman pregnant) (or if u yourself have medicine to ~~per~~ accomplish this), he will say, "gè wòmì gàzái è bò bà è dun ja." The person will ask u for a gift that is to be given to him before he makes the medicine. When u present the gift, some ~~the~~ owners will take the medicine from the bag

& place it on the ground (in his house, kitchen, farm) & say to it: "zunui nii é vaa de wo gà de bo bá yázái duu ja." ani è vaa ve bu, gà tuuli vee na (to the med.) yee zei bu." (u accept it).
Then he will split one kola nuts (4-6, may be more, or less) & drop them on the medicine. If the med. agrees that the person should have a child, ~~one~~ 2 or 3 kola nuts will fall one on the other, the 1st nut falling with the inside down & the other falling on top of it, this inside down, leaning against does not count; it must be really on a bottom one. It does not matter which way either 1 is pointing, just so the 2nd ~~one~~ one (& the 3rd if

3 are necessary) is clear of the ground. This sounds difficult to accomplish, but after the owner will hold his hand very close to the medicine before releasing them. The 2 nuts can be together on the medicine or on the ground; it does not matter.

Sometimes there are 6 or 7 or sometimes more than 10 kinds of medicine (all ~~being~~ having the power to make ~~the~~ a union pregnant), & these will occupy a space about 18 inches in diameter. In this case, he takes the ~~the~~ juices of kola nuts ~~[illegible]~~ in his hand (1 hand) & holds it out to each

medicine & says to each, "é ziili ye", é ziile yé; or perhaps he will use the plural pron & say it only once: "é ziili wiz" (it resides to you"). In this case he drops the kola nuts beside the medicines (saleitiz), on the ground.

If the nuts fall properly, he will say to the ~~client, if the~~ mother, or the husband, if he is the one who is present (if the woman is a wife, the husband ~~an~~ must be present to agree), "Do u see how u are going to have a baby soon." But any onlookers ~~an~~ knows the answer for all Loma people can read sure

kola nuts. The man & woman will be happy & they will give him a gift. Then the husband will say to the owner of the medicine, "yàzá, ya sa è ya (my wife is now in yr hands) = in his care, having the husband's permission to make any medicine necessary for her to > pregnant. (a med. man cannot make med. for another man's wife unless the husband agrees). If there are any rules for the woman to follow, the med. man will tell her there. As example: not to have any lovers, or: Thaybe he will show

her a certain leaf & tell her to put it in her bath water & wash with that water, doing this once a month or more often, just as he chooses to advise her.

Some med. men do not get medicine from their bag to perform this rite with the kola nuts; they get a leaf (there are different kinds for this purpose) from the bush & place it in a forres & place the forres in the ground. This leaf is medicine, (sale)* It is address just as the other man did with the medicines from his bag, & the kola nuts are used in the same way, with this

* or: tife

slight difference: the small white section on the inside of the Kola nut is ~~dug out~~ scraped out & spread over the leaf after ~~he~~ ~~has~~ has dropped the ~~bob~~ split Kola nuts. This white part is for the medicine. This white part is taken out & ~~spread~~ sprinkled on the leaf after the nuts have fallen successfully.

To go back: when medicine from the bag is used, I ought to say ~~that~~ the chewing of the Kola nuts & spreading it on the medicine is done here just as it is done for the sp store. When the leaf is used it is not done.

If the nuts do not fall successfully, the owner continues to drop it until ~~it~~ they do. However, if repeated droppings do not fall properly, the owner will interpret this as meaning another sign of overtone, & ~~that~~ she will be pregnant. ~~Of~~ This decision (starting time) is brought forth because when people go to ~~the~~ owner of medicine for help then, he will have his regulation. If he cannot find an adequate reading ~~for~~ from the falling of the kola nuts, the owner will give some excuse. General: the owner himself or someone else has defiled ~~to~~ the medicine ~~[illegible]~~

> poola = to shoot at with gun
54

(sale; maa woolani;)*
Note: sure medicines cannot be touched by a woman, even the boy, & if this is done the medicine is defiled. Some medicine must not touch the ground. If med. is defiled it does not work until it is worked (~~gwo~~) (gwo; or gè mayeke kɛ).

Then the med. owner will tell the people to return & he will call them back in a few days. Then the owner will go to the person who sold him (fe) the medicine & tell it that it is not working. ~~Or~~ If the person ~~who~~ sold it the medicine has instructed you in how to work it if defiled, the owner will

wash it ~~without~~ going to him. The 1st word the original says is that the owner has defiled it. He who sold it to him will wash it. (In buying medicine the usual procedure is to buy the means of (other medicine) washing it if it > defiled. For if the original owner makes it for u, u will have to pay him.

When the med. has been washed, the owner will call the people again & go thru the same procedure described above.

5/24/50

To go back: When one kola nuts falls, & stays, on the top of another, it represents a

child on the woman's back.

The ~~3rd~~ 2nd way to read Kola nuts: If a hunter visits a medicine man & asks for medicine to be made for him so that he will ≻ a successful hunter, the med. man will go through the same process as described above for a desired pregnancy. This time, however, when the nuts are dropped, they are to fall as follows: ~~for a successful hunter~~ ~~one~~ 2 nuts fall face down (representing 2 carriers), & a third falls face down, bridging the 2 (representing the animal carried by the 2 carriers). The top Kola must not be touching the

ground, the ~~the~~ must be be face down. If one kola falls on the back of the other, as desired for pregnancy, ~~the~~ it ~~was~~ is interpreted as the killed animal on the back of the hunter.

A 3rd reading is as follows: If a man or a woman desires a child or a friend to return from Dawn (or anywhere) & the person does not feel his request to return, the person will go to a medicine man ~~& asks for~~ to help him so that the fan one will return: "Bo bà folomo và." The medicine will take his kolas as

described above & drop them. This time, if 3 or more kolas fall in a straight line (Peter says he means straight), the interpretation is that the person is now returning (people usually travel in a group when returning from the Coast), with the others. The medicine man will say to the client: "è wɛlɛɛ, ba' è' vaazu ta numaitiɛ."

Some medicine men use half-shells instead of kola nuts. One use both shell & kolas together. When both are used, ~~with the~~ & the shells assume the correct position, that is a good fall. The same

applies if a kola, say, is on the bottom & a shell on top in the proper point for a ~~pattgraey~~. ~~the fall is~~ Thus, if the shells & kolas are both used, ~~the~~ there are 3 ~~possibilities~~: 2 kolas, or 2 shells, or 1 kola & 1 shell.

Other rediins in addition to shells & kolas are: ① paper-thin (perhaps just a bit thicker) iron rings about 1½" in diameter; perhaps 5 or 6 or more; they are used as the kolas or shells are used. Some medi. men will combine rings & kolas, or rings & shells, or " , " , & shells; & will drop them all together.

② ~~smaller~~ smaller sea shells procured from the coast. This is all Peter can think of. The

ples have as many as 15 different mediums, using a grand mixture or a slightly ".

~~Twin:~~ If u go to a medicman who is a ~~twin~~ twin (any twin, man or woman), has the power to make a woman > pregnant thru his medicine [here it is a leaf]; & ask him for a child, he will take a ~~leaf~~ leaf from the bush & place it in a forum. ~~The~~ Two or 3 leaves may be used in this performance, but at least one of the leaves must be a "yowu tifeii" (twin leaf). When he (or she) has placed the leaves in the forum,

Twins
p60

* The mother does not have the ~~power~~ power to produce pregnancy, nor does the father of the twins.

he will take 1 kola nut (There are 2 sets of twins from Peter's mother* in Yisla) & break it & ~~will be~~ drop it on the seed (leaves) in the garden. Just see, as the seed must ~~accept immediately~~ ~~at~~ agree at see to help the person > pregnant. (Men & women know that pregnancy comes from S. D.)

When twins are born here, the people believe that twins have died in sp world.

When a woman has twins, the next child to be born is a twin (yowu mayele = the trousers of ~~the~~ a twin = the ~~twin~~ twins left their trousers

All twins have medicine,

in the sp world, & this child is their trousers. This " is not subjected to the twins, but he has the same powers, thru his med, to produce pregnancy.

Another power possessed by twins (& the child born mined. offs twins — born by the same woman) is to be able to cause boils to come out on people — done through this medicine. Another power: no snake can bite them, because of this med. The tsevi i (small black dees) is the twins animal = = It is the animal that deceits the twins how to use this medicine. Twins ~~obtain~~ know the secret of how the

teevi helps them, but they keep it to themselves. Not all teevi help the twins. But those that do cannot be killed by a hunter. For when he points his gun at one, it will dodge, or it will disappear. Such actions show the hunter that the teevi helps the twins. An exception occasionally occurs in which a hunter kills a teevi that helps twins. This is discovered or determined by the fact that after killing such a teevi he will be unable to kill in the hunt again (shoot & ~~miss~~ miss) or he will not see anything to shoot. ~~This~~

When such a hunter goes a month or so without killing, he will know that it is the dead tsevi that is punishing him. The poor hunter will go to a twin & ask the twin to work him (guo), so that he can > a successful hunter once more.

Water Spirits

(Peter is not a member of this society [zig-wu via], & therefore does not know all about it).

There are some places in the north town — sometimes in the bush, sometimes in the water — where ~~of~~ ~~which~~ water spirits

* no special name.

lire*. Some are 70 feet or 1/4 to 1/2 mile in area or length. A hunter is not allowed to kill anything there ~~or to~~ & a person is not allowed to catch fish in this waters. Animals & fish seen in these places are said to be spirits. A departed spirit (gɔvɛ) has the power to change into a fish or an animal just as humans on this side can change themselves into animals (& as water people can change themselves into anything ~~that~~ lives in the waters. Thus the fish & animals seen in this particular area are gɔvɛ's that have changed themselves into such. (gɔvɛ woteni ga feza = the sp changed into a fish).

These areas belong to all the members of the water people society, but 1 person is appointed to be in charge, whose duty is to address ~~water~~ the water, & through the water the spo (fish) in the water. He also serves to present the gift or sacrifice (determined by the spl) (a gift may be given without the advice of the spl, but not a sacrifice) brought by members of the society. He functions as the caretaker for the pp stone. He has no particular name.

If a person is told by the spl to make a sacrifice to the water spirits (ziziwa wave) [if this ~~instructi~~ is given to a non-member of the water people,

the client will ask a water person to carry & make the sacrifice for him, as a non seeker cannot go there.]
[There are some places, however, where non seekers are ~~not~~ allowed to go], he ~~will~~ & a few other seekers will go there with the caretaker. The caretaker will speak for him & present the gift to the spirit.

The gift or sacrifice — (a portion of it, that is — is thrown into the water by the caretaker, another portion is left on the shore, on a leaf, & the remainder is ÷ among the people ~~who~~ who are present; they eat this part.

To go back:

A space about 14 feet square is cleared on the edge of the shore. A tree or pot must be in the center of this cleared area. There is no fence around it. This placed is marked by the presence of the pot, if it a tree, the tree will have nothing cut from it & it will have no cutlass marks on it. The medicine men I've seen in Yizla always have a big clay pot under the tree. Dirt & medicine are in the pot, in that order. The med. is mostly that is planted, & if is planted, usual banana tree or cotton wood tree, or zic Bute (the big pink flower that Cappie had when she was here - the bush it comes from, that is).

The medicine in the pot is called i zis-wu zalk. When the water people go there to talk to the spt in the water, the conjuror sits down before the pot & breaks the kolas in half & drop them beside the pot to work the matter to the medicine in the pot, which must know what they have come there to do. Then the gift or sacrifice is thrown into the water as described above.

This medicine is the thing that makes up the society, No medicine — no society.

Reasons for the spt advising a person to carry a gift or sacrifice to the water spirits:

1. If a non-member ~~dreams~~ dreams that he has gone to the place where the water people go, he will tell the ppl, for this is a sin (faa yówu). If he does not tell the ppl, perhaps the ppl ~~find~~ will find it out for himself. (He will be able to discover this when u go to him & he reads his sand for you). The ppl will ~~advise~~ advise the non-member to make a gift or sacrifice to be forgiven of the sin (te·ugúo; not: ŋu vaa yɛ).

2. If a non-member dreams that <u>any ne</u> tells him to make a sacrifice to the water spirits or to the water people, he must do so, just as he was

instructed in his dream. Failure to do so will result in sickness.

5/25/50

3. If a woman bears a child & the child is a water person, P71 & she fails to meet all the requirements for such a water child, P74 the water people will ~~—~~ cause her to > sick, or the child. This will cause the woman to go to the water people & ask them to work (gao) her. Not a public working. She or the child will > well. The child is ~~—~~ worked, ~~for it~~ the sick one. ~~the child~~. The father is not in this power.

* It may be a boy or girl.

2 questions: 1). What determines that a new born is a water child?

1). If the child* > sick, he will be carried to a spl to determine the cause. Perhaps the spl will say that the child is a water person. Then the water people will wash the child.

2). When the woman is pregnant perhaps the husband will go to the spl & ask him if the woman will deliver successfully. Perhaps the spl will say that the woman will deliver safely & that the child is a water person.

3). If the child — boy or girl — (is usually

a girl) has usually long hair & it is kinky, everyone knows that the person is a water person. The mother will then take the child to the water people to be washed.

4). If anyone quarrels with a water person, & during the quarrel he makes a derogatory remark about the ~~per~~ person being a water person, the water person will say: "yà pɛ̀tɛ̀ na vaa ma ɛ̀ boga" (= u will see me - evil attention ~~towa~~ toward him - for what u said) after a few days the person who has quarrelled with the water person (wp) will go to him (or his) to

~~Do~~ beg his pardon for what he has said, for fear that he will > sick if he fails to do this.

Here is an example of a derogatory remark: "here you are a water man in this town, u like to go about quarrelling with every one." Or: "u are not the only person who is a w.p. here."

[This some kind of thing can happen with a member of an society, not simply with a w.p. A w.p., however, would not say to a zouvo, "yò pèté _____", because a zouvo (a real one) will have ever 30 kinds of medicine, ~~that~~

some of which, medicine, is ever water person (a careful zouo must protect himself against everyone, u see), & that is power & protection].

2nd question: What are the requirements ~~that~~ a mother must ~~&~~ meet in regard to her child which is a Water child?

1). If the ~~mother~~ is not a w.p., ~~she will have~~ the father will have to ask the w.p. how much he must give to the w.p. It can be money + foodstuff ~~etc~~. + cloth, whatever he is told to give. Money (anything you cannot eat = money) + foodstuff are always required. Peter does not know the amount,

This is the only requirement — to give. Peter believes this is carried to the water side, where the spos are, & is given to them. Thus the woman's gift for not meeting the requirement ~~of~~ stated on p 70 results in a gift to the water spos. (Tho the water people themselves enjoy the gift)

A real w.p. will have a pot in his house containing medicine. If a non-member breaks this pot, he will be told out loud & in the presence of everyone that he must pay (or pay for the pot but it is really a fine: the man who owns the pot, u see,

will have to get new medicine to put into his pot, as the former medicine is no longer any good). If a w.p. breaks the pot, he & the pot owner will discuss it privately & make an arrangement to pay.

Peters has used the terms "real w.p.", "real zowo". A real wp, or a real zowo or a real of any society, is one born with that power. The other kind are not born with it, but get their power by joining the society; this power is not as great as the real power, i.e., that with which a person is born.

In every town there is a gbo where every person in ~~that~~ gbo is a zowo-born with it, thus a real zowo [zowo bɔbɔɔ; or; te kaani ga zowo la (la is the same as da in masada [= they bore him ~~out~~ the the zowo state)]. People who have moved into the gbo from another gbo or from Fisibu, say, are not real zowo, or ~~that~~ they may not ever be a zowo at all. There are similar gbos of W.P, mɔni, etc. All gbos are not so constituted, however.

A child with long hair (allowed to grow) & with beads fastened in it, is the sign

* Water people, that is.

of a water child (W.C.). The hair is usually reddish due, probably, to a diet deficiency, for a water child is prohibited from eating certain foods. Such as the berries ~~that~~ mentioned above are not used. Reason for the long hair: the inhabitants of the "water", which only a wp can see, all have long hair. The hair is not cut until the wp advise that it be done. Peter has never seen a boy W.C., but the people say there are some.

The W. p. work a W.C. as a means of introducing him to the point. "te lopoi wuoni," "zizowa via te lopoi wuoni." after

~~that~~ he is a member of the water society, he is a ziz-wu nu. This is the only rite performed on or for him to ~~be~~ make him a w.p.

To > a ziz-wu nu: (Peter does not know this).

People want to > w.p. for:

~~1. Cannot~~

1. So that u cannot be "killed" by a w.p. ("killed" by the society's magical medicine).

2. Some people just like to join societies so that they can go ~~the~~ into the prohibited places, be with the members, etc., learn the acts

3. To get money & respect. Any person who becomes a leader ~~has~~ is sought out by

people who want to > virtues, & then people must pay him money. Respect also comes with leadership.

~~4. To know the secret things that are in the town, i.e., if a person dies for an unexplained reason,~~ 5/29/50

4. You yourself if a ~~member~~ member know the leaf used in "washings", & ∴ it will not be necessary for u to pay for this info & leaf.

see p81.

5/30/50

A water spirit does: Peter doesn't know. The purpose of the water people or water society: many people > sick from the water (not drinking it). ~~palace~~ This is a reference to its magical power. ∴ the water society is to help those whom the water makes sick. Such a sickness can be

cured only by the water people. It is the spl who declares it is a water sickness.

5. a 5th reason for > a water person: more successful at fishing (I mean actual fishing).

6. a real w.p. cannot drown.

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a real w.p. should have an alligator (ZUWU i) in the water to which he can go to & talk. The w.p. will go to the ~~wat~~ waterside about 6:30 PM to hold this conversation. If a person is sick, the w.p. goes to the alligator for a decision or questioning about it, & then returns to the person & renders his decision. He actually talks to an alligator — so they, the w.p., say. Sometimes the w.p. takes other w.p. with him, & they report that actually saw & alligator.

* [illegible] nu [illegible]; n
[illegible] keea nu [illegible]

~~Sometimes~~ a real wp will, while sleeping, "come out" of himself & visit the alligator, & they will talk over a ~~co~~ problem, & the decision will be made in the presence of the alligator. When the wp wakes up, he knows what to do & say about the case.

When a real wp* has a hard case to decide, his household people, & others, even, will not water him because they will know (~~how, I, was, do not~~ ~~that~~ he has "come out" of himself, for some hard problems are apparently decided only in this way.

(Suppose a person has asked a leopard to watch over his rice farm, because the animals are eating it. All night, when such a person is asleep, people will not water him

because they believe he has "come out" of himself (é wuloa bɔɔ zu) to go to the farm & kill the animals, & thus only his empty body is there. The gɔvɛ is not with the empty body (mavoayo gi), it is with the person — that part of him which has come out of himself (to bɔɔ = himself)).

It is always & only the wp who have the power to cure paralysis: the person has water poured on him. mɛlɛ-yɛlɛ mu or a person with only ft, etc. such people are ~~respected~~ made thus by the water or the water people ~~f~~. (Just who or what causes the paralysis is determined ~~only by the~~ or known only by the wp.).

Wp are buried, for they

die, in the ground (not in the water) & their spirits are fed in the regular manner.

All societies have spirits: mɔmi society; gbɔ (people who have power over lightening); máta i (witch); kudi (Peter does not know what they do).

This means that a wp, says when he dies > a water sp, living in the sp world, where they have water places just as they have here.

~~In the old days~~

~~A spirit has power to~~

Palm wine is not, as far as Peter knows, ever used in a sacrifice.

---

approaching a spirit

not thus the spirit stone!
A spl has the privilege of
changing what would otherwise
appear to be unalterable rules.
For example, he can tell a
person to cook rice &
carry it to a certain place
on the road & to leave it there
for his mother's sp. The spl
will also instruct him what
to say: ~~"Cook~~ This is food I
have brought for you so that u
will be pleased with me:
mokolui ja gè vaa la yè
kee vaa ma è yii la
mà vaa ma. e vee ve,
è yee zei bu. In other
words, the spl can tell a
man to sacrifice to his
mother's sp or to his grandfather's

spirit or tell a man to sacrifice to his fathers sp, etc. He can also designate the place & the time & what to say.

When a chicken is sacrificed in Yiela; the chicken's feet & wings are held & its hd is banged against the sp stone, & the blood is dropped on the stone, & then the blood is rubbed over the stone with the hand. When it is killed in the graveyd; the 1st chicken will be killed as decribed above. Then each person may grab 1 or 2 chickens (perhaps 20 chickens are there) & kill them as above over a grave (or on a grave stone), telling the sp there

* also hearts & the edible guts.

to help them. When all the chickens are dead, they will put all the bodies together & the sepfews (of ~~will cook the chickens~~ those who have gone to feed the spo will cook the chickens & the rice; the chicken livers* will be taken out & put in one pan or ~~good~~ eating gourd; some dry cooked rice will be placed on them ~~livers~~ & the soup water poured on top, & then some oil (there is some in the soup) on top. This special dish is ~~i~~ by the head sepfew among the people who were present; that is, only among those old enough to have gray hair (per mokeluiy - mii viaitie = the rice is placed by the sepfew into the older person's palm-cupped hands). After everyone eats rice & soup (or one

will drink anything during this eating), so we will wash his hands until all are finished. When all are finished, the head reffer will bring water in a pot & then they will give their hands the first washing by dipping them in. That is, only a few will be able to do this, for the people are many; the others, however, after the first hand washing was done in the pot, are allowed to bring their own water - already brought to the guest yard for such use - in pots or gourds & wash their hands in them. After the handwashing a while washing the hands, the people may ~~drink~~ drink, for all are finished eating by this time.

When all are finished, the reyfeus & the bd reyfeus will help to place the water (used for the hand washing) in 2 or more pots or pans. Then the bd reyfeus will place all this water in 1 big pot & will dash the water on the ground (where they ate), saying, "whosoever cheats, the sp water should carry him (die)" = nui ya vuulu wulo gɔvɛ yiɛ yii la. The water in

lower down

this big pot is called gɔvɛ yiɛ.

This whole thing described above is called, "gɔvɛ wɔɔ" = feeding of the spirit. And the reason for doing so may be no more than a feeling within

yourself to do so, without the advice of the cpl. Or u can do w the advice of the cpl. The people attending the feast are the people of yr ~~gts~~ gts (the 4 kinds: fathers, uncles, brothers, & sisters), but not zowos, for a zowo cannot ~~feed~~ eat chicken with non-zowos; their part of the chicken is given to them before going to the grave yard — if you want the zowos to take part.

To go back a bit:

as any ~~of~~ non ~~[illegible]~~, ~~in~~ the ~~town~~ may be yr father ~~or uncle, they are~~ or uncle, or yr sister or yr brother — anyone is welcome to attend. Slaves (d40)

* Subsequent feeds after the one to consult the spirit.

are not allowed. A ~~Zizima~~ Zizima person living in the gizima clan sections may not be allowed to attend the feeding.

The sp of a slave was not fed.

Even the poorest person has his sp fed, even if he has no bros, ~~etc.~~ sons etc. When a poor man's sp goes to the spirit world, his sons will ~~plant~~ ~~sacrifice to his~~ feed his ~~sp to provide gifts for it~~ *

sp for only 3 reasons:

1. On advice of sp.
2. If the son happens to >
rich, for he will believe his father has been

helping him.

3. To show to the people (him) that he is able to feed his father's sp.

But the only ~~way~~ reason a son will give a gift or make a sacrifice to his father's sp ~~will~~ (the father being a poor, powerless man when he died) will be on the advice of the spl. He will approach those in the sp world who have power to help him (just as he would do if the situation were on earthly ones).

In the old days, ~~when~~ during the wars, the people ~~fed~~ buried the soldiers & fed their spirits.

But if many were killed, & the people were defeated, they would run away, having their dead unburied & ∴ not feeding them.

~~There are~~ Burying a ~~dead~~ warrior killed in war:

1. If he was rich: buried with burial clothes, provided by relatives, & with mats.

2. If he was poor: no mats, no burial clothes except his own clothes; he was placed in the grass & fresh leaves (any kind). spread over his body; then the dirt.

The spirits of both were fed.

There are warriors in the sp. world.

That is, there are soldiers there. For if a person was a soldier here, he is a soldier there. As there is no war here now, there is probably no war there.

A sp. may beat u with his hand, but not with a stick, & he does not cut u with a cutlass. Reason: they are so powerful that simply by passing u they can make u sick, etc.

If a son is absent at the time of the funeral of his father's sp, he will, as soon as he enters the town on his return, shoot a gun. The dead man's wives & daughters will begin to cry just as though he had just died, giving this display a no. of times according to the returning son's importance.

If the son does not shoot a gun, he will call his fathers & brothers ~~that~~ are in his gth & tell them to appoint a day in which he & they will feed the ops of his father (again for "they").

When the day ~~of~~ arrives he will provide chickens, rice, oil, goat (if he is that rich). His fathers & uncles & ~~bro~~ brers may also help provide chickens, etc. Then the feeding procedure is followed just as it was the first time the ops was fed.

After the feeding, the son will dance in the town (kaa or jaa wo) for 2 or 3 days, depending upon the wealth of the son (he pays the musicians). Others in the family join in, for ~~if they need~~ they, if they have

joined in the feast, will contribute something for the musicians. When the ceremonies are completed, he will try to find out if his father has ~~been~~ created any debts still unpaid, & if others still owe his father. Thus he either pays or collects or both. Witnesses are called in for this & they must swear or medicine (kwena = swear; kwena salei ma; to wenazu salei ma) before the transactions.

If, before the son's return, someone in the qto has been placed in charge of his father's possessions, or has assumed this charge, this someone will not return to the son ~~as his return all~~ the back debts due the father — debts which he had collected during his period of charge. The son will look

upon this person in charge as his father. For every Lozwa man must have a father. He cannot get married without a father, you see, or redeem his child without a father. (kulo getla) For a father is necessary to take leadership in such matters.

(The son in the above discussion could be as old as Chief Mohuba in this town, Woozi).

About this needing a father: even if the son had been here when the father died, the son will not ask, perhaps, to be the father of the house, for in this of trouble the people will go directly to him, & that is great responsibility. So, if the son agrees, the gts appoints someone to be the head of the house in his place.

The head of the house, either the son or the appointed head, has charge of the dead father's possessions;

wives, many, houses, etc.

Note, however, if the dead father was a poor man, there is no problem, for the father did not have possessions or responsibilities. And so the son > the father of the house.

To go back: the younger or older person is usually appointed to take charge of the dead fathers house, is that many of the responsibilities are very old, ~~witnessed to by people~~ events witnessed to by people before the son was born perhaps. And such an old & experienced & ~~informed~~ informed person takes the leadership & with it the responsibilities. Remember, too, that a rich man, or having many wives, has, during his lifetime, built himself under many obligations, has made many promises & contracted many debts & given some

laws.

A sp. must obey the laws in the sp world just as a person must do here. But there are law breakers there just as there are some here. When a new sp crosses the veil for the 1st time, he will swear to a senior spirit that he will not return to this side to harm anyone. Some sps break this law (it is really a law that they should not return to do harm), however. The reason for this swearing is that for some at least 10 or more people have harmed you before you died, & the swearing & law is a safeguard.

II