



1. <i>Yiyem kpaatii</i>	A. Deceased's side (close matrilineal relatives)
2. <i>Tààkà tii + pi tom:u</i>	B. Deceased's side (remote relatives, exchange friends)
3. <i>Ndaptii</i> sets to remote relatives etc.	C. Deceased's spouse's side
4. Return payments of earlier mortuary prestations	D. Deceased's father's side
5. <i>Kpê chiye kpaatii</i> – to grave diggers	E. Recipients of return payments
6. <i>Kiy:a pî dyuu</i> – 5 solicitary <i>ndap</i> from gravediggers	F. Gravediggers
7. <i>Tpodo tii</i> – payment for funeral work	G. Funeral 'workers'

Figure 6 The social categories involved in the mortuary exchanges