



THE BANGWINJI

A collection of ethnographic and historical data from fieldwork 1989-1993

Series

Ethnographic and Historical Profiles of the Peoples of the Muri Mountains
- The Northern Groups

by Jörg Adelberger

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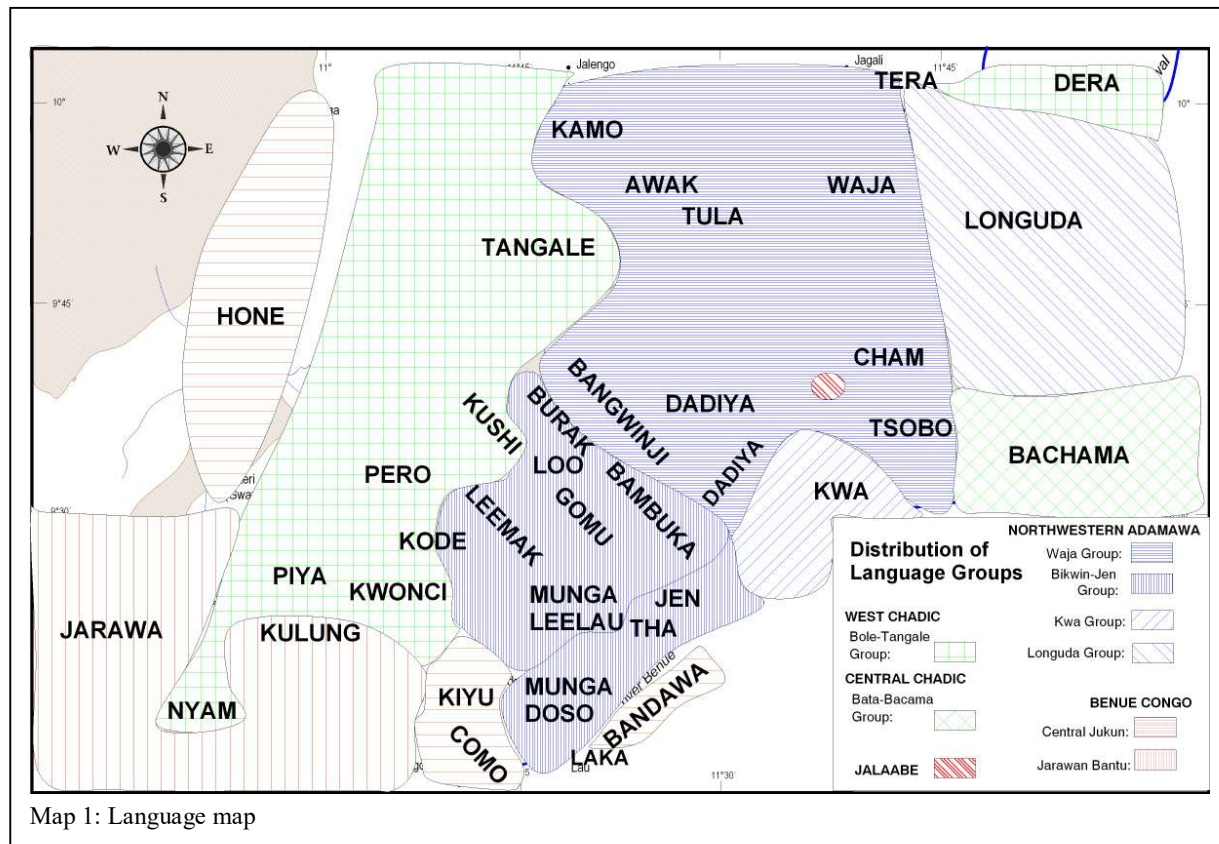
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Introduction

Ethnographic field research was undertaken within the framework of the interdisciplinary research project “Cultural Development and Language History in the Environment of the West African Savannah” (SFB 268) in the years 1989 to 1993. The information provided below reflects the situation at that time.¹

The Bangwinji² people are settled in and along the northeastern part of the Muri Mountains in Northern Nigeria. Their autonym is *Bangjinge*, *Bangjunge* or *Labangjung*, meaning “people of Bang (mountain)”; Bang being the name of the mountain on which they mainly settled in pre-colonial times before moving to the foothills. They are called *Jángáá* by the Burak, *Jàngà* by the Kushi and Pero, *Jangaki* by the Loo, *Kwemtin* by the Dadiya.

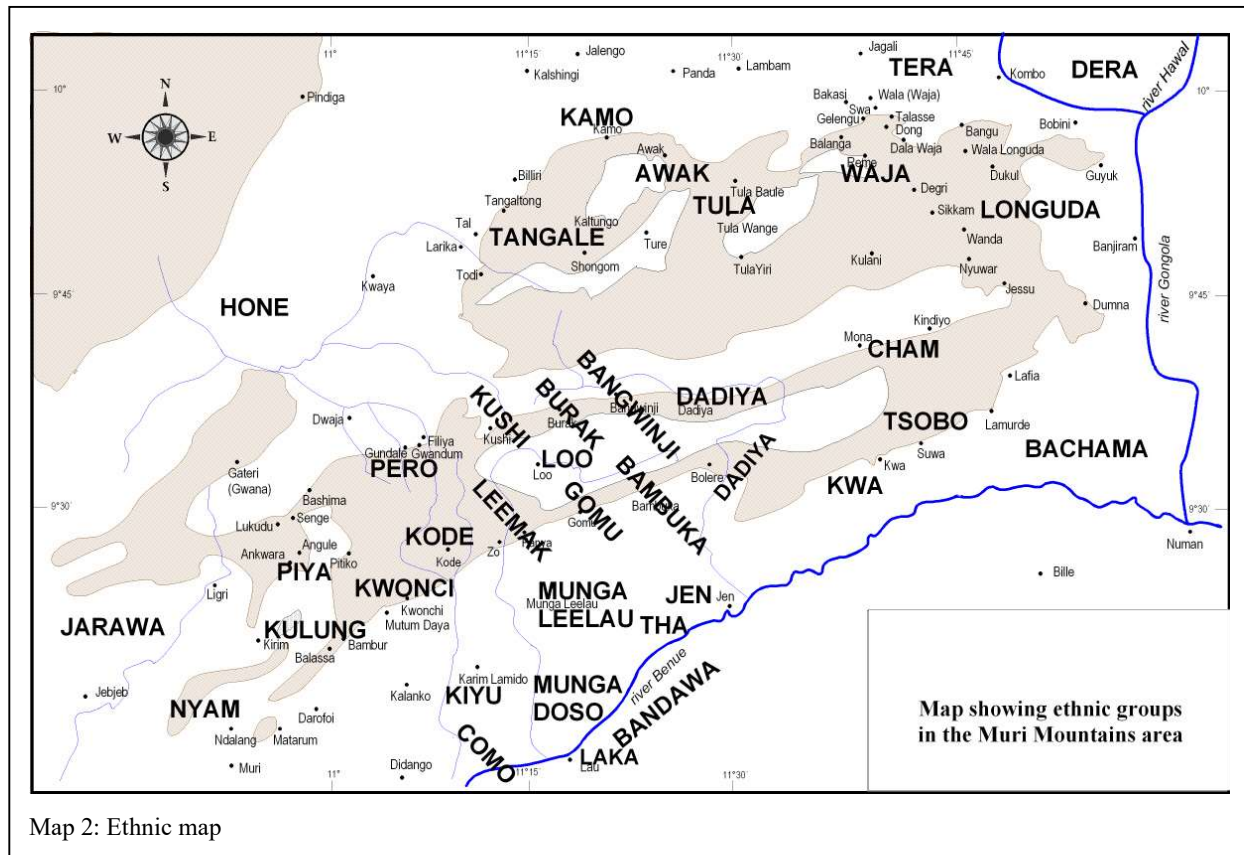


Linguistically the Bangwinji [bsj] are part of the Waja group, a sub-group of the North-Western Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum. Other members of the Waja group are the Dadiya [dbd], Cham [cfa], Tsobo [ldp], Waja [wja], Kamo [kcq], Awak [awo] and Tula [tul].³

¹ I am grateful to *Sarkin* Bangwinji Sulei Yerima and the whole Bangwinji community for their hospitality during my stay. For their assistance and ever-patient willingness to answer my questions the following individuals must be mentioned: *Sarki* Sulei Yerima, Gawata Abbasa, Bebeleng Bwigam, Buni Sangang, Audu Bulumo, Bukar Kwangle, Lom Kwashom, Gidado Jatau, Malam Gada Habila, Mohammed Jatau, Simon Soyilum, Abraham Simon, Yalboti Kulikuli, Mai Lafiya, Babale, Oda Manaci, Nafe, Yola, Langa, Hassan Langa, Bangu, Gawan, Abila, Dolen, Ahmed and Umaru Saleh Funduk. I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² ‘Bangunji’ in official Nigerian usage, however, because Bangwinji is phonetically more correct, I prefer the latter.

³ Cf. Kleinwillinghöfer 2014. In square brackets are the ISO 639 names of the languages.



Interethnic relations

Their neighbours to the west are the Burak [bys] and the Kushi [kuh], to the south the Loo [ldo] and the Bambuka [bka], to the east the Dadiya [dbd] and to the north the Kaltungo-Tangale [tan].

The Bangwinji have their own designations for the following direct and intermediate neighbours:

Table 1: Bangwinji names for neighbouring peoples

Bambuka	Bwalbwab
Burak	Biyakeb
Cham	Mwoneb/Mwaneb
Fulani	Nobneb
Gomu	Nyaamob
Hausa	Fuubeb
Jen	Shulob
Kamo	Kamowe
Kushi	Leemeb
Kwa	Mushub
Leemak of Panya	Makeb
Loo	Shùngób
Mumuye	Mumtib
Pero	Fiilang
Tangale of Billiri	Yongeb
Tangale of Kaltungo	Tángé
Tangale of Shongom	Kwákwáryàb
Tsobo	Dotob
Tula	Yirob/Yire
Waja	Waab

Wurkun Dadiya (general)	Kulungnyeb Díríab / Dariyab (for more special designations for Dadiya see below)
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The Dadiya, their immediate eastern neighbours, are specifically differentiated according to their settlement area:

Table 2: Bangwinji names for Dadiya sub-groups

Bikwiilab	Dadiya of Lookwiila
Biyangdub	Dadiya of Tunga (west of Bolere)
Bwareb	Dadiya of Loobwere area
Fab	Dadiya of Loofa, within the Loo valley
Fiyeb	Dadiya of the immediate border region to Bangwinji
Fongoma	Dadiya of Loofongoma
Kulaashuwab	Dadiya of Lookulaashuwa
Kuwab	Dadiya of Bolere area
Shaabiyangeb	Dadiya of Looshaabiyang
Takulaneb	Dadiya of Lootakulan
Tandiyeb	Dadiya of Lootanya area

In times of hunger or famine, children, (boys as well as girls), could be exchanged with other ethnic groups such as Dadiya, Burak, Pero and Tangale in exchange for foodstuffs. These children were then integrated into the household of the giver of the foodstuff but had a lower status than his own off-spring. Such an “adopted” child could only inherit property from its step-parents with an explicitly declared will by them. Such a child could, however, not be pawned again when scarcity hit this household.

Settlement area and demography⁴

The Bangwinji may number about 8,000 persons; in 1989 there were 333 registered taxpayers and during the population census of 1991, 7,460 persons were counted.

The boundaries of their territory are marked by significant features of the landscape or stone-rows which were originally erected during colonial times.

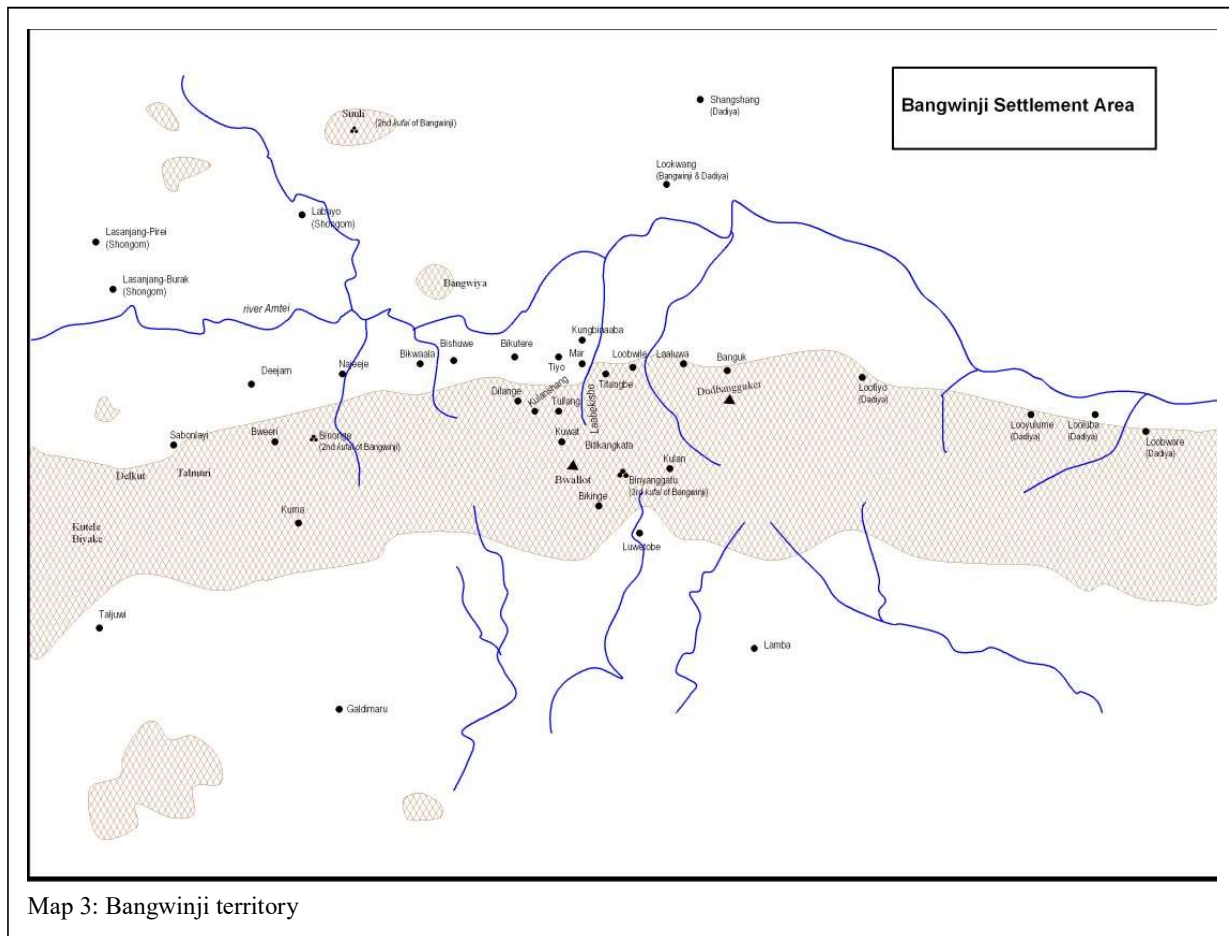
Their boundary to the east is at a stream called Bwaabiyong (or Boyi) and marked by stones, a delineation made by the British in 1938 to settle boundary disputes with Dadiya⁵.

In the north, the area administered by the Village Head of Bangwinji ends at a small hill called Bangsing, although there were hardly any Bangwinji settlements in this area at the time of research, and to the south, it is in

⁴ For the settlement history of the Bangwinji, as well as the neighbouring Burak and the Kushi see: Adelberger, Brunk, Kleinwillinghöfer 1993. Parts of the following text in this chapter are taken from this article.

⁵ NAK BauProf - 1412 "Gombe Division, Report for Half Year Ending 30th June 1938".

the central part of the Loo Basin at a hill called Bangshuka, coinciding with the boundary between Bauchi State and Taraba State.



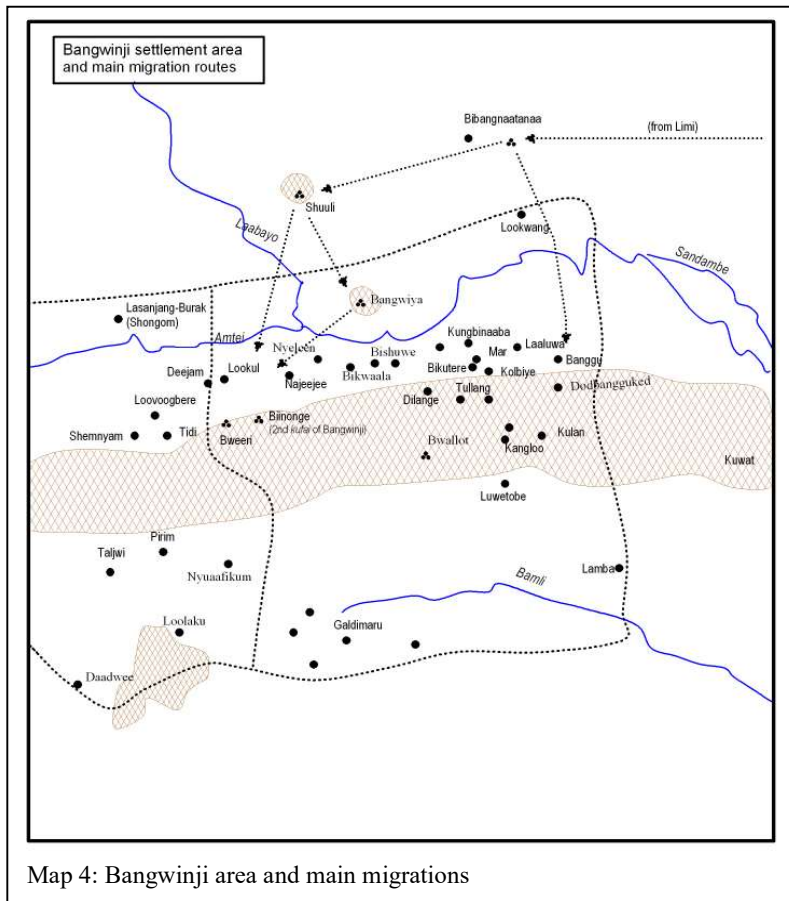
Map 3: Bangwinji territory

Although their immediate western neighbours are the Burak, their western boundary is marked by stones at the stream Bibamshem (= Korin Dinya) near the Kushi village Kwanankuka. The Burak moved to their present site only at the beginning of the 20th century and the current boundary between Bangwinji and Burak is at the hamlet of Deejam. Both the Kushi and Bangwinji agree on that boundary, but for the relationship between Burak and Bangwinji the lack of old agreed border markers is a constant source of conflict over land.

The present settlements of the Bangwinji are mainly strewn along the northern foothills of the mountain range, but there are also several hamlets in the mountains and inside the Loo Basin to the south of the mountain chain. The main settlement of the Bangwinji consists of the three hamlets Mar, Kungbinaaba and Titangbe (south of Mar). In Mar, the residence of the Village Head of Bangwinji Village Area is located. Mar has also a primary school and a borehole, and a tiny market is held every Thursday. Bangwinji is economically quite isolated because the rough road coming from Burak does not continue further to Dadiya as it used to until some years ago. The compounds are built in a peculiar way with dry-stone walls, the buildings nesting close together. This architecture links them with the Dadiya and the Tula, who are linguistically closely related groups.

History

Pre-colonial migrations and movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period⁶



According to their traditions, the core group of the Bangwinji came from a mythical place called Liimi far away in the east at a time unknown, driven by famine. A part of that migratory group went to Tula Wange, this part is now known as Bulange. The Bangwinji first stayed at the small volcanic hill called Bibangnaatanaa to the north of their present area, but it was too small for their population number and after having inspected the surroundings, they divided into the two groups, the Naabang and the Kaalo, which both followed different routes of migration. At this time, Kaalo consisted of the clans Bibangeb-Kwiyateb, Bishomeba-Fid, Dwaaleb, Shunglob and Terkwereb, and Naabang of Bishomeb-Doleneb, Gumob, Kumbeleb, Kweb, Nakwatreb and Shiyeb. While the Kaalo

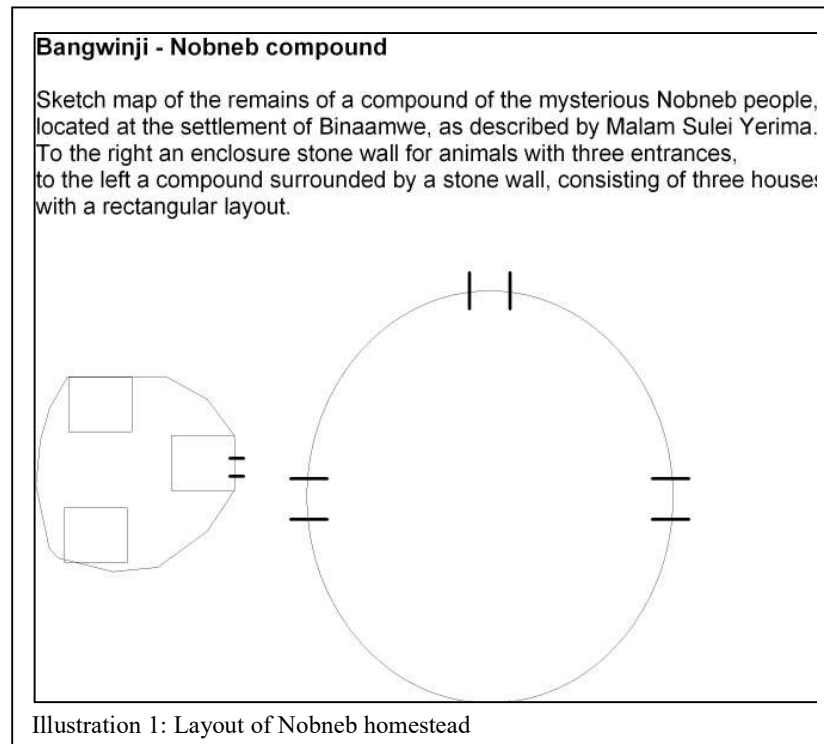
moved westward and settled at the volcanic Shuuli Hill, the Naabang group took to a southeasterly direction and settled at Dod-Banguked on the northern slopes of the Chonge-Mona Range.

Due to an outbreak of smallpox and constant fights with the Dadiya, the Kaalo left Shuuli Hill, moved a bit southward and founded the settlements of Bangwiyaa, (at a volcanic cone inside the Dadiya Basin), as well as Bweeri and Biinonge in the Chonge-Mona Range. They left these sites again and some went away to the Pero and the Billiri-Tangale, the others moved to Bwallot Mountain, towering over the present main village of Bangwinji, and occupied the western part of it. The reason for the departure is expressed in mythical terms as "death having come to Bweeri where it was unknown before".

The Naabang also left their settlement Dodbanguked because they shunned the proximity of the nearby Dadiya and founded several hamlets, (Kangloo, Bitiikangkata, Dodlokid and Bambwiila), further west. From there, the Naabang also moved to Bwallot Mountain and occupied the eastern part, the two sections eventually having met again. Intertribal wars with the Dadiya, the Kaltungo-Tangale and the Loo, and lack of security were

⁶ The following is largely taken from Adelberger, Brunk, Kleinewillinghöfer 1993: 33-38.

the reasons for the Naabang to move to Bwallot. At different steps in this process of settlement shifting, various groups coming from other locations met with the Bangwinji and hence were integrated and became a part of them (see list of clans).



On arrival at Bwallot the Bangwinji met a mysterious people they call Nobneb on the Binaamwe hill to the east of Kolbiye, who they describe as being pastoralists keeping dwarf cattle. These people then moved away to the south without fighting. Remains of a homestead and fencing are still visible. Nobneb is also the term the Bangwinji use for the Fulani, but they categorically deny that these people who they met at their first arrival, were Fulani.

In the south, at Kuma, the Bangwinji met the Gomu, these partly moved away, partly merged

with the Gomu clan Bibangeb-Kumbeleb. This part of Bibangeb-Kumbeleb with Gomu origin is called Fuwob. It is worthy to note that among the Gomu there is also a clan called Bangkorong whose origin is from Bangwinji. A dating of all these movements is impossible. It is only stated by informants that the Bangwinji had already moved to Bwallot before the battle between the Tula and the Emir of Misau took place, which would mean that they had already occupied this mountain in the mid-19th century. Local traditions state that the Emir of Misau was killed in the battle with the Tula, and this was also recorded by the then District Officer T. F. Carlyle in 1914, who gives the name of the Emir as Sale.⁷ In Hogben's (1967: 274) standard work on Northern Nigerian Emirate histories, no mention is made of Sale, nor his successor or predecessor having died in such a battle. However, Prof. John Lavers of Bayero University, Kano, is of the opinion that Hogben is at fault here and related to me the information, based on a local document in his possession, that Sale died in 1885/86 in the battle with the Tula (personal communication, 10.10.1992).

Bwallot is considered by the Bangwinji as their main *kufai* (Hausa: "former settlement") and all the major shrines are still situated here. In the areas of Naabang and Kaalo respectively the people settled according to their clan affiliations. The compounds were erected on terraces made of dry-stone walls.

It was on Bwallot that the Bangwinji met with the British colonial power in 1910, (see NAK SNP 7 - 5401/1910 "Waja District - Escort to Tangale Patrol" for details of this encounter), and subsequently they were forced to move down-hill and settle halfway on the lower elevations of the foothill: the Kaalo section went to Kulaashan, Kuwat, Tullang (Bwangbuta) and Dilange, while the Naabang section went to Kangloo, Bitiikangkata, Kolbiye

⁷ NAK SNP 10 - 445P/1914 "Central Province, Gombe Emirate, History of", p. 20.

and Titangbe. Thenceforth the Bangwinji moved further into the plain and along the foothills, establishing the various hamlets found today. By and large, the traditional division was kept, the Kaalo clans moving to the western and the Naabang clans to the eastern part. Some hamlets were also founded to the south inside the Loo Basin.

Relations with Fulani emirates⁸

As far as oral, archival or published sources can tell, the Bangwinji were never conquered by the Fulani. The military strategy of the Fulani emirates was largely based on their cavalry, with noble horsemen leading the attacks (Marjomaa 1998:218–19, 232–34, 254–56; Smaldone 1977:29–32).

Mounted warriors could employ their military tactics to great effect on the undulating plains of the Northern Nigerian savannah, but could not exploit their superiority in the craggy and hilly landscape of the Muri Mountains area nor in other mountainous regions. The inhabitants of the plains surrounding the hills, especially in the Tula area, built defensive stone walls and thorn hedges, which were successfully used to check attacks by horsemen. As a protective measure, the villages were strategically well-placed in the steep and rocky hills. Usually, they were protected by stone walls and could only be reached through narrow, winding paths, partly obstructed by gateways. These could be well defended against emirate raiders, even if they approached armed with rifles.

Firearms were part of the weaponry of the emirate forces, especially since the middle of the 19th century, but since they were of the front-loader musket type and, compared with contemporaneous European standards, few in numbers, their effect was mostly psychological inducing fear through their loud discharge. The arms of the mountain dwellers consisted of spears with varying, often quite vicious, tips, bows and arrows, the latter often poisoned, daggers, short swords and clubs. For protection, shields made of buffalo hide and elephant ears were used.

Thus, although the different emirates exercised considerable pressure by undertaking frequent raids on the population groups of the wider Muri Mountains area and adjacent regions, their control of the area was rather loose and varied over time. Supported by a suitable terrain, the mountain dwellers could successfully defend themselves or were able to withdraw into even more inaccessible regions. The acephalous nature of their societies and the existence of a multitude of factions on the one hand made it difficult to form alliances for more successful defence, on the other hand the subjugation of a single community did not entail the conquest of any wider political network.

In the northern Muri Mountains, the Emirs of Gombe and Misau attacked the Tangale of Shongom in about 1886 but were repelled by the combined forces of the Shongom, Kaltungo, Ture and Tula Wange. The Emir of Misau, Sale, was killed in the battle. In another attack on the Awak the emirate raiders were also defeated. Defence in the lowland areas was more difficult and these areas were often incorporated into the emirate structure. In the Gombe region, the Plains Waja and the Western Tangale were given as fiefs to Sarkin Yaki and Galadima Gombe respectively. They paid tribute in exchange for immunity from attacks by the Fulani (Low 1972:150 ff). Still, Buba Yero and his successors inflicted numerous raids on the settlements of Waja and Tangale and the Jukun of Pindiga. The payment of tribute or the conversion to Islam did not necessarily mean that a community was exempt from being the target of slave raids (see Yakubu 1992:146,150). Buba

⁸ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009.

Yero visited Waja from Dukku or Gombe, attacked the plains villages and was repulsed by Gelengu. On his way back he took his revenge on the Tera towns of Kwool and Hinna for their expulsion of the Fulani. Yerima Suli, the son of Buba Yero, attacked and burnt Gelengu. His brother Koiranga attacked the Waja several times, and he undertook raids against the Tangale, Tula and Awak, assisted by the Emirs of Misau and Katagum. It is said that Koiranga fought seven wars with the Waja, capturing the settlements of Bakasi, then Balanga, Kube Gasi, Gelengu, Talasse and Swa. On his last raid the Emir fought Dong, whose inhabitants fled to the Degri hills and were able to drive back the Fulani. Reinforced by the Emir of Misau and his troops, Koiranga returned and attacked Reme and Degri simultaneously. There was heavy fighting with losses on both sides. Later Mallam Jibril Gaini also attacked the Waja village of Lambam and destroyed it. Mountain dwellers, such as the Awak, Cham, Dadiya or Pero were able to retain their independence against the Fulani (Temple 1922:34, 87, 88, 365).

In later years the Gombe Emirate's control over the Waja and Tangale fiefs weakened further still.

Colonial encounters

In their attempt to subjugate the region, the British colonial power undertook a series of military patrols, and the first encounter with the Bangwinji people was a violent one.⁹

From November 1910 until January 1911 an extensive patrol under Assistant Resident Carlyle and Captain Wolseley traversed the countries of Waja, Tula and Tangale and marched through hitherto untouched areas in the north-eastern parts of the Muri Mountains. In addition, Longuda country, which had only been marginally touched by the patrols in 1904 and 1906, was further explored. There were violent encounters with the previously unvisited Kindiyo (Cham) and Bangwinji, which left one Kindiyo and 12 Bangwinji dead, several wounded and compounds burnt. The so-called 'pacification' of local conflicts in the Tangale settlement of Tal led to the destruction of a village and the death of one man.¹⁰

Assistant Resident Carlyle left Deba Habe on 17th November 1910 and went via Panda, Ture and Kaltungo to Tangaltong, where he arrived on 20th November and built his camp at Tal. The objectives of his patrol were to settle friction in the Tangaltong area, to enquire into disturbances in the Waja area and to arrange the boundary with Yola Province.

The patrol started towards Cham country on 7th December, visiting Degri on the way and then Sikkam, which they left on 9th December 1910, then proceeding via Nyuwar to Kindiyo, which is one of the main settlements of the Cham. Here they stayed until 11th December. Carlyle observed that the plain between the Muri Mountains range and Tangale country was full of elephant and big game and a portion was infested with tse-tse fly. He stated that the Cham had been driven out of Degri by the Fulani. This, however, is doubtful, as all evidence suggests that the Cham were pushed to their current territory by the Waja. According to Carlyle, Kindiyo was once visited by officers from Yola Province in 1906; Mona and Dadiya, however, had never been visited by British officers before.

⁹ See Adelberger 2009. The following is taken from this publication.

¹⁰ NAK SNP 7 - 5401/1910, Waja District, Escort to Tangale Patrol: - Report of November 26, 1910 by Assistant Resident Carlyle, Assistant Resident Deba Habe to the Resident Gombe. The Tangaltong group of Tangale. - Assistant Resident Carlyle to Resident Gombe. Waja - Tangale Patrol. -Tangale - Waja - Longuda Patrol by Capt. E. J. Wolseley. NAK SNP 7 - 1881/1911, Bauchi Province Annual Report 1910. NAK SNP 7 - 952/1911, Bauchi Province Quarterly Report ending December 1910.

Then the patrol marched along the foot of the mountain range to Mona.

The Cham people had been told to clear the road to Mona, but at Kindiyo the inhabitants of a small hamlet consisting of four compounds refused and even stopped other Cham from doing it. As a warning Carlyle had one compound burnt. This made the Kindiyo men pick up their arms, one arrow was shot and as the result the archer was killed. Then the rest of the compounds were burnt.

The patrol stayed at Mona and went to Dadiya on 12th December where they were welcomed. On 14th December they proceeded to Bangwinji (or Kwim, as it is called in the report, Kwim being the Dadiya name for Bangwinji), where they camped at the foot of the hills. Title holders from Dadiya, i.e. Sarkin Dadiya and Galadima of Dadiya, accompanied the patrol. As the inhabitants of Bangwinji refused to come down from their mountain settlements, the patrol climbed up the hill and warned the Bangwinji people to show no resistance. At 2.30pm they advanced on the village on the summit of the hill, where two attempts were made to stop the patrol which were answered by gunfire leaving twelve Bangwinji dead and three wounded. Again, the violence may have been aggravated by local interests as the relationship between Dadiya and Bangwinji was strained. The chief of Dadiya served the patrol as guide and interpreter at Bangwinji, thus it is quite likely that he manipulated the situation to have the Bangwinji punished. Evidence from oral traditions supports this interpretation. The patrol stayed at Bangwinji until 15th December. From here they marched on 16th December further in a westerly direction to Kushi and proceeded on 18th December to Filiya. At the Jukun town of Gateri (Gwana) a WAFF (West African Frontier Force) station was established.

From January to April 1913 Assistant Resident Carlyle undertook another extensive patrol through the southern region of Gombe Division and he left a trail of destruction. A skirmish with the Pero at Gwandum resulted in sixteen Pero being killed and four wounded and the destruction of the settlement; Kindiyo was again destroyed, as was the Waja settlement of Wala and a part of Ture.¹¹

Social structure

The Bangwinji are divided into two regional sections: the Nààbáng and Kààló. While the Naabang occupy the eastern part of their territory and are responsible for the security and defence towards the east and the south, the Kaalo occupy the western part and are responsible for the defence towards the west and the north.

Within the two sections there are clans responsible for defence of certain regions, the general term for those warrior clans is *nobnuureb*. For instance, the Shiyeb clan of the Naabang was responsible for the defence towards the south, the Beltangbe from Bishomeb-Fiyer in Kaalo for defending west and north, and the Nafuwab control the eastern direction.

The boundary between the two sections is along a water course, (called Laabikisho), running through Mar. There are slight dialectical variations in their language and there are some cultural differences, such as the obligations to share the quarry of a hunt. Among both groups, from the quarry captured during a collective hunt, the loin must be given to the Mother's Brother of the hunter. But for the quarry captured during an individual hunt the sharing obligations differ: among the Kaalo the hunter may keep the whole animal for himself, and among the Naabang he must give his Mother's Brother his share of a loin.

¹¹ NAK SNP 10 - 263P/1913, Central Province - Gombe Division, Pagan tribes, Report by Mr. T. F. Carlyle on his visit to: - South Gombe Pagan Patrol, January-April 1913, Diary of Itinerary by Lt. J. R. Geoghegan, - To the Resident Central Province re Your 236/A and subsequent correspondence by AR Gombe T. F. Carlyle.

The two sections Naabang and Kaalo are subdivided into numerous patrilineally organised, exogamous descent groups or clans (*dùm* in Bangwinji) which again may be subdivided into lineages (*káng*).

There may be a special relationship between the clans, called *tók*, implying close co-operation and reciprocal support of each other and which finds its expression in the sharing of the quarry of a hunt or presenting of a pot of millet beer during a festival to the *tok* clan. *Tok* does, however, not imply any marriage preference.

It is said that *tok* did develop from “widow marriages”: after the death of a husband the widow was to be married to a man who had a relation to the deceased but was not from the same clan. Because of the patrilineal filiation, this would mean that a maternal relative would have married the widow. Nowadays, however, the widow will be married by someone from the same clan as the deceased, and it is common usage that a widow is married by a brother (same father) of the deceased husband. If she is married to someone else, the offspring of such a relationship belongs to the family of the deceased husband.

Tok relationship may also exist with groups outside the ethnic unit, this is then called a *tok tiimana* (=external *tok*): with the Tula such a relationship exists. During festivals a pot of millet beer is put aside for the consumption of the Tula, and the Tula are doing likewise for the Bangwinji



Photo 1: View from Mt. Bwallot to the north. On the upper right side is Mt. Kilang

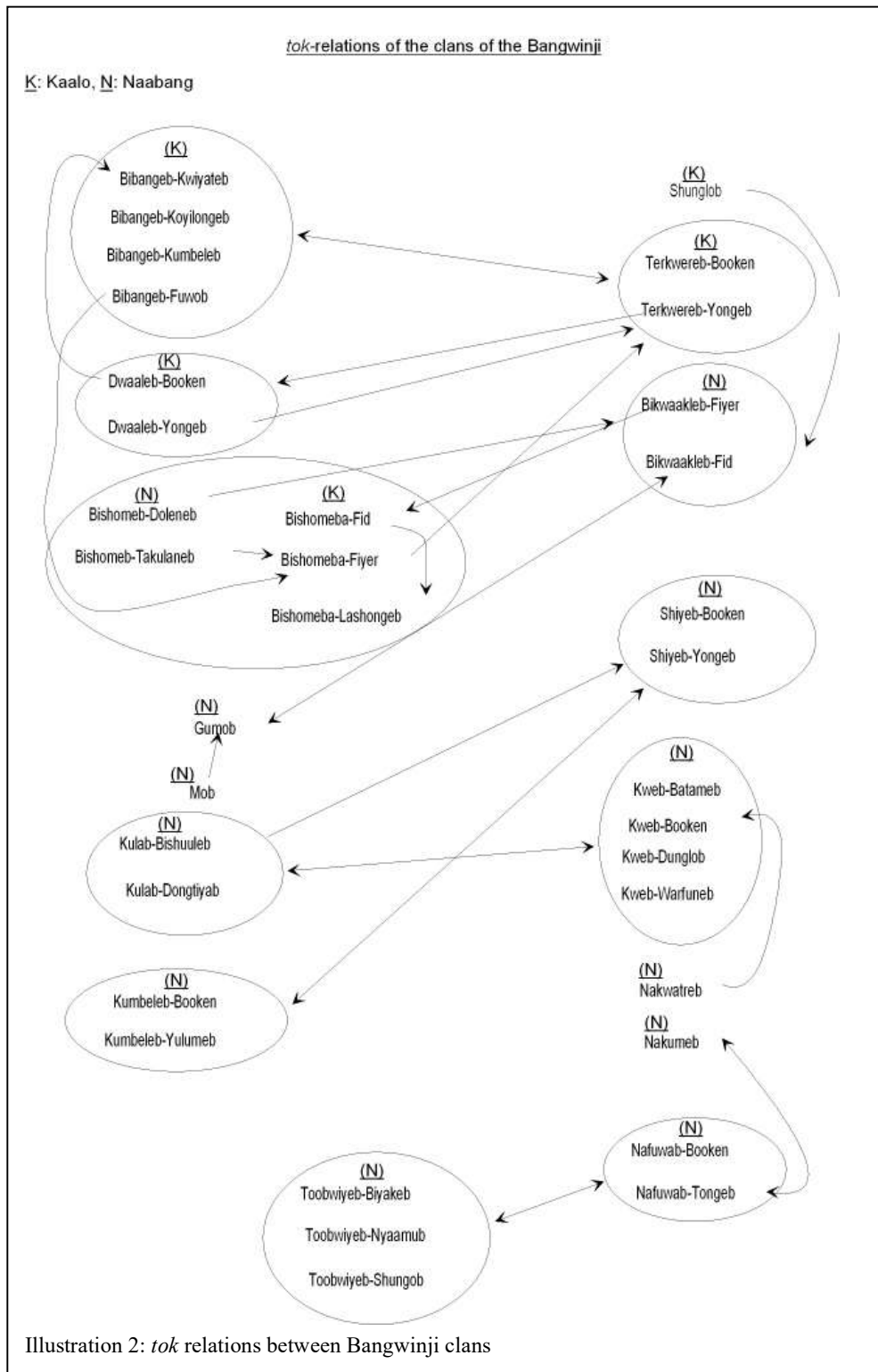


Illustration 2: *tok* relations between Bangwinji clans

Clans

The following table lists all the clans and lineages of the Bangwinji, giving information on their origin, their founder, associated titles, etc. (B. = Bangwinji)

Table 3: Bangwinji clans

Clan	Explanation of clan name	Section	Origin	Founder	Relationship with	Associated Title	Peculiarities
Bibangeb-Kwiyateb	Bibangeb="mount ain dwellers", Kwiyateb: name	Kaalo	Limi	Bed (from Limi)	<i>tok</i> with Terkwereb & Bishomeba Fiyer; <i>tok</i> with Shunglob	<i>Niishwiyake</i> (timekeeper); <i>liya</i> Naakwa for Kaalo	protecting plant for their corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bibangeb-Koyilongeb	Bibangeb="mount aineers", Koyilong: name of ancestor	Kaalo	Dadiya, met B. at Bweeri	Koyilong (from Dadiya)	<i>tok</i> with Terkwereb & Bishomeba Fiyer	--	protecting plant for their corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bibangeb-Kumbeleb	Bibangeb="mount aineers", Kumbeleb: name	Kaalo	from Kumbeleb of Naabang, at Bwallot	Laburutuk	no marriage with Kumbeleb; <i>tok</i> with Terkwereb & Bishomeba Fiyer		
Bibangeb-Fuwob	Bibangeb="mount aineers", Fuwob: name	Kaalo	Gomu, met at Kuma hill		<i>tok</i> with Terkwereb & Bishomeba Fiyer		protecting plant for their corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree). Clan ceased to exist because they moved back to Gomu, the only person left behind stays with Bibangeb and has no male off-spring
Bikwaakleb-Fid	Bikwaakleb: sp. tree <i>bikwaakama</i> (<i>aduuwaa</i> H.), Fid: black (skin colour)	Naabang	Loobiyangdub (Dadiya), then to Yuel hill	Bibwale (BrSo of Tunga)	<i>tok</i> with Bishomeba-Fid, Gumob & Muwab		protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bikwaakleb-Fiyer	Bikwaakleb: name of ancestor, Fiyer: red (skin colour)	Naabang	Loobiyangdub (Dadiya), then to Lookuma	Kwaala (BrSo of Tunga)	<i>tok</i> with Bishomeba-Fid, Gumob & Muwab	VH	protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bishomeb-Doleneb	Bishomeb: <i>bishumε</i> = shrew, Doleneb: trad. bench of the <i>Te</i>	Naabang	Limi	Cwai	no marriage with Bishomeba-Fiyer; <i>tok</i> with Bishomeba-Fiyer; <i>tok</i> with Gumob, Bikwaakleb & Muwab	<i>Te</i> of Naabang	protecting plant for their corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bishomeb-Takulaneb	Bishomeb: <i>bishumε</i> =shrew, Takulaneb: Takulan section of Dadiya	Naabang	Lootakulan (Dadiya), met B. at Bitikangkata	Kubja	<i>tok</i> with Bishomeba-Fiyer		protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bishomeba-Fid	alternative name: Bambwileb	Kaalo	Limi	βeltangbe (? , tangbe?)	<i>tok</i> with Bishomeb-Lashongeb	<i>Te</i> of Kaalo; <i>niinure</i> (war leader) of Kaalo (for west & north)	protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)

Clan	Explanation of clan name	Section	Origin	Founder	Relationship with	Associated Title	Peculiarities
Bishomeba-Fiyer	alternative name: Bikwanglangeb	Kaalo	from Bishomeb-Doleneb of Naabang, at Bwallot	Sakulle of B.-Doleneb, beheaded by Gomu but survived	no marriage with Bishomeb-Doleneb; <i>tok</i> with Terkwereb & Bibangeb		protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Bishomeba-Lashonge	Bishomeb: <i>bishumε</i> =shrew, Lashonge: Lashonge was So of Labiyeto, the founder. They took the name of his son	Kaalo	from Loonyingsheng in Kaalo, from Kweb of Naabang, at Bwallot	Laabiyeto/Laabito	Kweb of Naabang	assistant priesthood of Yaare, current priests name is Bororo	use red stone for crop protection
Dwaaleb Booken	Dwaaleb: people who know how to dance the Lee-dance	Kaalo	Limi		<i>tok</i> with Bibangeb-Kwiyateb & Shunglob; <i>tok</i> with Terkwereb	Keltu (has black magic stone); assistant of <i>Iiya</i> Naakwa for Kaalo	protecting plant for their corn is <i>farin ganyee</i> (H., <i>Dioscorea</i> sp.)
Dwaaleb-Yongeb		Kaalo	Tal (Billiri-Tangale), met B. at Shuuli		<i>tok</i> with Terkwereb		protecting plant for corn is <i>farin ganyee</i> (H., <i>Dioscorea</i> sp.)
Gumob	Gumob is a name	Naabang	partly Limi, partly Loofa (Dadiya), met B. at Bitikangkata	Bayim	<i>tok</i> with Bikwaakleb, Bishomeb Doleneb & Muwab		protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree). Blacksmiths come from them
Kulab-Bishuuleb	Kulab: <i>kula</i> is cry of a chicken, Bishuuleb: <i>bishuule</i> = flute of Lee)	Naabang	cave near Cham, met B. at Bangwiya	Shanggaran g	<i>tok</i> with Shiyeb; <i>tok</i> with Kweb	formerly assistant of <i>Iiya</i> Bibote of Kaalo (now from Nafuwab)	play flute of Lee. Protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree).
Kulab-Dongtiyab	Kulab: <i>kula</i> is cry of a chicken, <i>dongtiya</i> : small coloured bird (African pied wagtail, <i>Mota cilla aguimp</i>)	Naabang	Tal (Billiri-Tangale), met B. at Bangwiya	Ngai	<i>tok</i> with Kweb		Have white soil for ritual painting after Nyomlom; are Fakulungeb of Naabang, get skulls of enemies. Protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Kumbeleb-Booken	<i>kum</i> = to block; they block the hole of the locusts near Lookwi, i.e. the place with the footprints of Tangbe	Naabang	Limi	Laadoto	no marriage with Bibangeb-Kumbeleb; <i>tok</i> with Bibangeb-Fuwob & Bibangeb-Koyilongeb; <i>tok</i> with Shiyeb	<i>Milo</i> (has black magic stone), <i>Barbishwe</i>	care for sealing the locusts in their hole at Lookurii; protecting plant for corn is <i>ti faashang</i> (shea tree)
Kumbeleb-Yulumeb	<i>kum</i> = to block, Yulume is a Dadiya-clan)	Naabang	Looyulume (Dadiya), met B. at Kangloo	Teela, Walom & Gulayili (3 Br from Dadiya)	settled with Kumbeleb. <i>tok</i> with Shiyeb	<i>Iiya</i> Naakwa for Naabang	protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)

Clan	Explanation of clan name	Section	Origin	Founder	Relationship with	Associated Title	Peculiarities
Kweb-Booken	Kweb: red stone, colour is made of	Naabang	Limi	Jorma (or Kooso?)	<i>tok</i> with Kulab	<i>karma</i> (cares for twins); <i>liya</i> Lee, Nafuleneb (also care for Lee), priesthood of Yaari, current priest's name is Shibola	are Fakulungeb of Naabang, get skulls of enemies; <i>liya</i> Lee, care for Lee and related rituals (Nyomlom), have <i>yaari</i> cult which helps persons who lost orientation. They are buried with head to south, facing west [normal position, women look eastward]; protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree.
Kweb-Batameb	Kweb: red stone, colour is made of; Batam is name of founder	Naabang	Loodungle (Dadiya), met B. at Bwallot	Batam	<i>tok</i> with Kulab		are also Fakulungeb (see Kweb-Booken); protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Kweb-Dunglob	Kweb: red stone, colour is made of; Dunglo is a Dadiya clan	Naabang	Loodungle (Dadiya), met B. at Bwallot	Ból	<i>tok</i> with Kulab		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Kweb-Warfuneb	Kweb: red stone, colour is made of; Warfuneb is a section of Tula-Yiri	Naabang	Tula-Yiri, met B. at Bitikangkata	Nitua (=Kaiyiro) from Tula, he was first liya Lee	<i>tok</i> with Kulab		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Muwab/Mob	<i>mwa</i> = to start a fire	Naabang	Burak (exchanged for corn as children), met B. at Bwallot	Lamuling	<i>tok</i> with Gumob, Bikwaakleb & Bishomeb Doleneb		protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Nafuwab Booken	"the poor people"	Naabang	Labekisho stream	Murame	<i>tok</i> with Terkwereb. <i>tok</i> with Nakumeb & Toobwiyeb	<i>Mwabring</i> (has black magic stone); <i>niinure</i> (war leader) for Naabang (for east and south); <i>niibwa</i> ; now assistant of <i>liya</i> Bibote of Kaalo (formerly from Kulab-Bishuuleb)	protecting plant for corn is <i>farin ganyee</i> (H., <i>Dioscorea</i> sp.)
Nafuwab Tongeb	"the poor people", tongeb= Kaltungo people	Naabang	captives from war with Kaltungo	Ngalabang	<i>tok</i> with Nakumeb & Toobwiyeb	take care of footprints of Tangbe at Lookurii	protecting plant for corn is <i>farin ganyee</i> (H., <i>Dioscorea</i> sp.)

Clan	Explanation of clan name	Section	Origin	Founder	Relationship with	Associated Title	Peculiarities
Nakumeb	"people of the night"	Naabang	Lookwa (Bolere-Dadiya), met B. at Bwallot	Yabla	<i>tok</i> with Nafuwab & Toobwiyeb	<i>liya</i> Tangbe; <i>te beduware</i> or <i>bwe kwang kwale te</i> (assistant of <i>Te</i>) of Naabang	care for <i>tanjalang</i> of Tangbe; protecting plant for corn is <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Nakwatreb (Kalmue)	Nakwatreb: short form of "keeper of Lookunga"	Naabang	Limi	Wuning	<i>tok</i> with Kweb Booken & Shiyeb	<i>liya</i> of Lookunga	assistant Naakwa of Kaalo; arbitrators in land disputes, peacemaker, perform a rain ritual at Lookunga wall. Protecting plant for corn is baobab flower (or fruit?) and <i>tii faashang</i> (shea tree)
Shiyeb-Booken	"Theirs", poss.	Naabang	Limi	Kwatere	<i>tok</i> with Kulab; <i>tok</i> with Kumbeleb	<i>niishwele</i> or <i>bwe kwang kwale liya lee</i> or <i>bwe kwang kwale lee</i> (assistant of <i>liya Lee</i>); <i>niibwa</i> ; once <i>niinure (nobnuureb)</i> for south, but after a defeat this function was also given to Nafuwab	care for <i>tanjalang</i> of Shinong; control Takul site where skulls of enemies are buried; protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Shiyeb-Yongeb	"Theirs", poss.	Naabang	Tal (Billiri), met B. at Dodlokit	Shinong	<i>tok</i> with Kumbeleb		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Shunglob	"Those who defend the house"	Kaalo	Limi	Waamono	<i>tok</i> with Bibangeb-Kwiyateb	<i>liya</i> Bange	Bang belongs to them; are Fakulungeb of Kaalo, receive skulls of enemies. Protecting plant for their corn is locust bean tree (leaves) and red stone; do not kill puffadder or python because of Bang
Terkwereb-Booken	Terkwereb: "stone of red"	Kaalo	Limi	Bikwanggi	<i>tok</i> with Bibangeb & Bishomeba Fiyer; <i>tok</i> with Nafuwab; <i>tok</i> with Dwaaleb.	<i>liya</i> Bibote of Kaalo	rituals of Bibote; protecting plant for their corn is locust bean tree (leaves)

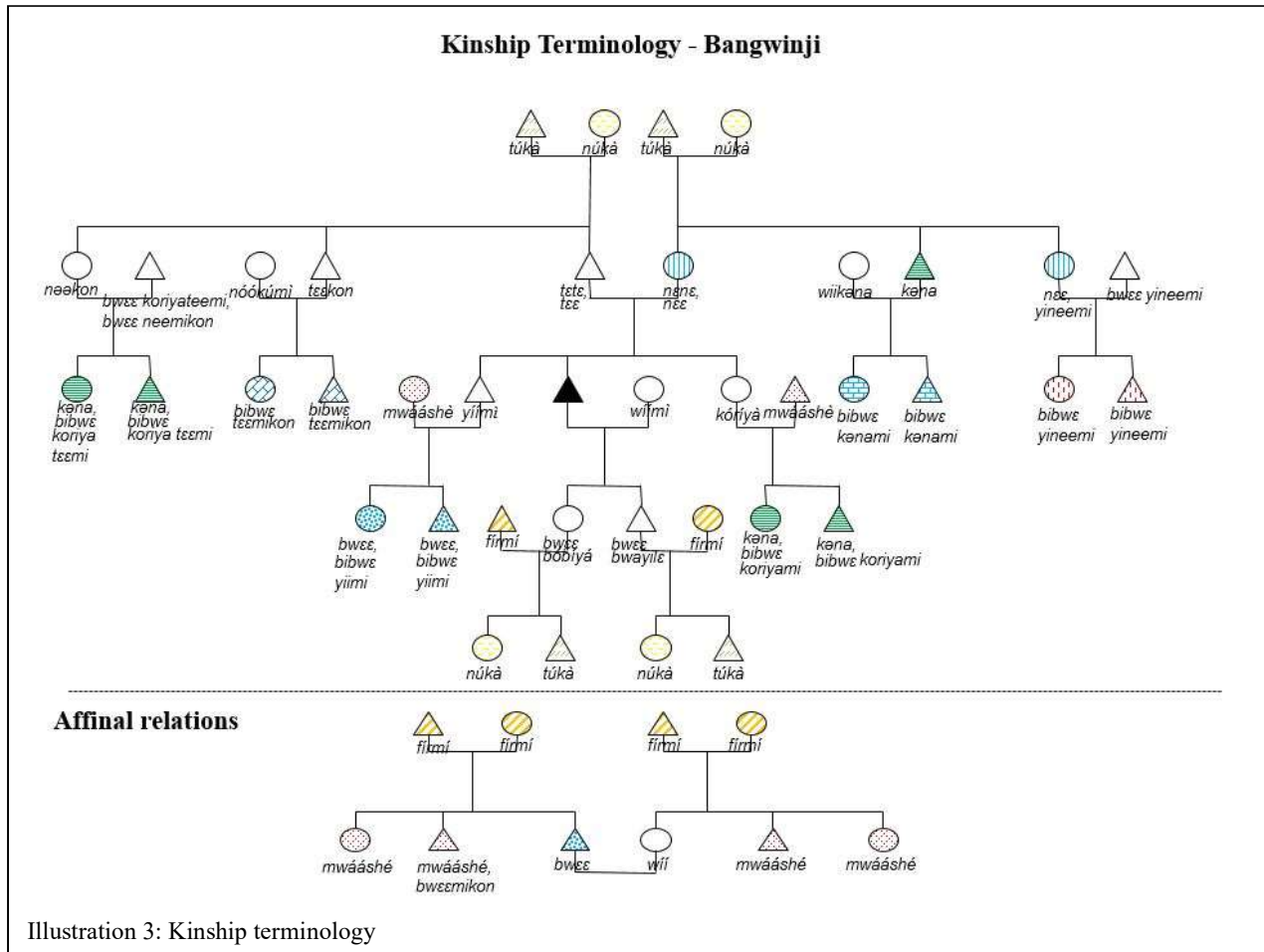
Clan	Explanation of clan name	Section	Origin	Founder	Relationship with	Associated Title	Peculiarities
Terkwereb-Dariyab	Terkwereb: "stone of red"	Kaalo	Dadiya	Nesanga	<i>tok</i> with Bibangeb & Bishomeba Fiyer; <i>tok</i> with Nafuwab; <i>tok</i> with Dwaaleb		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Terkwereb-Yongeb	Terkwereb: "stone of red"	Kaalo	Tal (Billiri-Tangale), met B. at Shuuli	Lawaksak	<i>tok</i> with Bibangeb & Bishomeba Fiyer; <i>tok</i> with Nafuwab; <i>tok</i> with Dwaaleb		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Toobwiyeb	cutters of plants for making potash	Naabang		Kabshung	<i>tok</i> with Nafuwab & Nakumeb		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree. Tend to get twins
Toobwiyeb-Biyakeb	Tobwiyeb: cutters of plants for making potash, Biyakeb: = Burak	Naabang	Burak, met Bangwinji at Bwallot		<i>tok</i> with Nafuwab & Nakumeb		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Toobwiyeb-Nyaamub	Tobwiyeb: cutters of plants for making potash, Nyaamub=Gomu	Naabang	Gomu (came via Lamuwe in south), met B. at Bwallot		<i>tok</i> with Nafuwab & Nakumeb		Blacksmiths come from them. Protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree
Toobwiyeb-Shungob	Tobwiyeb: cutters of plants for making potash, Shungob=Loo	Naabang	Loo (came via Tub), met B. at Bwallot		<i>tok</i> with Nafuwab & Nakumeb		protecting plant for corn is locust bean tree

For the sake of completeness, genealogies of the clans are presented in Appendix A. While the information on the clans provided in the table above was collated from many oral sources, the graphical genealogies in the appendix are each based on one oral source only. Thus, some details may be at variance, especially concerning the founder of the clan or lineage.

Kinship terminology

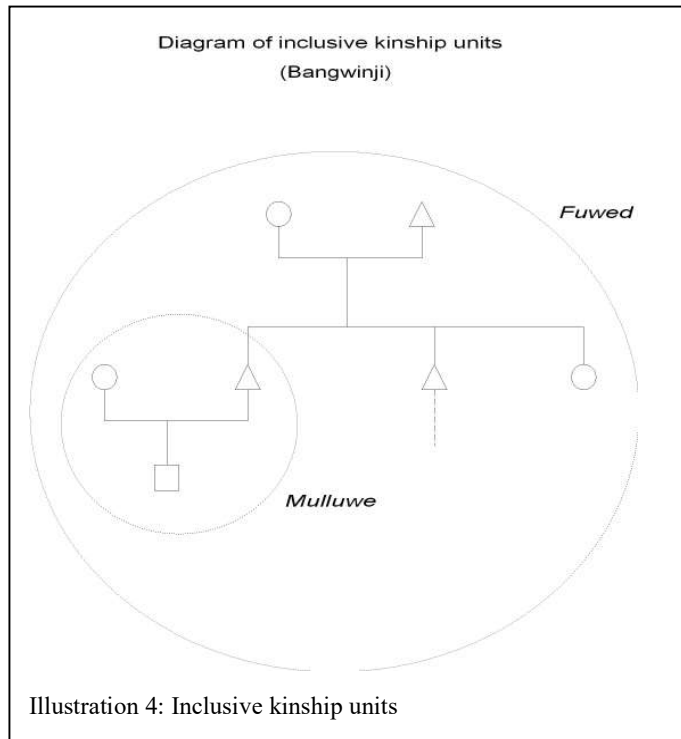
The kinship terminology of the Bangwinji has features of the Eskimo system, where in ego's generation all cousins are merged together but differentiated from sister and brother: however, the term *bibwe* (for cousin) may be further qualified to trace the descent of the cousin, moving the terminology to a Sudanese system. FaSiChi have a special position among the cousins, because they may also be referred to by the term *kəna* that is also used for MoBr and SiChi.

In the first ascending generation, the terminology defies easy classification, for on the mother's side it uses bifurcate merging, while on the father's side it is bifurcate collateral.



Family

There are several terms describing a family or household: *mulluwe* is a family (i.e. husband, wives, children) residing in a homestead, *shonukod* is a patrilineally extended co-residential family group: the family of a home-



stead together with the patrilineally-related neighbours. *Fuwed* is a minimal lineage, i.e. all descendants of the same father, irrespective if they reside together or not.

Husband and wife work on the farms together, the yield is stored in a joint granary which is filled up by the husband and from which the wife takes the foodstuff.

Groundnuts are a crop usually grown by women, they can use the crop in preparation for food, process oil from it and they can use it to generate some income by selling the crop or the oil on the market.

A man with several wives has to treat them equally. Each wife will prepare food for her children and the husband, and he has to eat with each of his wives. A wife has her own

small budget which she generates with petty trading.

The husband is obliged to provide his wives and children with clothes and shoes, he has to provide food and a house for them. The chores of a wife include cooking, cleaning, rearing the children, fetching water and firewood and brewing beer.

The father's side (*loo tɛ*) is more respected than the mother's side (*loo nɛ*). When someone leaves his paternal relatives to settle with his maternal relatives then he is considered as a servant (*maawalka*) of the mother's side, who only has to serve without getting anything in return.

Although descent is reckoned patrilineal, the maternal relatives have a certain entitlement over the children. A husband has to pay a certain amount of *kimera kushet* (traditional iron currency) to the father of his wife (or WiBr or WiFaBr) in order to waive their possible claims on his children. The specified amount varies: I was told that it is 80 pieces, but also that is 30 pieces for a boy and 40 for a girl. Maybe this has changed over the years. There is no fixed time for this payment which is called *fangka*, it may be even years after the marriage. And if their father was not able to pay, then the children can make the payment to their maternal relatives. In case this payment has not been made, the relatives of the mother may claim the quarry of a hunt or demand a piece of land belonging to their grandchildren. And in the past, they could sell the children as slaves or as pawns in exchange for foodstuff in times of hunger and scarcity.

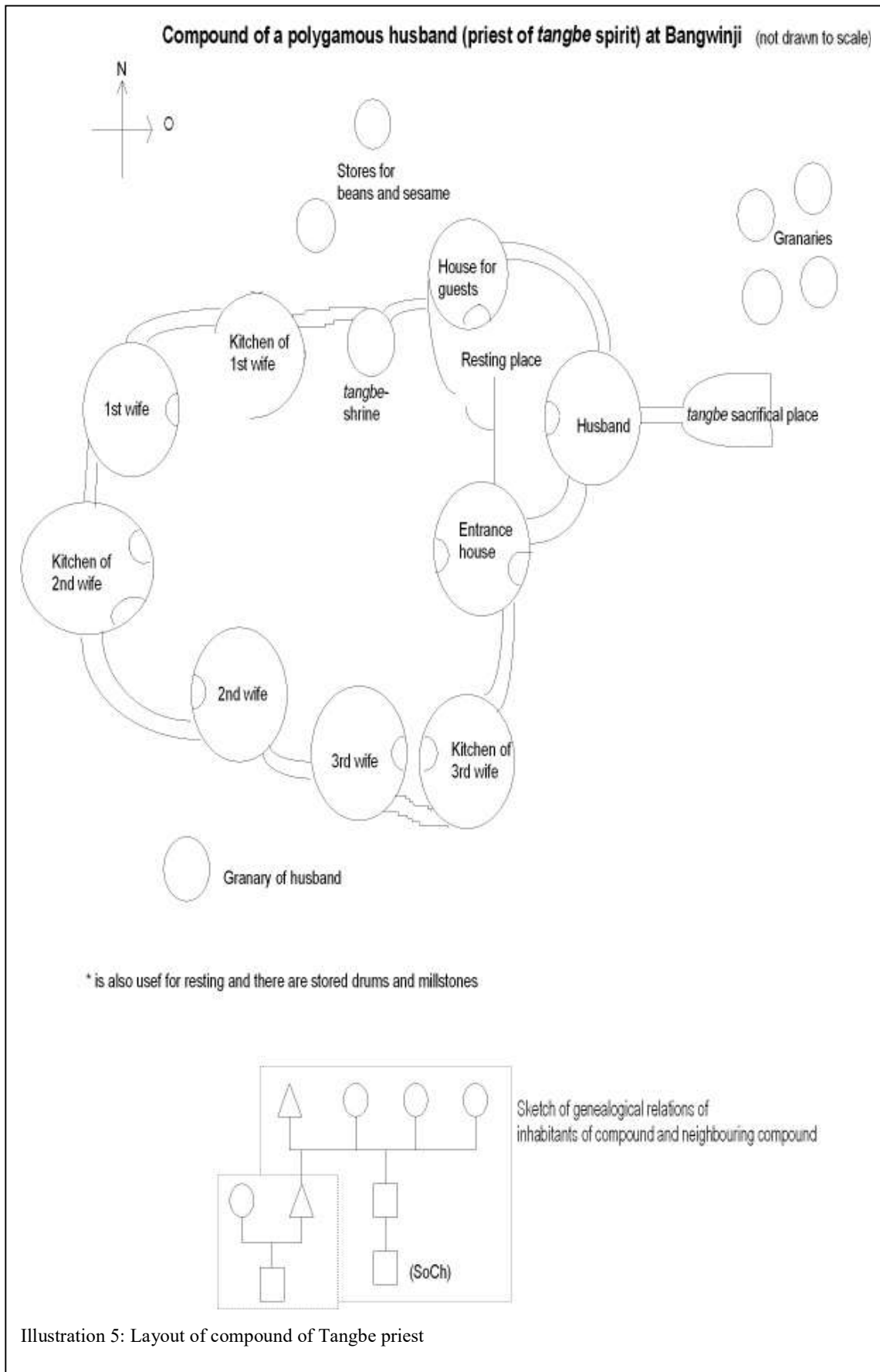
Principally, the aim of paying *fangka* is to relinquish claims over children from the matrilineal lineage.

There is an arrangement called *duoka* which is essentially a kind of netting of mutual *fangka* payment obligations between two clans: when a man from clan A marries a woman from clan B and they have children, then clan A is obliged to pay *fangka* to clan B. If now a man from clan B marries a woman from clan A, they also

would have to pay *fangka* to clan A. In such a case the mutual *fangka* obligations can be balanced and no actual payment takes place.

I interpret this institution as a remnant of a former double descent system, (double descent systems are still existent among the neighbouring Cham, Tsobo and Bachama), whereby this solution was developed to steer the system towards unilineality/patrilineality.

Inheritance is patrilineal, the property of a woman is taken over by her husband, and also, in the case of a divorce, she leaves everything behind to her husband.



Marriage

A prospective husband can expect assistance in gathering the bride-price from the members of his clan. Bride-price is now fixed at 80 Naira, 1 chicken, 1 cock and additional bride-service, which means for the prospective husband to help his father-in-law on his farms for a period of three years.

The bride-price was standardised to avoid conflicts. This was done by the traditional chief *Te* at the beginning of the 20th century or probably even earlier. It was said that it was done before D.O. Carlyle served in the area. Before the introduction of the Naira as currency the bride-price was 50 *kimero kushet* (traditional iron money), 1 goat, 1 cock and 1 chicken.

The bride-price is considered as compensation for a child. When a couple is divorced, the bride-price has only to be returned in those cases when no child has been born. The bride-service is not linked to a child: if the couple have been together for at least one year, the bride-service is considered to be recompensed. When, after a divorce, the woman marries again, the divorced husband can demand the payment of the 80 Naira bride-price in those cases when he also had to return bride-price, i.e. when no child had been born. Likewise with the bride-service: if the couple was together less than a year, then the husband may demand a certain equivalent amount as compensation for his bride-service either from the parents of his former wife or, if she has married again, from her new husband. If the girl's parents were obliged to pay that amount, they will ask a new husband to compensate them. It is always the new husband who has to compensate the former one should there be any dues pending. If a girl runs away with a man other than the prospective husband while he is still doing bride-service, this is called *mwám kììbòbíyá nìì* (= married somebody's girl) and the new one has to refund the old one his bride-service.

The woman will move to her husband with empty hands, without any property, and she will also leave him without taking anything with her after a divorce. The property she may have gathered will be taken over by her husband. On the evening that she is leaving her husband's compound, her father will slaughter a goat for her. When a husband is not treating his wife well, she can easily leave him, especially after she has already delivered a first child for then her bride-price has been recompensed. The rate of divorce is therefore rather high. Levirate (*náwé kwàlè*) is practised: if a husband dies, the elder brother will marry the widow or, if there is no brother, an elder man from his clan can marry her instead. If the widow marries someone from a different clan than her deceased husband, this is called *nawe bune*. The children that result from such an alliance are regarded as belonging to the new husband. In order to find out whether the deceased husband agrees with the new marriage, the prospective new husband in the evening will tie a chicken to a post in the hut of the dead. If the chicken is found dead the next morning, it means that the deceased does not agree to the new alliance and even the chosen new husband may die when he enters the compound. Even after the new marriage, the woman will continue living in the compound of the deceased and the new husband will visit her there. Women without children may move out. A second wife may be from the same clan as the first wife. After a divorce a woman may not be married to a man from the same clan as the divorced husband. There is no sister-exchange.

Women are classified according to the number of times they have been married:

<i>béné</i>	a girl marrying for the first time
<i>kwèlbiyá</i>	a woman marrying for the second time, for instance after a divorce
<i>kùlúúrè</i>	a woman marrying for the third time
<i>kwéltééné</i>	a woman marrying for the fourth time
<i>té</i>	a woman marrying for the fifth time

A man who marries a woman who has already been married more than once is regarded with esteem, because such a woman has gathered experience and wisdom. During the dances on the day of the marriage festivities the husband will carry different types of calabashes symbolising the status of each of his wives: for a *bene*, a plain sowing calabash (also called *bene*), for a *kwelbiya*, a calabash with an iron handle (also called *kwelbiya*) and for a *kuluure* a small round calabash with a cover (also called *kuluure*). For a woman who has married more than three times, there is no longer a reason to have her status displayed publicly. Accordingly their symbols reflect a lower value. A *kwelteene* calabash is one that was broken and has been repaired and *té* is a piece of freshly skinned leather ("no meat, empty skin"). Neither is used for symbolic display.

During a *bene* marriage, the wife's bridesmaid will carry a stick aloft as another sign of her *bene* status.

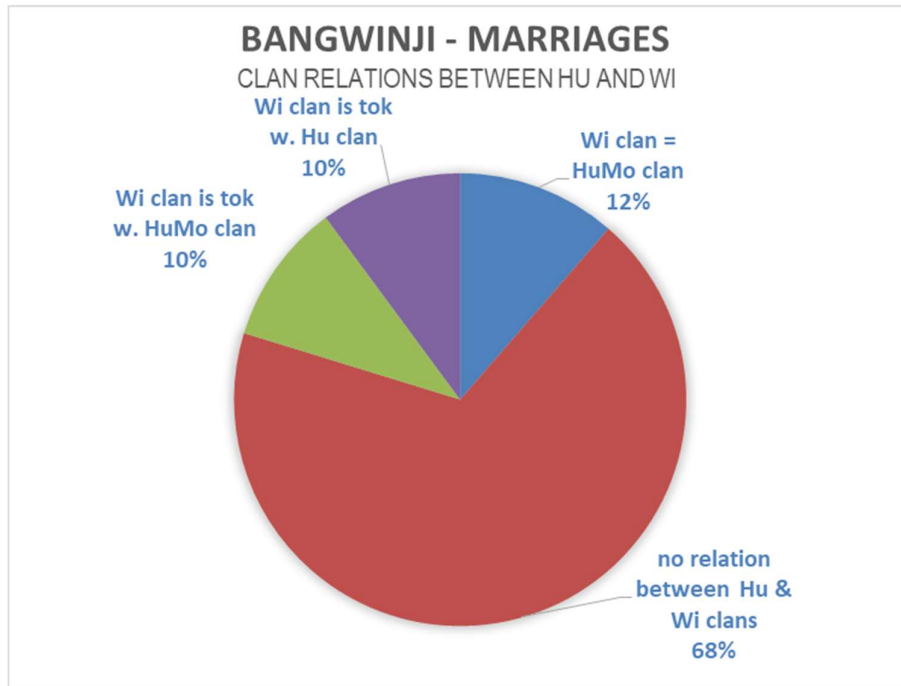
When after a first marriage either the husband or wife dies, the widow or the widower respectively has to sit on a dirty *zaana* mat in front of the kitchen hut for seven days, with a traditional rope (*dóktàná*) wound around the neck and both wrists. That rope is usually used to bundle firewood, it is made of fibres of the root and bark of a baobab tree. He/she will be fed by the sister of the deceased spouse by using a broken pot or broken calabash. This has to be done because otherwise the soul of the deceased will return and cause madness or even the death of the surviving spouse. A widow will additionally place a cloth between her legs to prevent her dead husband's spirit from entering her. This custom is called *yimbishirin*.

A secondary marriage is called *kwinaawiye*, but this was abandoned in the late 1950s. A wife who is fed up with her husband will arrange with a new one, she then will cook a last supper for the old husband and abscond. Both men will report to the woman's parents.

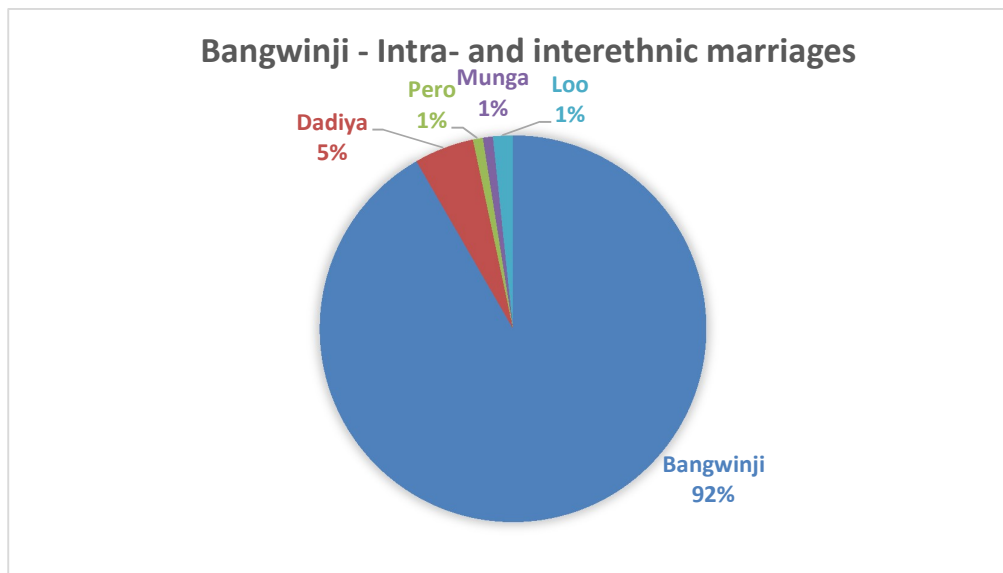
There are no obvious marriage preferences, and there is no prohibition concerning marriage with a blacksmith. If a woman marries a husband whom her parents dislike, the parents may put a spell on her to prevent her from becoming pregnant. If the husband manages to dispel their doubts and persuade them to accept the marriage, then the father of the bride sacrifices beer at the Bibote shrine of his clan to make the ancestors (*bweI*) remove the spell.

Some statistics

In a sample taken, there were 25 men married with 54 wives, 9 of the wives came from the same clan as the mother of the husband. 8 wives were from a clan with a *tok*-relation to the clan of her husband, another 8 were from a clan with a *tok*-relation to the clan of her husband's mother.



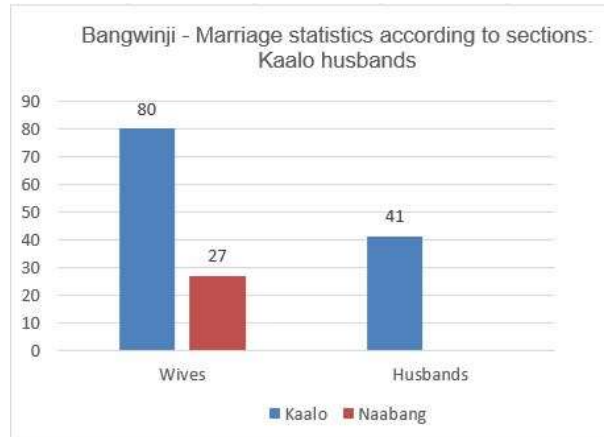
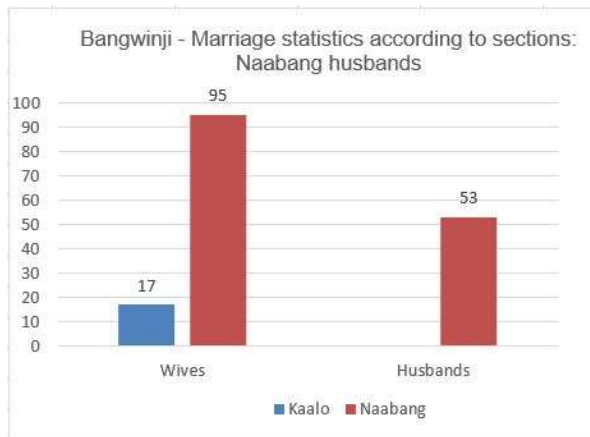
In a sample of 51 married men, there were 108 wives from Bangwinji, 6 wives from Dadiya, 1 wife from Pero, 1 wife from Munga and 2 wives from Loo.



The polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e. wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 2.3.

Marriages within the same section (Naabang or Kaalo) are prevalent.

Marriage within the same section:	75.4 %
Marriage with a wife from a different section:	19.0%
Marriage outside the ethnic group:	5.6 %



Birth

After having given birth, the umbilical cord is measured up to the chin of the baby and cut there. The umbilical cord and the placenta are buried within the bathroom, and for several days or up to two weeks hot water is poured over the place. If this is not done, the eyes of the baby will close and it will get white spots on the skin. The remaining umbilical cord will fall off after a few days and is preserved. In the eventuality that the baby develops gastro-intestinal disorders, a concoction of the umbilical cord with water is prepared for the baby to drink.

After having given birth, a woman remains inside her house for seven days. On the seventh day, her brother visits her, she cooks food for him (*tuwo* with *miyang dargaza* and *kunnu*) and he prays to the ancestors to protect her and the child. Then he shares the *tuwo* with the children living in the hamlet or ward and other persons present in the compound. The food is considered to be blessed and good for the development of the children. If a girl becomes pregnant at an age when she is still living in the compound of her parents, it is regarded a shame. The man coming to fetch her for marriage then has to bring along a chicken. On the way to her compound, when reaching a crossroad, the man and his companions will slaughter and roast the chicken and consume it at the crossroad. In this way, the shame will be spread in all four directions and not enter the clan. Multiple births are regarded with suspicion and it is only twins that have a chance to survive. If there are triplets or even more, they will be killed immediately. Their corpses are disposed of in special deep holes in the mountain at a site called *fiyebwid*, which is considered to be the grave of the spirit Bibote and which females and all un-initiated persons are forbidden to visit. The Bangwinji are afraid of multiple births and believe that these children will harm or even kill the mother if they stay alive. The household utensils of the mother will be dumped at *fiyebwid* together with the corpses of the babies.

In the case of twins, the babies will be closely watched by the *karma*, a ritual specialist from the Kweb clan, for any sign of aberrant/abnormal behaviour. If one of them is crying a lot, the *karma* will show it the *kulen*, a sword especially used for cutting off heads, and warn it. ("They are warned, if they came for good then they should not make trouble, but if they make trouble, they came for bad and must be killed, regardless the possible resemblance to an ancestor, since the warning is more important.") The *kulen* and leaves from a locust



Photo 2: Sword *kulen* (top)

bean tree, (*tíí brèm* in Bangwinji; locust bean tree leaves signify successful head-hunters and only these are permitted to carry them during dances), are placed at the far end of their bed so that the babies will see them. For one week, every morning and evening they will be warned. After the period of warning the *niibwa* (soothsayer) will place a pot of water in front of the twins and in the water he can see their souls and recognise which one of them is a troublemaker. He will tell the *karma* his findings and the *karma* will kill it in the bush by cutting off its head.

If one or both babies look suspicious or abnormal, the *karma* will immediately kill them. The same applies to single children who caused a problematic birth such as a breech birth.

In case of a breech birth, the baby is considered to be a potential troublemaker and watched closely and it will be killed if it is indeed found to be a troublemaker.

Multiple births are seen as a sign of a transgression from the human to the non-human world, between civilisation and wilderness, because giving birth to multiple off-spring is considered as not being human but rather beastlike.

It is believed that the disposition for multiple births is contagious and a woman who has repeatedly given birth to twins is avoided by other women. This disposition only affects women, not men. It is said that women of the Tobwiyeb clan tend to have twin births and the disposition is passed on matrilineally.

It is believed that a child is created by the soul (*duume*) of an ancestor entering a woman, and this child can then be recognised by having certain similarities with or carrying certain characteristics of the ancestor. In this way the ancestors re-enter the world or are born again. To signify the similarity, the child will be named after the ancestor. This applies to boys and girls. Children with no similarities to an ancestor were produced by god (*kwama*). There will be no difference in treatment between a child coming from an ancestor or from *kwama*.

After a woman has given birth, the husband will not have intercourse with her for about two years.

Name giving

Boys are given their names during the *waabe* ceremony when they are presented to the deity Bibote. The ceremony of *waabe* takes place twice a year: *waabe* for the dry season takes place in April, *waabe* for the rainy season takes place in August. In 1992 *waabe* took place on 30th March. Girls get their name at the age of about two years during a ceremony called *tokona* during which chicken, beer (*burkutu*) and porridge (*tuwo*) with *miyang dargaza* (a sauce made of leaves from *dargaza* (H., *Grewia mollis*) shrub) are brought to the *niibwa*, (traditional healer and soothsayer), and the clan elders choose a name for the girl. Usually the name of a forebear (*bwel*) whom the child resembles and who is thought to have been reborn is chosen.

It is forbidden to mention or use the names of these children who have died before they were initiated into the cult of Lee. These children are considered to have passed away prematurely.

The Bangwinji have no tradition of circumcision.

Burial

Each clan has its own cemetery in the abandoned old settlements in the mountains. The places on Bwallot Mountain gain their relevance because the Bangwinji lived there for a long time. The corpse is carried to the graveyard wrapped in a white cloth. The cloth is removed and the corpse buried in a hole in the rocks safe from rain. A long stone is then placed where the head is. A young person is buried immediately, an old person on the next day. These holes serve as collective graves for each clan. The sexes, the different age groups and men of importance, each have their own burial places.

Corpses of the clans Kweb, Shiyeb and Nakwatreb are laid in a position with the head to the south and the face looking north, members of all other clans are positioned with the head to the south, and men on the right-side facing west, women on the left side facing east. The mother's brother of the deceased and the *Te*, the traditional chief, recite a prayer containing a passage that says that the dead should rest in peace when he died a natural death, but that he should return and take revenge when someone caused his death. An elder woman burns seeds from locust bean tree and spreads the smoke with circular motions over the corpse and the descendants while murmuring "drink water safely".

For this first burial nowadays, when the deceased was an old man who had been initiated to the cult of Lee, a goat is slaughtered. The goat is led into the house of the deceased and pulled out again on its forelegs and then on the threshold of the door its neck is broken. Formerly it was a dog rather than a goat. On the seventh day, beer is drunk and the inheritance is divided among the male descendants. After the death of a person, some oil made from melon seed is put into a broken calabash, carried to the shrine of Bibote (*Loo Bibote*) and the oil is poured on the ground there. The broken calabash is a symbol for the now broken and useless body. Corpses must be buried unutilated and in good order because it is believed that ancestors are born again in their descendants. The only exception is a woman who was barren or a man who was sterile, they will receive deep cuts on the lumbar vertebra with a hoe that is otherwise used for working wood.

There may be up to four burials for a deceased person, depending on requests his/her soul is making to the living.

- First burial: *biikùtùng kútúngè*,
- second burial: *kwiruke*,
- third burial: *biikúlén* (also farmwork songs are called *bikulen*),
- fourth burial: *kiikàdúré*.

It is believed that the soul (*bwe!*) of a dead person after the first burial goes to the site of the dead (*loo bwitine* = earth house). This is a subterranean place where all dead are living as if they were living beings: eating, laughing, drinking and farming. Leading a good life will bring the soul to *loo bwitine*. From here it will return and the following incidents are interpreted as signs showing such a return: a dog climbing on a millstone, or the son is bitten by a snake or a goat dies without obvious reason. But only the souls of those Bangwinji who had died at an old age, can go to *loo Bibote* or enter the house of their descendants and articulate their requests. The *niibwa* is consulted and he may tell that the deceased person demands his second burial (*kwiruke*) which is then performed and beer and food are sacrificed at the shrine of Bibote, and goats and chickens are slaughtered. The back part of a goat is given to the clan of the mother's side of the dead man or woman. A second burial may be performed for a man or a woman. The third burial (*biikulen*) is performed when the deceased appears in the dreams of his brother or his son and demands it, or a member of his age group starts to behave crazily. For the fourth burial (*kiikadure*), which is also demanded by the soul of the

dead person appearing in dreams and which takes place about 10-20 years after the person had died, the skull is unearthed, washed with *pito* beer and put into a pot above the cooking fire in the compound of his son. If the weather is cool the skull will make a rattling noise and the fire must be started. After one year the skull is taken back to the mountains. When it is the skull of a member of the Nafuwab clan, then it is first taken to the site Boko Tangbe at Lookwi, a sacred place where Tangbe left his footsteps as marks on the rock, and put into the shrine of Tangbe. All other skulls are buried directly under the fig tree of his clan in the old settlement. Fig trees are considered meeting places for the souls of ancestors and each clan has its own fig tree standing in its wards. Accordingly, fig trees are also standing in the abandoned settlements on Bwallot Mountain. Platforms made of dry-stone walling are located around the fig trees and the souls of the ancestors return to sit on these stone benches. The skulls of hunted animals are put up into the branches of those fig trees. The skulls of members of the Nafuwab clan are also taken to the fig trees after they rested a few years at Bikud Tangbe. It is only skulls of priests that remain at the Tangbe shrine.

Fiyebwid is the cemetery of the *liya* Bibote, the priest of the most capricious deity of Bangwinji. The place is shunned and one may become mad when going there. The place is also used as a dumping ground for killed twins. No tree is cut there. In 1993 there was not enough rain and the explanation was that Bikere, an old man of the Nafuwab clan who had died about 40 years ago, was demanding his fourth burial.

A third or fourth burial is only performed for men, not for women.

There is a distinction between *bwel*, which is the soul or life essence of a person, and *wuulo* which may be translated as consciousness or virtual shadow. When dreaming, *wuulo* can wander around to the places one has visited during daytime. Witches are able to catch the *wuulo* and that will cause the person to become sick because their *wuulo* could not return to them. The *niibwa* may help in these situations, but, when a witch eats the *wuulo*, the person will die. When opening the cemetery cave of a clan, a branch of shea tree (*tii fashang*) has to be put there to prevent the souls from doing any harm.

When a warrior had his head cut off and the blood was gushing from his neck to the ground, on that place a termite hill (*boore*) developed and within the hill a new head grew within seven days and the warrior was resurrected. Therefore, the Bangwinji wait for seven days before they start mourning a dead person. People who committed suicide are not buried in the cemetery, they are either buried hastily in the bush or besides their compound and no proper ceremony is conducted. The same applies when someone died of leprosy, then the



Photo 3: Granary without cover

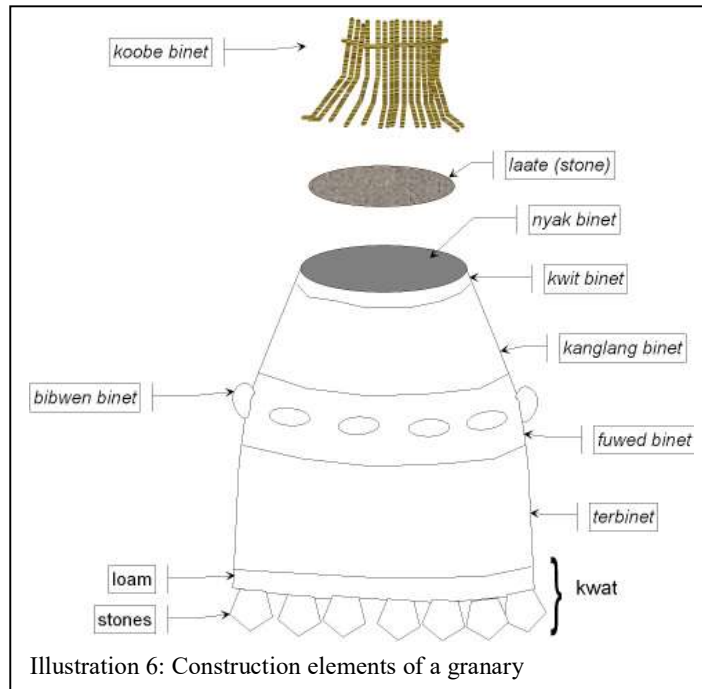


Photo 4: Granary with cover and *koobe binet*

person is buried in the bush where elephant grass (*bwilee*) is growing, otherwise he will return and spread his disease.

Granaries

Granaries (*bini*) are preferably built on rocky ground in order to prevent intrusion of termites and other vermin like rats or mice and it keeps its base dry, because the ground is not soaked with water. Nowadays, Atalic insecticide is additionally put into the bin.



There is a species of black ant which is especially feared because it spoils the corn. Often a small harmless snake (*nashang lange*) is allowed to live inside the granary and no one will harm it. Other than the mystic snake *jim*, which secures the waterflow of springs, these are the only snakes which are not touched and considered to be benign. Its location is usually/always outside the compound or even outside the hamlet in order to prevent destruction by fire. Granaries are built by men. Husbands and wives work together on the farms. The husband stores the harvest in the granary and seals it when it is full. But it is the wife who removes the corn from the granary to prepare the daily food; the husband will only touch its content

in exceptional circumstances, for instance for ritual purposes. The breaking of the seal of a granary and the first batch of the new corn is taken out by the husband. Beer and porridge with *miyang dargaza* is prepared from the new corn and sacrificed at the shrine of Bibote (*loo Bibote*) of the clan. In a polygamous household, each wife in turn is in charge of the granaries for one year.

There are large granaries for staple food like guinea corn, millet and maize and smaller ones for groundnut or beniseed. Illustration 6 shows the different elements of a granary and the terms used.

The top and outside are covered by a grass cover (*shalka binet*) preventing rain from damaging the clay walls and on top of the cover is put something like an apron (*koobe binet*) made of woven grass which is to prevent damage on the cover by the ladder used to fetch the corn.

Village

In the new post-colonial settlements, the homesteads are built with space surrounding them, so that a fire cannot easily spread, unlike in the densely packed old settlements in the mountains.

Old settlement places may be recognised by the existence of a special grass (*faaluwe*, in Hausa *kansuuwaa*). Useful trees such as baobab and locust bean trees also mark abandoned settlements.

In each ward there is a dancing place.

The traditional shrines are always outside of settlements, and this was also the case at the old settlement sites.

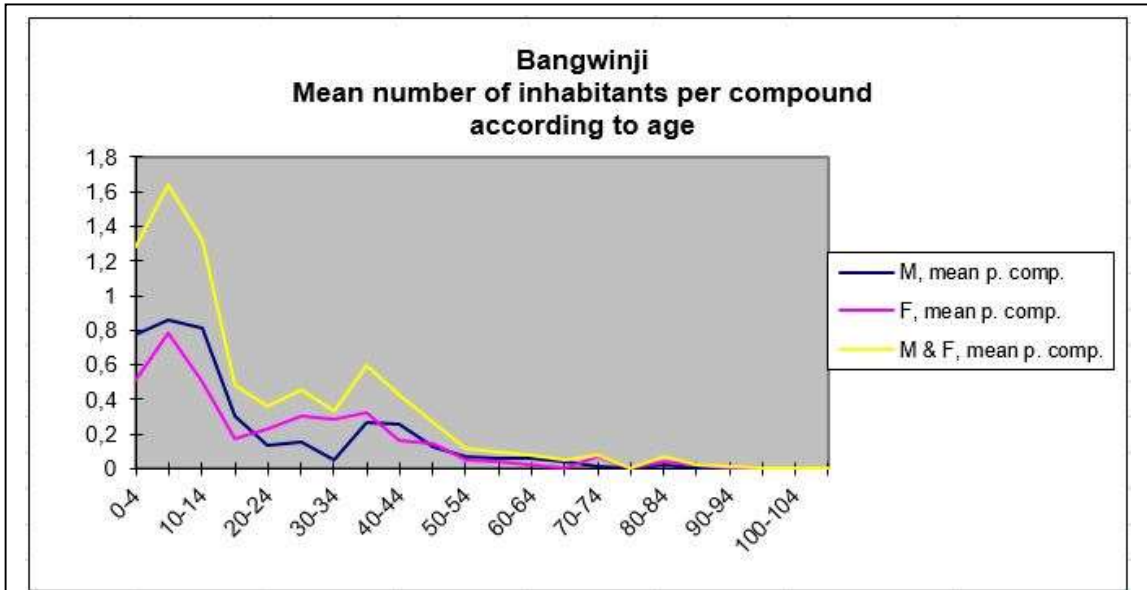


Figure 2: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Mar and Kungbinaba

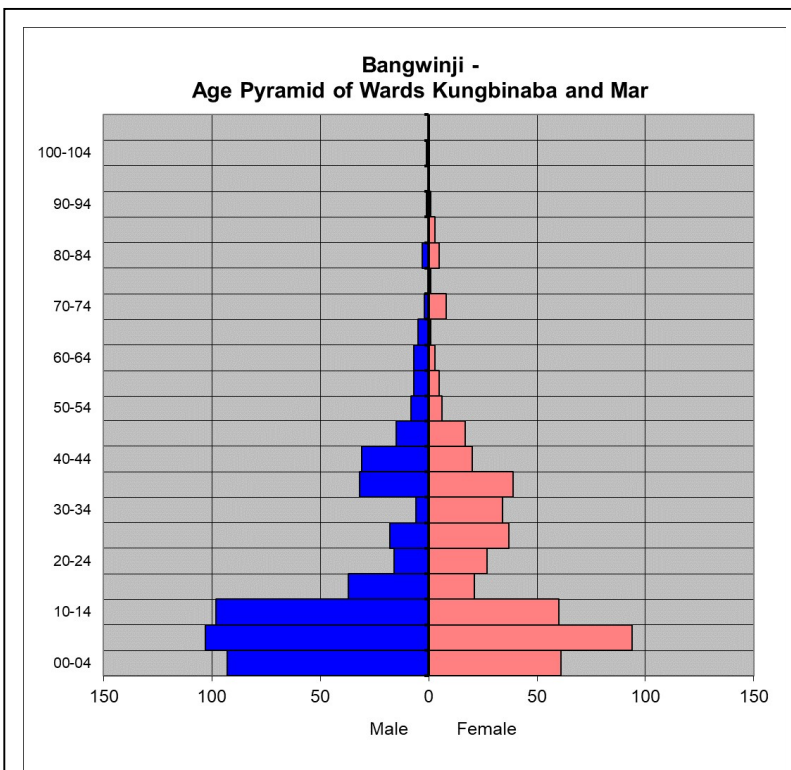
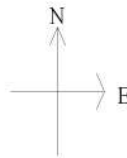


Figure 1: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Kungbinaba and Mar

Sketch map of Titangbe ward at Bangwinji



Explanations:

- : house, round
- 10 : reference to household/ individual in the genealogical chart
- 10 : indicates to whom the asset belongs

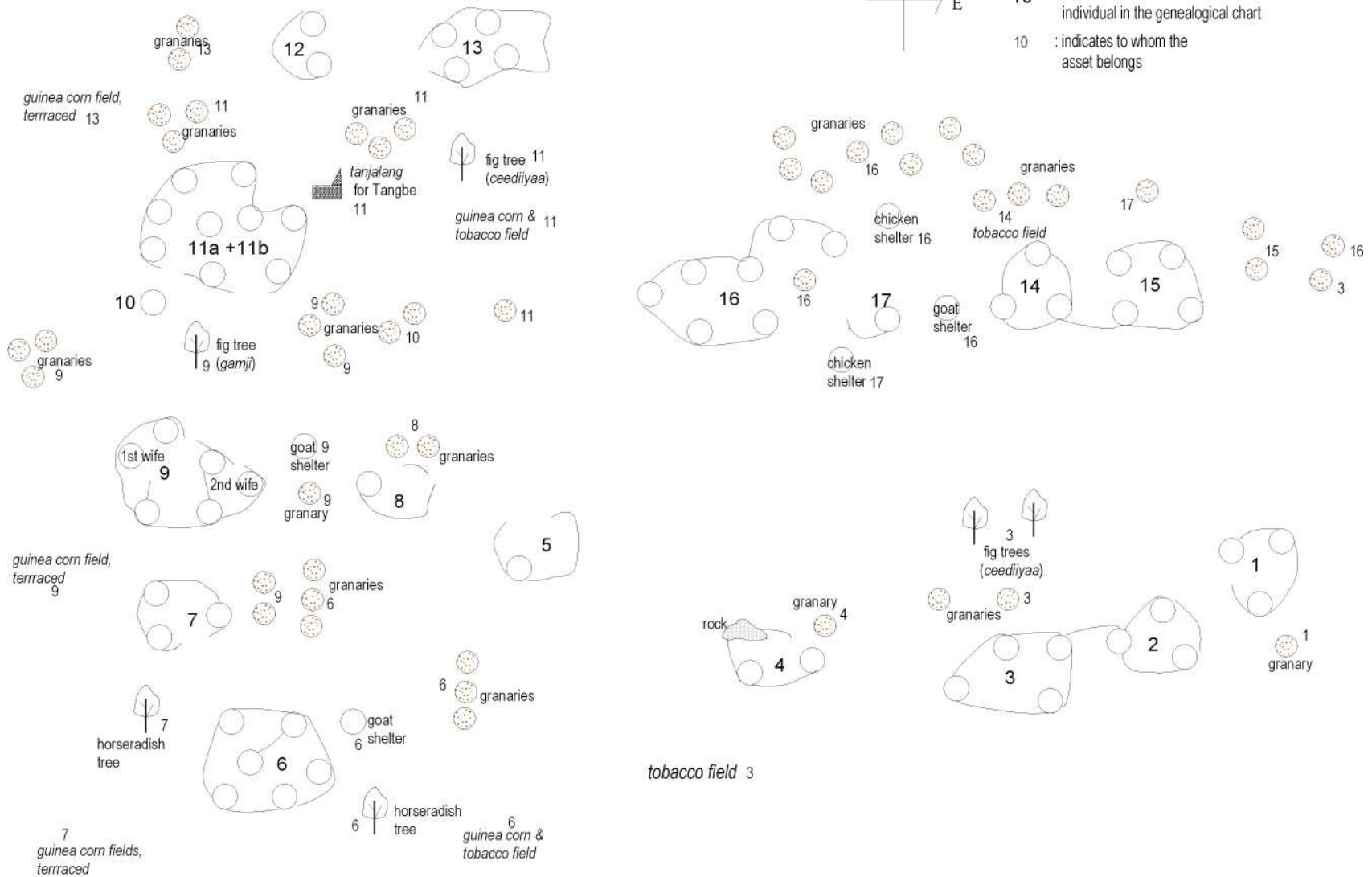
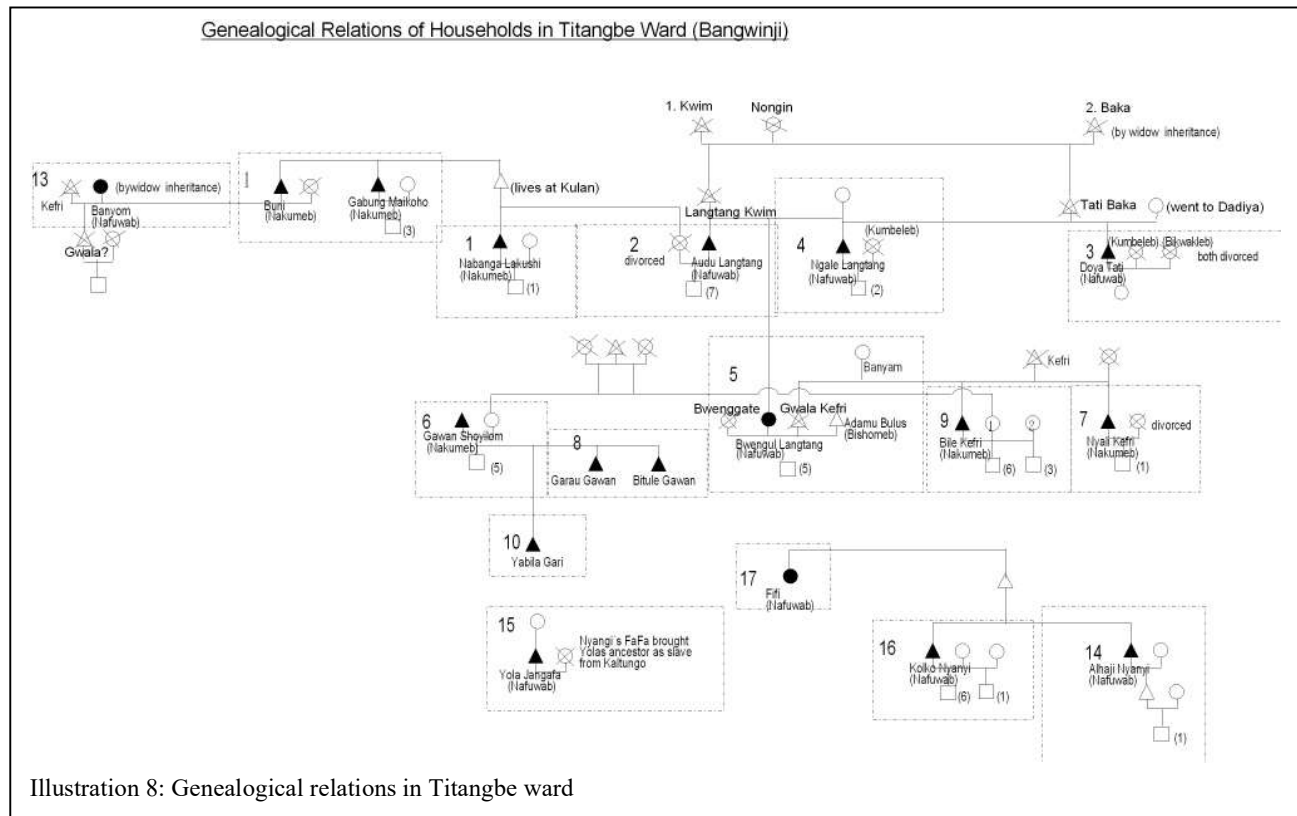


Illustration 7: Sketch map of Titangbe ward. The numbers refer to illustration no. 8 below



Age groups

Kal: The Bangwinji have an age group system (age group = *kál*) and the age groups are divided into two categories: *kál kúnèt* and *kál máálèt*.

All little boys who started to walk within the same one or two years are taken together to the shrine of the spirit Bibote for initiation and they will constitute one age group. Chickens, *tuwo* and beer are sacrificed to Bibote during that ceremony and the boys are both initiated into the cult of Bibote and into the same age group. Bibote's shrine is in a cave; his priests all come from the clan Terkwereb, because Bibote was found by this clan. The shrine and the area surrounding it may not be trespassed upon by a person who has not been initiated into the cult or by any woman, for such a person would become mad. Twice a year, in April and August, there is a ritual at Bibote's shrine.

The age groups will be classified alternately as belonging either to the category of *kál kúnèt* or *kál máálèt*. *kál kúnèt* are classified as strong/male, *kál máálèt* as weak/female.

Every seventh year there is a festival called Lee which addresses the Lee spirit and which is celebrated alternately either by *kál kúnèt* or by *kál máálèt*. A Lee festival took place in 1986 and again in 1993.

During the Lee festival, all males of one age category (*kál kúnèt* or by *kál máálèt*) having reached an age of about 45 years or above are initiated into a senior age grade. When it is time for the Lee festival of *kál kúnèt*, it is expected that it will be a hard year with dryness and a bad harvest; and when it is the time of *kál máálèt*'s Lee festival, the year is expected to be a good fertile year with abundant harvest and many children will be born.

In September/October of the specified year, the Lee priest from Kweb clan goes to the Lee shrine, sacrifices a cock, a tobacco cone, some cotton, bitter tomato and beans and he prays for a good harvest for the next

seven years. The men, according to their age groups, adorned with dance costumes and head dresses at the shrine, dance on a special rock called *Shwelakalet* and later return to the village to continue the festivities with dancing and beer drinking. The *Shwelakalet* rock may only be accessed at the occasion of the Lee festival. Each age grade has a ceremonial sickle displayed during these occasions.

Having undergone the Lee initiation and having become a member of a senior age grade means a rise in authority and entails the right to delegate tasks to junior age mates. During communal beer parties the junior members have to serve to senior ones. When a junior age grade returns from hunting with his quarry and meets a senior age grade on the way, the senior may demand the best parts for himself. Elder members of a *kál* may insult junior members.

As Lee is considered to be female, the age category *kál máálèt* is associated with Lee; and the category *kál kúnèt* is associated with Bibote which is considered to be male.

A certain system of age groups also exists for women; here all women who have married for the first time in the same year before the Tangbe festival took place, (this annual cycle goes from March to March), make up one age group (also called *kál*).

The Bangwinji state that there was no age group system in the times before they had found Lee, they were only structured according to the two sections Naabang and Kaalo and into the various clans. Between the age groups there is a joking relationship, but not between clans.

Political organisation

Village Head

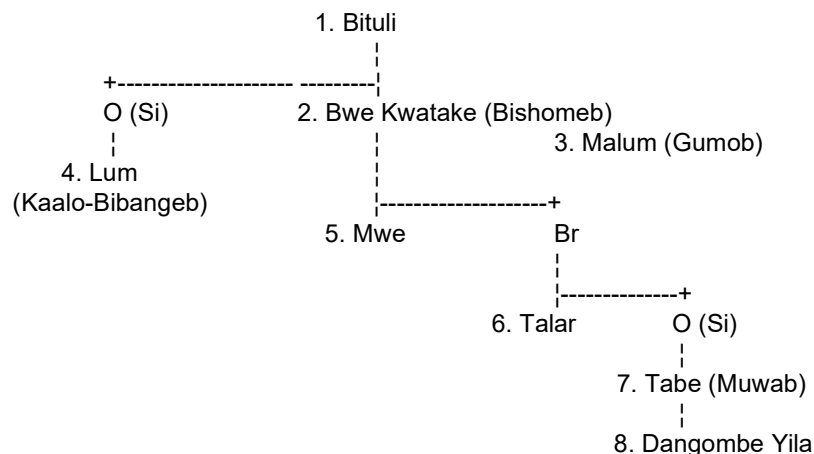
The title of Village Head (VH) was introduced by the British administration. The first Village Head was Kwangle (from the Bikwakleb clan), he was installed by the British. The second Village Head was Makle, a younger brother (same Fa, different Mo) of Kwangle. He became chief in 1935. The present Village Head Sulei Yerima is a grandson of Kwangle. The Village Head always has to come from the Bikwaakleb clan.

Te

Te is the title of the traditional chief of the Bangwinji in both spiritual and political matters. *Te* is the central authority for arbitration in cases of manslaughter, theft, witchcraft accusations, offences in ritual matters and incidences involving demons and spirits. The latter cases he is dealing with the help of the ritual expert *bar-bishwe*. The tasks of a *Te* also include solving conflicts of a marital nature. In cases of witchcraft, he was approached and he gave directions who was to be consulted for further remediation.

Each section has its own *Te*: the *Te* of Naabang is from Bishomeb-Doleneb, the *Te* of Kaalo from Bishomeb-Fid. The *Te* of Naabang is superior, the *Te* of Kaalo is his deputy. Each *Te* has an assistant called *te bedu-ware* or *bwe kongwele te*.

These were the *Te* of Naabang:

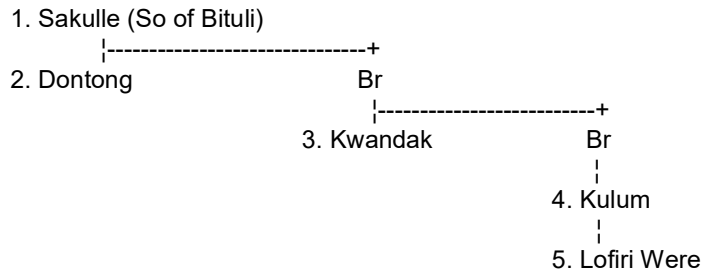


re 3.: Malum got the title due to an intrigue and because he was powerful. But he was eventually killed by the *Te*'s ceremonial staff (*bidilya*) which stuck into his neck.

At the time of research (1991) there was no *Te* of Naabang, the last *Te* named Tabe had died and no successor had been chosen yet. Dangombe Yila became *Te* in the years after the research was finished.¹²

¹² I am grateful to Sulei Yerima for this update.

And these were the *Te* of Kaalo:



At the time of research (1991) there was no *Te* of Kaalo, the last *Te* named Kulum had died and no successor had been chosen yet. Lofiri became *Te* in the years after the research was finished.¹³ The house of the brother of the late Kulum was attacked by a swarm of bees a year ago and this was interpreted by the *niibwa* as a sign that it was time to assign a new *Te* for Kaalo.

The process of assigning a *Te* is as follows: the *barbishwe*, (of the Kumbeleb clan), will choose a candidate who should agree with the choice. Then the *barbishwe* communicates his choice to the *bwéé kwang kwale te*

(= 'assistant to *Te*'). They both go to the house of the assigned candidate and place there the fur of the *soole* animal. The candidate must arrange for brewing as much beer as possible and for this he will receive bundles of corn from every household. When the beer is ready for consumption, all the Bangwinji will gather for celebrating and beer drinking. The *bwéé kwang kwale te* and the *barbishwe* will sleep in the house of the candidate. Should the candidate be the wrong person for the title, the spirits of ancestors will come and he will soon die. The *Te* has a special wooden bench which is cleaned with the *soole*'s fur in order to wipe away the spirit of the former *Te*. The *bwéé kwang kwale te*, the *barbishwe* and the designated *Te* will sit down on the bench, then *bwéé kwang kwale te* and *barbishwe* will stand up again and only the candidate will remain seated. From this moment on, he is now *Te*. He will receive his regalia: a special drinking calabash (*biluure*), which has been kept by the *bwéé kwang kwale te* and out of which first the *barbishwe* and then the *bwéé kwang kwale te* drink beer before handing it over to the new *Te*. The second object is a staff of office (*bidi-*



Photo 5: The bench of the *Te* (*kwambulum liya*)

lya). There are other objects: a special spoon-shaped calabash (*bidigile te*), which is only used by the *Te* for drinking, and a small wooden bench (*kwambulum liya*).

The *Te* will not lead the people to war, but he will send a deputy, for instance his son, who on his behalf will throw a stone in the direction of the enemy uttering that the enemy will be caught, then the war leader (*nínúré*) will also throw a stone and the fight can begin. Decisions are made by the *Tes* of Naabang and Kaalo, *bwéé kwang kwale te* and *barbishwe* and are communicated by the *niinure* (war leader) to the clan elders. The *niinure* comes from the clan Bishomeba Fiyer of Kaalo.

¹³ I am grateful to Sulei Yerima for this update.

If someone had committed an offence such as manslaughter, one or several of the elders of the clan of the offender were kept prisoner at the house of the *Te* and only set free after a compensation was paid. The granaries and the fire place of the offender's clan was 'sealed' and they were not allowed to fetch water. A *bene* girl (virgin) had to be handed over to the clan of the killed person and additionally two goats and 80 pieces of traditional iron money (*kimera kushet*). The *Te* got half of it (1 goat, 40 pieces *kimera kushet*) and he subsequently lifted the sanctions.

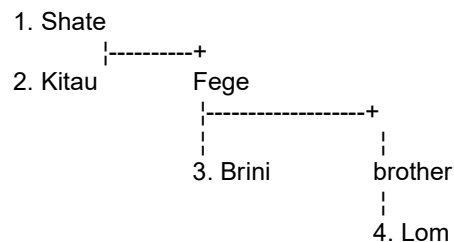
There are three black shiny stones (*dásèn*, Pyrit?) which are in the possession of the three elders *Milo* (from the Kumbeleb clan), *Mwabring* (from the Nafuwab clan) und *Keltu* (from the Dwaleb clan). These *dasen* are put into a pot and will show the presence of a witch by falling out of the pot. The *barbishwe* will assist the *Te* in such cases where evil spirits are involved.

When the British came, the then *Te* of Naabang, as well as the *Te* of Kaalo, both refused to take over the position of Village Head, because they were afraid. Kwangle accepted the position although he did not hold a traditional title.

A fig tree, considered as a meeting place for the spirits of ancestors, was traditionally standing in the compound of the *Te*.

Time reckoning

There is an expert responsible for time reckoning and keeping the calendar. His title is *níishwiyákè* "keeper of the month". The title is inherited patrilineally. The following diagram shows the relationship of the time-keepers that could be reconstructed:



The timekeeper at the time of research was Lom Kwashom from the Bibangeb-Kwiyateb clan (Kaalo section), who got the title from his father's brother Brini, who himself got the title from his father's brother Kitau, who got the title from his father Shate.

After Brini had become too old to continue, he chose Lom as his successor and taught him how to handle the calendar. At present, the time keeper is Ishaku Lom, a son of the late Lom Kwashom.¹⁴

A time keeper must be able to count fast and reliably and have a good memory, and he must have respect for the tradition and the elders.

The calendar consists of 30 sticks made from *yayile* (elephant grass), a grass with strong stems. The calendar is inherited and no sticks must get lost or be broken. There are two bundles and every day the timekeeper takes one stick from the left bundle and puts it into the right bundle which is fixed with a rope until all thirty sticks are in the right bundle. This is then placed to the left and a new month starts to be counted. The left bundle contains the remaining days, the right bundle those which have passed. Left and right in this context

¹⁴ I am grateful to Sulei Yerima for this update.

are, however, arbitrary and only chosen because Lom the time-keeper is right-handed. If the time-keeper forgets to change a stick he must sacrifice a cock or a chicken to the deity (Bibote, Lee, Tangbe or Bang) during



Photo 6: Traditional calendar

whose time the misfortune happens.

It is a lunar calendar with the moon as reference, with the last stick the moon has disappeared ("the cock has swallowed the moon") and with the new moon a new month starts with the first stick.

Besides the monthly calendar he also counts the years between the Lee festivals with 7 sticks.

The point of reference for an annual cycle is the harvest of the red guinea corn (*ngaace*, it is only from this corn that beer is brewed), and a traditional year lasts from one harvest - which usually takes place around November-December - to the next harvest.

The dry season lasts from November to April and is called *kán*, the months of the dry season are not differentiated. In May the rainy season (*miilak*) starts and in this season each month has its own designation:

títíyá: May, agricultural activities: clearing and sowing

bikwéérí: June, 1st weeding, pruning: selecting and removing weak g/corn plants

bishííné: July, end of 1st and start of 2nd weeding

shwìirá: August, end of 2nd and start of 3rd weeding

shwiyak bε: September, 3rd weeding

shwiyak nε: October

títiya: November, harvesting

The time span of 7 years from one Lee festival to another is named after the respective age category: either *kal maalet* or *kal kunet*.

Associated terms:

- *kaakok*: day,
- *huri*: morning (*safe* H.)
- *kaakok*: forenoon (*rana* H.)
- *kwaamangene*: noon (*shaabiyu* H.)
- *kwaamakyam*: early afternoon, 12.00-15.00 hours (*ajaad* H.)
- *mee*: afternoon, 15.00 hours until darkness (*yamma* H.)
- *kume*: night,
- *shod*: year.

It takes seven days for brewing millet beer and each day in this period has a certain name:

- *fuwaka*: 1st day
- *shubka*: 2nd day
- *tuwaka*: 3rd day

- *tikka*: 4th day
- *kwaaka*: 5th day
- *mulongka*: 6th day
- *biika*: 7th day

Economic activities

Division of labour

Table 4: Gender specific division of labour among the Bangwinji (m: male, f: female)

Activity	Gender
clearing	m
sowing	m & f
weeding	m & f
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	m
threshing	f
prepare threshing ground	f
winning	f
build house walls	m
build house roof	m
prepare house floor	m
cut wooden poles	m
cut firewood	f
collect firewood	f
build well	m
build terraces	m
build fence	m
weave food cover	-
weave mats	m
weave baskets	m
make ropes	m
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	m
weaving cotton	-
spinning	f
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	m & f

Agriculture

Rain is said to come from the east, except in August-September when it is coming from southwest.

In earlier times, when the Bangwinji were still living in their mountain settlements, they preferred to farm on the plateaus or valleys in the mountains. While living at the isolated hill, Suuli, they farmed on the surrounding plains. Later they farmed a wide valley at Bweeri.

Farms in the plains are usually surrounded by fences made from thorn bushes to prevent animals from eating the crops.

Terracing (terrace: *bímè*) was practised, both to facilitate sloping of the farms and for establishing level platforms for the homesteads. However, there are no such impressive vast terrace structures as one may find at Filiya. Rows of stones were laid to prevent run-off and degradation of the soil on farms that only sloped slightly. For instance, the hamlet Bitikangkata is erected on settlement terraces. It is the men who build terraces, but there are no specialists for this task.¹⁵

Certain crops which are the staple crops are considered to have been brought by the deity Lee when he came from Limi:

guinea corn (*ngaace & golkwe*), millet (*kwarom*), sesame (four types), groundnuts, garden egg, tobacco, cotton, *lælum* and *tunka* beans (*vigna* sp., *waakee* (H.), (these are long straight ones, not with a curled pod (*kannando* H.), pumpkin (*loobren*), melon (*guna* H.), finger millet (*tambaa* H., *eleusine coracana*) and okra (*hibiscus esculentus*).

The old traditional varieties of guinea corn or millet are preferred for consumption and no beer is brewed for sacrifices from the new varieties – such as *bobola* – of guinea corn. This is because the old types are considered to have a soul. Cocoyam (*gwaza* H.) was brought by Kayiro, the founder of the Kweb-Warfuneb clan from Tula.

Shifting cultivation is practised by changing farms between various locations in the northern or southern foothills or in the mountains.

After the initial clearing of a field, farmers like to cultivate beniseed because it fertilises and prepares the ground for the cultivation of guinea corn in the next season. For about four years then guinea corn mixed with beans may be cultivated. When yields start to decline the farmer switches to millet probably mixed with beans for about two years. Thereafter the farm should be left fallow for about six to seven years. Beniseed is therefore a kind of pioneer crop and there are three kinds: *bwendúúlè*, *lakame*, *kwiile*. Maize is hardly cultivated because it needs fertile ground and the corn is difficult to grind by hand.

The following crops are cultivated on sandy soil: millet, guinea corn, groundnut, beans, Bambara groundnut, beniseed and cassava.

The following crops are cultivated on rocky ground: millet, guinea corn, beans and beniseed.

The following crops are cultivated on loamy soil: guinea corn, cotton and beniseed.

Rice is cultivated on wet ground. Red peppers and garden eggs are cultivated in fertile and shadowy places. To establish an irrigated garden is an exception because it needs a strong fence to prevent animals from eating the crops and it is time-consuming because it needs a lot of care and there are other activities that have to be done in the dry season such as roofing, repairing the house or clearing a new field. Another obstacle is the lack of transport which prevents the precious garden crops getting to market quickly.

¹⁵ See Adelberger 1995 for a comparative study of terraces in the area.

Fields adjacent to the compounds are fertilised with goat dung, ash from burnt crop remains and particularly with the organic waste of the households.

Ethnic Group: **Bangwinji**

1

Table: **Annual Agricultural Cycle**

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
g/corn (late) <i>ngaace & golkwe</i>					_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____			_____ 3. _____				clay & loamy soil
g/corn (early) <i>bobola</i>					_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____							clay & loamy soils, with late g/corn & millet
millet (early) <i>moduwe</i>					_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____							loamy soil
millet (late) <i>kwarom</i>					_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____			_____ 3. _____				sandy & loamy soil
beans (waakee H.) <i>leelum</i>							_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____					all soils, with g/corn, millet & maize
beans (waakee H.) <i>tunka</i>							_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____					all soils, with g/corn, millet & maize
beans (kanannado H.) <i>kwantalange</i>							_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____					all soils, with g/corn, millet & maize
maize -early <i>bogshange</i> -late						_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____						clay & loamy soils
cotton <i>kod</i>							_____ 1. _____		_____ 2. _____	_____ 3. _____			clay & loamy soils, with beans & okra
groundnuts <i>bidom</i>					_____ 1. _____		_____ 2. _____						sandy & loamy soils, with g/corn & beans
bambara nut <i>bidom tongong</i>					_____ 1. _____		_____ 2. _____						sandy & loamy soils, with beans
tiger nut <i>tombowe</i>													sandy soil
sesame <i>kaawe, bwendaule, lakaamwe & kwiite</i>								_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____				kaawe: loamy & sandy soil bwendaule, lakaamwe, kwiite: clay, loamy & rocky soil, with g/corn
tobacco <i>taama</i>								nursing _____	transplanting _____	_____ 1. _____	_____ 2. _____		clay & loamy soil, near compound and on river bank
rice <i>sakaba</i>													on fadama
sweet potatoes <i>wataku</i>													on fadama
yam <i>yuwed</i>													loamy soil, near house
cassava <i>binibitane</i>													loamy & sandy soil, in fenced garden
cocoyam <i>fuwan</i>						_____ 1. _____			_____ 2. _____				loamy soil, on fadama, near compound
pepper <i>welewele</i>													loamy soil, in shady place
garden egg <i>laabote</i>								nursing _____	transplanting _____				on clay soil & fadama

planting: _____

weeding: _____

harvesting: _____

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
pumpkin <i>labren</i>						---1---	..2.		-----3---				loamy soil, with g/oom, weeding same time
melon <i>bwaarangi, kataiy</i>						---1---	..2.						sandy soil, with g/corn & late millet
finger millet <i>bikaate</i>						---1---	..2.						clay, loamy & rocky soil, with g/corn
okra (late) <i>bulli shwakiyo</i>													clay soil, with cotton
okra (early) <i>bulli miyele</i>													near compound
waterleaf <i>aleehu</i>													loamy soil, near compound
deleb palm <i>kanged, shekrima</i>													loamy, sandy & rocky soil
roselle <i>tibi shan</i>						can always be planted when there is rain, harvest is 1 month later							all soils, in farm with groundnut, near house alone
<i>karkashi (H.) kwile</i>						as soon as 1 month rain falls later							loamy, sandy & rocky soil
mango						at least 6-7 years after planting							clay & loamy soil
orange													clay & loamy soil
guava						planted with rainfall							clay & loamy soil
papaya													loamy soil
banana						planting any time near water, harvest 1 year later							on fadama

planting: _____

weeding: -----

harvesting: - - - - -

Tobacco

Tobacco is a cash crop and is successfully cultivated by the Bangwinji. It is only men who have tobacco farms, although the women do help with the processing. The most common variety of tobacco is *Nicotiana tabacum* (mostly pink, more seldom white or red flowers), a second, less common and commercially much less important kind is *Nicotiana rustica* (yellow-green flowers, oval leaves, small, but with a higher content of nicotine). I assume that the tobacco cultivated by the Bangwinji is *Nicotiana tabacum* judging by the colour of the flowers which are either red or white. Local classification differentiates between red and white flowering varieties.

It is said that the white blooming tobacco is preferred for smoking, the red blooming one for snuffing and chewing. However, this statement could not be corroborated by observation because during processing the two kinds of tobacco were not kept separate.

The tobacco plant needs much light and during the phase of growth and up to 400 mm of rain, but during the phase of ripening and harvest it needs a drier weather. Three to four months will pass from transplanting to harvesting. The soil must have good ventilation and a certain degree of humidity, but there may be no water logging. Tobacco reacts extremely sensitively to the slightest differences in soil composition. Judging by the success of their tobacco cultivation - also in comparison to other ethnic groups - in the area of the Bangwinji all these conditions seem to be ideally met.

Tobacco is cultivated along the banks of streams and on the periphery of the homesteads because it needs fertile ground. The soil along river banks is fertile because of the silt deposited through flooding, and the margins around the homesteads through the dumping of organic waste. Other preferred locations for tobacco are areas with abandoned termite mounds. The preferred method to dislodge termites from their mounds is by drilling holes into them so that their lairs will be flooded by rain water.

Beginning in August, the small seedlings are reared from seeds in gardens behind the house which are fertilised with organic household waste. The seedling bed is called *kolbɛɛ taama*. The seed is spread on the ground and covered with a layer of grass on which twigs are laid to prevent damage from chickens. In September the young seedlings are transplanted, weeding takes place twice from September to October, and from November to January the tobacco is harvested.

The processing of tobacco

The cultivation and processing of tobacco is men's work. One reason for this is that women do not own farms, but the main reason is that cash crops are principally cultivated exclusively by the men. The tobacco is moulded into cones which are partly consumed by the producers themselves, but for a larger part are sold on the regional markets. Tobacco processing is a dry season activity, as is for example pottery or the production of salt. For curing, the ripened tobacco leaves are spread out on a rock and exposed to sunlight for several days. Because of this method of curing the tobacco may be termed Turkish Tobacco. Then the dried leaves (*lɛwù táámà*) are pounded with stones into a fibrous lump (*táámà*). This lump is filled into a wooden mortar (*tén táámà*, made of *tii cing cinge*-wood, *Prosopis Africana*), the inner side of which is smeared with a slime extracted from the soaked bark of the *tóórɛ* plant (*Grewia mollis* or *Grewia venusta*). A long strip, made from the bark of the *shombiya* shrub (*Hibiscus cannabinus*), is put in the mortar which will assist in removing the finished cone from the mortar. The tobacco in the mortar is pressed and pounded several times with a pestle, (*daltomed*, made of *tii cing cinge* -wood (*kiriya* H., *Prosopis africana*), whereby the pestle will be wetted with the aforementioned slime. Finally, a layer of slime is applied on top, then a leaf of the *tii nabu*-tree or *tii shuubi*- tree (*Ficus ingens*) is put on. The cone is lifted from the mortar, the leaf taken away and placed on the ground. More slime is applied to the cone on all sides to prevent too rapid drying and as a kind of glue. Then the cone is put on the leaf again. It is left in the sun in order to dry for several days. Then the tobacco is ready for sale.

In one season, the man interviewed produces approximately 100 cones, at that time (November 1991) the producer price of a cone was 5 Naira in the dry season and in the rainy season up to 10 Naira (in 1993 7-10 Naira, on the market it was sold for 15 Naira). The tobacco cones are sold on the markets in Burak, Filiya, Balaifi, Galdimaro, Bambuka, Mutum Daya, Bambam and Lekal.

Tobacco is consumed by men as well as by women. The processed tobacco nowadays is mainly snuffed, sometimes chewed, and only a small part is smoked. For smoking, little pipes with a head of clay (*koltokε*) or hollowed-out cornstalks are used. The introduction of industrially-produced cigarettes may be responsible for the little use of the local tobacco in smoking. For chewing, a piece of the tobacco cone together with local salt - either a kind (*kangwa* H.) bought on the market or a kind extracted from the soil of river banks (*cuwe*, from a river near Loo) - is put into the mouth and chewed together.

For snuffing, the tobacco is finely ground and mixed with two different types of local salt - one from the soil along the banks of slightly salty streams (*cuwe*), one from guinea corn ash (*bwiyem*).

Trees

When clearing a farm, the following trees are left untouched: baobab, locust tree and black plum tree. Useful trees which are planted are: baobab, locust tree, horseradish tree, silk cotton tree and *fatara* (*ceediiyya* H., *Ficus thonningii*). In more recent times, these trees may be added: deleb palm (*shekrima*, *Borassus aethiopicum*), mango, niim and date palm (*dabiinoo* (H.), *Phoenix dactylifera*).

The following wild trees are useful:

- tamarind (*tsaamiyaa* (H.), *Tamarindus indica*)
- desert date (*aduuwaa* (H.), *Balanites aegyptiaca*)
- red-flowered silk-cotton tree (*gurjiyaa* (H.), *Bombax buonopozense*)
- ebony (*kanya* (H.), *Diospyros mespiliformis*)
- shea butter tree (*kadanya* (H.), *Vitellaria paradoxa*)
- mahogany (*madaaci* (H.), *Khaya senegalensis*)
- *tauraa* (H., *Detarium senegalense*)
- *fuwai* (*jinin kaafuri* (H.), blood plum tree, the fruit is edible)
- *bi duged* (rubber plant, the fruit is edible)
- *bi kwantuulen* (snuff-box tree, *Oncoba spinosa*, the fruit is edible)
- *tii kuuni* (? , the fruit is edible).

The wood of *tii kyau* (*kiriya* H., *Prosopis Africana*) is used to produce drum bodies, and wooden sounding blocks like a marimba without frame are made from *tii bamjen* (silk-cotton tree, *riimin jaji* H.). The sound blocks of the xylophone-like instrument *gilinggilinge* are produced from the wood of *tii maalu* (wild custard apple) or *tii bwayili* (*madobiya* H., *Pterocar puserinaceus*), the round framework of the *gilinggilinge* is made of twigs from *tii fiyaawe* (Christ's thorn) and its body/bottom is made from *tii bikungli*-wood (karaya gum tree, *Sterculia setigera*).

Bamboo or dom palm branches are used for roof structures. For roof covering, leaves of dom palm (*kaba* (H.), *Hyphenae thebaica*), or leaves of deleb palm (*giginya* (H.), *Borassus aethiopicum*) are used, as well as *faaluwe* (*Pennisetum polystachyon*). For covering granaries, *talen* (*Andropogon* sp.) is used, and the vine species *bεεε* (velvet leaf) is allowed to grow there as it gives off an odour that dispels ants and other insects.

Useful shrubs are wild custard apple (*gwandar jeeji* (H.), *Annona senegalensis*) and *makariya* (H., *makari*: *Digitaria iburua*, *Dalbergia* sp.).

Useful grasses are *gamba* ((H.), *Andropogon gayanus*) and *shibcii* ((H.), *Andropogon* sp.).

Table 5: Trees and their uses among the Bangwinji

Name	Wood	Fruit	Seeds	Flowers	Leaves	Bark	Root
<i>Faidherbia albida</i> (<i>gaawoo</i> , H.)		Fodder for domestic animals			Fodder for domestic animals	Medicine against diarrhoea	
<i>Adansonia digitata</i> (<i>tii bentum</i>)		Potash made from shells	Ingredient for sauces		Ingredient for sauce	Raw material for ropes	
<i>Anogeissus leiocarpus</i> (<i>taacama</i>)	Fuel				Fodder for domestic animals	Medicine against cough and stomach problems	
<i>Annona senegalensis</i> (<i>loomar</i>)	Fuel	Foodstuff					Medicine against snakebite
<i>Balanites aegyptiaca</i> (<i>bikwaakama</i>)	Fuel, raw material for sticks/handles	Foodstuff			Ash for potash		
<i>Bombax buonopozense</i>							
<i>Bombax costatum</i> (<i>bameen</i>) (wild silk cotton tree)	Raw material for stools, musical instruments	Filling for cushions		Ingredient for sauces			
<i>Borassus aethiopicum</i> (<i>tii kange</i>)	Material for rafters				Ash for potash		Sapling used as foodstuff
<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i> (<i>tii shoorum</i>)	Fuel at special rituals (Lee)	Oil made from it			Used in ritual context		
<i>Canavalia ensiformis</i>							
<i>Detarium senegalense</i> (<i>kutiliri</i>)	Fuel	Foodstuff				Medicine against diarrhoea and gonorrhoea	
<i>Digitaria iburus</i>							
<i>Dalbergia</i> sp.							
<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i> (<i>wulan</i>)	Fuel, raw material for sticks/handles	Foodstuff					
<i>Ceiba pentandra</i> (<i>kalkumed</i>)	Fuel	Filling for cushions		ingredient for sauces			
<i>Ficus platyphylla</i> (<i>tii shuubi</i>)	Fuel				Used as packing material		
<i>Ficus polita</i> (<i>tii kwanglang</i>)	Shade tree						
<i>Ficus thonningii</i> (<i>fatara</i>)	Fuel; it is believed that ancestors may dwell in the tree						Medicine against yellow fever
<i>Grewia bicolor</i> (<i>tuure</i>)		Foodstuff				Slimy juice is extracted that is used as ingredient for sauces and for producing tobacco cones	
<i>Khaya senegalensis</i> (<i>tii fiti</i>)	Fuel		Oil made from it that is used as medicine for wounds			Medicine against diseases of domestic animals (chickens, cattle)	
<i>Moringa pterygosperma</i> , <i>Moringa oleifera</i> (<i>yaabeele</i>)					Ingredient for sauce; medicine for treatment of sore eyes		
<i>Newbouldia laevis</i>							
<i>Oncoba spinosa</i> (<i>bikwantulen</i>)	Fuel	Foodstuff					Medicine against gonorrhoea and syphilis
<i>Parkia biglobosa</i> (<i>tii brem</i>)	Fuel	Raw material for drinks	Raw material for spices		Used in ritual context		
<i>Phoenix dactylifera</i>		Foodstuff					
<i>Prosopis africana</i> (<i>tii cingcinge</i>)	Charcoal	Shell used as fodder for domestic animals	Raw material for spices				
<i>Pterocarpus erinaceus</i> (<i>tii bwaayili</i>)	Fuel; raw material, for instance for musical instruments						
<i>Sterculia setigera</i> (<i>tii bikungli</i>)	Raw material for musical instruments				Fodder for domestic animals	Medicine	
<i>Tamarindus indica</i> (<i>dongdongi</i>)	Fuel; raw material for sticks/handles	Foodstuff			Medicine, among other things for broken bones		
<i>Vitex doniana</i> (<i>teeshi</i>)	Fuel	Foodstuff					
<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i> (<i>ciwek nawok</i>)	Fuel, raw material for fences	Foodstuff			Fodder for domestic animals		
<i>Cactus</i> (<i>num</i>)	Juice used as medicine against evil spirits						
<i>Juwai/foyi</i> (blood plum tree, <i>jinin kaafuri</i> H.)	Fuel	Foodstuff			Medicine against diarrhoea		
<i>tii shaushau</i> (?)		Used as musical instrument (rattle)					

Communal labour

Farmwork songs are called *bikulen*.

Informants state, that age groups are crucial in recruiting the members of a work groups. In the two cases I analysed, the composition of work groups consisted of patrilineally-related neighbours (3 Br, 1 So), in the other case most workers came from one clan, the basis of recruiting was said to be membership in a Bible club and they received some money for the work. Clearing (*lablaba*) and weeding the farms is done by communal labour of which there are four types:

- 1) *nyanga long*: participants are paid, both sexes take part, groups are about 10 persons or more strong
- 2) *ántárò*: on a clan basis, both sexes take part, groups are about 10 persons or more strong, participants are not paid but the person inviting is obliged to assist his helpers on their farms and he has to offer a certain amount of millet beer to them. Taking part in such a work group creates a reciprocal obligatory bond. If the obligation for reciprocal help is neglected the offender has to pay a fine.
- 3) *nyángá kâlè*: the members (only men) of an age group helping each other, the group can be 40 (or even more) men strong, lots of millet beer (30-40 pots) and additionally 3-4 chickens are offered to the workers. During such big occasions women sing praise songs about the best workers and the flute is played.
- 4) *àdááshè*: women living in one ward or neighbourhood, 7 persons or more strong, participants are obliged to help each other, millet beer or *kunnu* (H., non-alcoholic beverage made from corn) is offered.

Planting of guinea corn, millet, rice, maize, chillies, okra, sesame, sweet potato, tobacco, cassava, yams, beans, cocoyam, bambara nuts is done individually. Planting of groundnuts and cotton is done on a family basis (Hu+Wi+Chi+Br). Both individual and family labour is called *tom kang*. If and which kind of communal labour is performed depends on the workload of the task and the availability of labourers.

Salt making

The mountain dwellers in particular produce local salt from ashes of goat dung and cornstalks. It is a task



Photo 8: Ash prepared for making potash

performed by men. Ash from burnt goat dung is mixed with the ash from burnt guinea corn stalks and put in a sieve (*shuwe*) made from woven fibres. Water is poured on the ash extracting a slightly salty liquid flowing into a pot *talashut*. Its content is then filled into a cooking pot and by heating the water is evaporated and the salt remains.



Photo 7: Locally produced salt cones

Salt is produced in the same manner from the salty soil found along the banks of some streams. The main place where this salty soil is found is called Bwiye Kwangle (south of Bang Mountain). The place was controlled by Kwangle, the first Village Head,

who had the right to use the soil first. The stagnant water in this place is used as a laxative to cure illnesses.

Iron working

The hard wood of the false locust tree was used for spears, etc. before they had iron.

When the Bangwinji were dwelling at Bwallot mountain, they smelted iron ore found at Loobwile and Bikutere (slag can still be found at the latter site). They used the *yuwel* stone for hammering. Charcoal for iron smelting was made from wood of the false locust tree. This charcoal is not used for firing pottery because it becomes too hot.

With the advent of the British at the beginning of the 20th century, the Bangwinji started to visit the market at Jen (Kwata) to get pieces of iron for blacksmithing and preparing their tools. Blacksmiths only came from the clans of Gumob and Toobwiyeb-Nyaamub (the latter are from Gomu). Blacksmiths are not allowed to visit Lookunga where the rainmaker's shrine is located. Members of Toobwiyeb-Nyaamub may not eat scorpions lest the iron tools of the blacksmith may break.

Pottery

Pots are made by men during the dry season starting around mid-February. Men and women go together to a certain place near Nyomlom site at Binyang Gafu to fetch the clay. Women who need a pot ask their husbands to produce one. Menstruating or pregnant women may not come near the pottery workshop or the firing place. Menstruating women, who are believed to have "heavy" blood, may not touch the clay used for



Photo 9: *taabwid* pots, used for storing and serving beer and fetching water.



Photo 10: *jangayooli* (left) and *wet* (right) pots used by a *niibwa*.

making pots as well as the water used for moulding or unfired raw pots. The belief is that the pots are in danger of breaking. Further, women making pottery may not touch or eat honey or the meat of monkeys, baboons or porcupines on the day of exercising their craft lest their pots are in danger of breaking. Broken pots are repaired with the resin of the *tii shuwela*-tree. *Biken* is a small magic pot decorated with pellets on its surface, it is associated with Naakwa. If the pot falls down and breaks it will repair itself. Only the clans Bibangeb, Kumbeleb, Kulab and Nakwatreb are in possession of such a *biken* pot, and only their members are allowed to drink from it. If someone else drinks from it, he will become confused and for example urinate in the kitchen or inside his room.

- *jángáyòoli*: a pot with multiple necks decorated with white colour, a *belebet* spirit lives inside

- *wet* or *wer belebet*: pots which are used to carry beer to the shrines of Lee, Tangbe or Bibote; also, evils souls of a deceased person may be trapped inside
- *taabwid*: pot with two handles, used for fetching water and storing beer
- *kúbtúng tààbwíd*: pot without neck and two handles, used for fetching water and storing beer
- *kúbtúng búkélàr*: pot with one handle, only used by women for carrying and storing beer for *tangbe* rituals
- *shiyéd*: pot for storing water
- *téyángéd*: pot for sauces
- *shunyined*: pot for cooking beer
- *shutiye*d: pot for cooking porridge
- *shùwe*: pot for making salt
- *tàlàshúd*: pot for making salt placed under another pot
- *shámí bilààrè* is a decoration on water pots symbolising a frog. The frog is thought to attract rain and is generally associated with water.



Photo 11: Various pots, from left to right: *shiyed*, *teyanged*, *shutiye*d, *teyanged*, *shutiye*d, *teyanged*.



Photo 12: Stylised frog decoration (*shámí bilààrè*) on water pot.

Brewing beer

Beer brewing is a process which takes 6 days.

1st day: bundles of guinea corn are brought to the threshing ground for threshing and winnowing. The corn is then taken to the compound, put in a big pot and doused with water.

2nd day: corn is soaking in water.

3rd day: corn is taken from the pot and washed clean, then it is put back in the pot with fresh water.

4th day: corn is soaking in water; the water stores are filled in preparation for the next days.

5th day: corn is taken from the pot and the water poured away. The corn is ground. A big pot is filled with water and boiled, the corn flour is put into the water and kept boiling until evening. The pot is covered.

6th day: The liquid is boiled again and then allowed to cool down. In the evening the liquid is poured into beer pots.

7th day: the beer is ready for drinking.

Markets

Market days are rotating in the settlements in and around Bangwinji country. On each day of the week there is a market in another village:

- on Monday in Bambam,
- on Tuesday in Lekal,
- on Wednesday in Gusuba (near Billiri),
- on Thursday in Bangwinji,
- on Friday in Kushi,
- on Saturday in Burak, and
- on Sunday in Laushi.

Land law

In general, land is considered as property of a clan or sub-clan/lineage, but if the clan considers it necessary, a piece may be sold by a joint decision. When a Bangwinji person buys land, it will automatically become property of his clan. The fields belonging to one clan are scattered over an area and do not form one cluster. Individuals have usufruct rights which they may transfer. Leasing of land needs the consent of the clan. Women get their fields from their husbands for cultivation, never from their parents. A woman may ask her brothers to allow her or her children to cultivate a farm if she cannot get it granted by her husband. Farm borders are marked with stones and often additionally with bushes or grasses, but it is the stones that decisively mark the course of the border.

Settlement borders are marked by streams.

Fruits from trees belong to the owner of the field on which they are standing, but the fruits may also be used by fellow clan members.

In case of land disputes with other ethnic groups (intertribal), an elder from each group takes some earth from the disputed territory and eats it. The one with the wrong claim will die, as well as his relatives.

When there is a land dispute between clans, each one takes some soil in his hand and this soil will be blown by a wind into the eyes of the one claiming wrongly and make him blind. Another method is by both claimants touching the boundary stone and the one with the wrong claim will be bitten by a snake or his arm will wither.

The Nakwatreb clan is acting as a kind of arbitrator in land disputes between different factions of the Bangwinji. If two parties claim a piece of land and cannot find a solution, the Nakwatreb will put a special stick at the spot claiming the land for themselves, and the two other parties have both lost their cases. If a clan becomes smaller because of a low reproduction rate, its individual members will have larger areas available as farmland. The land of the Fuwob clan, which is on the verge of extinction, was taken over by the Kumbeleb clan because these two clans have a close genealogical relationship.

Ownership structure of different assets:

- owned by residential units, wards: water sources, springs,
- owned by kinship groups, clans: farmland, ritual titles, spirits/deities, sacral places and shrines, political titles (like *Te*), traditional useful trees (like locust bean tree, baobab); hills belong to the Shunglob clan because they have a belief in Bang.

- Individual property: building plots, houses, and any items inside the house like pots, calabashes, containers, implements and tools like hoe, axe, etc., granaries, money, domestic animals, recently introduced useful trees like mango, guava, etc.

Animal husbandry

The Bangwinji claim that traditionally, they only had goats, dogs and chickens as domestic animals. Nowadays they keep a variety of animals:

Cattle are kept overnight inside a kraal (*kura nene*) and during daytime they are watched by children while they are grazing. The herd may consist of the combined cattle of a neighbourhood. Sometimes cattle are entrusted to the Fulani who keep them with their own animals.

Donkeys are tethered on a grazing ground in the afternoon; during the dry season, when they cannot cause harm on farms, they are allowed to wander freely.

Goats are kept in a stable overnight, during daytime they are grazed by children. Like donkeys they may graze freely in the dry season. In the evening, goats, as well as donkeys, return to the compound on their own initiative.

Sheep do not need a stable, even in the rainy season. They are grazed by children and are in need of constant herding, as they would not return to the compound.

Pigs are kept in a shady place, sometimes enclosed by a low wall, where they are tethered. In the dry season they may graze freely and they return to the compound when hungry.

Dogs are living with and follow their owner.

Chickens are kept in the compound and have their own small huts.

Ducks will move towards water, but return to the compound.

Guinea fowl tend to lay their eggs outside of the compound. These are collected and given to chickens for hatching, otherwise the eggs are eaten by snakes or rats.

Doves are kept in a dove house.

Cats roam freely in the compounds.

Table 6: Domestic animals and their uses (m: male, f: female)

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	plough animal; meat and leather; horns used as resonators of a <i>gilingilinge</i> (xylophone)	milk they get from the Fulani; skin also used as a food
dwarf cattle	-	-	at Billiri there were <i>muturu</i> in the past
horse	-	-	-
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	riding, beast of burden, leather used for drums, meat	skin also used as a food
goat	m & f	meat, leather	in the past, goats were only kept by men
sheep	m & f	meat, leather	chin hair of a billy goat used as decoration for dances
pig	f	meat	
dog	m	meat, guardian, assisting in hunting	only men consume the meat,
chicken	m & f	meat, eggs, feathers used in rituals	in the past, only men ate the meat and eggs
duck	m & f	eggs, meat	
guinea fowl	m & f	eggs, meat	in the past, also women ate the meat and eggs
pigeon	m	meat	meat consumed by men and women
cat	m	meat, protection against rats	only men consume cat meat

In a census among 24 households, the following numbers of domestic animals were determined:

Table 7: Bangwinji - Domestic animals kept 24 households

	Cattle	Donkey	Goat	Sheep	Pig	Dog	Chicken	Duck	Guinea fowl	Cat	Rabbit
total	111	12	188	106	56	38	513	109	156	6	22
mean no.	4.6	0.5	7.8	4.4	2.3	1.6	21.4	4.5	6.5	0.3	0.9
median no.	4	1	11	3.5	2	1	15.5	6	17	1	11

Hunting

There are certain obligations for sharing a quarry: the piece of carcass from the hind legs to the third rib should be given to the parents of the hunter's mother; an elder who is met on the way while returning from a hunt should be given a share; and until bride-price and bride-service have not been fully served, the parents-in-law may demand a part of the quarry of their grandchildren. When a bush pig or buffalo was hunted, the gullet had to be given to the *liya bang* (see chapter "Ritual and religion"). A sister's son will always give the loin of a quarry to his mother's brother irrespective if the *fangka* has been paid or not.

Before *waabe* in March/April and the initiation of small boys into the cult of Bibote, a hunt, (*fárá wáábè* or *waabe kane*), lasting three days takes place in which all men and boys of Bangwinji take part. On the first day they cover the area to the west, on the second day the area to the south and on the third day the area to the east. On the day after *waabe*, all the quarry is brought to the Bibote shrine where the meat is cooked in millet beer (*kwiye nyine*, *pito* in Hausa). A part of the broth is poured on the ground for Bibote, then the food is given to the priest, the elders and the successful hunters. Everyone else will get a share from them. The hunter who hits or wounds an animal first with his weapon, (this person is called *niidwee*), during a communal hunt will receive the head and rump. The one who hits it second, (called *niifiyele*), receives the left front leg, and the tail goes to the one who hits it third (called *kuturu*). An exception is the hunt of the

bushpig (*nang kushange* = meat of shield) whereby the clan represented with the most numerous members will get the head. The most successful hunter will get the ears and he will take them to the girl of his clan he likes most. From there on he will give her a big bundle of guinea corn every year for her to prepare beer during the rainy season. She will also prepare groundnut cake and they will consume the meal together (this meal is called *kwaamange*).

The sharing of the quarry among the Kaalo section is not as strictly regulated as among the Naabang section. Among the Naabang, an individual hunter will likewise give the left front leg to the person whom he meets first on his way back home and the tail to the person whom he meets second.

When a hunted animal is roasted or prepared for eating, be this in the bush or in the village, a small part of

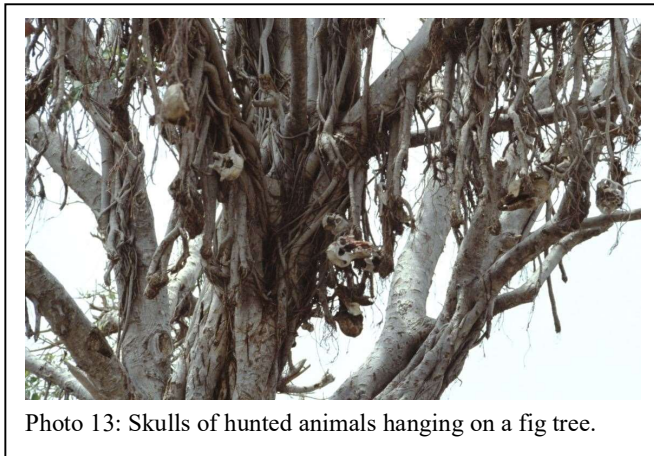


Photo 13: Skulls of hunted animals hanging on a fig tree.

its liver is first thrown with the word "*fiing*" (=prayer) towards the south or north depending on where the mountains at that moment are, and then to the east and at last to the west. This is done to ensure future success in hunting.

Skulls of monkeys, as well as of other hunted animals, are hung onto the special fig tree *tii fáátrá* (*ceediyaa* H., *Ficus thonningii*) standing in every ward for the ancestors to see the achievements of the living generation and convey their praise to the afterworld.

Baboons are considered to have souls like a human being, therefore, after having bagged a baboon, a hunter will rub his head and his hands as well as his dog with the leaves of the wild custard apple tree (*gwandar jeji* (H.), *Annona senegalensis*) to prevent spiritual damage to his soul. Other monkeys do not have such souls, but their spirits may harm the dog, therefore the dog in these cases is also rubbed with the leaves of the custard apple tree.

A hunter who has bagged a hyena or a leopard carries a branch of locust bean tree during dances as a sign of his success. A leopard fur and the twigs of a locust bean tree are signs of a good and successful hunter and warrior.

Traps



Photo 14: Trap for rats and mice

Wulan is a small trap for rats on which pounded groundnut is put as bait.

Shiitó is a big trap for large animals like leopard. It was said that in 1988 in the Dadiya area a leopard was killed.

Material culture

kimérá kúshèt: traditional iron money, equivalent of 30 for a goat, 100 for a slave

jíngè: kind of ceremonial sickle, each age group has one which is carried during dances

yen: broom

bilaare: kind of macramé, is used for hanging calabashes containing flour from the ceiling of the kitchen

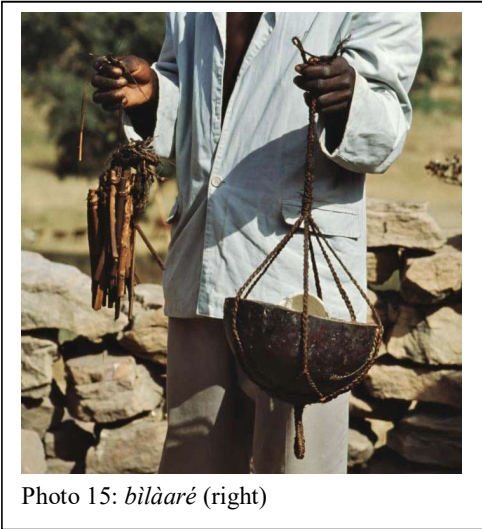


Photo 15: *bilàaré* (right)

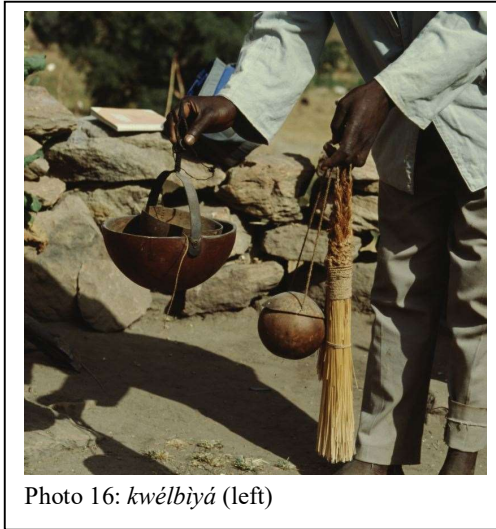


Photo 16: *kwélbíyá* (left)

shààrí: wicker basket

kènbwé: bracelet for children, worn on arm or leg. If a child is sick, for example suffering from diarrhoea, different people of his clan will give him water to drink. The one who stops the diarrhoea will then make such a bracelet for the child

shwááyé: a purse made of leather

tékyánggék: wooden stick for stirring sauces

taktiyek: wooden stick for stirring porridge (*tuwo*)

shàng: wooden stick for stirring beer during production process

shùk: filter made from guinea corn head without grains

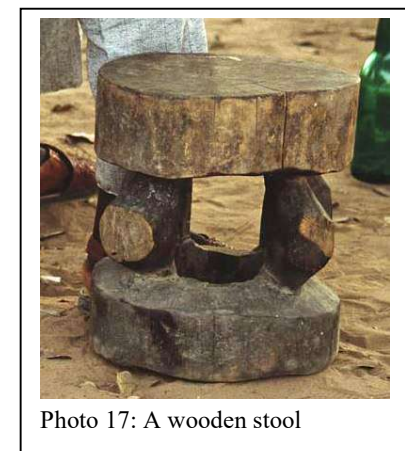


Photo 17: A wooden stool

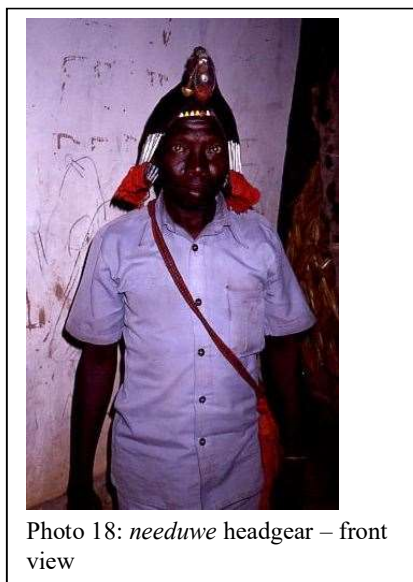


Photo 18: *needuwe* headgear – front view

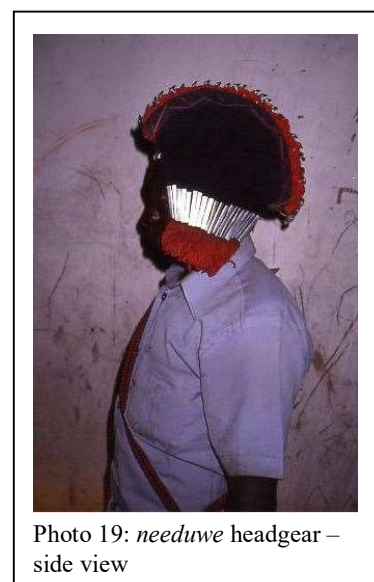


Photo 19: *needuwe* headgear – side view

Ropes made from the roots of Baobab trees are used in different ways: for bundling firewood, to make slingshots (*tààlè.*) or produce carrying bags. It is also used in rituals when a child has contracted an illness, then a part of the sacral object *leefuwee* (or *neefuwee*), is tied with this rope on his neck or on the hip when it is a girl. *Leefuwee* is a bundle of different types of animal skin and feathers tied together; the spirit of Lee is believed to live in here.

A decorative headgear (*needuwe*) is worn by men and women on special occasions: an example of which, adorned with spiked, conical brass decorations along the crest, is worn by newly-married girls during their blessing by the *tangbe* priest, as well as by title holders at various celebrations. Further, it is worn by men and women for the initiation into their age group (*kaŋ*). Decorated with cowries, the *needuwe* headgear is worn by successful hunters of leopards or hyenas and by victorious warriors. In a more simple form without the above mentioned decorations (cowries, brass cones), the headgear can be worn by any person taking part in celebrations or dances. (Sulei Yerima "Needuwe Brief", MS)

There are different kinds of calabashes with their own designations.

- *kuluure*: calabash with a cover, used to carry food to the farm. Serves also as a symbol for a woman who was married for the third time
- *kwèlbiyá*: is a hemispherical calabash with a decorated iron handle, serves as a symbol for a woman who was married for the second time
- *bíkwààrí*: funnel shaped calabash
- *bidiklé.*: calabash used for drinking beer
- *kóólè*: calabash for carrying beer to the farm

Calabashes may attain highly symbolic relevance depending on the context. A broken calabash symbolises the broken and useless body after someone has died (see "Burial"). On the other hand, a broken calabash (*walki*) is used for profanely taking porridge out of the cooking pot.

Music

Klii are songs with praise or abusive lyrics which may be sung at any time.

Biikulen are praise songs, praising the warriors, accompanied by a flute called *biilitikwin*.

Nuwene are songs that are sung while women are grinding corn.

Musical instruments

(See also under chapter "Trees")

Flutes are made of guinea corn stalks or bamboo.

Drums

For Tangbe there are four drums (*bibeng tangbet*):

1. Bidanga
2. Biibwiye
3. Biigul
4. Næ bibine

and the flute *liira Tangbe*.

For Naakwa there are three drums (*bibeng naakwa*):



Photo 20: *næ bibine* drum for Tangbe

1. Junglange
2. Bidanga naakwa
3. Nεε

and the flute *liira naakwad*.

For Lee there are also three drums (*bibengled*):

1. Bitel
2. Bidanga Lee
3. Nεε

and the flute *liira lee*. This flute is played by the clan Kulab-Bishuleb.

There are three kinds of victory drum (*bibeng kwarenet*):

1. Junglange
2. Betekεtεke
3. Nεε

and the flute *liira kwarenet*.

The instruments are played for *kwaren*, these are occasions when a man has killed an enemy or likewise an animal like a leopard, or during the burial ceremony for a man who was a successful head-hunter.

The Bangwinji, as well as the neighbouring Dadiya, have a



Photo 21: Xylophone instrument *gilingilinge*



Photo 22: *gilingilinge* being played during a dance

specific xylophone called *gilingilinge*. While other West-African xylophones have gourds as resonators – see for example the widespread Balafon – here the resonators are hollowed cow horns, the tips of which are cut off and then sealed with the fabric of a spider's nest, creating a peculiar humming sound.

Cicatrization, bodily ornamentation

Men and women filed or chiselled their upper and lower front teeth. There are no face marks (*shámí*). The patterns on the forearms are only on the front of the arms.

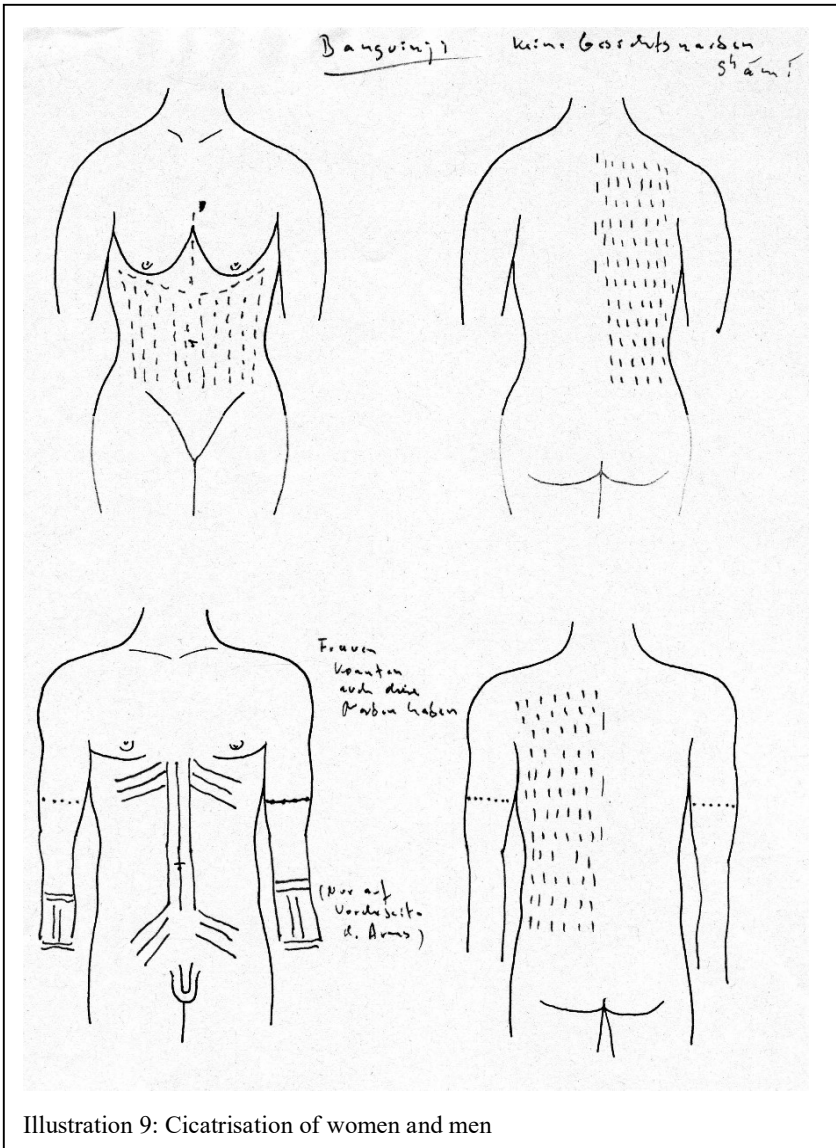


Illustration 9: Cicatrization of women and men

Ritual and religion

A majority of the Bangwinji still practise their own local religion, (adherents of the traditional religion are called *Nafuleneb*), the second biggest group are believers in the Christian faith and there is only a small number of Muslims. The first Bangwinji man called Adamu Lamaksak (Chere) converted to Christianity in 1929 under the influence of John Hall, who was a missionary among the neighbouring Tangale of Kaltungo. In 1950 the first Bangwinji to become Muslim were Abdulhamid Yaro (Bwii) and Maina Duniya Kwangle. The Christian church elders are often trying to prevent those Bangwinji who became Christians from attending traditional ceremonies and festivals. Although they recognise the traditional spirits and deities and their power, they claim that these are bad and represent the devil.

In the traditional worldview of the Bangwinji, a human being is composed of three elements:

- 1) a soul (*duume*) which, after death, leaves the body to go the subterranean place of the dead (*loo bwitine*) and may return to the world of the living through reincarnation
- 2) a spirit (*wuulo*), which as a kind of shadow during sleep in the night, returns to the places the person visited during the daytime, and
- 3) body (*bwi*) which is the physical form. The *wuulo* spirit during its sojourn during dreams in the night may get caught by witches.

Animals and plants in general do not have a soul (*duume*), but some species, such as guinea corn and millet, do have a *wuulo* spirit (*wuulo shang*).

Informants state that sorghum and millet have a soul because beer is brewed from their grains but probably the causality is vice versa and beer is brewed from the grains because it has a soul. When the corn is ripe for harvesting, its *wuulo* may move away during nighttime and a blowing sound like wind may be heard.

The *wuulo* will return before dawn.

A bundle is placed on top of the heaps of harvested corn on the fields containing a certain leaf which protects the corn against the theft of its soul (*wuulo*) by witches. Different clans use different plants for protecting their corn.

Leading a good life will bring a soul to the *loo bwitine*, but when someone has led a bad life, then his soul will disturb the living. The spiritual expert, *niibwa*, is able to catch such a soul. A good life implies respect for the elders, gifts for the poor, sacrifices to the ancestors and observing ritual obligations.

Kwama is the ubiquitous high god and supreme to all spirits, he is, however, far removed from the activities of men. There is no sign of or idea about his gender.

Table 8: Religious concepts and their material expression

Bangwinji		
Concept	Name	manifestation / comments
high god	<i>kwama</i>	creator god
ancestors	<i>bwel, duume</i>	<i>duume</i> is general term for soul, <i>bwel</i> are souls of persons who died at an old age
water spirit	<i>jim, kum</i>	<i>jim</i> comes in the form of a snake, is benign; <i>kum</i> is evil, lives in dense forests near water
bush spirit	<i>ninga, neetiye, fin-sange</i>	
protecting spirit	<i>tangbe, bwel</i>	
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol, fetish)	<i>bweele</i>	seven figures representing <i>lee</i> , are carved humanoid sculptures

Spirits and associated rituals

The Bangwinji recognise various spirits and deities, the most important ones are Lee, Bibote and Tangbe.

Lee, Bibote and **Tangbe** are the three main spirits/deities of the Bangwinji with Bibote being superior.

These spirits are not derived from the ancestors, but are external spirits that originated in the wilderness and then were appropriated by the Bangwinji. It is understood that they invited the Bangwinji people to stay with them and teach them how to worship them. Lee and Bibote also have a harmful side and may kill a person.

Tangbe is considered to have stepped down from heaven. There is a place called Lookurii on Bitume Hill where his footsteps may still be seen as imprints on the rock. The Tangbe cult is also practised among the southern Dadiya/Bolere-Dadiya whom the Bangwinji call Kuwab. The Bangwinji will start with their Tangbe rituals and then the Dadiya of Bolere area (Kuwab) and Biyangdub (Dadiya living to the west of Bolere) will follow. This sequence of events suggests that the cult was taken over by the Dadiya from the Bangwinji.

The Bangwinji consider their Tangbe to be male, while they consider the Tangbe of the Dadiya to be female. The cult's priests are from the Nakumb clan and only members of Nakumb clan can understand the language of Tangbe. The *liya Tangbe* is also *sarkin al adar* (H.), meaning guardian of the customs. Tangbe is a benign deity protecting the land and dwellings of the Bangwinji from bad spirits such as *fin-sange* and their influence. Tangbe is a completely benevolent deity in contrast to the other deities Lee and Bibote, which are capricious and also have dangerous aspects. Thus, Tangbe is the deity which can avert evil spirits, Lee and Bibote are too close to the evil spirits for them to be helpful in chasing them out.

Tangbe also cares for the fertility of women and ensures that they will be fertile and give birth to many children.

The complex distribution of tasks and functions in ritual contexts binds the different clans and lineages together and advances social cohesion.

The Tangbe festival takes place in February-March.

On the 5th day of a new month, (according to the lunar calendar of Bangwinji: approximately in January), the timekeeper from Bibangeb-Kwiyateb clan in Kaalo section goes to Naabang section and informs the *niinyilo* (door opener), that in two days they have to visit the Tangbe shrine at Lookurii where the rock with the footprints of Tangbe is located, in order to wash a pot that is stored there with beer. When they have done this, they return again to the shrine seven days later, and on their way back from the shrine they visit various hamlets along the way, drink beer there and pray for the inhabitants. After a month, again on the 7th day, they visit the shrine once more and agree on celebrating the Tangbe festival on the 7th day of the next month.

All women who have married for the first time during the past year will attend to the Tangbe shrine (*bikut tangbe*) at the time of the festival and pray that they may have many children and a prosperous life. During the dances it may happen that women are possessed by the spirit of Tangbe.

On the 7th day of each month, the ritual expert *barbishwe* visits the *Tangbe* shrine. The sacrifices made to *tangbe* are a chicken, a cock and beer. In general, the sacrifices are in large parts consumed by the priest, his assistant, the elders and other members of the clans involved. Any offence to or insult of Tangbe will cause the offender a heavy pressure on his chest until a sacrifice is made.

Lee is said to have come from the east after Tangbe and it is imagined in a human form with white skin albeit with only one arm, one leg, one breast, one eye and one nostril. It is said to be small (about 1 m in height) and is considered to be female. It is believed that Lee settled at a location called Zari Lee and still

lives here. Lee is represented by seven carved wooden sculptures of which three are male and four are female.

Lee is the deity of the crops which it introduced to Bangwinji, and it cares for the fertility of women. Lee is considered as the wife of the deity Bibote.

At the location called Binyangkafu is a sacred site where there is a hole called Bishunge (or *súngè*) which is considered to be a window to Limi (the mythical place of origin) and is used for clairvoyance and predicting the coming year; round stones representing female Lee and long stones (*shumte*) representing male Lee are situated at the hole. Long stones (*shumte*) are a common sight at ritual sites. The Lee shrine is called *bikut lee*.

Lee is especially associated with the clan Kweb-Warfuneb, for Lee had shown them the *sunge* hole, and with the Shiyeb clan because they were the second to meet Lee. It is said that Lee, when he was in the east saw, a light at the *sunge* hole and followed it. The Lee priests are from the Kweb-Booken clan. The first Lee priest was called Kaiyiro. His daughter, Bwelluki, went to nurse a baby of the Shiyeb clan and met Lee on the way. She went home and told her father, who went out with others. Shiyeb first tried to put a claim to Lee because Bwelluki had eaten from their food, but Kweb insisted that she was a daughter of their clan. The *Te* negotiated and decided that the priest had to be from Kweb and his assistant (*bweé kwáng kwále liya lee*) from Shiyeb. The Lee priest is also in charge of the Nyomlom ritual. Lee was found at a grove to the south of the old settlement Bitikangkata, the grove henceforth became sacred. The shrine of



Photo 23: *tanjalang* shrine for Tangbe

Lee (*bikut lee*) is also located here. A *tanjalang* is a kind of altar consisting of a massive dry-stone structure with straight, standing stones on one end. When Lee comes, it will sit on that structure. The *tanjalang* is used for sacrifices of chickens or cocks and sprinkled with red ochre. Lee is a cult of the Naabang section. While the priest is from Kweb-Booken, the assistant Lee priest (*bwee kwangkwaale lee*) is from Shiyeb-Booken and a man from the clan Kulab-Bishuuleb plays the

flute during the rituals.

The sacrifices made to Lee are a billy goat, a cock and millet beer. Being female, Lee is also associated with the age category *kal maalet*. It may be noted that the Lee cult is also found among the Awak people.

Nyomlom and **Naakwa** are annual rituals associated with Lee: both are concerned with the new guinea corn/millet and serve the same function: allowing for the harvest of the new corn and its consumption. While Nyomlom is performed by the Naabang section and is celebrated first, Naakwa is performed by the Kaalo section afterwards.

Only after Nyomlom has been performed, are the people of the Naabang section allowed to consume guinea corn, millet and beans of the new harvest. For the people of the Kaalo section, it is the Naakwa festival that has to have taken place before they are allowed to consume from the new harvest.

The **Nyomlom** ritual allows the people of the Naabang section to start the harvest of their corn, it is performed for the Naabang by the priest (*liya Bishunge/liya Nyomlom*) at Binyang Gafu, where the Bishunge hole is situated. He sprinkles the Bishunge with white remains of guinea corn taken from new corn that was taken in before the general harvest commences.

On the day after *Nyomlom*, which marks the start of the harvesting season, the Lee priest (*liya Lee*) and his assistant go to the Bishunge site and drink the beer which was brought to Lee. On the next morning, the Naabang people may start to harvest. This applies to all those crops considered to have been brought by Lee, with the exception of groundnut, garden egg and tobacco, which may be harvested earlier. The Lee priest is the first to perform the harvest.

At the occasion of the *Nyomlom* ritual, every year in early November, before the general harvest of guinea corn/millet commences, the future is predicted by the Lee priest looking into that hole in the ground, (called Bishunge), where he sees the past as well as coming generations, and whether or not the coming year will be a prosperous one. Flour from new guinea corn is put into the hole and two chickens are sacrificed: one is provided by the Kweb clan, the other by the Shiyeb clan.

The ritual representatives of the clans Kweb, Shiyeb, Kumbeleb, Nakumeb and Terkwereb gather at the Bishunge site at Binyangkafu. At this occasion are present: the *té*, his assistant *té bédùwàré* from Nakumeb, the *niibwa* from Nafuwab, the Lee priest, the *nííshwé lèè* (assistant of Lee-Priest) from Shiyeb and the priest of Bibote (*liya bíbótè*) from Terkwereb. The Bishunge hole is covered by stones prepared in a special way, this cover is made from a stone called *latea*, a flat stone. On the cover are seven stones representing the seven Lee: three round ones representing the female part and four long ones (*shumte*) representing the male part. The Lee priest takes the first stone, his assistant the second and so on until all the stones are removed by the ritual experts present. Under the cover is a calabash filled with guinea corn flour from last year. The assistant of the *Te* from Kumbeleb examines the flour to detect any damage or irregularities, then the *liya lee* and his assistant examine it, followed by the others present. If they detect anything irregular with the flour it means an ancestor of one of the clans is demanding a feast. The ritual experts can see the spirits of the ancestors and in this way are able to predict the future: if ancestors are propping their face with the right hand, it means the harvest will be poor, but if they see plenty of corn, the season will be very rewarding, and if they see many young women being pregnant or with children there will be many births. Then they take the calabash away and the hole is open.

On 3rd November 1991, the *liya Lee* went with a pot of beer to the *tanjalang* of Lee (altar of Lee) at the old settlement site Bitikangkata on the mountain where there is a place with red ochre (*kwekwe*). He took some ochre, dissolved it in water and daubed the pot with the solution. The *liya Lee* prayed for peace, a plentiful harvest, the welfare of the community and that Lee prevents all evil. He continued to the Bishunge site where he cleared the site and prayed, too, saying that tomorrow is a decisive day and Lee should come. He left the pot near the hole. His assistant (*bwe kwang kale liya Lee*) stayed there overnight and early next morning at about 5:30 a.m. sounded a bugle, called *mótóntóónè*, which calls the ancestor spirits to the hole. Lee had come overnight and drank of the beer.

In 1991 the ritual experts saw spirits turning away their faces to the east and taking away the crops they had brought with them, and Lee complained that it will return to Limi. The reason was that bad spirits called *finsange* were already there because the *Te* had failed in chasing them out. He had not been informed about the *finsange* by the *niibwa*, (ritual expert and soothsayer), called Lali from Shiyeb clan, despite his

responsibility for chasing away the *finsange*. Thus, Lali had to sacrifice a chicken with *tuwo* and *miyang dargaza* at the Lee shrine. The *finsange* caused a lot of coughs and open sores on legs.

The fur of a wild cat is placed besides the hole called Bishunge. The fur is removed, the calabash filled with new flour and put on the hole, eventually the cover and the seven stones are put on top. The old corn flour is taken away by the representatives of the clans Kweb, Kumbeleb, Shiyeb, Terkwereb and Nakwatreb, later mixed with water and small balls are made which the participating clans take to their shrines for ritual consumption: the Kweb to *tanjalang* of Lee, the Kumbeleb to Bikutshanged near Kunglo, a shrine for the corn spirit, the Terkwereb to *loo* Bibote, the Shiyeb to *tanjalang* of Shinong.

After having looked into the hole, the priests move to the Lee shrine (*tanjalang*) and sprinkle it with red ochre (*kwekwe*) and likewise they sprinkle the houses of the Kweb clan on their return. This is done to identify them for Lee. In the evening at about 6:30 p.m. the bugle is sounded again and the children start ululating. People gather at the house of the Lee priest drinking beer made from new corn and the priest tells them what they found out. On the next day the Lee priest and his assistant go again to the hole and drink the beer which they placed there. Now people can start harvesting their corn, (guinea corn and millet), and beans. Only groundnut, garden egg and tobacco are allowed to be harvested before this Nyomlom ritual, all other fruits associated with Lee are not. The priest is the first who starts with the harvest. All this applies to the Naabang section, the Kaalo section has to wait for *Naakwa* ritual, which takes place after Nyomlom festival of Naabang.

The following involving a certain cult object called *leefuwe/néefúwée* cannot take place before the clairvoyance at Bishunge hole, and the Kaalo houses are sprinkled with red ochre afterwards: the *néefúwée*, consisting of a bundle of feathers, horns and skins of wild animals, is put up in the anteroom of *liya Lee's* compound. The Lee spirit entered the *néefúwée* during the night and leaves it in the morning, then it is visiting the houses sprinkled with red ochre (*kwekwe*), looking after these families and tasting beans and sprinkled flour from new corn.

Naakwa is a corn spirit of the Kaalo section and governs agricultural activities concerned with guinea corn for all members of the Kaalo section. The Naakwa priest (*liya Naakwa*) comes from Bibangeb-Kwiyateb; he is considered master of guinea corn. The assistant priest is from the Kumbeleb clan. The cult is considered ancient and was brought by the ancestors from mythical Limi.

The *Naakwa* harvest festival usually takes place in November (*titiya*). The priest collects white and red guinea corn from the farms of each Kaalo household. The heads of guinea corn for Naakwa are cut on the 8th day of the beginning of *titiya*. Corn beer will be prepared from this and a pot with flour will be filled which will remain at the shrine of Naakwa until the next year's harvest. Seven days after the guinea corn heads were cut, the festival for Bang takes place. The Kaalo people are only allowed to start their harvest after the Naakwa ritual.

Naakwa ritual: Seven days after Nyomlom the priest, (*liya Lee* or *liya Naakwa*), goes to the mountain to fetch a certain white chalky stone (called *bidenget*), which he dilutes in water and sprinkles the shrine of Naakwa (*bikut Naakwa*) with the solution. Two days later, selected male members of the Bibangeb clan fetch a red and a white head of guinea corn from each Kaalo farm. On the same day, the collected corn is brought by the priest, his assistant, (from the Dwaleb clan), one man from the Terkwereb clan and one man from the Nakwatreb clan to the shrine of Naakwa and offer it to Naakwa for blessing. One head of white and one of red guinea corn is roasted and first eaten by the priest and then by the representatives of the clans. The remaining corn is taken to a special granary belonging to Naakwa. This granary must always be

filled to safeguard the fertility of the land. The Naakwa spirit visits the granary from time to time and must always find it filled up with corn, otherwise famine will come to the land of the Bangwinji. The granary will not be touched again until the sowing season for guinea corn in May, when the priest will brew beer (*burkutu* H.) from it. This beer is then drunk by the Kaalo men in the compound of the priest. Before it may be consumed, one of the priest's sons takes a pot of the beer and together with a man from the Dwaleb clan, one from the Terkwereb clan and one from the Nakwatreb clan, brings it to the shrine of Naakwa. They examine the calabash containing guinea corn flour and if they find something suspicious or the flour missing, they will call a soothsayer (*niibwa*) to find out who of the ancestors is asking for a celebration. Then they spill some of the beer on the ground and drink the remaining beer. The old flour is taken away and porridge (*tuwo* H.) prepared from it, which the priest will eat with his family. New flour, prepared from the red and white guinea corn heads, is put at the shrine. The priest is the first who may then start sowing guinea corn, millet and beans before the rest of Kaalo may follow.

At Binyang Kafu, a hamlet in the mountains inhabited by members of the Kumbeleb clan, there is a Naakwa shrine for the Naabang section. Its priest is Shangmu. He first performs the Naakwa rites together with the priest of Kaalo before performing the rites at his shrine at Binyang Kafu.

Anyone starting to harvest too early has a fine of a bundle of corn imposed which he has to deliver to the assistant of the Naakwa priest (*bwe kwang kwale liya naakwa*, from the Dwaleb clan). The assistant hands over the corn to the priest who will add it to the corn which he uses for offerings to Naakwa.

Kàakwók náákwòak lasts for one day and is performed in June with the pruning/thinning of the corn. This thinning is done to remove weak plants and give the strong plants more space to grow. It is done in late June together with the first weeding (*bikweeri*). This task also has to be performed first by the *liya* Naakwa before other farmers from Kaalo may start doing it. There are no such strict regulations among the Naabang clans; they may do their corn thinning anytime. The Kulab-Dongtiyab clan also has a white clay symbolising corn flour and, after Nyomlom has taken place, they use the white clay to paint their door posts and granaries.

The first Naakwa priest was Bed, and the following is the line of priests that was given by informants, although five generations seem too shallow a period to consider the cult as ancient. The Naakwa priest at the time of research was Yalboti Kulikuli.



At present the *liya* Naakwa is Kitau Yalboti, a son of Yalboti.¹⁶

The Naakwa spirit is invisible. The shrine of Naakwa (*Bikut Naakwa* at Bikalangkuwe) is a small hut with three large pots inside, seven hoes and an iron plate on which flour of guinea corn is placed. If the flour vanishes, a season of hunger will befall the land. The flour is renewed every April to secure a good farming

¹⁶ I am grateful to Sulei Yerima for this update.

season. During the time of Naakwa festivities, there is a period of dancing during the nighttime which is called *Naakwa kaakuke* and *Naakwa kume*, at both occasions the women sing both praise and abusive songs. At the occasion of *Naakwa kaakuke* the iron items are taken from the shrine and washed with millet beer (*pito*).

Differing from the above, there is the statement that Naakwa lives in a *Biken* pot decorated with pellets on its surface. During dances the pot is thrown in the air and if by chance the pot falls down and breaks, it will repair itself.

Naakwa kaakuke takes place in the annual cycle after the Yaare festival and is likewise performed during two consecutive years. It starts 14 days after *waabe kane* when the meat from the *waabe* hunt is consumed. The Bibangeb (provide the chief priest of Naakwa), Kumbeleb (provide the assistant priest of Naakwa), Kulab, Nakwatreb and Nakumeb clans are obligatory participants. The clans of Kulab and Bibangeb meet at the stream Laabikisho which marks the boundary between the two sections of Naabang and Kaalo whilst dancing. Two men are meeting with their toes at a fixed point at the same time. None of them is allowed to arrive earlier as this is considered to be an offence.

In 1992 the Naakwa took place too early because the time keeper had made an error, for this he had to pay a fine of one goat to the *liya* Bibote (priest of Bibote).

At Suuli, the ancient settlement place on an inselberg north of the present settlement area; the drum and the hoe (*shinong naakwa*) of Naakwa are still there. These objects are haunted and may disappear when someone is searching for them.

The **Lee** festival takes place in October-November in every 7th year, before the harvest of guinea corn. Men and women both participate.

In association with Lee there are dances in the night (*Lee kume*) during two full months, starting around September (with the beginning/first day of *shwiyak be*) and lasting until the end of October (*shwiyak ne*) and then, with the beginning of the harvest season in November, (on the first day of *titiya*, this is Nyomlom – the start of harvesting season), they change to dancing in the daytime (*Lee kaakuke*) for three days. On the first day of *lee kaakuke* they dance on the place *taare shane* (= *shwelakalek*) in Naabang, on the second day the dances take place on *taare bote* further up the mountain, and on the third day on *taare kaalowe*. On the 8th day the heads of guinea corn for Naakwa are cut, and seven days later Bang is celebrated. During the Lee festival, his drums are beaten and that attracts the spirit. After Lee was sent away with the end of the dances, no drum or xylophone (*gilingilinge*) may be played for seven days in order not to call back the spirit.

Bibote also came from the east in the same year as Lee and is also imagined to have human shape but small like a midget with a height of about half a metre or less.

Bibote is the deity of war and hunting, giving courage, skill and power to his adherents. He is the husband of Lee. Bibote holds the highest place among the spirits.

Bibote settled with the Kaalo section. Bibote festivals take place in March/April on the 7th day and again in August/September in order to guarantee a good farming season and growth of crops.

In general, Bibote safeguards fertility. The husband of a barren woman will ask the Bibote priest to sacrifice *tuwo* with *miyang dargaza* and a chicken to cure her barrenness. Bibote will also punish adultery committed with the wife of a member of the same clan by sending snakes which will bite the adulterer and make him sick. His father and the elders will carry the sick man to the Bibote shrine to offer sacrifices in the hope of curing him.

Bibote is considered to be male and thus is associated with the age category *kal kunet*. Its priests are from the Terkwereb Booken clan of Kaalo who were the first to have met the Bibote spirit.

The current priest is Longa Labum. The succession of priests is as follows:

1. Twintine
2. Dasikolo (son of Twintine)
3. Labware (son of Dasikolo)
4. Tombwiye (son of Labware)
5. Kaltoro (brother of Tombwiye)
6. Lea (son of Tombwiye)
7. Bana (son of Lea)
8. Labum
9. Fura (son of Bana)
10. Muyal (brother of Fura, same Fa, diff. Mo)
11. Muwa/Moo (Longa) (son of Labum)

It is only the Bibote priest (*liya Bibote*) and a ritual expert called *barbishwe* who can see Bibote. The assistant priests are now, (at the time of research), from the Nafuwab Booken clan, before that time they came from the Kulab-Bishuuleb clan.

It is said that a man named Bile from Kulab clan once found Bibote and took the deity to his house without informing the *Te*. Later Kaltoro of the Terkwereb clan also found a Bibote and duly informed the *Te* of Kaalo named Shuring. They both went together to the head *Te* of Naabang and told him about Kaltoro's find. The *Te* enquired about Bibote and called his counsellors: the *barbishwe* of the Kumbeleb clan and the *bwe-kongkele te* (assistant *Te*) of Nakumeb. They scrutinised the Bibote and then proclaimed a new cult. After some time, Bile also informed the *Te*, but it was too late, he could only become assistant priest. Now a man called Langtang from the Nafuwab clan advised Bile not to become assistant of Kaltoro, but to make himself chief priest and he, Langtang, would become his assistant. Kaltoro and the other ritual experts were waiting for Bile but he did not come. Instead, Langtang came and told them that Bile would not come. So, they went to see Bile, led by Kaltoro. On the way they met Bile dressed like a chief priest. Kaltoro raised his staff of office and Bile died on the spot.

Since this time the Kulab clan does not take part in the rituals concerning Bibote, but hide in their houses during the ceremonies. Should they be seen leaving their houses they would develop leprosy.

The main Bibote shrine (*kóóli*) is in a cave within a dense forest with a seasonal watercourse. In the shrine are two pieces of iron: a long one and a round one, both called *nyaye*. They may not be touched lest the hand of the offender becomes very heavy and cannot be raised anymore. A sacrifice of a goat may, however, cure it. The priest himself may only touch the irons with his left hand, if he touches them with his right hand, the hand will wither. There is a rock called *shwelakobwit* associated with Bibote and anyone, even an initiated member of the cult, climbing it will become insane. For non-initiates, it is rather easy to avoid this place, as it does not have to be passed, for example, when fetching water.

It is said that in past times, men and women went to *loo* Bibote to meet and sacrifice for the souls of the ancestors. One day a widow whose husband had died recently went with them. When everybody returned home from the sacrifices, she persuaded her deceased husband to follow her to her compound. During the night the deceased died a second time. This had the effect that the deceased cannot come anymore in physical form but only as a ghost. From that time, it was decided to ban women from Bibote cults.

The souls of those Bangwinji who had died at an old age can go to *loo* Bibote and articulate their requests towards the living.

Although there is one main shrine of Bibote (*loo* Bibote) belonging to the Terkwereb clan, there is a second important shrine of Bibote for the Naabang section belonging to the Nafuwab clan, and there are further additional (sub-)shrines for the different clans: seven for Naabang and five for the Kaalo section. Among the Naabang section there are shrines for the following clans: Kulab, Tobwiyeb, Kumbeleb, Kweb, Gumob, Nafuwab and Nakumeb, Bikwakleb and Bishomeb-Doleneb (the latter clans do have joint shrines); there are shrines among the Kaalo for the following clans: Terkwereb (the main shrine), Dwaleb and Bishomeb, Bibangeb and Shunglob, Kweb and Shiyeb, Nakwatreb and Muwab.

Because the Bibote shrine is a focus for the ancestral spirits (*bwe/*) to gather and then visit the houses of their descendants, each clan tries to have its own shrine in order to prevent the ancestral spirits from different clans from meeting and starting quarrels. It is believed that the spirits of the ancestors want to protect their descendants from other spirits and that may cause fights. Through the growth of clans, they felt the need to have their own shrine and off-shoots were founded by bringing soil from the original shrine to the new sites and placing long stones and long necks of broken pots there. Of course, the main priest has to consent to the building of a sub-shrine. These Bibote shrines each have their own priests who rank under the main priest of Terkwereb.

The sacrifices made to *Bibote* are a billy goat, a cock, beer, porridge of guinea corn (*tuwon ngaashe*) or millet (*tuwon kwarom*) with the sauce *miyan dargaza*.

Waabe is another cult associated with the spirit Bibote. Waabe is also practised among the Dadiya. The festivities start at northern Dadiya, then the Bangwinji may begin with their celebrations and eventually *waabe* is celebrated among the southern/Bolere-Dadiya/Biyangdub. The Dadiya got the *waabe* cult from the Tangale of Kaltungo. The ethnic groups may visit each other at the occasion and take part in the dances, but the rituals proper are performed by each ethnic group separately.

Wàábé is associated with the spirit Bibote. *Wàábé* starts seven days after the Tangbe festival. Ritual specialists go to the mountains and proclaim the period *shiwak waabek*, a period of peace lasting for 30 days when all conflicts must cease. On the 23rd day of that period they start brewing beer the *waabe* ceremony that takes place on the 30th and 1st day of the new month. On the 27th day (in 1992 the hunt was on 27th-29th March) a hunt (*fáráwáábè*) takes place and the quarry will be blessed on the second day of the festivities and a part is sacrificed to Bibote (see chapter "Hunting" for more details of this hunt). The *waabe* ceremonies take place at the different Bibote shrines according to clan membership.

Male children about the age of two years are presented to Bibote in the initiation ceremony called **waabe**. Without this initiation they would become insane when entering the area associated with the shrine of Bibote. All uninitiated persons, and this applies to all women because the cult is purely male, coming close to the shrine will become deranged or even die. Thus, women in general are not allowed in Bibote's area. And although women are preparing the sacrificial food for the Bibote ceremonies, they may not taste from the food or they will be mentally affected. During the initiation, each boy will get two spears (*yaa*) decorated with chicken feathers, and he will receive his traditional name.

Any small boy who is refused by Bibote during the initiation ceremony *waabe* will die. This implies that from that time all children of a father must be presented to Bibote during the Bibote ceremony *waabe miyele* in the rainy season in August.

Yaare is another festival dedicated to the spirit Bibote which takes place once every seven years, in the dry season (around April), just after *waabe*. It takes place in the year following the Lee festival and is performed in two consecutive years. *Yaare* starts on the day of *waabe kane*, when the meat from the *waabe* hunt is

consumed. It lasts for three months, approximately during April-May-June and again in the following year. During the rituals proper, the priests (*liya Bibote*) of the clans of Terkwereb, Bibangeb, Nafuwab and Gumob dance only clad with locust bean leaves around their loins. Only men may be present. It is also a kind of rain ritual. There is a special round piece of iron called *nyaye* which the *Liya Bibote* from the Terkwereb clan is holding. Any unauthorised person just looking at *nyaye* will develop leprosy.

In the village there is dancing and the women are singing abusive songs about men, and men are singing abusive songs about women.

On the first day, there are at first dances at the place *taare bwit* (=loo *bikale*), the dancing place of the Terkwereb clan, then follow dances at *taare tangbe* (=loo *nafuwa*), the dancing place of the Nafuwab clan, third they dance at *taare tee*, the dancing place of the Bishomeb-Doleneb clan and fourth on *taare kwantange*, the dancing place of the Bikwakleb clan. Afterwards follow dances on the dancing places of various hamlets.

A big tortoise lives in a cave at the Bibote shrine (*loo Bibote*) which, at this occasion, is lured outside and then carried around in a circle by the Bibote priests on locust bean leaves while it is covered with the fur of African Civet (*tifúwé*). The creature's body is described as being golden or shining, with golden rings around the neck and legs. Also, a mythical snake called *jim* appears and Bibote itself, looking like a silver skull. No uninitiated person may be present at this occasion or even may learn about the events. The tortoise is put back into the cave and some young married women from the Bishomeb Doleneb clan fetch water and bring it to the Bibote priest of Kaalo to ask him to allow dancing in the village. Each ward has its own dancing ground where they dance in the night for two months.

Somewhat divergent information on *Yaare* says that it is a cult in the possession of Kweb Booken, and the cult is concerned with persons who are disoriented or deranged, in such cases the cult may help them to get back to their senses. *Yaare* protects the property of a clan against theft. Red ochre is painted on granaries and door sills as protection against evils spirits. The current priest is Shibola from Kweb Booken, his assistant is Bororo from Bishomeb-Lashongeb. *Yaare* is manifested in a spear.

Bang is considered to be male. Bang means mountain and refers to the whole mountain chain on which the Bangwinji settled. Bang cares for the fertility of men.

Spirits associated with Bang and which are considered manifestations of the mountain are *Nyangluwe* and *Jim*. There are two kinds of *nyangluwe*: one kind in the form of a cat, the other in the form of little pigs. They glow and illuminate the room when they come. The *nyangluwe* protect against enemies, help during hunts and care for the fertility of men so they may have many children.

There are two priests for Bang: one for the Kaalo section, he comes from the Shunglob clan, and one from the Naabang section, he comes from the Kweb Booken clan. *Liya Bange* presently is Shangelan Diyamu. Although people of the Bibangeb clan first settled on the mountain and came across the *nyangluwe* spirits, they are not their priests because they had no fire to smoke-signal their find, thus, the *Te* decided that the priesthood belongs to the Shunglob clan because they had made fire and could prove their appropriation to others.

Jim is a mythical snake which secures the steady flow of water from springs. This is also the reason why members of the Shunglob clan will not kill a python or a puff adder.

The succession of priests is: 1. Talma, 2. Bweer, 3. Waamono, 4. Bwalom, 5. Diyamu, 6. Shangelang. Bang spirits help the men and bring them luck during hunts, and they help women to be fertile and bear many children. If a hunter hunts a bush pig or buffalo, the gullet had to be given to the *liya Bange*. In times

of war, the heads and hands of enemies slain by Kaalo warriors were brought to the *liya Bange* who prepared food mixed with the fat of these hands. When a peace was negotiated, that food was offered to the peacemaker of the enemies – no Bangwinji ate it. In the event that the fights started again, the enemy would lose the fight because they had eaten from their own brothers. The peacemakers carried leaves from the *yufimi* plant (yam) as a sign of peace and that they were not bearing weapons.

If someone is possessed by *nyangluwe*, then he will lose interest in women. The victim will give the priest a chicken and the priest will make a line with red ochre on the suffering person's left thumb. Each year at the ceremony this has to be repeated. This will cure the symptoms.

The sacrifices made to *Bang* are chickens, cocks, beer, porridge of guinea corn (*tuwon ngaashe*) or millet (*tuwon kwarom*) with the sauce *miyan dargaza* (H., *dargaza*: *Grewia mollis*).

Shinong is a spirit described as controller of the mountain. When the mountain is in agony and cries, (that is expressed by stones falling down the slopes), the *shinong* priest visits the shrine and prays in order to stop the bad influences. *Shinong* consists only of a voice, its priests (*liya shinong*) come from the Shiyeb clan. *Shinong* is associated with Lee.

Bwel is a spirit which inspires praise-singers to their songs about heroes, warriors and prolific farmers.

Ritual experts

Niibwa is a soothsayer and traditional healer. He has the ability to see and detect spirits. He may be consulted in cases of illness, bad dreams, continuous misfortune, barrenness, etc. For a consultation he is paid with two pieces of traditional iron money (*kimera kushet*), two pots of beer (*burkutu* (H.)), one chicken or cock, one cone of tobacco and one bundle of red guinea corn. The remaining beer which was not sacrificed and the roasted chicken are eventually eaten by the *niibwa*, the patient and whoever else may be present (only men) in the house of the patient.



Photo 24: Special clay containers (*wet*), inside which evil souls were trapped by a *niibwa*.

For diagnosing a patient, the *niibwa* uses a broken pot, pours water in it and places charcoal on top. After one night, he may see the reason for the sickness in the water. This kind of divination is called *cumet*.

Another kind of divination practised by the *niibwa* and the *bar-bishwe* is called *nyom muwaakaabilebek*: here the ritual experts are assisted by an ancestral spirit from the expert's clan.

A *Niibwa* is assisted by a spirit called *belebet*, living in a clay pot (*wer belebet*) with multiple necks and decorated with white paint. The *belebet* is considered to be the soul of a dead human. It makes sounds like the *belebe* bird and therefore is named accordingly.

A *Niibwa* is further often assisted in his ritual tasks by a *ninga* spirit. In the case where the soul/spirit (*wuulo*) of a person is trapped by witches in the bush, the *niibwa* will first dance under the influence of helpful spirits, (this possession dance is called *gafra*; and by its name reminds of *mam gabralboori*, a possession cult common among neighbouring ethnic groups). The *niibwa* will put water in his mouth, then spit it out and the water will show the direction where the spirit is kept. The *ninga* will lead him into the bush in search of the captured soul and set it free.

Only men are *niibwa*, but there are also women with spiritual capability. They, however, fulfil no institution-

Case study: A *niibwa* interviewed said that he had received the ability to deal with the spiritual world from the high god Kwama. The *niibwa* is assisted by two spirits, one of them (*neetiye*) is living in a hole in the mountain; it is dangerous and sucks blood; therefore, it is better it stays in the bush. The other spirit is a benign one called *belebe* and lives in a pot with multiple necks. He inherited this one from his father's brother Kaama. He feeds it with cones of local salt, which the spirit eats from the inside so that only the outer shell remains. The salt cones are hung near the pot. Someone who is suffering from a sickness caused by witchcraft will go to the *niibwa* and the *niibwa* will consult the spirit *belebe*, who in turn will speak to the sick person and the *niibwa* will translate. *Belebe* will tell where the soul of the sick person may be found; the *niibwa* will spit out and in this direction they can find the place. The *neetiye* spirit will converse with the *belebe* during the night and instruct it, for example which plants should be used as medicine. The *belebe* in turn informs the *niibwa*.

alised role. These women may be able to track a person's soul captured by a witch by going around and calling for it.

Barbishwe is a spiritual expert and practises clairvoyance in connection with the major deity Tangbe at his shrine. He is considered to be the mouthpiece of Tangbe. Further, he is a kind of wizard assisting the *Te* and helps him interpreting his dreams. He is able to see spirits, for instance the *finsange*. The *barbishwe* is from the Kumbeleb-Booken clan. Two weeks after the new moon, when the moon is half full, the *barbishwe* goes to the *Tangbe* shrine and asks *Tangbe* what the new month will bring for the Bangwinji. If bad events are coming, he asks what can be done to rectify it. *Finsange* are chased out, or better: lured away by the *barbishwe* and some elders of the Kweb clan by putting some cotton plant blossoms, a new unused calabash, eggs, garden egg and a fledgling at a place apart from all settlements. When the *finsange* come to take these items, they will be told where to go and they will disappear into this direction. The *finsange* may also be chased away by the ritual expert *niibwa*.

Spirits of the bush

Neetiye are multiple small spirits living in the bush, there are male and female ones. The *niibwa* may catch one and lock it into a horn. Hunters may also catch them to assist them in finding their prey. They live in cavities of trees, especially in mahogany trees. When caught they are fed with chicken blood, or with frog blood. There are some *neetiye* which prefer human blood, and when such a one is caught, it will be set free immediately before it can do any harm. When a *neetiye* does not get blood for drinking, it may attack a child, suck away the flesh, inflate the skin and hang it on the house. When one is plagued by a *neetiye/ninga*, the only way to get rid of it is to give it an impossible task, such as filling a pot with water by fetching it with a beer filter, or to collect a dispersed heap of sesame seeds one by one. Consequently, the *neetiye* will become desperate and run away.

When a *neetiye* has been caught and taken into the house and thus domesticated, it will be called *ninga*. It will return to the place where it was caught on the next day. On its return to the house one may ask it to whom it had bid farewell. It will reply that it was to his wife or to her husband and from this one may deduce its gender.

Ninga are the domesticated *neetiye*. In the possession of a *niibwa* I found a carved wooden sculpture with vaguely human features in which a *ninga* was said to live. The statue is used in detecting the cause of an



Photo 25: Wooden statue in which a male *neetiye* spirit resides.

illness. Because it looks similar to male *neetiye* spirits living in the wild, it attracts them when the *niibwa* handles the sculpture and they assist him in diagnosing and treating the patient. The *niibwa* sacrifices chicken blood and feathers to it. The *niibwa* has special pots with which he feeds the *neetiye* sculpture with blood. When the *ninga/neetiye* wants to accompany the *niibwa* to the bush to show him herbs and roots for a treatment, the spirit enters another object: a small stuffed animal called *shoole* (*damageere* H., a wild feline). A horn adorned with feathers and a pot with multiple necks are among the paraphernalia of the *niibwa*. The male *ninga/neetiye* spirit may enter and sleep in both objects. The female *ninga* spirit lives in double twin pots, but she will never enter the wooden sculpture. The sculpture shown in Photo 25 was carved by Bukar Kwangle's FaBr Kaama.

Feathers and blood are usually combined during rituals; feathers are often glued to cult objects with blood.

Finsange are dangerous spirits travelling with the wind and they are harmful for humans, causing whooping cough and smallpox. There are male and female *finsange*. They live in the bush and appear around December, but especially when there is heavy harmattan, they move to a salting in the vicinity of the town of Filiya to lick salt. In April, at the end of the dry season, they return and move to the east. When a cock is crowing in the night, it warns of *finsange* moving about and gives them the message to move away.

One reason why scarification/cicatrisation of the body is done is to prevent *finsange* from sucking away the flesh of a person and inflating the skin to hang it in a tree because the skin will be too porous with the cicatrisation. When, during the Lee festival the drums are beaten, they may as well attract the dangerous *finsange* and then it is the task of the ritual expert *niibwa* who is able to see them to keep them away. This is the task of a certain *niibwa* from the Shiyeb clan; at the time of research this was Lali. *Finsange* may also be driven away by the ritual expert *barbishwe*.

It is said that the spirit Lee is related to the *finsange* and, indeed, *finsange* and Lee would look alike, but *finsange* are wild creatures while Lee is domesticated. *Finsange* are of the category *leebwit* meaning "bad Lee".

Bwekelkele (Pl. *kelkeli*) (*iblis* or *sheitan* H.) is a kind of devil or evil spirit living in a subterranean environment, the female ones have the feet of a donkey and something tied to their legs. Devils take away the souls of humans. Devils dwell in perennial streams in thick forests, and the bigger the river the more devils are believed to live there.

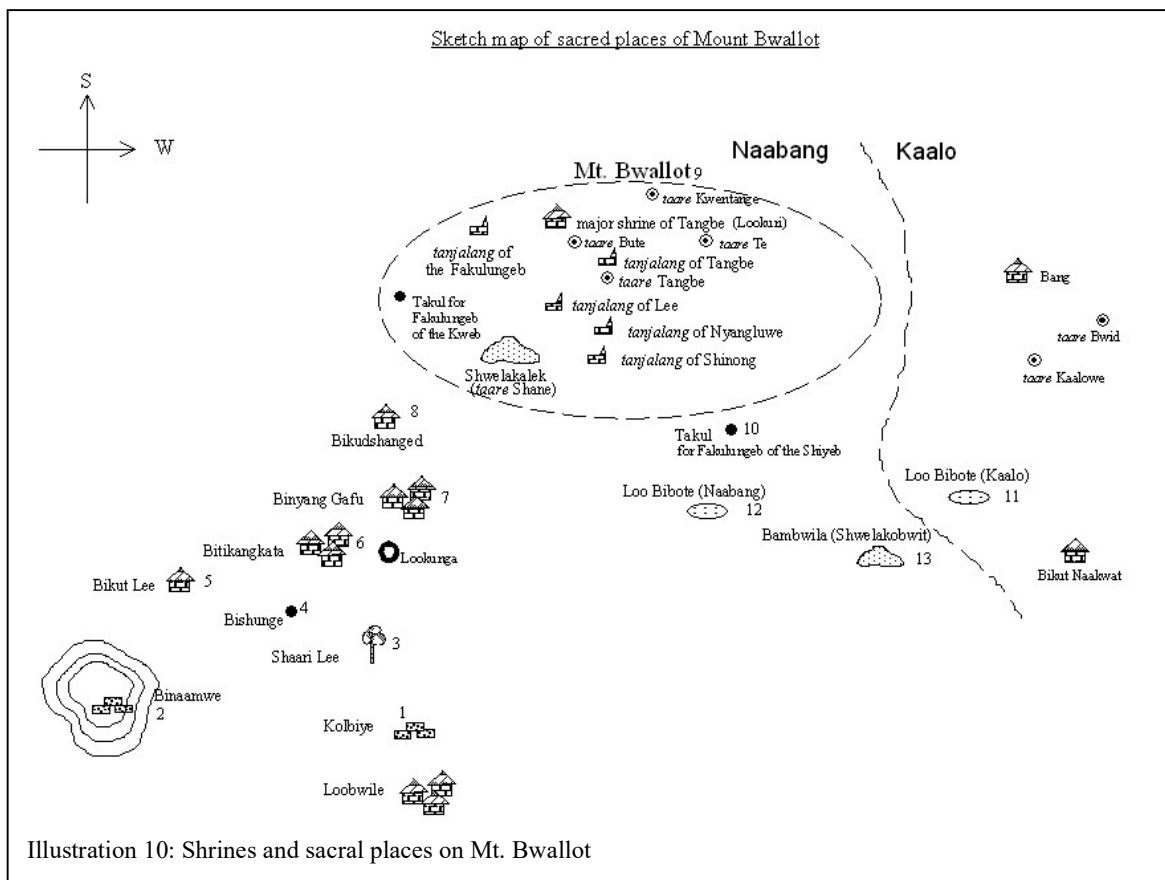
Ritual places and their owners

Place/Site	Owned by clan	Comment
Shaari Lee	Kweb Booken	
Lunge	Kweb Booken	
Bikut Lee	Kweb Booken	
Bikudshanged	Kumbeleb Booken	this is an off-shoot of <i>Naakwa</i> , dedicated to the corn spirit <i>wuuloshang</i>
Taare Shane	Dunglob	
Tanjalang Shinong	Shiyeb	
Tanjalang Nyangluwe	Kweb Booken	
Tanjalang Lee	Kweb-Warfuneb	
Taare Tangbe	Nakumeb	
Tanjalang Tangbe	Nakumeb	
Tanjalang Fakulungeb	Kweb-Batameb, Kulab-Dongtiyab	
Taare Bute	Kweb Booken	
Taare Te	Bishomeb-Doleneb	this clan also provides the <i>Te</i>
Lookwi	Nafuwab	place where the footprints of Tangbe are located
Taare Kwantange	Bikwaakleb Fiyer	
Takul	Shiyeb	
Loo Bibote (Naabang)	Nafuwab	this is the main Bibote site of the Naabang
Loo Bibote (Kaalo)	Terkwereb Booken	this is the main Bibote site of the Kaalo. The Kaalo shrine is the major Bibote shrine
Shwelakobwit	Terkwereb Booken	here Bibote was originally found
Bikut Naakwat	Bibangeb-Kwiyateb	
Taare Kaalowe	Bibangeb-Kumbeleb	
Taare Bwid	Terkwereb Booken	
Bang	Shunglob	

Additionally, there are Bibote sites of other clans which have been partly merged. The Kweb Booken, Mufwab and Nakwatreb clans have their *Loo* Bibote in Kaalo. *Taare* means dancing place: there are six *taare* Bibote (three in the Kaalo side, three in the Naabang side), one *taare* Tangbe (in Naabang), four *taare* Lee (two in the Kaalo side, two in the Naabang side), and one *taare* Bang (in Kaalo).

The clans responsible for a ritual site keep them clean and in order, and they receive the penalties paid for offences, for example, for trespassing on the site with shoes.

At Lookwi, the place where the footprints of Tangbe can be seen, there is a shrine-house surrounded by a drystone wall. There is also a small grove and inside the grove is a hole in which locusts live. This hole always has to be closed with a stone, otherwise there will be a locust plague. The Kumbeleb clan is responsible for this.



Explanatory notes on the sketch map:

1. Kolbiye: deserted settlement of the clans Bishomeb-Doleneb, Bikwakleb, Tobwiyob and Gumob.
2. deserted settlement place of the mysterious Nobneb people (cattle breeders who lived there before the Bangwinji arrived; they are said to have left the place immediately without fighting and moved to the south).
3. Shaari Lee: sacred grove where the deity Lee was found.
4. Bishunge hole: playing a crucial role during the Nyomlom celebration.
5. Bikut Lee: main shrine of Lee.
6. Lookunga: site for rain rituals, Bitikangkata is a hill settlement of the Kweb clan.
7. Binyang Gafu: hill settlement of the Kumbeleb-Yulumeb clan (from Dadiya), with a Naakwa shrine of the Naabang section, obtained from the Kaalo section.
8. shrine dedicated to the corn spirit *wuuloshang*.
9. on Mount Bwallow is the deserted settlement site of the Naabang section with numerous shrines:
 - *tanjalang* of the Fakulungeb who are from the clans Kulab and Kweb. The Fakulungeb were the ones who handled the heads of slain enemies
 - main *tanjalang* of Tangbe
 - Lookuri on Bitume hill, a place where the footprints of Tangbe are found in the rock when he descended from heaven, with enwalled main shrine-house of the Tangbe deity, cared for by the Na-kumeb clan. Next to it there is a small grove in which there is a hole where locusts live and which must always be closed with a stone, otherwise there will be a plague of locusts. The Kumbeleb clan is taking care of that
 - main *tanjalang* of Lee
 - main *tanjalang* of Nyangluwe spirits; taken care of by the Kweb clan

- main *tanjalang* of Shinong, which is the voice of the Bang deity and is taken care of by the Shiyeb clan
 - Shwelakalok is a rock on which the age groups (*kal*) climb and dance during the Lee celebrations, it may only be climbed at that time.
10. Takul, controlled by the Shiyeb clan, the Fakulungeb bring the skulls of their enemies there, where they are sunk into a deep hole in the rock. The heads of women and children are buried in the ground next to them.
 11. sacred site of Bibote deity of the Kaalo section in a dense grove.
 12. sacred site of Bibote deity of the Naabang section in a rocky place.
 13. Shwelakobwit: a rock associated with Bibote is located there, anyone climbing it will go become insane.

Ritual calendar

Tangbe takes place at the end of February. *Waabethen* starts seven days after the *Tangbe* festival. Ritual specialists go to the mountains and proclaim the period *shiwak waabek*, a period of peace lasting for thirty days when all conflicts must cease. On the 23rd day of that period they start brewing beer for the *waabe* ceremony. On the 27th day a hunt takes place; the spoils will be blessed on the second day of the festivities and a part is sacrificed to Bibote. The *waabe* ceremony proper takes place on the last day of the current and first day of the new month.

Then on the third day the brewing of beer for *naakwa* is started, and the *naakwa* celebration takes place seven days later with the dance *yela naakwak* which is performed every evening for one and a half months. After two months and seven days, beer is brewed for *Tangbe bishobe* ("small *tangbe*") and the ceremony is performed seven days later. Again, after seven days, ritual experts go to the mountain and declare another month of peace (*shiwak waabe miyele*). Nine days remain in that month, after these nine days plus twenty-three days of the new month have passed, beer is brewed and the ceremony *waabe miyele* of Bibote is celebrated for the rainy season.

If this year is a year of Lee within the period of seven years, then the *liya* Bibote will gather the priests of the different clans, (Kumbeleb, Kweb, Dwaleb, Muwab, Bibangeb), at Bibote's shrine (*loo* Bibote) and will announce that the timekeeper has counted and found that the time of Lee has come. The *liya Bibote* hands over a chicken to the *liya Lee* who will know whether Lee accepts it, and then *liya Bibote* tells *liya Tangbe* about Lee's acceptance. The chief *Te* of the Naabang section is informed by the *liya Bibote* that all conditions are fulfilled and that this year is the year of the Lee ceremony. The *Te* wishes them a good ceremony and the *liya Bibote* tells the timekeeper that he has counted well and all have accepted. Afterwards the *liya Bibote* goes to the *Te* of Kaalo and also informs him. On the day after, the *Te* takes a basket of beans to the *tanjalang* (shrine altar) of Lee in the mountains and puts it in the tree where four stones are situated. The *liya Lee* peels the shells from the beans, roasts them and immediately eats them while they are hot. If they were to be eaten cold they would cause madness. In the evening, members of the Shiyeb, Kweb, Bibangeb, Kumbeleb and Bishomeb-Fiyer clans go and fetch the carved figures representing Lee and place them at the dancing place. Men and women dance there this night, and for one month dances take place every night. When a new month has been reached, on the first day, beer is brewed by the members of the age grade (*kal*) who are going to be initiated this year. After six days the dance changes to the daytime, so that on the seventh day dancing takes place in daylight; this lasts for three days. Then it stops and the Lee sculptures are taken back to their shrine. Lee is symbolically sent away and for seven days it is forbidden to play a drum or the xylophone instrument *gilingilinge* to prevent Lee from coming back.

At the end of the lunar month, (between November and December), the ceremonies for Bang take place.

Table 9: Rituals in the annual cycle

Month	Annual ritual activity	Deity/spirit involved	Clans responsible	Comments
January				
February				
	<i>Tángbé</i>	Tangbe	Nakumbé	ensures fertility and prosperity
March	<i>Waabe</i>			starts 7 days after Tangbe
	<i>Shiwak waabek</i>			period of peace lasting 30 days
	Hunt starting on 27 th day			
April	<i>Waabe</i>	Bibote		festivity for Bibote; also, name giving for boys
	<i>Naakwa</i>			takes place before 1 st weeding
	<i>Yaare</i>	Bibote	Terkwereb, Bibangeb, Nafuwab and Gumob	only every 7 th year, after the Lee festival, lasts for 3 months (April-June)
May (<i>títíyá</i>)				
June (<i>bikwééri</i>)				
July (<i>bishíiné</i>)	<i>Tangbe bishobe</i>	Tangbe		"small" Tangbe
	<i>Shiwak waabe miyele</i>	Bibote		period of peace lasting for 30 days
August (<i>shwiirá</i>)	<i>Waabe miyele</i>	Bibote		
September (<i>shwiyak bee</i>)				
October (<i>shwiyak nee</i>)				
	<i>kal = Lee</i>	Lee	Kweb-Booken, Shiyeb-Booken	only every 7 th year
November (<i>títiya</i>)	<i>Nyomlom</i>	Lee	Kweb-Booken, Shiyeb-Booken	future predicted, calling Lee, allowing for harvest of corn. Especially for Naabang section.
	<i>Naakwa</i>	Lee	Bibangeb-Kwiyateb, Kumbeleb	harvest festival, similar to Nyomlom, but for the Kaalo section
	Ceremonies for Bang	Bang	Shunglob	Bang is the spirit of the mountain, ensures the fertility of men

Month	Annual ritual activity	Deity/spirit involved	Clans responsible	Comments
December	Yaare	Bibote	Terkwereb, Bibangeb, Nafuwab and Gumob	only every 7 th year, after Lee festival

The following illustration shows a series of years and in which years the *kal kunet*/*kal maalet* age groups have priority

6.	7.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Kal Maalet				Naakwa					Kal Kunet				Naakwa		Kal
	Yaare			kaakuke						Yaare			kaakuke		Maalet

In 1992 *waabe miyele* took place in late August, *kal* (=Lee) in October-November. After *kal*, the harvest of guinea corn takes place. Both years are for *kal kunet*. On the last day of the dance the *kal kunet* dancers who were initiated in these two years were symbolically sent away by the *kal maalet* dancers who will be initiated during the next festival after seven years have passed.

When there is lack of rain, a priest bearing the title *kalmuwe*, who always comes from the Nakwatreb clan, and some elders of the same clan go to **Lookunga** ("house of water spirit"), a site at Bitikangkata where stand two round, dry-stone walls, like two round huts built of stone with no roof. Here the attendants pray for rain, addressing the deity Bang and the high god Kwama. At the same time, people from Bangwinji, old and young, male and female go to Bituume to dance and engage in sham fights. Then the priest breaks the wall at Lookunga. He takes a stone and carries it to the Tangbe shrine, where he dances and prays for rain. The priest will repair the Lookunga wall when the rains are sufficient.

Although the Nafuwab clan is considered to be derived from a stream, they are not tasked with securing rain. But many *niibwa* are from Nafuwab and their spiritual virtues seem to be connected with their origin. There were two siblings from the Nafuwab clan, a boy called Bibelemi and a girl called Bidoni who had the power to stop the rain. Whenever there is lack of rain, the Bangwinji have to find out whether or not it is because their souls were disturbed. The *barbishwe* will ask the deity Tangbe at Bituume for the reason of lack of rain. If it is because of Bibelemi and Bidoni, then beer is put into a special pot on Bwallot Mountain to assuage the two. If it is because of any other reason and the spirit Bang is preventing the rain, then the Lookunga wall is pushed over. The Lookunga wall is so powerful that it will even start to rain when someone illegitimately removes a stone from it.

Headhunting

During times of war, the warrior who killed an enemy will receive his head. The heads were put into a rocky hole called *Shánggábà*; after three days they were taken to another deep hole in the rocks called *Tákúl*, where they were finally buried according to the ethnic origin of the slain enemy. The skulls of women and children were buried beside the Takul hole. The Takul site is under the control of the Shiyeb clan, because it is on their territory, and the members of this clan were the persons who ultimately buried the heads at Takul.

Fakulungeb (*Faagwe*, *Faakuwe*) is the name given to those warriors who were the only ones who could take care of the heads of slain enemies. Only the Kweb, Kulab-Bishuleb clans, (both in Naabang), and

Shunglob clan (in Kaalo) were *Fakulungeb*. The special position of the Shiyeb clan in this context derives from their being the owners of the Takul site.

All other clans, when having captured a head, gave it to the *Fakulungeb*. The clans of the Naabang section gave their heads to the clans Kweb and Kulab, the clans of the Kaalo section to the Shunglob clan.

The *Fakulungeb* consumed the heads after having cooked them. The warrior who had slain the enemy receives a twig from the locust bean tree which is tied around his head; he also carries a branch of the locust bean tree during the two days of dances as a sign of his bravery. For two days the warriors will sleep at the place with the *Fakulungeb* where they celebrate the victory. The victorious warrior chooses a girl from his clan which he likes best and she will sprinkle *ngaashe* (guinea corn) flour on him.

On the third day, the *Fakulungeb* cook the heads and eat the meat. Because of their position as owners of the Takul site, the Shiyeb clan is entitled to receive a part of the slain head, for example an ear. The Kulab, being assistants of the *liya* Faakuwe, receive the lower jaw.

A horn (*shume*) is blown and the skull is taken to Takul and buried. A long stone is erected on the site.

Should the spirit of the slain person return to disturb the warrior, then millet beer (*burkutu* H.) is sacrificed at this stone. One may also trap that spirit and confine it in a clay pot which is put up in the compound. Whenever beer is brewed, some of the first brew is sacrificed to the spirit in the pot. The skulls of hunted hyenas and leopards are also buried in a rock cave at Takul.

After the killing of a human being, two lines, one with red ochre and one with charcoal, are made on the forehead of the warrior. The first water he drinks after the killing will be a concoction of ash or soot and water in order to oust the smell of blood. The enemy's blood would otherwise harm him. During the two days he spends with the *Fakulungeb*, a piece of charcoal is placed on his food in order to prevent the soul of the slain enemy from spoiling it.

Head-hunting ceased with the advent of the British; from this time onwards, the heads of hunted leopards were handled in the rituals instead.

The *Fakulungeb* will take the left hand of the slain enemy and hang it on their fig tree. The fat dripping out of the hand is collected and when a truce is made with the enemy, that fat will be mixed with the food consumed together.

Miscellanea

There is a kind of 'gold' that just happens to come out of the ground, just like that. It is dangerous and before it may be utilised, it has to be buried under a footpath for two to three years, otherwise it will cause a skin disease looking like leprosy. The movement of people on the path takes away the hazardousness of that 'gold'. When collecting it, it has to be wrapped in a black cloth and then put into a clay pot.

There is another kind that is silver-looking, and it is used to produce rings and bracelets which are worn by women during the *tangbe* celebrations and other ritual activities. Another, white looking kind, is used for the decoration of dance headgear (*needuwe*). Both latter types, when hung in a room, will enlighten it.

No object lying on a path is taken by a passer-by, especially when it is something of value. The object may have been put there by someone suffering from a disease and this person, in order to get rid of the disease, may have transferred his disease to the object. By picking it up one may catch that disease. For instance, a swollen eye or swollen armpit may be healed by touching it with groundnuts and then putting the nuts on a path. Anyone taking and eating those groundnuts will catch the disease.

Constant dizziness is healed by burning leaves from the *tii tellii* or *tii bishake* plants in the middle of a path.

Anyone striding over this ash takes away a part of the sickness.

In general, someone suffering from a disease caused by witchcraft can get rid of this disease by transferring it to another person by striding over that person.

Cockerels do lay eggs; however, the eggs are small and infertile and will not produce fledglings. The cock prepares a nest and will lay his eggs inside either before or after the hen.

Water is seen as being brought by the mystic snake *jim*, be it water from a borehole or from a stream; all this water has its source in the mountain and therefore is connected with *jim*. A menstruating woman, as well as a woman up to three months after having giving birth, may not fetch water from a water source, and no water may be fetched with her containers. After menstruation has started, seven days have to pass until the woman is allowed to fetch water again, otherwise the flow of water is disturbed and the source may even dry up. This also applies when fetching water from a river, and a menstruating woman may also not bathe in the river. A pregnant woman, however, may fetch water from a source.

The container used for fetching water from a source may only be a calabash or plastic container, never a metal bucket, this would disturb *jim*. The greater the distance of the water place to *jim*, the more lax the regulations apply.

Persons suffering from leprosy or an infectious disease may not fetch water and are isolated in the bush - relatives will fetch their water for them.

The community using a source has to take care of it and keep it clean. Should the flow of water diminish, it is a sign that *jim* has been disturbed. The *bibote* priest and his assistant will chew locust bean leaves together with *pito* beer and spit it into the water as a sacrifice.

Other animals associated with water are tortoises, frogs and crocodiles. An especially large tortoise ensures the flow of water from sources and *jim* used to put his head on her back. Frogs call the rain out of their own will without being manipulated. A crocodile keeps the steady flow of water like *jim* and tortoises. No creatures may be caught in a spring, be it fish, frog or tortoise, otherwise it will dry up; creatures may only be caught in rivers.

A method for calling rain is to bury an insect, a weevil called *kuuka* (*Curculionidae*) and dance around that place singing. This will attract rain because the insect will call the rain. Another method for attracting rain is to place a calabash with water in a field.

Lightning will only strike witches or someone having sworn an oath wrongly.

Women are considered as inferior to males and there are many tales representing this rationale:

It had been the wish of the chameleon that the dead would resurrect, and god granted this wish. Therefore, after seven days, a dead person came back from his grave and lived again. One day, a man died and when he was resurrected and went back to his house, his wife complained that now she has wept for him, how could he come back, she did not want to live with him anymore. He went into the bush and from that time there was no resurrection any more.

In the past, the stone *yuwel* (igneous rock), which is used to burnish grinding stones, ground flour by itself without human intervention. The woman just had to put *yuwel* on a calabash filled with corn and go to the farm and on her return the flour was ready ground. One day an idle woman, who did not want to work on the farm, stayed at home to grind the flour herself and from that time all women have to grind their flour by using their own hands.

Taboos

No Bangwinji may kill a lion, for the lion is considered to be like a brother to the Bangwinji, sharing his quarry with them. Misfortune and death would occur should a lion be killed.¹⁷

There is a small bird *bilóblè* ("white man's bird"), described as having a horn, which may also not be killed because it is closely associated with Lee and arrived together with this deity. Anyone killing the bird will die after seven years.

In addition, a snake (*tàlówé*) described as having three or four heads may not be killed. The big grasshopper *kwàkfitómé* may not be eaten for it will cause a cough. A cough is associated with Lee.

The abovementioned taboos apply to all Bangwinji.

Members of the Shunglob clan may not kill a python or a puff adder because these snakes are associated with Bang, and Bang's priests are recruited from the Shunglob clan.

Some animals may only be eaten by men and are forbidden for women: monkeys, baboons, wild cats, jackals and snakes. In short, ungulates may be consumed by both sexes, animals with paws and claws only by men. In the past, women were not allowed to eat birds, guinea fowl or chicken, and only with the advent of Christianity were women allowed to eat fowl.

It is believed that eating too much chicken or goat meat causes leprosy.

The left hand is considered unclean, and to hand over something with the left hand is detestable. While it may be excusable for a man to use it incidentally, a woman may never do it.

Menstruating women may not fetch water and, as a rule, they will not cook food. During the time of menstruation, another woman will take over the task, be it a sister or a daughter.

¹⁷ The Dadiya share the taboo of killing a lion with the Jukun: "Otherwise there is a more or less formal punishment for killing a lion [among the Jukun]" E.H.O. Keates, A.D.O. 'Anthropological Notes on the Jukon Tribe', SNP 9 - 3137/1921.

Epilogue

In 2021, Sarkin Bangunji Sulei Yerima informed me about the current developments of the Bangwinji: During his time as Village Head/District Head, the following improvements in the infrastructure were initiated:

1. Bangunji police station established at Mar in 1995.
2. The village has a government Secondary Day School at Mar Loobwiile, founded in 1997.
3. The village has a maternity clinic at Mar, founded in 1999.
4. Community Health Centre at Yiro hamlet in Kaalo, founded in 2006.
5. UBE Secondary School at Kaalo in the Yiro hamlet, founded in 2007.
6. UBE Secondary School at Galdimaru founded in 2008.
7. There is a tarred road from Filiya to Kushi, Burak and Bangunji, built in 2011.
8. Bangunji market is at Mar (Loobwiile ward), market day is Monday, established in 2017.

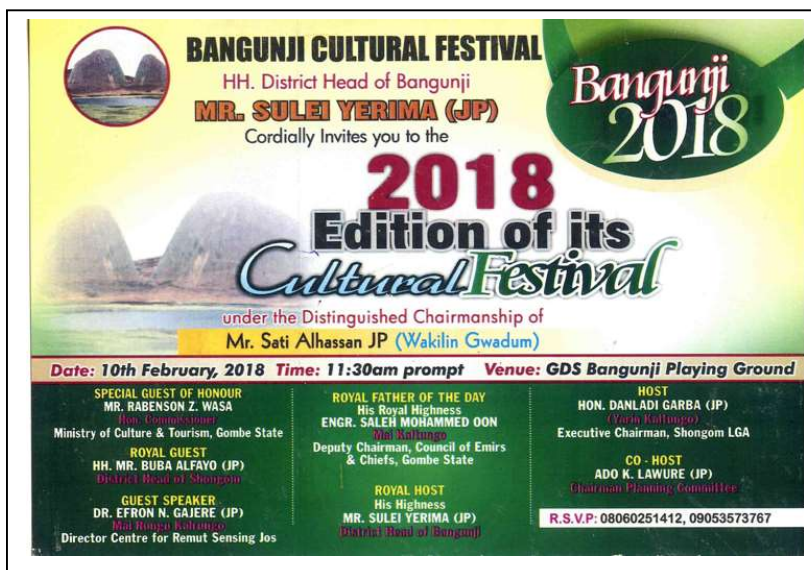
More primary schools opened in Najeje, Lokul/Dejam, Banguk, Lamba and Bifikum, in addition to the old ones at Bangunji and Kaalo.

In 2005, Bangunji village was promoted to district level, and, accordingly, the Village Head Sulei Yerima was promoted to the rank of District Head by Mohamed Danjuma Goje, executive Governor of Gombe State.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Bangunji has festivals such as Lee, Wabe, Yaare, Tangbe, Naakuwa and Bang. In order to promote the local culture of the Bangwinji, Sarkin Bangunji Sulei Yerima created “Bangunji Day” which started in the year 2015 on February 14th, and took place in the subsequent years: February 13th, 2016, February 11th, 2017 and February 10th, 2018.

Every second week of February is now observed by the Bangunji people as “Bangunji Day”. On that day the Bangunji people will come out dressed in their traditional attire and display their cultural heritage, such as hoes, axes, spears and various other objects in use locally. Dances are performed clan by clan; there is



traditional cooking, food, beer, etc.

Many people come from the neighbouring settlements to witness the festival; for instance, from Kamo, Awak and Tula. The chairman of “Bangunji Day” is Mr Ado Lawure, Director (rtd), Gombe State Sports Council.

The present *Te* of Naabang is Dangombe Yila and that of Kaalo is Lofiri Were. The present time keeper is Ishaku

Lom; after Lom Kwasham had died and Ahmadu Lautangle, his successor, also died. The present *Iiya* Naakwa is Kitau Yalbuti.

Glossary¹⁸

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>àdááshà</i>	work gang composed of women on a neighbourhood basis	
<i>àntàró</i>	large work group of mixed gender on a clan basis	
<i>bameen</i> <i>barbishwe</i>	red-flowered silk cotton ritual expert, can see spirits and is connected with deity <i>tangbe</i>	Bombax costatum
<i>belebe</i>	spirit of a dead person and assistant of <i>niibwa</i> , also a bird	
<i>béné</i>	sp. type of marriage: a girl marrying for the 1 st time; also, a calabash for sowing	
<i>bεεε</i>	velvet leaf, vine sp.	<i>cifiya</i> (H.),? [<i>jibjar kasa</i> : Cis-sampelos mucronata]
<i>bibeng naakwa</i>	drum for Nakwa	
<i>bibote</i>	one of the deities of the Bangwinji	
<i>bidenget</i>	white chalky stone	
<i>bidiklé</i>	calabash used for drinking beer	
<i>bidigilε tεε</i>	spoon calabash	one of the regalia of the <i>Te</i>
<i>bidilya</i>	ceremonial staff of office of the <i>Te</i>	one of the regalia of the <i>Te</i>
<i>biduged</i>	rubber plant sp.	<i>shaa da wuka</i> (H.)
<i>biken</i>	small magic clay pot with pellets on the outside, connected with <i>naakwa</i>	
<i>bìikùlén</i>	3 rd burial	
<i>bìikulen</i>	praise-songs, usually addressing warriors	
<i>bikut</i>	small house for goats, but also for spirits	
<i>bikut lee</i>	shrine of Lee	
<i>bìikùtùng kùtùngè</i>	1 st burial	
<i>bikwaakama</i>	desert date or pigeon pea	<i>aduwaa</i> (H.): Balanites aegyptiaca, Cajanus cajan <i>kookon biri</i> (H.), Oncoba spinosa
<i>bikwantuulen</i>	snuff-box tree	
<i>bìkwààrí</i>	funnel-shaped calabash	
<i>bikwéérí</i>	approx. June	
<i>biilitikwin</i>	sp. flute	
<i>bilaare</i>	macramé	
<i>bìlòblè, belable</i>	sp. bird	"white man's bird"
<i>bìlòórè</i>	sickle	
<i>biluure</i>	sp. drinking calabash	regalia for the <i>Te</i>
<i>bímè</i>	terrace	
<i>bìshííné</i>	trad. month approx. July	
<i>bishuule</i>	sp. flute of Lee	
<i>bishumε</i>	shrew	
<i>bishunge</i>	sp. hole in the rock used for divination	regarded as a window to mythical place of origin Limi
<i>bìiyé</i>	razorblade	
<i>boore</i>	small termite hill of harmless termites	
<i>bulo</i>	ghost	
<i>buri</i>	morning	<i>safe</i> (H.)
<i>buukang</i>	gratefulness	
<i>buumwen-kang</i>	gratefulness	
<i>bwekekele</i>	devil	
<i>bwéé kwang kwale te</i>	assistant to the <i>Te</i>	<i>sarkin al adar</i> (H.)
<i>bwéé kwang kwale</i>	assistant, also best man at marriage	
<i>bwéé kwáng kwáλε liya</i>	assistant of Lee priest	
<i>lee</i>		

¹⁸ H. = Hausa term, e. = ε, o. = ɔ

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>bwé kwáng kwáɛ liya</i> <i>naakwa</i>	assistant of liya Naakwa	
<i>bwi</i>	physical body (without soul)	
<i>bwilee</i>	elephant grass	<i>Pennisetum purpureum</i>
<i>bwiyem</i>	potash	
<i>bwel</i>	spirit/soul of a dead, ancestral spirit	teaches praise singers songs
<i>bwoken</i>	real, true	
<i>cumet</i>	divination to diagnose the cause of a disease	
<i>cuwe</i>	local salt obtained from river banks	
<i>cuwek nawok</i>	jujube tree	<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i>
<i>dágèn</i>	black lustrous stone	Pyrite?, used for detecting witches
<i>dàltómed</i>	pestle	
<i>dikero bwit</i>	evil	
<i>dóktàná</i>	rope made of bark and/or root of a baobab tree	
<i>dongdongi</i>	tamarind tree	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>
<i>dongtiya</i>	African pied wagtail	<i>Motacilla guimp</i>
<i>dúká cóká táámàk</i>	long strip of bark, used during processing of tobacco	
<i>dùm</i>	clan	
<i>duume</i>	soul	a soul that may be reborn
<i>duoka</i>	cancellation of the <i>fangka</i> -payment by mutual obligation	
<i>fakulungeb, faakuwe</i>	sp. clans taking ritual care of the heads of slain enemies	
<i>faaluwe</i>	sp. grass used for roofing	<i>koota</i> (H.),? or <i>kansuuwaa</i> (H.), <i>Pennisetum polystachyon</i> & <i>P. pedicellatum</i> , <i>P. subangustum</i>
<i>fangka</i>	payment from father to clan of mother of his children to waive this clan's claims on the children	
<i>fatara</i>	fig tree	<i>ceediyaa</i> (H.), <i>Ficus thonningii</i>
<i>faati</i>	bamboo	<i>goora</i> (H.), <i>Oxytenanthera abyssinica</i>
<i>fára wáábè</i>	sp. hunt connected with <i>waabe</i> celebration	
<i>fing</i>	prayer	
<i>finsange</i>	malign wind spirits	
<i>fiyaawe</i>	sp. tree	<i>kurna karama</i> (H.); <i>kurna</i> : <i>Ziziphus spina-christi</i> , Christ's thorn
<i>fiyebwid</i>	dumping ground for twins and other babies born unusually	also, burial place for the <i>liya</i> Bibote
<i>foyi</i>	wild plum tree	see <i>fuwai</i>
<i>fuwai</i>	blood plum tree	<i>jinin kaafuri</i> (H.), <i>Haematostaphis barteri</i>
<i>fuwed</i>	minimal patrilineal lineage, encompasses all descendants of one father, irrespective of their mothers	
<i>gao</i>	<i>Faidherbia albida</i> tree	<i>gaawoo</i> (H.)
<i>golkwe</i>	guinea corn sp.	
<i>jim</i>	mystic snake providing water	
<i>jingè</i>	ceremonial sickle	resembling the Egyptian <i>heqa</i> -scepter or -crook
<i>jonga yooli</i>	ritual clay pot of <i>niibwa</i> with multiple necks	
<i>kaakok</i>	day, forenoon	<i>raana</i> (H.)
<i>kàakwók náákwoàk</i>	festival of washing of <i>naakwa</i> with beer	
<i>kàl</i>	age group	

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>kalkumed</i>	silk-cotton tree	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
<i>kalmuwe</i>	priest responsible for rain ritual	
<i>kán</i>	dry season	
<i>káng</i>	lineage, sub-division of a clan	for example: Bishomeb-Doleneb
<i>karjed</i>	deleb palm	<i>giginya</i> (H.), <i>Borassus aethiopicum</i>
<i>karma</i>	ritual expert	responsible for observing the behaviour of twin babies and possibly for killing them
<i>kènbwé</i>	bracelet for children	
<i>kerkere</i>	big termite hill	
<i>kíikàdúré</i>	4 th burial	
<i>kímérá kúshèt</i>	trad. iron money	
<i>klii</i>	songs, can be for praise or abuse	
<i>kɔɔbe binet</i>	cover made of woven grass around the wall of granary	
<i>kɔlbɛ taama</i>	plot for rearing tobacco seedlings	
<i>koltokɛ</i>	tobacco pipe	
<i>kóólè</i>	calabash for carrying beer to the farm	
<i>kóólì</i>	main shrine of Bibote	
<i>kuuka</i>	weevil	Curculionidae
<i>kula</i>	cry of a chicken	
<i>kulen</i>	sword for cutting off heads	
<i>kúlúúré</i>	sp. type of marriage: a girl marrying for the 3 rd time, also a small round calabash with a lid	
<i>kum</i>	to block	
<i>kume</i>	night	
<i>kunga</i>	water spirit	
<i>kura nene</i>	kraal, pen	
<i>kutiliri</i>	sp. tree, <i>Detarium senegalense</i>	
<i>kuturu</i>	during a hunt the person who is the third to hit the quarry	
<i>kwàkfitómé</i>	sp. large locust	
<i>kwama</i>	high god, creator	
<i>kwaamakyam</i>	midday, from 12.00-15.00hrs	<i>ajaad</i> (H.)
<i>kwaamange</i>	sp. annual meeting of men and women of one clan for consumption of beer and food	
<i>kwaamangene</i>	noon	<i>shaabiyu</i> (H.)
<i>kwambulúm liya</i>	sp. wooden bench	regalia of the <i>Te</i>
<i>kwantalange</i>	beans sp.	bean with a curled pod
<i>kwarom</i>	millet	
<i>kweb</i>	red stone used for preparing coloured powder	
<i>kwèlbiyá</i>	sp. type of marriage: a girl marrying for the 2 nd time, also a calabash with a metal handle	
<i>kwekwe</i>	red ochre	
<i>Kwèltééné</i>	sp. type of marriage: a girl marrying for the 4 th time, also a broken and repaired calabash	
<i>kwera</i>	period of one year a wife stays with her husband after marriage	
<i>kweshang</i>	unfertile land	
<i>kwiinaawiye</i>	elopement marriage or secondary marriage	
<i>kwirukɛ</i>	2 nd burial	
<i>kwiyé nyine</i>	sp. kind of millet beer	<i>pito</i> (H.)

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>lablaba</i>	clearing a farm with assistance by an age group <i>nyángá kàlè</i>	
<i>latea</i>	sp. stone	
<i>lee</i>	one of the deities of Bangwinji	
<i>leefuwe</i>	sacral bundle consisting of feathers and leather dedicated to the Lee spirit	see also <i>neefuwe</i>
<i>lɛlum</i>	bean sp.	<i>waakee</i> (H.), vigna sp.
<i>lèwù táámà</i>	dried tobacco leaves	
<i>liira</i>	flute	
<i>liya</i>	priest	
<i>liya bíbótè</i>	priest of Bibote	
<i>liya lɛɛ</i>	priest of Lee	
<i>loo</i>	normal house used by humans	
<i>loobren</i>	pumpkin	
<i>loomar</i>	wild custard apple tree	<i>Annona senegalensis</i>
<i>loo nɛ</i>	mother's side	
<i>loo tɛ</i>	father's side	
<i>loowebitɛ, loobwitɛ</i>	subterranean town of the dead	"earth house"
<i>maawalka</i>	servant	
<i>mee</i>	evening	15.00hrs until dusk; <i>yamma</i> (H.)
<i>miilak</i>	rainy season	
<i>mó.tóntóónè.</i>	sp. trumpet, played during Nyomlom festival	
<i>mulluwe</i>	co-resident family living in one homestead	
<i>mwa</i>	to start a fire	
<i>mwát táámát</i>	tobacco cone	
<i>nabwab</i>	divinator, soothsayer	
<i>nafuleneb</i>	idol worshipper, adherent of traditional religion	
<i>nang kushange</i>	bushpig	"meat of shield"
<i>nashang lange</i>	sp. harmless snake	
<i>nawe bune</i>	a widow marrying a man from a clan different to the one of her deceased husband	
<i>náwé kwàlè</i>	levirate, a widow marrying a man from the same clan as her deceased husband	
<i>nééduwe</i>	sp. headdress	worn during <i>tangbe-</i> and <i>le-</i> dances
<i>nééfùwɛɛ</i>	sacral bundle consisting of feathers and leather dedicated to the Lee spirit	see also <i>leefuwe</i>
<i>neetiye or ninga</i>	a spirit assisting a <i>niibwa</i>	may be dangerous and suck blood
<i>níibwàa, niibuwa (pl. nobwob)</i>	herbalist, traditional healer and spiritual expert	
<i>niidwee</i>	the first person to hit the quarry during a hunt	
<i>ninga</i>	(see <i>neetiye</i>)	
<i>níínúré</i>	war leader	come from the clan Bishomeba Fiyer
<i>níishwélè</i>	assistant of <i>le</i> priest	
<i>niifiyele</i>	the second person to hit the quarry during a hunt	
<i>níishwíyákè</i>	"keeper of the month", expert responsible for the traditional calendar	
<i>niya kwamet</i>	non-alcoholic beverage	like thick <i>kunnu</i>
<i>nobnuureb</i>	warrior clan	
<i>num</i>	cactus	
<i>nuwene</i>	grinding songs	

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>nyangluwe</i>	spirits of Bang	they are many, looking like small pigs or cats
<i>nyángá kàlè</i>	work-group on basis of age group	
<i>nyanga long</i>	large work-group based on wage labour	
<i>nyangshange</i>	sp. dagger with several jags (usually five) at the end of the handle, award for a good warrior	
<i>nyaye</i>	sp. pieces of iron (1 long, 1 round) representing Bibote	
<i>nyòmlóm</i>	sp. ritual in November divining the coming year	
<i>nyom muwaakaabilebek</i>	divination	
<i>shámí</i>	face marks	
<i>shàng</i>	wooden stick for stirring beer	
<i>shààrí</i>	wicker basket	
<i>shekrima</i>	deleb palm	<i>giginya</i> (H.), <i>Borassus aethiopicum</i>
<i>shinong nakwa</i>	hoe used for <i>Naakwa</i>	
<i>shod</i>	year	
<i>shùk</i>	filter	
<i>shombiya</i>	sp. shrub	<i>ramaa</i> (H.), <i>Hibiscus cannabinus</i>
<i>shonukod</i>	co-resident family, patrilineal relatives	
<i>shume</i>	horn trumpet	
<i>shumte</i>	sp. long stones with ritual significance	
<i>shuwe</i>	sieve	
<i>shwááyé</i>	leather purse	
<i>shwiirà</i>	ca. August	
<i>shwiyak bε</i>	ca. September	
<i>shwiyak nε</i>	ca. October	
<i>soole, shoole</i>	wild feline	<i>damageere</i> (H.)
<i>súngè</i>	sp. hole used by the Kweb clan to divine the future	
<i>swanea</i>	witch	
<i>taacama</i>	sp. tree	<i>Anogeissus leiocarpus</i>
<i>tààlè.</i>	slingshot	
<i>taare</i>	dancing place	
<i>taktiyek</i>	wooden stick for stirring porridge	
<i>talashut</i>	sp. clay pot	
<i>talen</i>	sp. grass	<i>shibcii</i> (H.), <i>Andropogon</i> sp.
<i>tàlòwé</i>	sp. snake	
<i>táámà</i>	tobacco pulp	
<i>tángbé</i>	one of the deities of Bangwinji	
<i>táγγélángè</i>	spindle	
<i>tanjalang</i>	shrine or altar made of stacked dry stones	
<i>té</i>	sp. type of marriage: a girl marrying for the 5 th time; also, piece of freshly skinned leather	
<i>tè</i>	traditional chief	each section (Naabang & Kaalo) has one
<i>tébé dùwàré</i>	assistant of <i>té</i>	
<i>tékyáγγék</i>	wooden stick for stirring sauces	
<i>tén táámà</i>	wooden mortar for pounding tobacco	
<i>tεεshi</i>	black plum tree	<i>dinyaa</i> (H.), <i>Vitex doniana</i>
<i>tii bamjen</i>	silk-cotton tree	<i>riimin jaji</i> (H.), <i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
<i>tii bentum</i>	baobab	<i>Andansonia digitata</i>
<i>tii bikungli</i>	karaya gum tree	<i>Sterculia setigera</i>
<i>tii bishake</i>	sp. shrub	<i>runfu</i> (H.), <i>Cassia singueana</i>
<i>tii brèm</i>	locust tree	<i>doorawa</i> (H.), <i>Parkia biglobosa</i>

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>tii bwaayili</i>	African rosewood	<i>madoobiiyaa</i> (H.), <i>Pterocarpus erinaceus</i>
<i>tii cingcinge</i>	false locust tree	<i>kiryaa</i> (H.), <i>Prosopis Africana</i>
<i>tíí fààsháng</i>	shea tree	<i>kadanya</i> (H.), <i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>
<i>tìí fáátrá</i>	fig tree	<i>ceediyaa</i> (H.), <i>Ficus thonningii</i>
<i>tii fiti</i>	mahogany	<i>Khaya senegalensis</i>
<i>tii fiyaawe</i>	sp. tree	<i>kurna karama</i> (H.); <i>kurna</i> : <i>Ziziphus spina-christi</i> , Christ's thorn
<i>tii kange</i>	fan palm	<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>
<i>tii kuuni</i>	sp. tree	<i>jarmana</i> (H.),?
<i>tii kwanglang</i>	heart leaved fig	<i>Ficus polita</i>
<i>tii kyau</i>	false locust tree	<i>kiryaa</i> (H.), <i>Prosopis Africana</i> . But see also <i>tii cingcinge</i>
<i>tii maalu</i>	wild custard apple	<i>Annona senegalensis</i>
<i>tii nabu</i>	African peach	<i>tafaashiiya</i> (H.), <i>Nauclea derrichii</i>
<i>tii shoorom</i>	shea tree	<i>kadanya</i> (H.), <i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>
<i>tii shaushau/ tii shiushi-uwe</i>	sp. tree	<i>kaikayii</i> (H.), <i>Parinari polyandrum</i> , or <i>Tephrosia</i> sp
<i>tii shuubi</i>	sp. tree	<i>gamji</i> (H.), <i>Ficus platyphylla</i>
<i>tii shuwela</i>	copaiba balsam tree	<i>maaje</i> (H.), <i>Daniellia oliveri</i>
<i>tii telii</i>	sp. plant	<i>tumarafa</i> (H.),? [<i>duman raafii</i> : <i>Ipomoea asarifolia</i>]
<i>tífúwé</i>	African civet	
<i>títíyá</i>	May (start of farming season), but also November (end of farming season)	
<i>tók</i>	special relationship between clans	
<i>tók tiimana</i>	sp. relationship with groups outside the Bangwinji	
<i>tom kang</i>	family labour or individual labour	
<i>tóórɛ</i>	shrub sp.	<i>dargazaa</i> (H.), <i>Grewia mollis</i>
<i>tunka</i>	bean sp.	<i>waakee</i> (H.), <i>Vigna</i> sp.
<i>tutumi</i>	fig tree	<i>gamji</i> (H.), <i>Ficus ovata</i>
<i>tuure</i>	shrub sp.	<i>Grewia bicolor</i>
<i>wààbé, wáábè</i>	festival of Bibote	
<i>waabe kane</i>	sp. hunt connected with <i>waabe</i> celebration	see also <i>fara waabe</i>
<i>walki</i>	broken calabash	
<i>wer belebet</i>	clay pot with multiple necks	inside lives a <i>belebet</i> spirit
<i>wulan</i>	West African ebony	<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>
<i>wuulo</i>	spirit of a human, kind of second ego	
<i>wuulo shang</i>	spirit of corn	
<i>yaa</i>	sp. spear, given to a child during his initiation to the Bibote cult	
<i>yaabeele/ yaafubed</i>	horseradish tree	<i>zoogale</i> (H.), <i>Moringa oleifera</i>
<i>yaare</i>	important festival for Bibote, taking place every 7 th year	
<i>yari</i>	cult in the possession of the clan Kweb Booken	the cult helps persons who are confused and disoriented
<i>yayile</i>	sp. grass with strong stems	<i>karangiiyaa</i> (H.), <i>Cenchrus ciliaris</i>
<i>yen</i>	broom	
<i>yimbishirín</i>	ritual behaviour after the death of one's first spouse	
<i>yiimuwe</i>	brother	
<i>yufimi</i>	yam, its leaves are symbols of peace	<i>farin ganyee</i> (H.), <i>Dioscorea</i> sp.

Bangwinji	Gloss	Comment
<i>yuwel</i>	stone (igneous rock) used for polishing grinding stones	

Agricultural Plants

Bangwinji	Hausa	English	scientific name	comments
<i>aleehu</i>	<i>alayyafoo</i>	waterleaf	<i>Amaranthus caudatus</i>	
<i>bidem</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	grows laterally
<i>bidem bofiyed</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	grows vertically, red seeds
<i>bidem tongong</i>	<i>gujiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	
<i>bikaate</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>	
<i>bini bitane</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	
<i>bishwara</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	wild variety
<i>bobola</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	white corn
<i>bogshange</i>	<i>masaraa</i>	maize	<i>Zea mays</i>	
<i>bulli kand</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	short, small
<i>bulli kwen</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	short, big
<i>bulli miyele</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	early ripening
<i>bulli shwimet</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	long, big
<i>bulli suwakiya</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	late ripening
<i>bulli yare</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>	short, small
<i>bwaarangi</i>	<i>guna</i>	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	smaller than katay
<i>bwenduule</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame/beniseed	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	short, flat, brown seed
<i>fid</i>	<i>gujiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	
<i>fur</i>	<i>gujiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	
<i>fuwan</i>	<i>gwaazaa</i>	cocoyam	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>	
<i>gani</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	grows vertically
<i>golkwe</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	white corn, late ripening
<i>gwaba</i>	<i>gweebaa</i>	guava	<i>Psidium guajava</i>	
<i>gwanda</i>	<i>gwanda</i>	pawpaw	<i>Carica papaya</i>	
<i>indian</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>	white
<i>kaawe</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame/beniseed	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	white seed
<i>kanjelang</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	red, early ripening
<i>katay</i>	<i>guna</i>	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	big
<i>kolod</i>	<i>audugaa</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>	
<i>kwantalange</i>	<i>kanannado</i>	beans		curly variety
<i>kwarbiyud</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	long, big

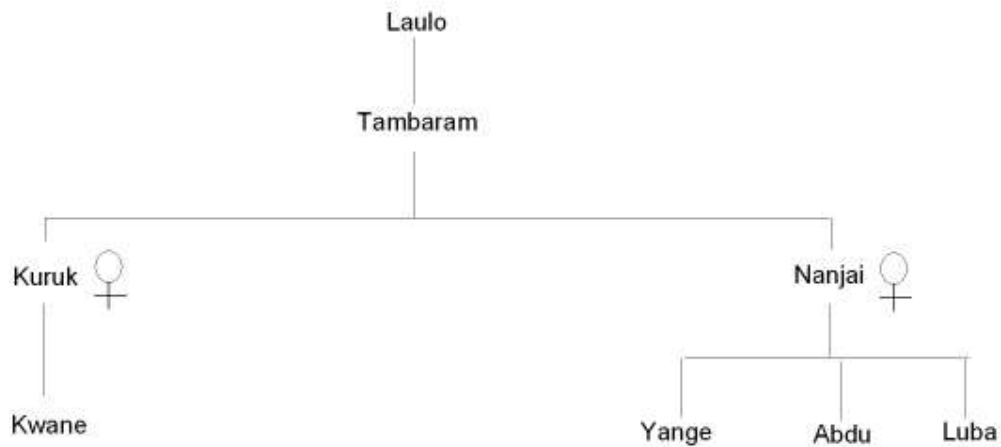
Bangwinji	Hausa	English	scientific name	comments
<i>kwarom</i>	<i>maiwaa</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	late ripening
<i>kwarum miyele</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	pearl millet/bulrush millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	late ripening
<i>kwele</i>	<i>kwaryaa</i>	bottle gourd	<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i>	
<i>kwiile</i>	<i>karkashii</i>	sesame/beniseed	<i>Ceratotherca sesamoides</i>	black seed
<i>laabote dud</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>	big
<i>laabote fuwan</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>	small
<i>labren nannguwa</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	rough shell
<i>lakaamwe</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame/beniseed	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>	grey seed
<i>layaba</i>	<i>ayaba</i>	banana	<i>Musa sapientum</i>	
<i>leelum</i>	<i>waakee</i>	beans	<i>vigna sp.</i>	straight and black
<i>moduwe</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	pearl millet/bulrush millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	early ripening
<i>nabitob</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>	red
<i>nεεwura</i>	<i>acca</i>	fonio	<i>Digitaria exilis</i>	hunger rice
<i>ngaace, ngaashe</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	red corn, late ripening
<i>niyi bwatiye</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	
<i>nyetete</i>	<i>gujiyyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	
<i>sakaba</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>	red shell, white kernel
<i>sam</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	
<i>shekabuhu</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>	short plant
<i>taama fiyed</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana rustica;</i> <i>N. tabacum</i>	red flowering
<i>taama fuwod</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana rustica;</i> <i>N. tabacum</i>	white flowering
<i>tibi bilaare</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	wild variety, not consumed
<i>tibi shan</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	cultivated
<i>tomato</i>	<i>tumaatur</i>	tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>	
<i>tombowe</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>	
<i>tungka</i>	<i>waakee</i>	beans	<i>vigna sp.</i>	straight and white
<i>wataku</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>	2 varieties: red and white. They are not popular, it is said that the testicles may swell as a result of their consumption.
<i>welewele</i>	<i>barkoonoo</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>	
<i>yarshimed</i>	<i>albasaa</i>	onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>	
<i>yuwed</i>	<i>rizgaa</i>	rizga, wild yam	<i>Plectranthus esculentus</i>	
<i>yuwed lod</i>	<i>dooya</i>	yam	<i>Dioscorea spp.</i>	

Appendix A: Clan genealogies

Bangwinji clans: Genealogy of Bibangeb Fuwob

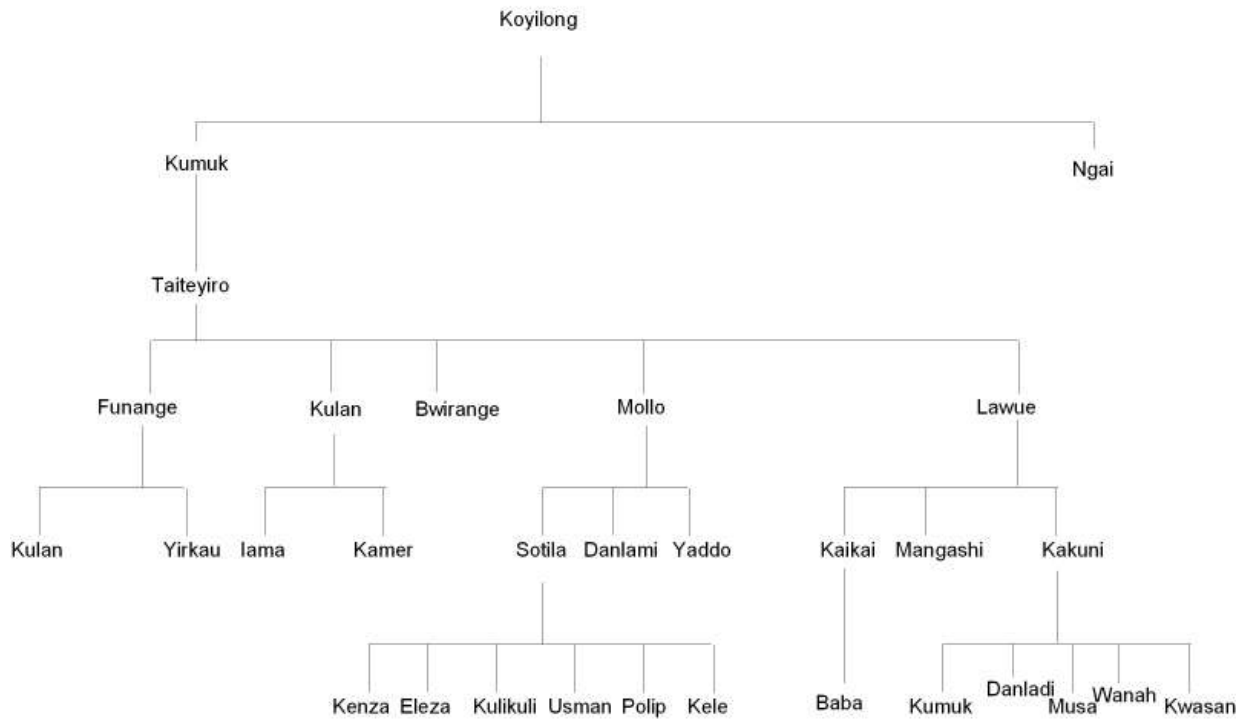
Informant: Yabla (born c. 1899), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

Fuwob clan moved to Gomu in Taraba State, only Tambaram stayed at Bangwinji with Bibangeb Kumbeleb. Because the descendants of Tambaram, Kuruk and Nanjai, are women, the clan ceases to exist because of the patrilineal filiation.



**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bibangeb Koyilongeb**

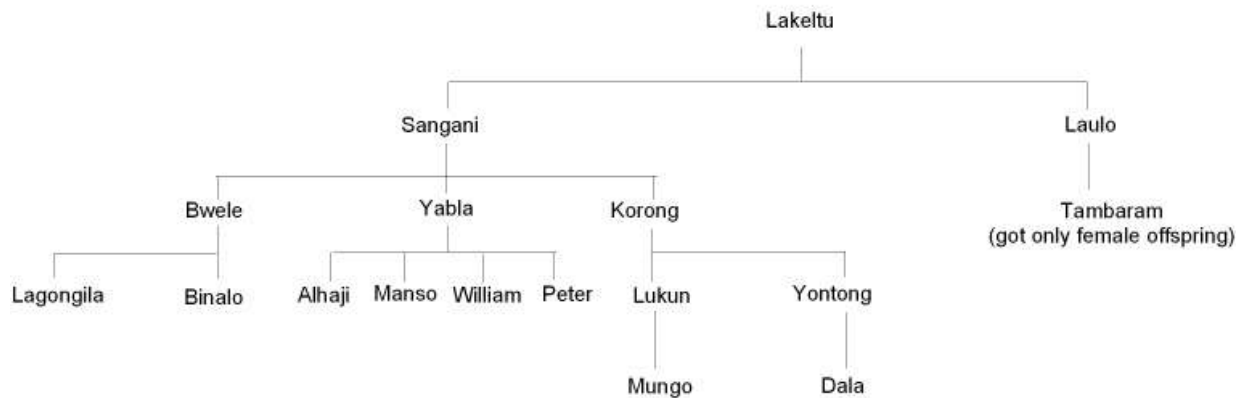
Informant: John Tombebe (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bibangeb Kumbeleb**

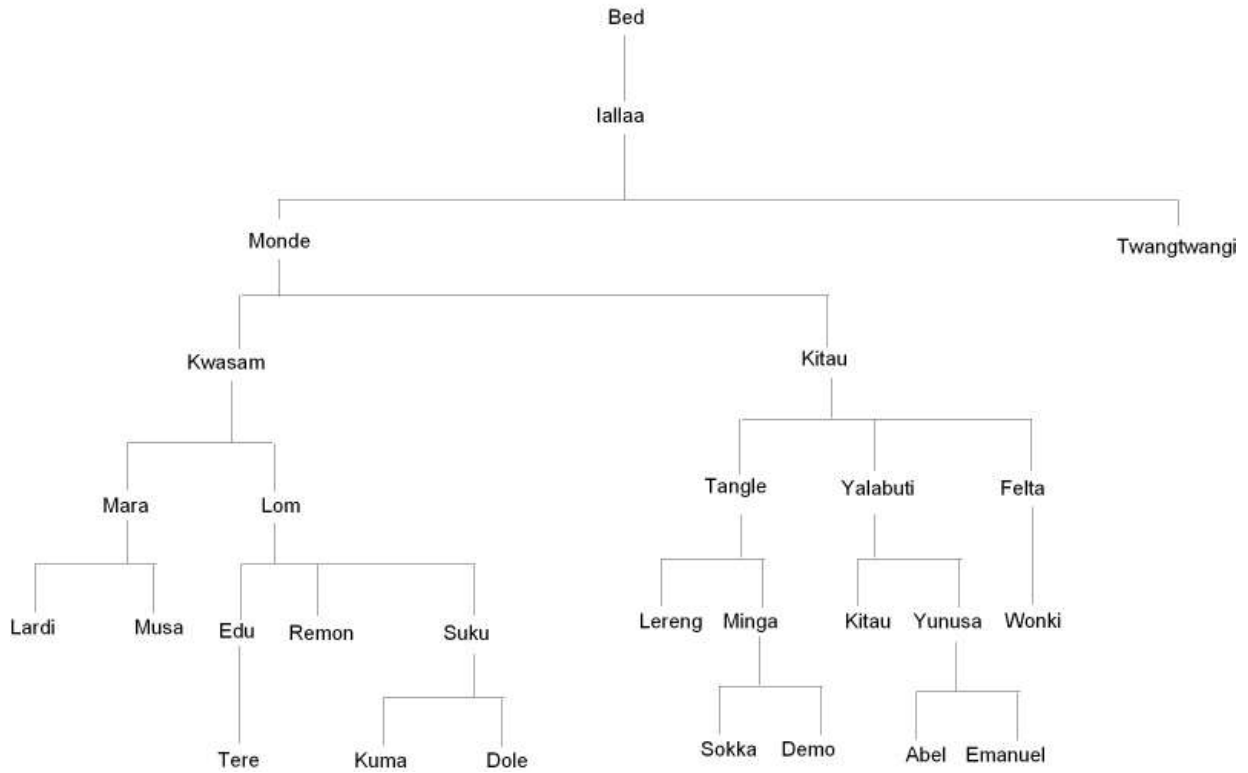
Informant: Yabla (born c. 1899), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

Lakeltu was from Fuwob clan, he stole the pregnant wife of Laburuktuk of Kumbeleb clan of Naabang. The child she begot was Sangani, who therefore belonged to Kumbeleb and not to Fuwob. Laulo was a son of Lakeltu. This is how Kumbeleb came to Kaalo.



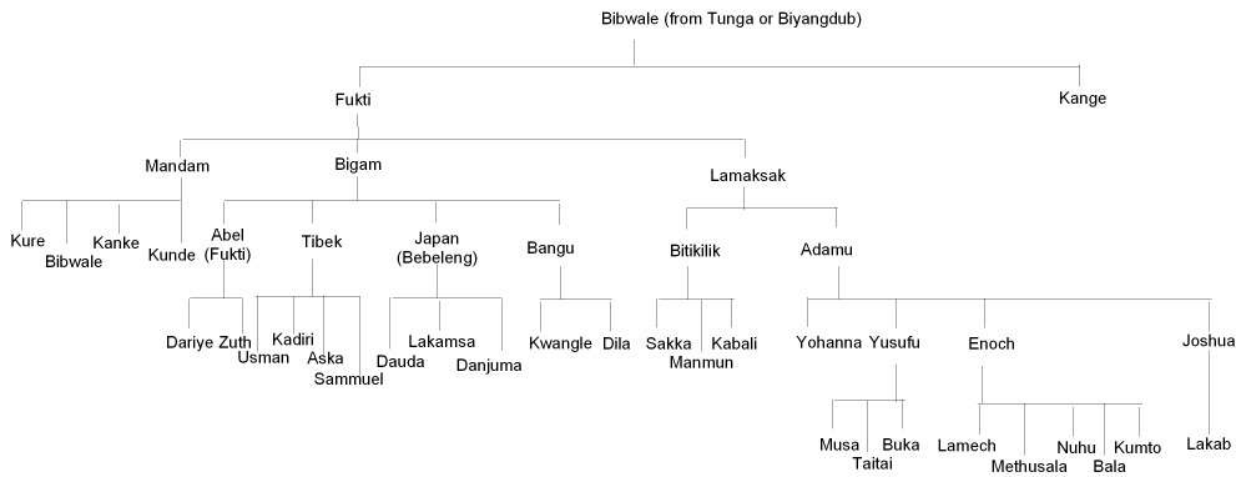
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bibangeb Kwiyateb**

Informant: John Tombebe (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



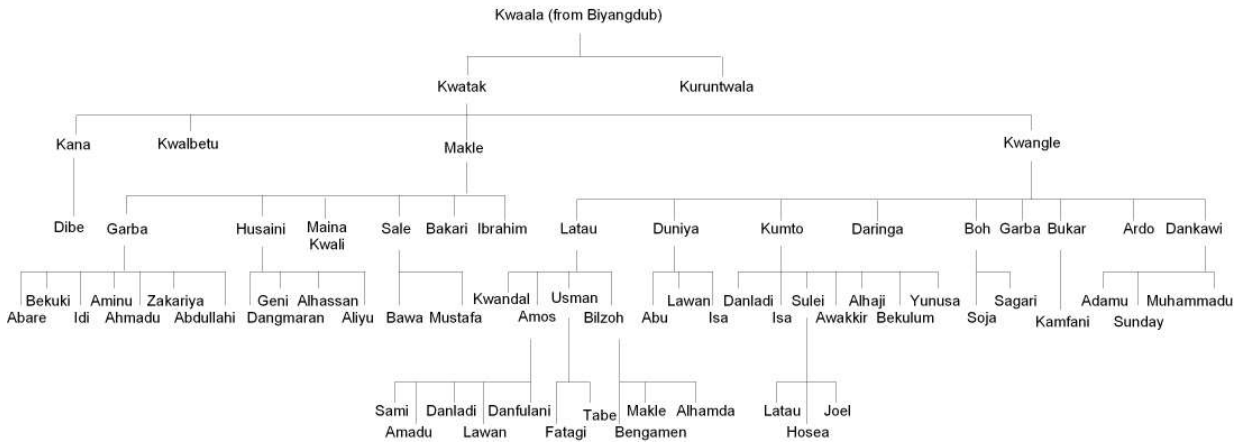
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bikwaakleb Fid**

Informant: Japan Bigam (born c. 1927), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



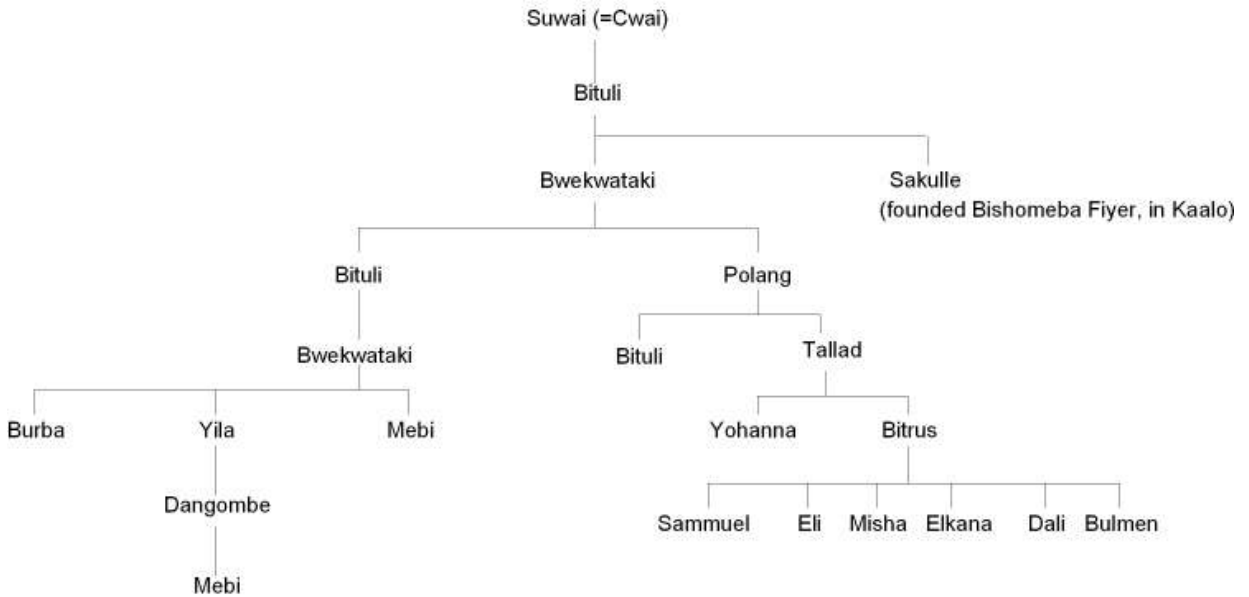
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bikwaakleb Fiyer**

Informant: Bukar Kwangle (born c. 1932), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



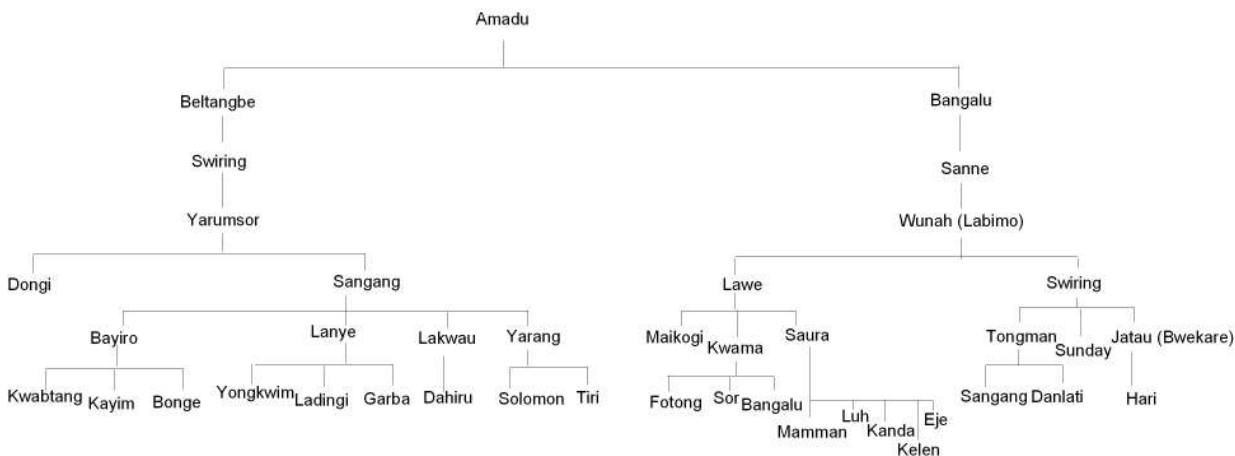
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bishomeb Doleneb**

Informant: Late Chief Ahmadu Makle (born c. 1890), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



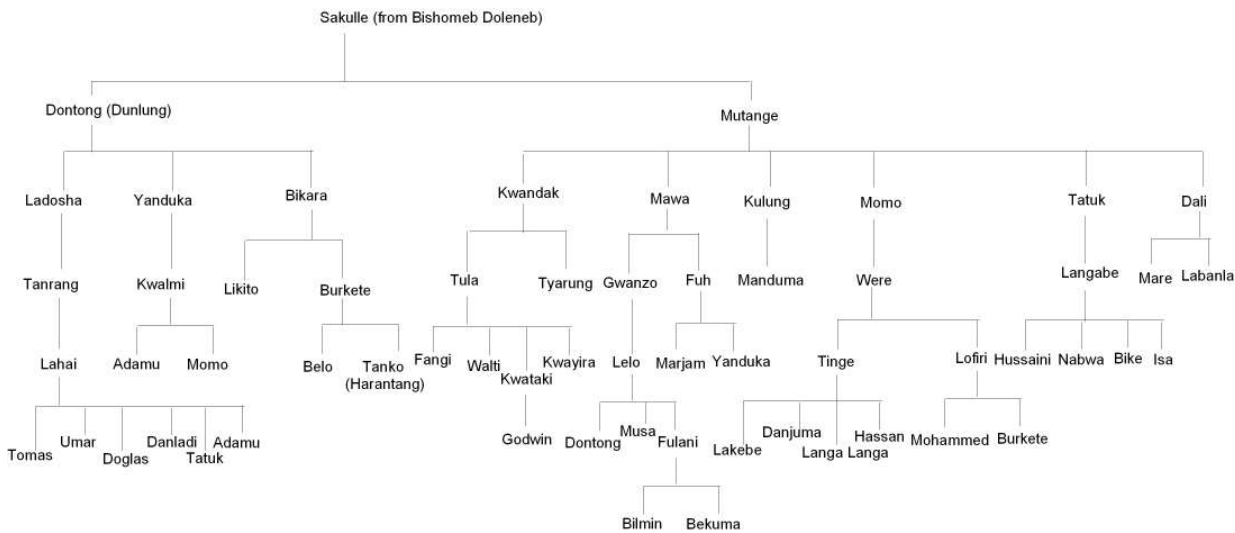
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bishomeba Fid (Bwambwileb)**

Informant: Kwama (born c. 1891), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



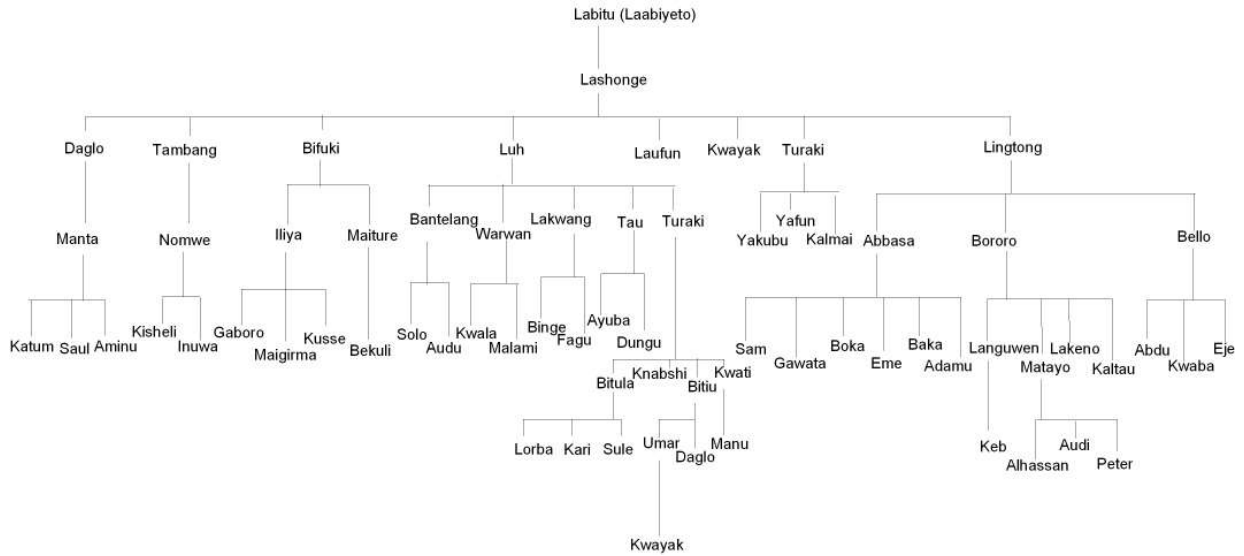
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bishomeba Fiyer (Bikwanglangeb)**

Informant: Yabla (born c. 1899), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima



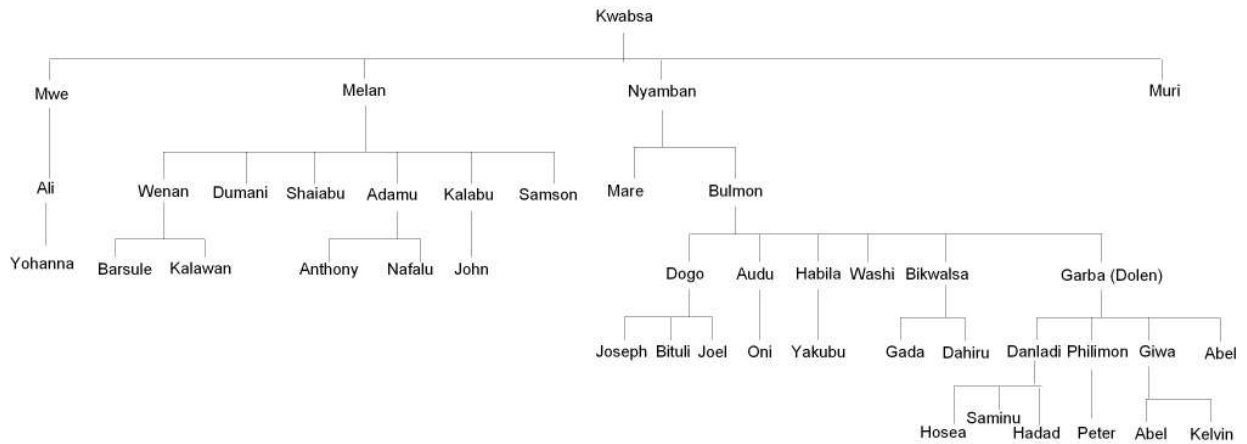
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bishomeba Lashonge**

Informant: Lakwang (born c. 1900), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

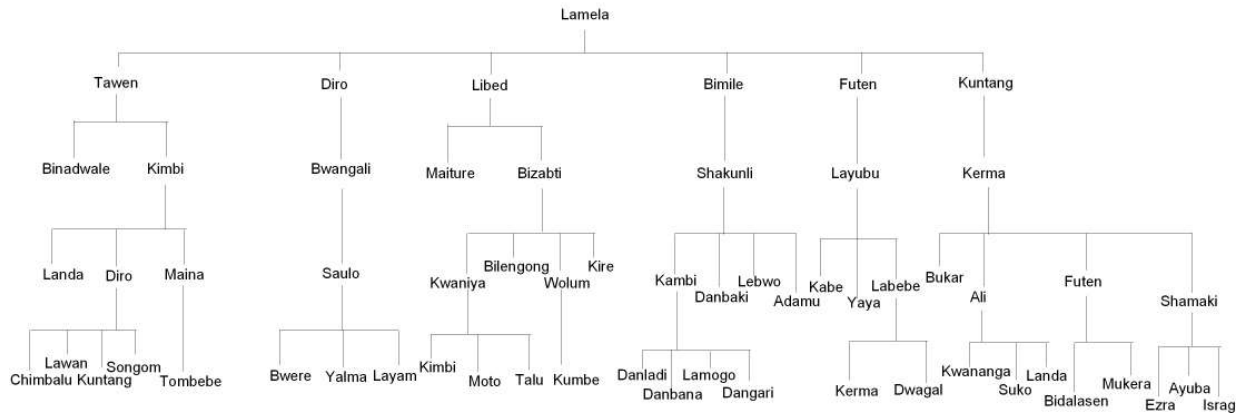


**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Bishomeb Takulaneb**

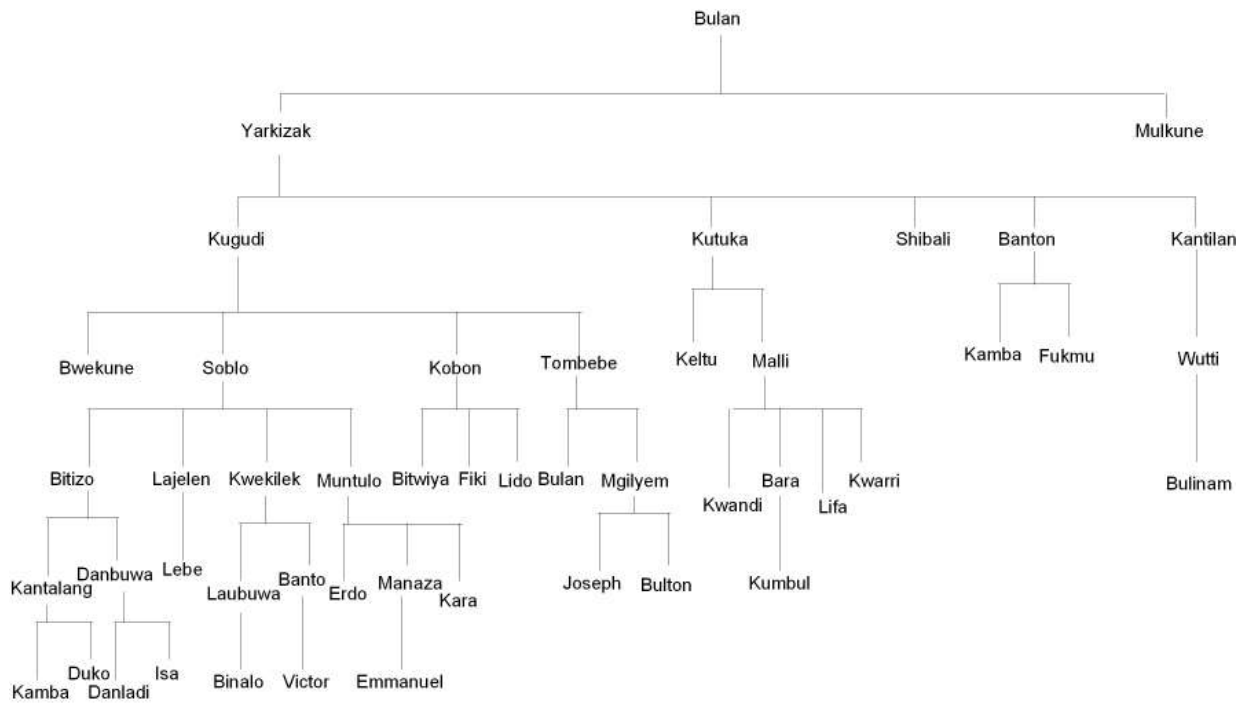
Informant: Dogo Bulmon (born c. 1932), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Dwaaleb Booken**
Informant: Landa (born c. 1891), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

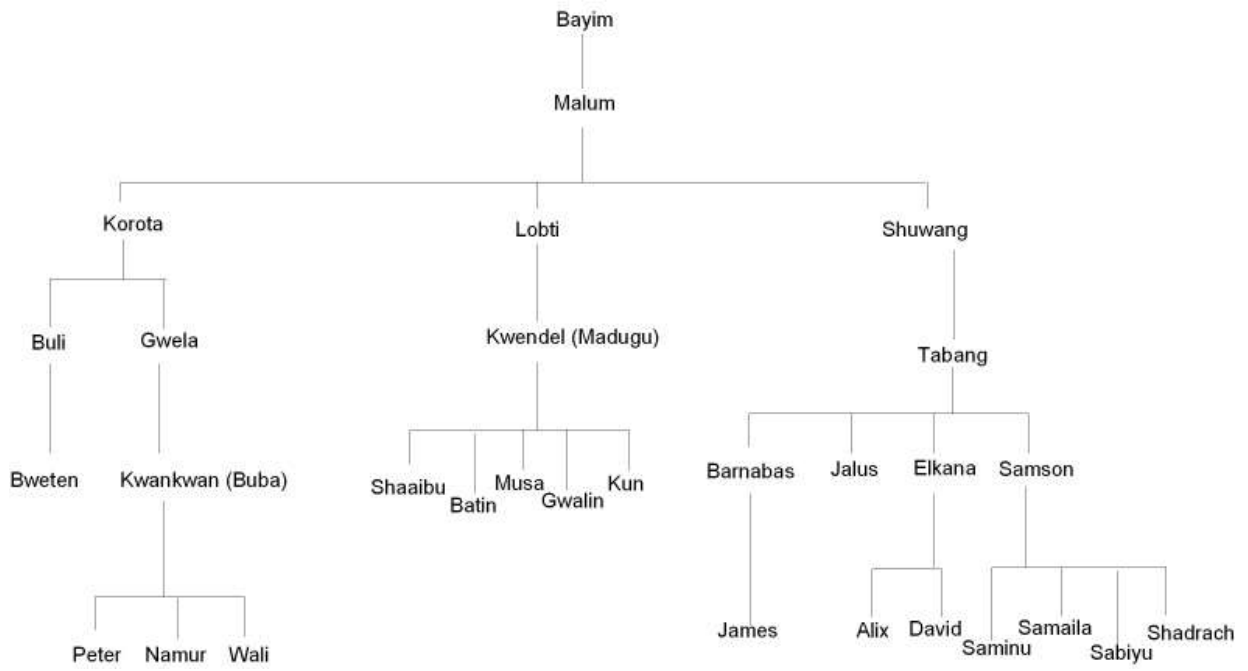


**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Dwaaleb Yongeb**
Informant: John Tombebe (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

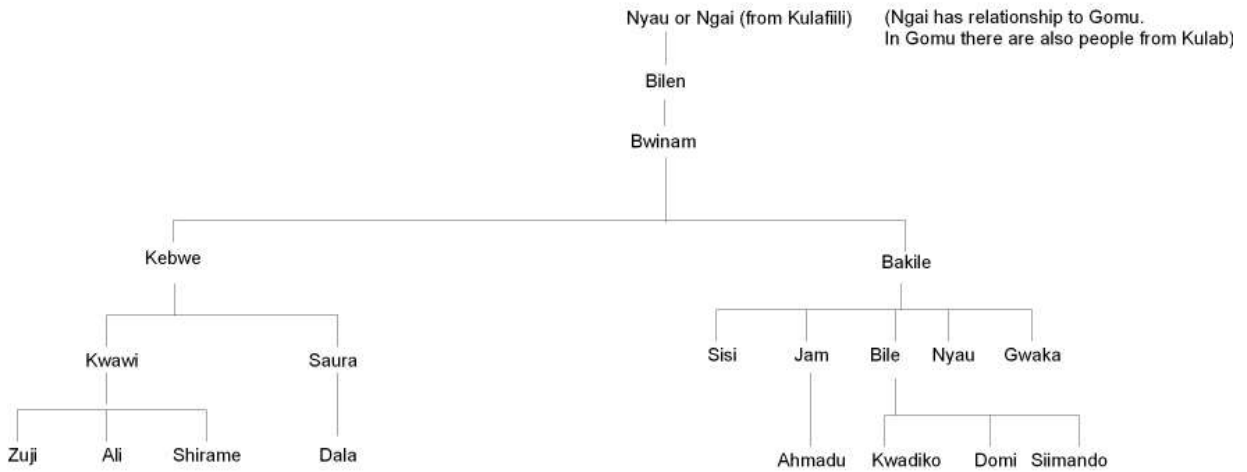


**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Gumob**

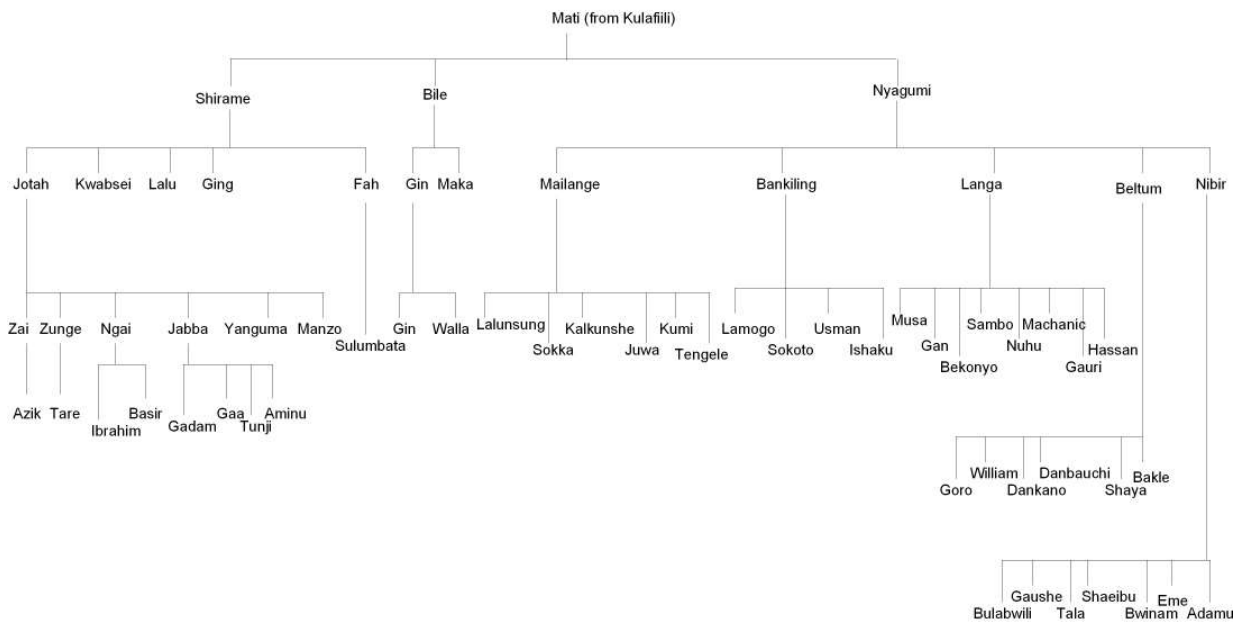
Informant: Buli Korota (born c. 1900), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992.



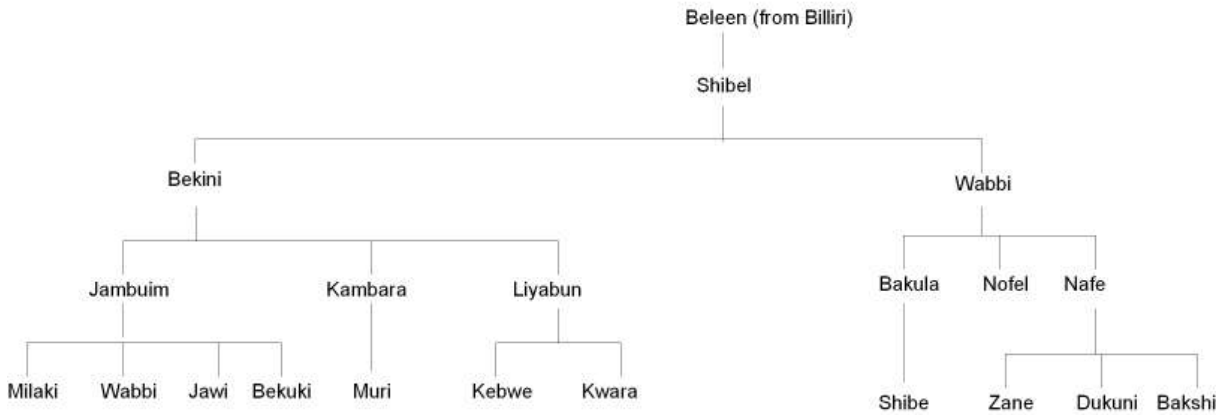
Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kulab Bishuleeb, version 1
 Informant: Bakle (born c. 1905), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



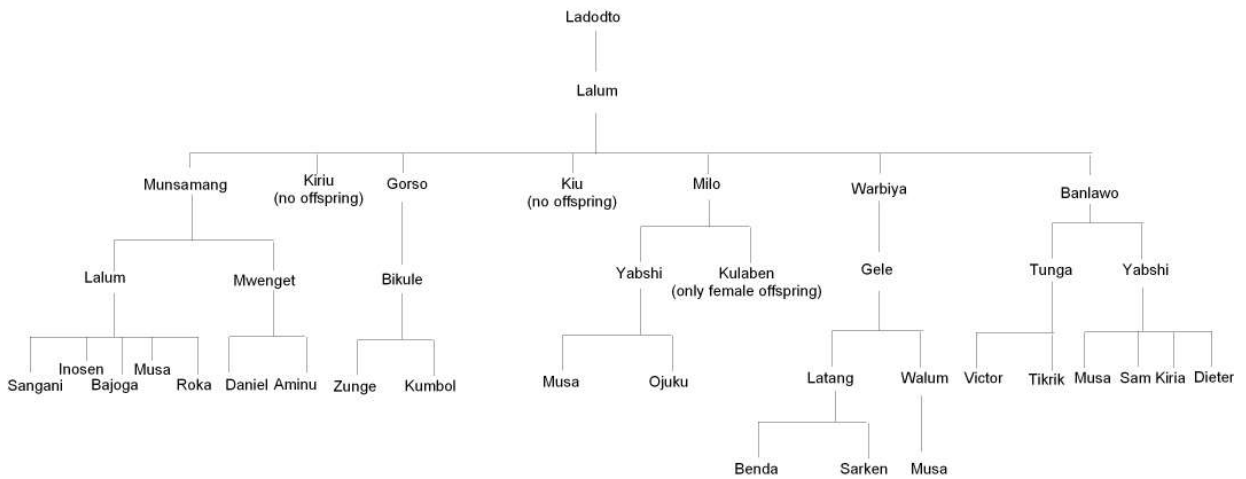
Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kulab Bishuleeb, version 2
 Informant: Langa (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kulab Dongtiyab**
Informant: Nafe Wabbi (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

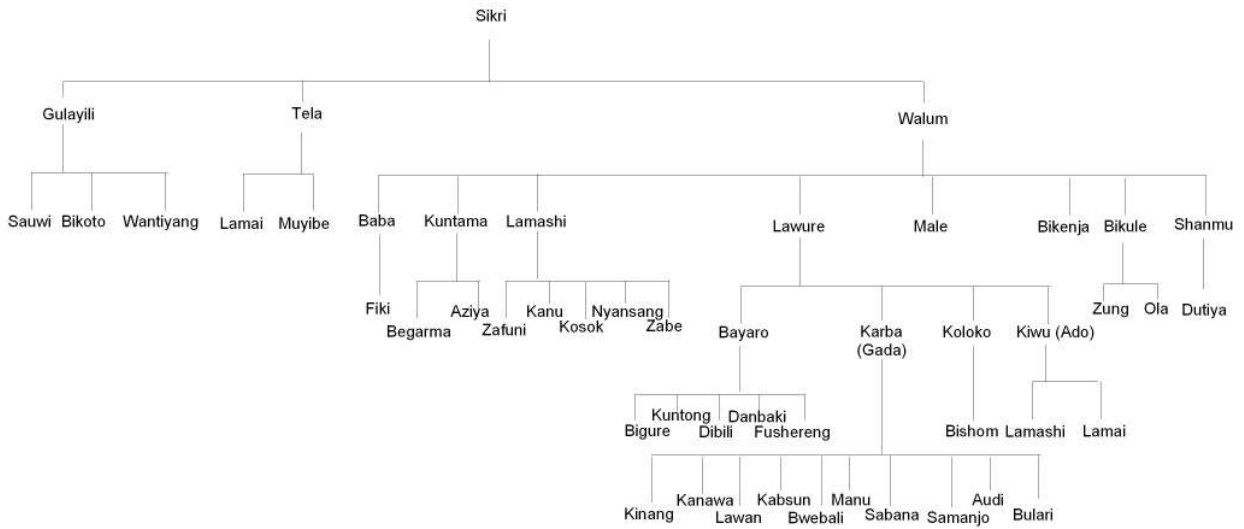


**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kumbeleb Booken**
Informant: Sanmu (born c. 1902), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



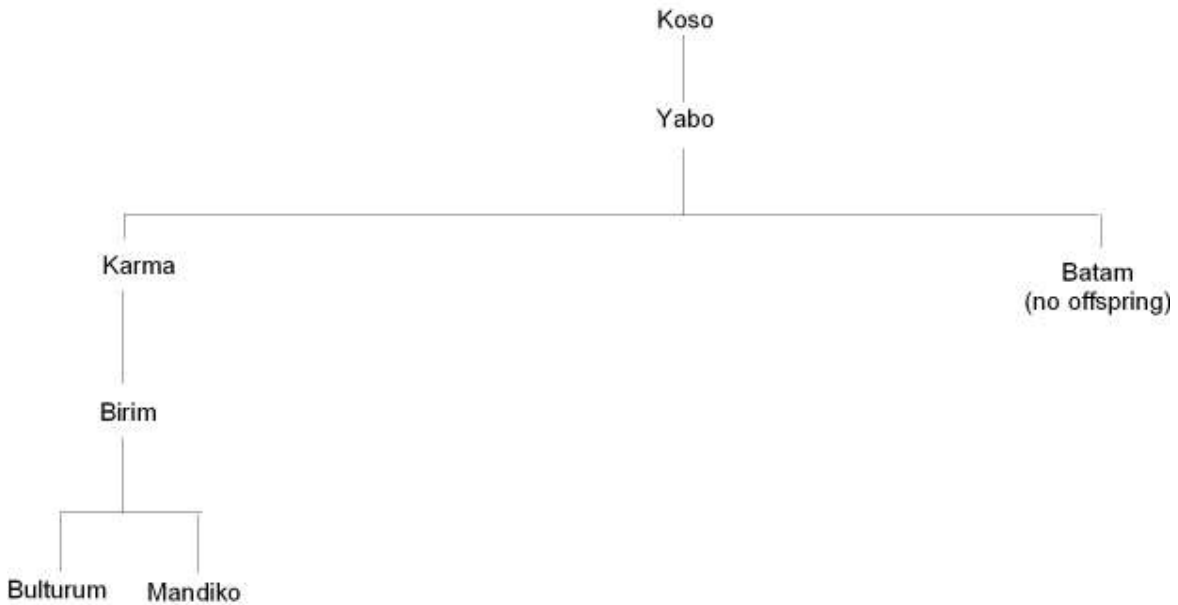
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kumbeleb Yulumeb**

Informant: Sanmu (born c. 1902), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



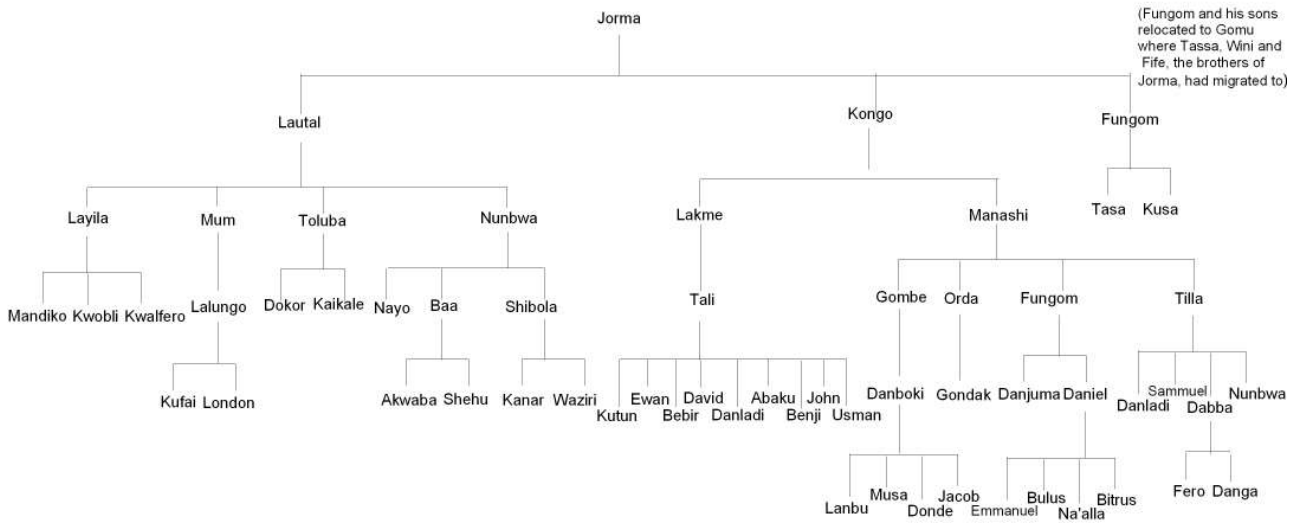
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kweb Batameb**

Informant: Shibola Nunbwa, recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



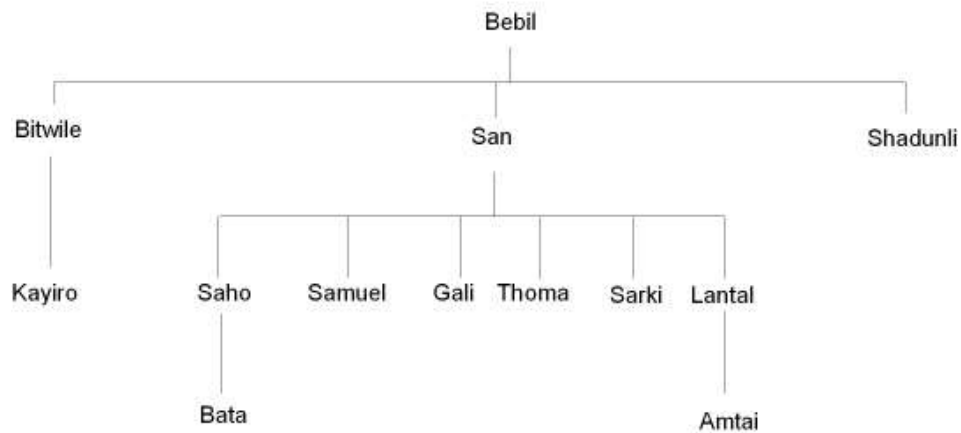
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kweb Booken**

Informants: Shibola (born c. 1910) and Tali Lakme (born c.1912), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



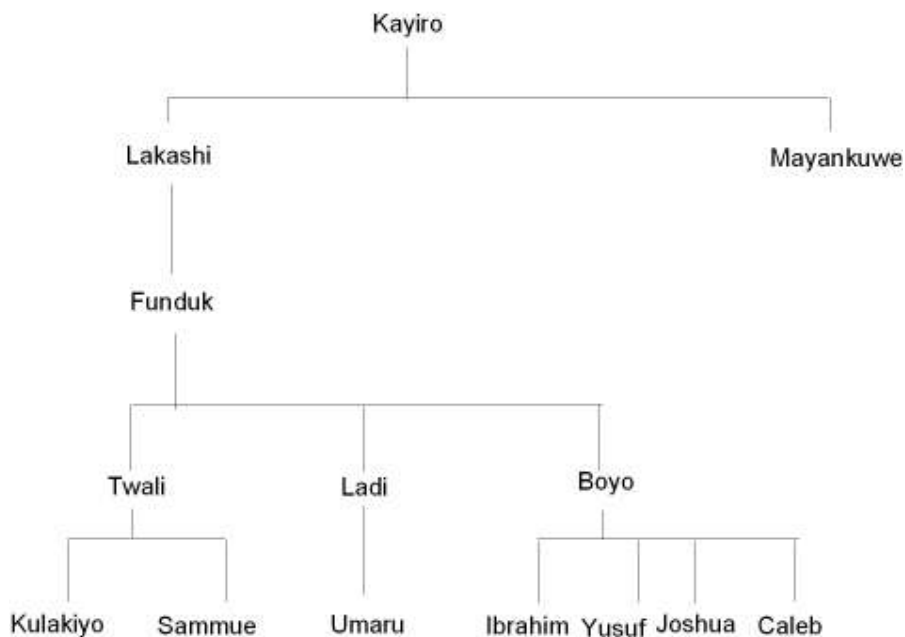
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kweb Dunglob**

Informant: Shibola (born c. 1910), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



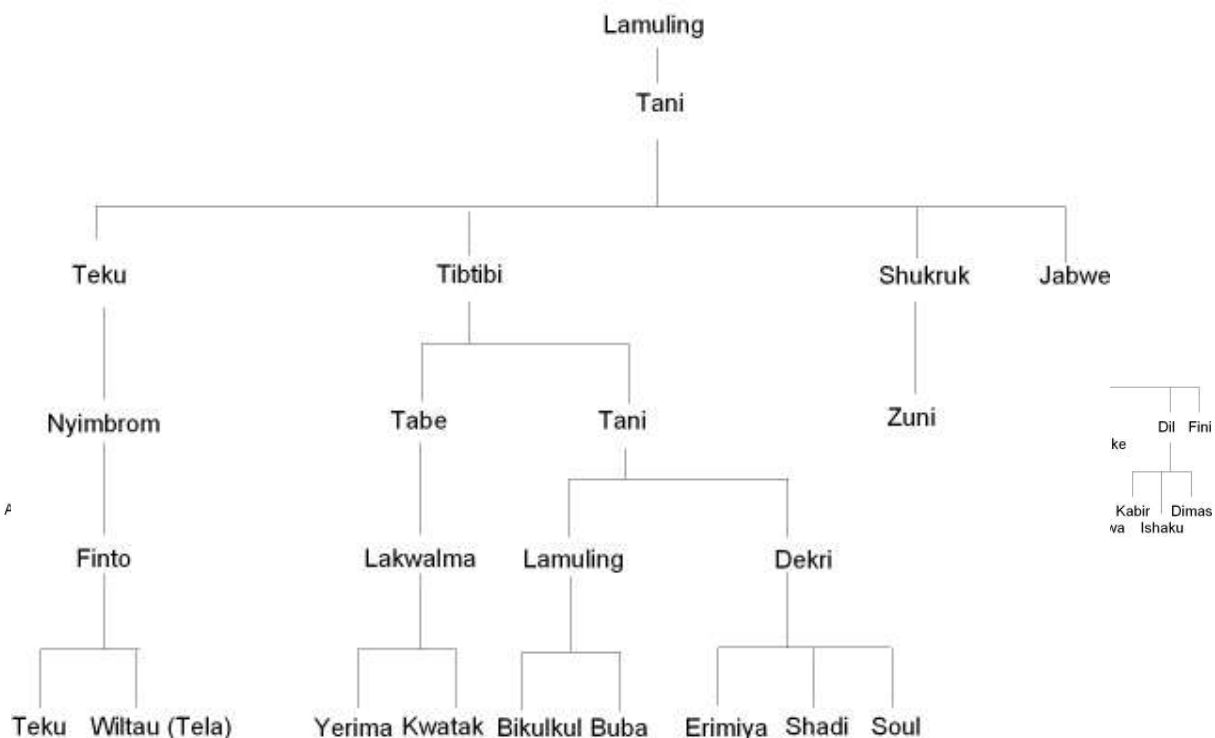
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Kweb Warfuneb**

Informant: Shibola (born c. 1910), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



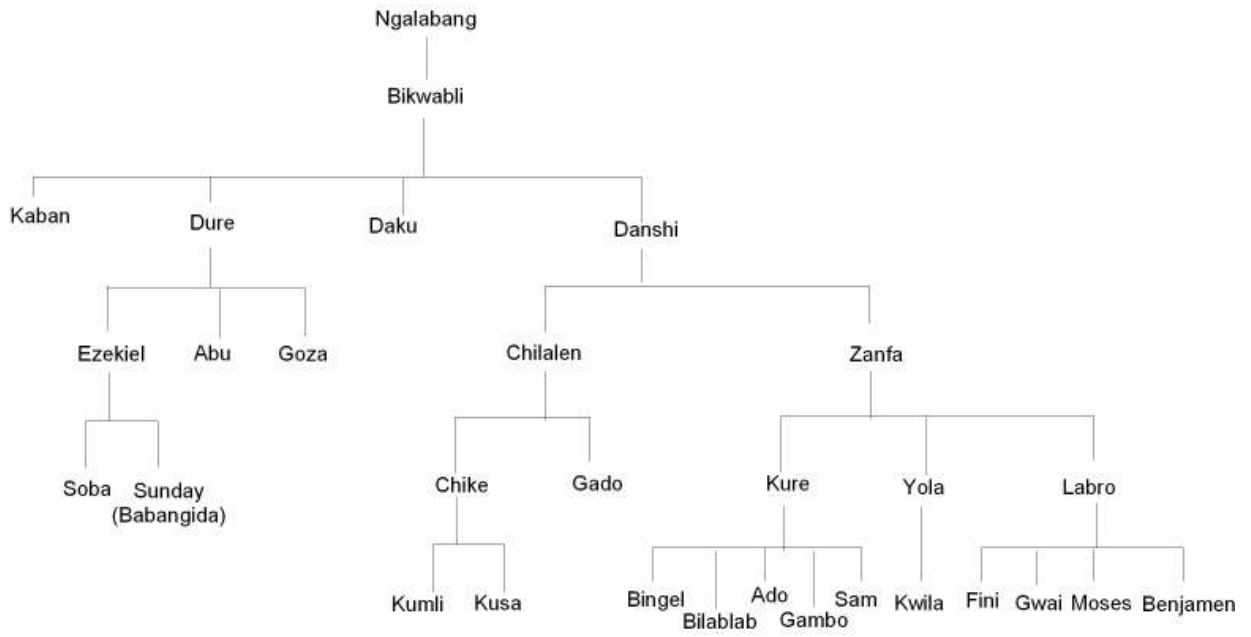
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Muwab**

Informant: Tani Tibtibi (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



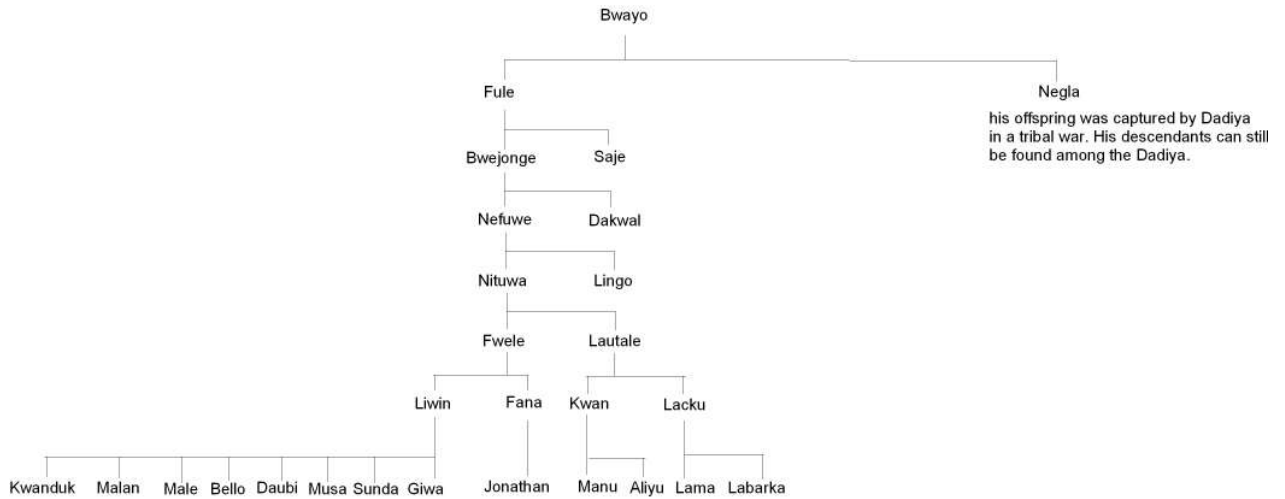
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Nafuwab Tongeb (Kanshe Nobwab)**

Informant: Buni Shangan (born c. 1911, *tangbe* priest), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



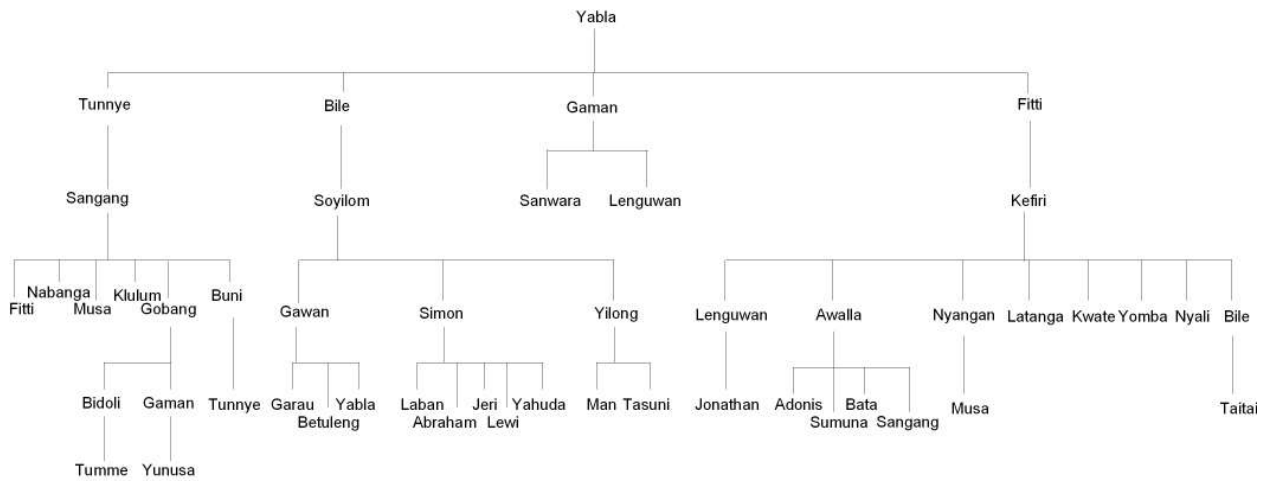
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Nakwatreb**

Informant: Kwan (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



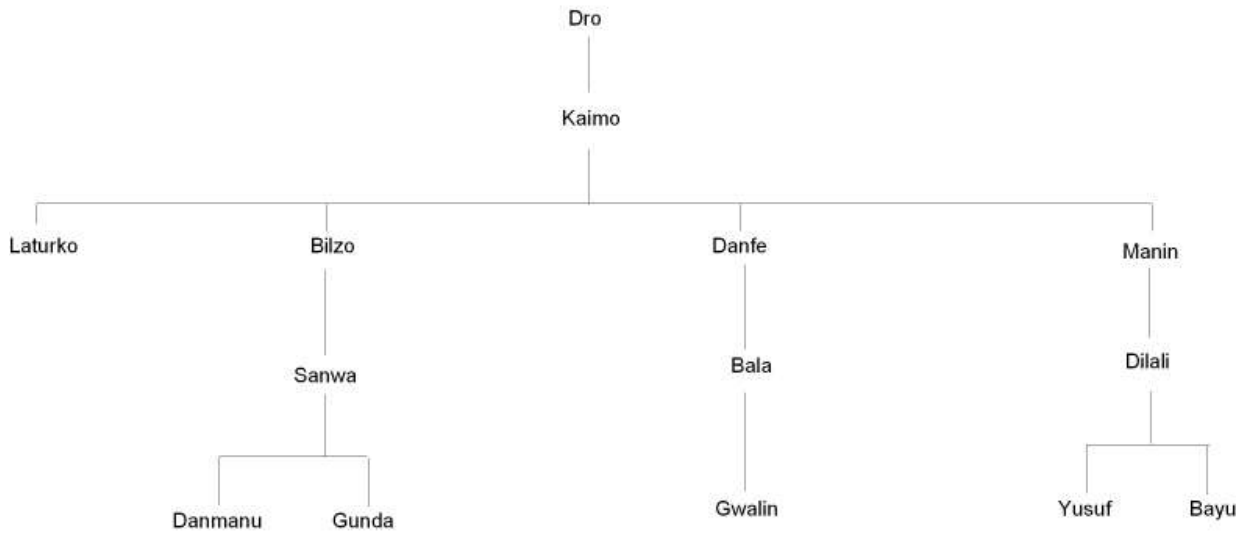
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Nakumeb**

Informant: Buni Sangam (born c. 1911, *fangbe* priest), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Shiyeb Booken**

Informant: Dilali (born c. 1916), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



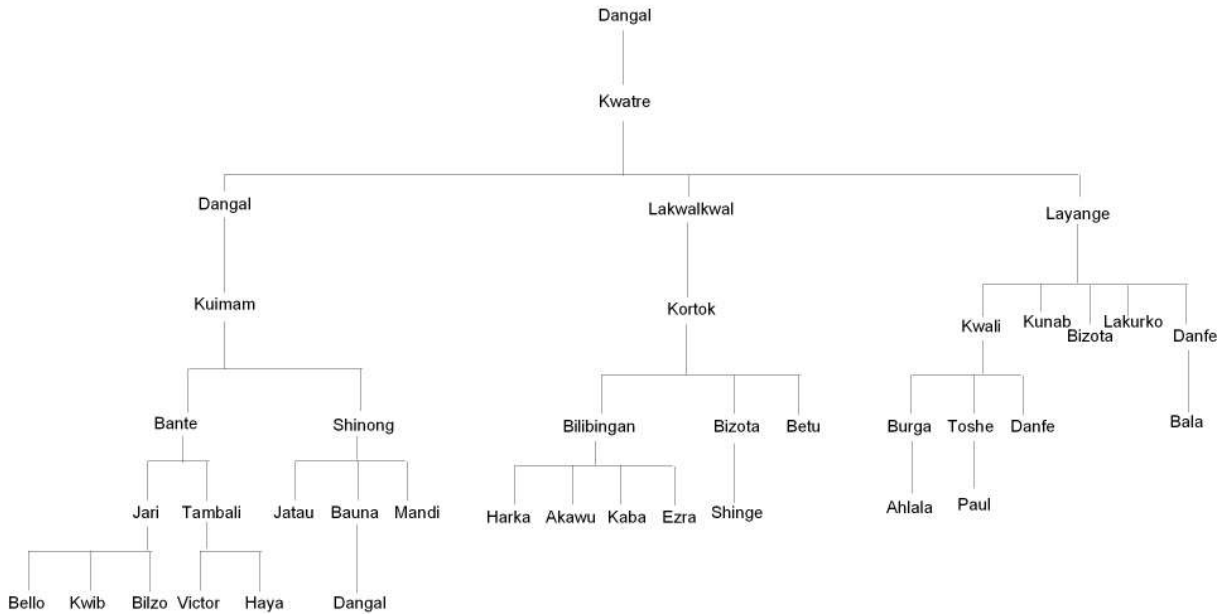
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Shiyeb Tingeb**

Informant: Shinong (1902), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



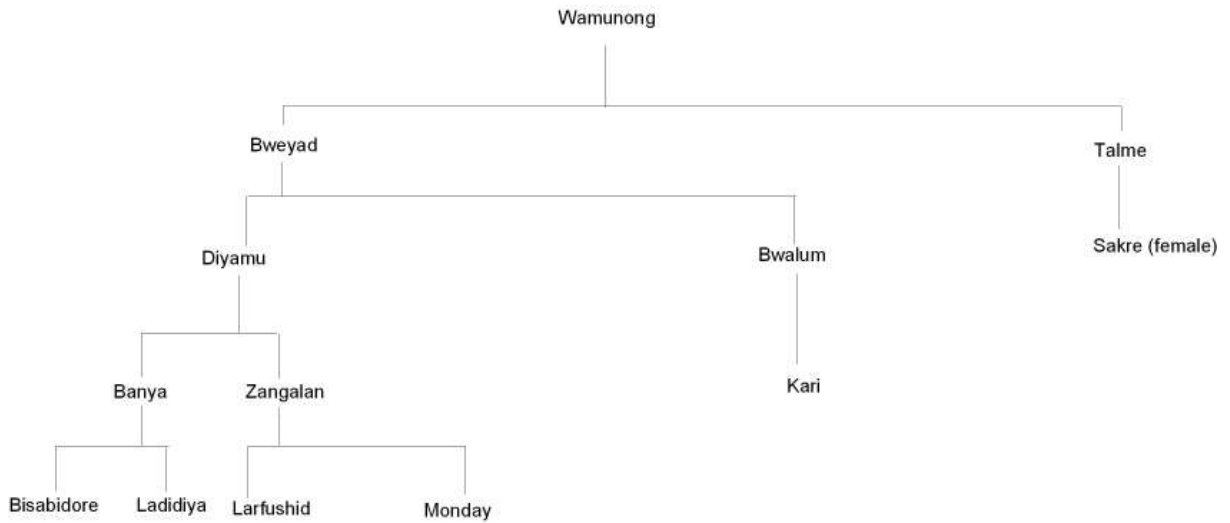
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Shiyeb Yongeb**

Informant: John Tombebe (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992.



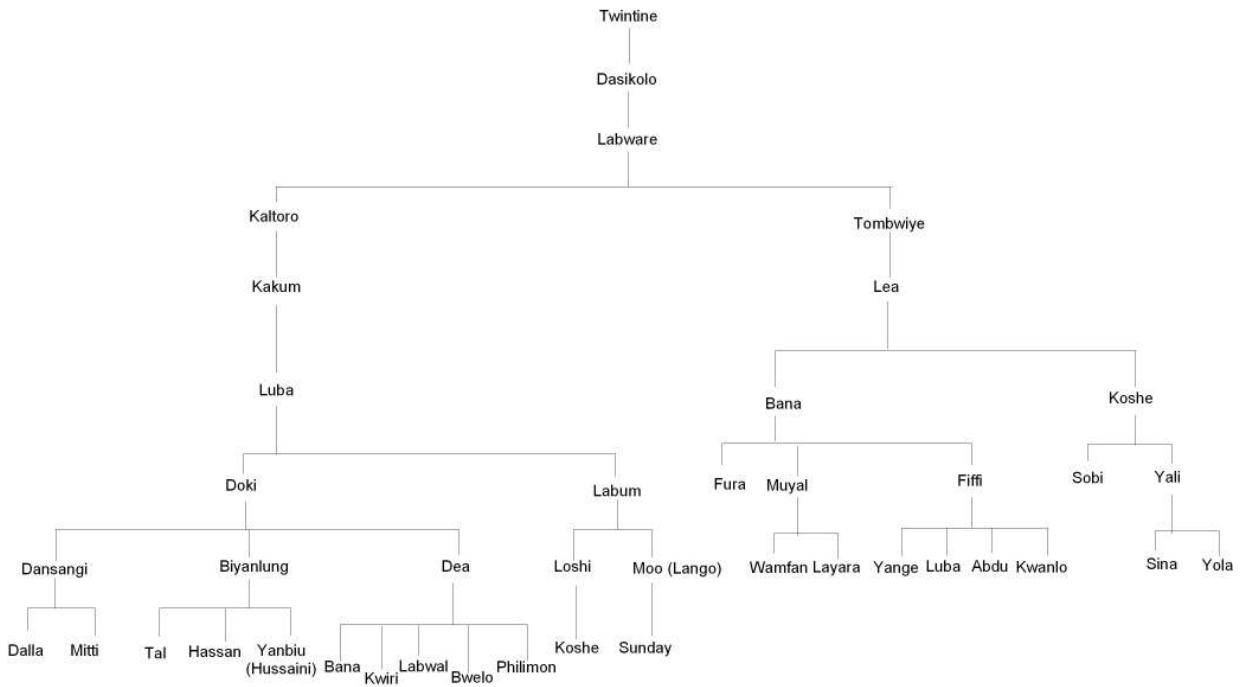
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Shunglob**

Informant: John Tombebe (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992.



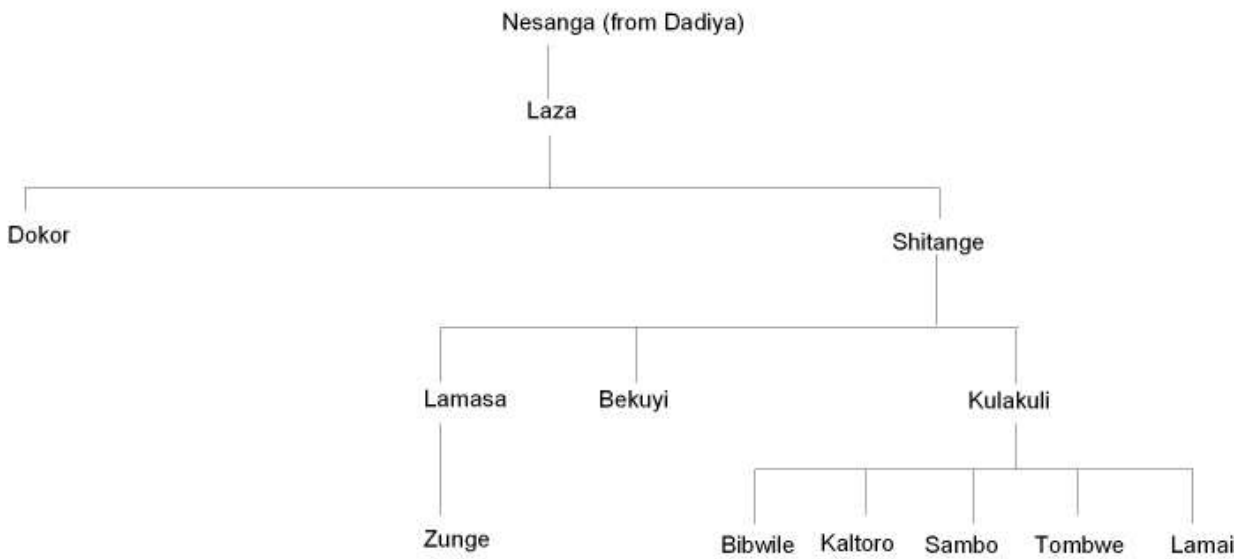
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Terkwereb Booken**

Informant: Leka Nyanlung (born c. 1940), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



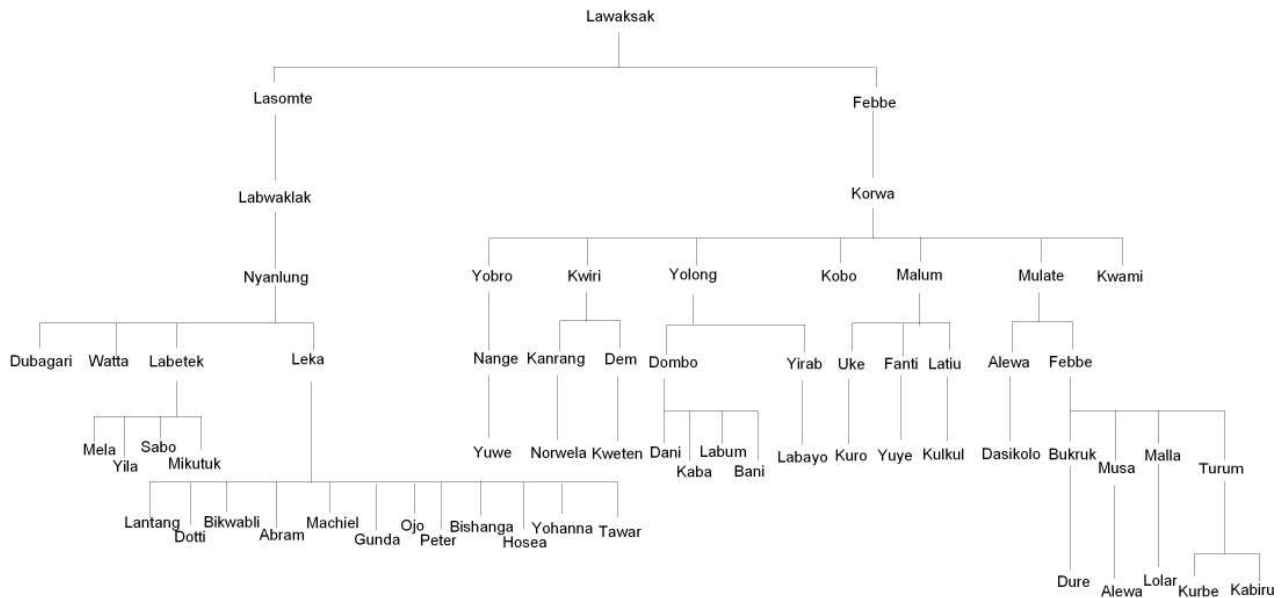
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Terkwereb Dariyab**

Informant: Leka Nyanlung (born c. 1940), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



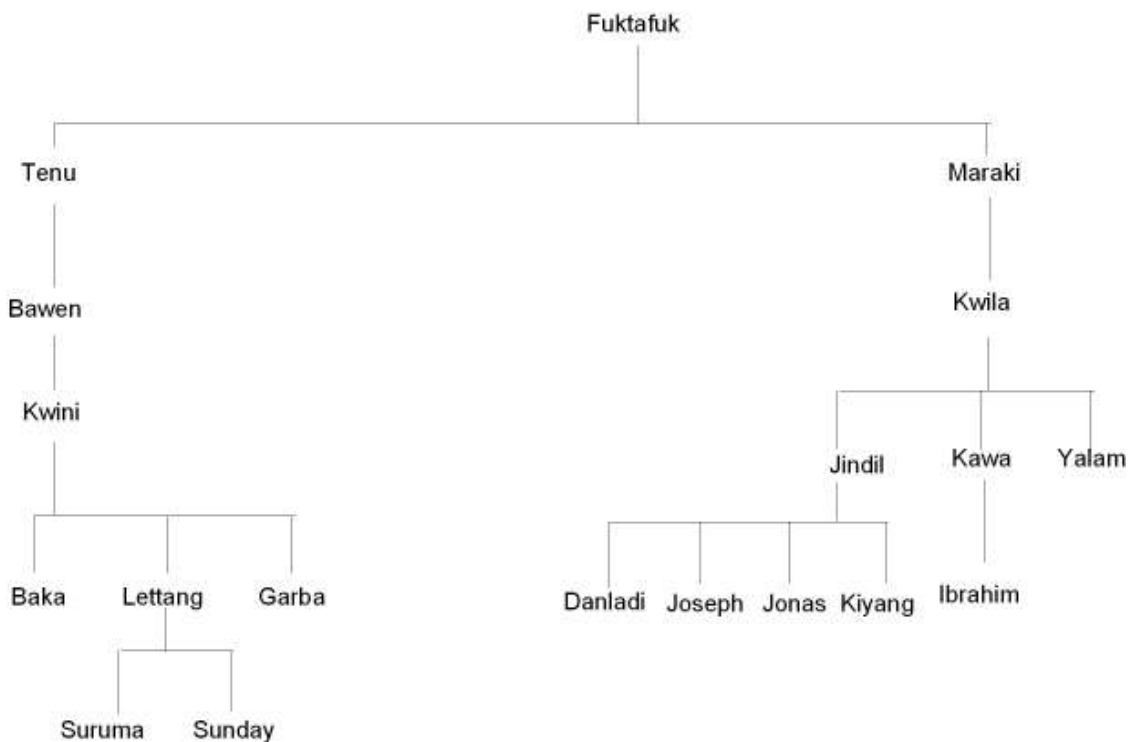
**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Terkwereb Yongeb**

Informant: Leka Nyanlung (born c. 1940), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, 1992

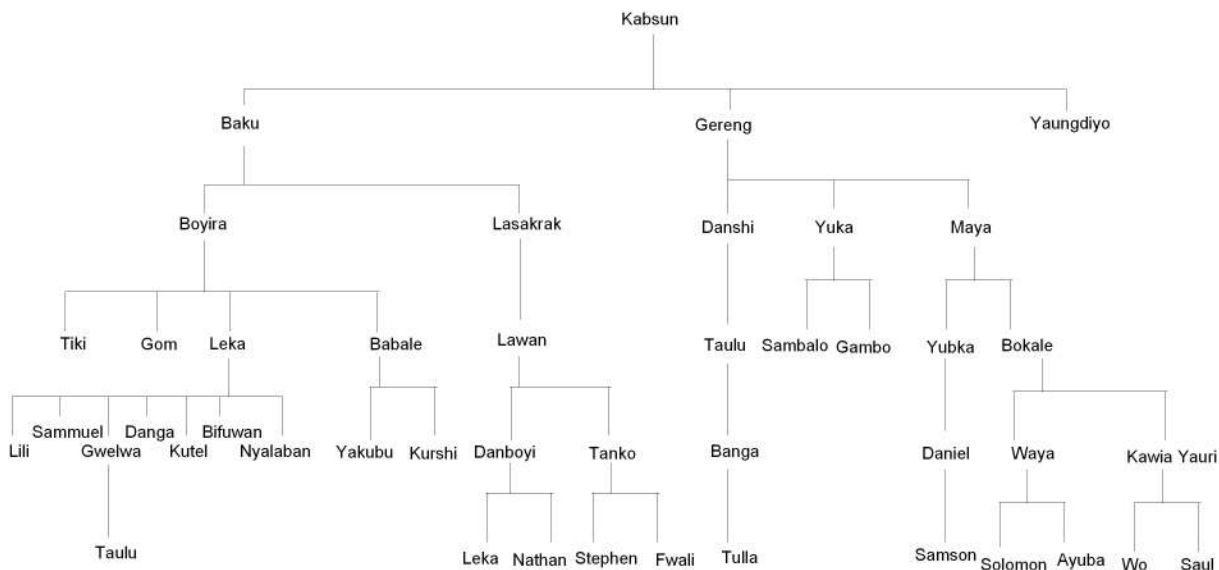


**Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Toobwiyeb-Biyakeb**

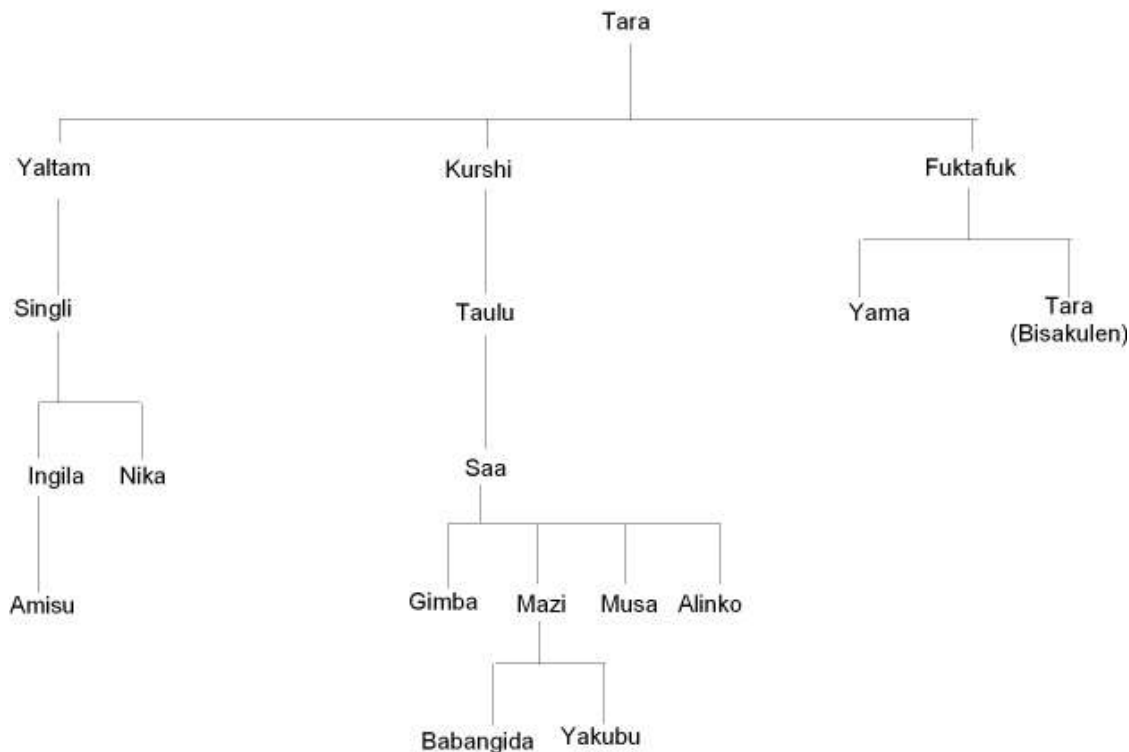
Informant: Melum (born c. 1914), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



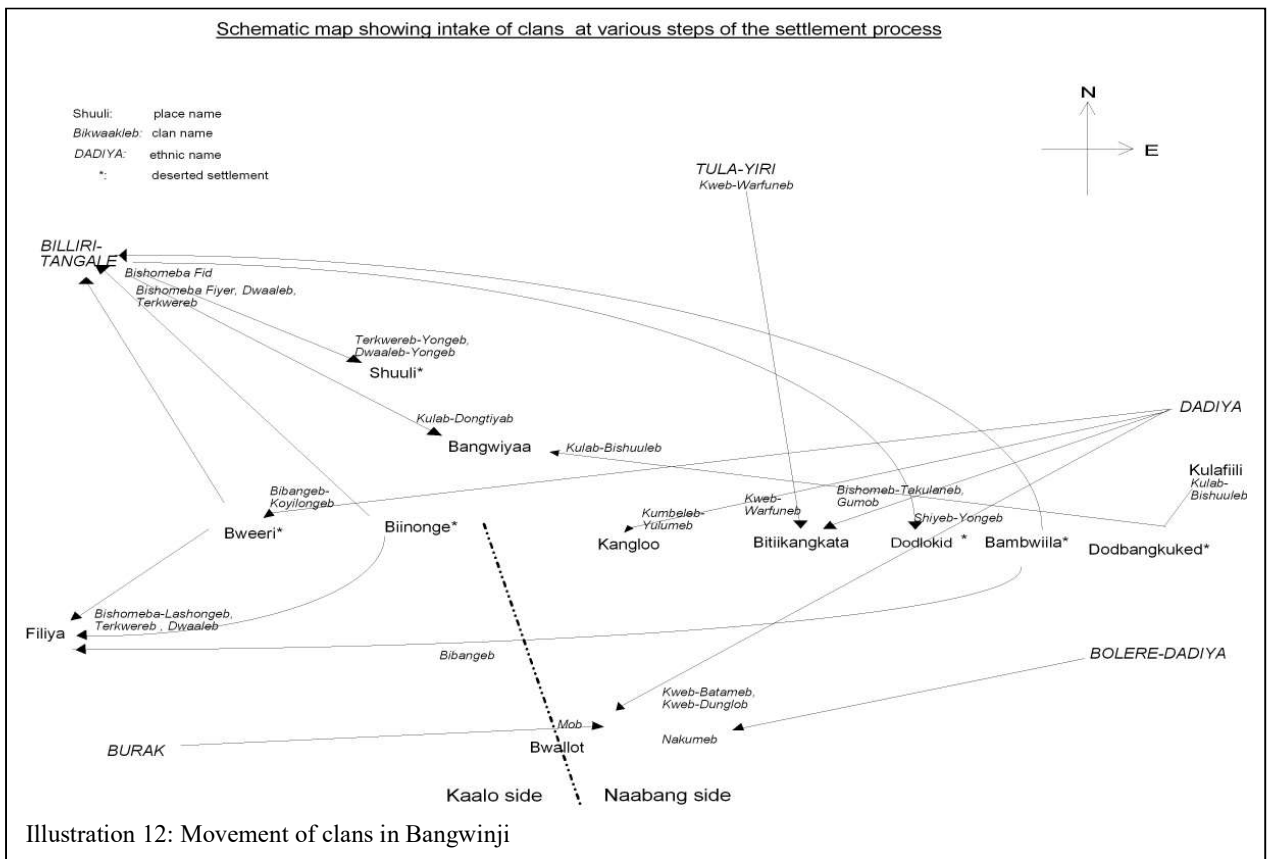
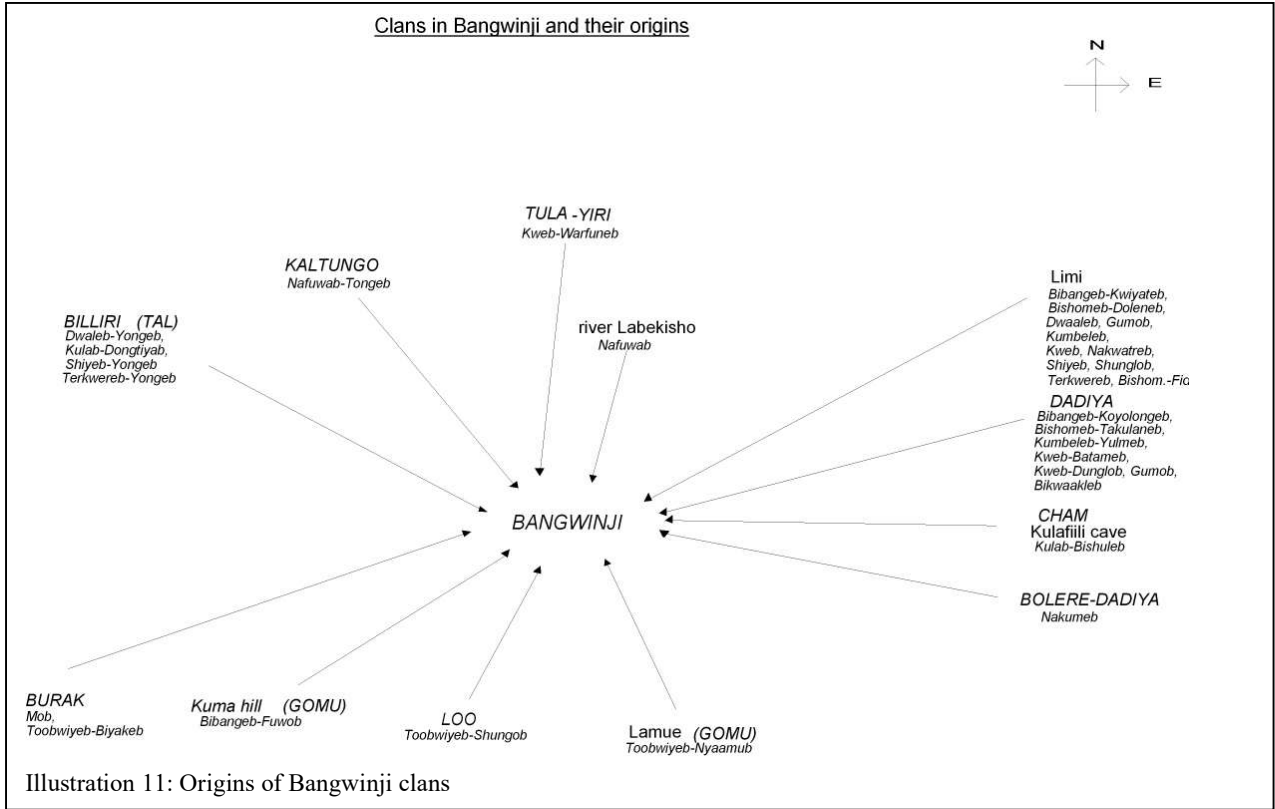
Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Toobwiyeb Nyaamub
 Informant: Lawan (born c. 1908), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992

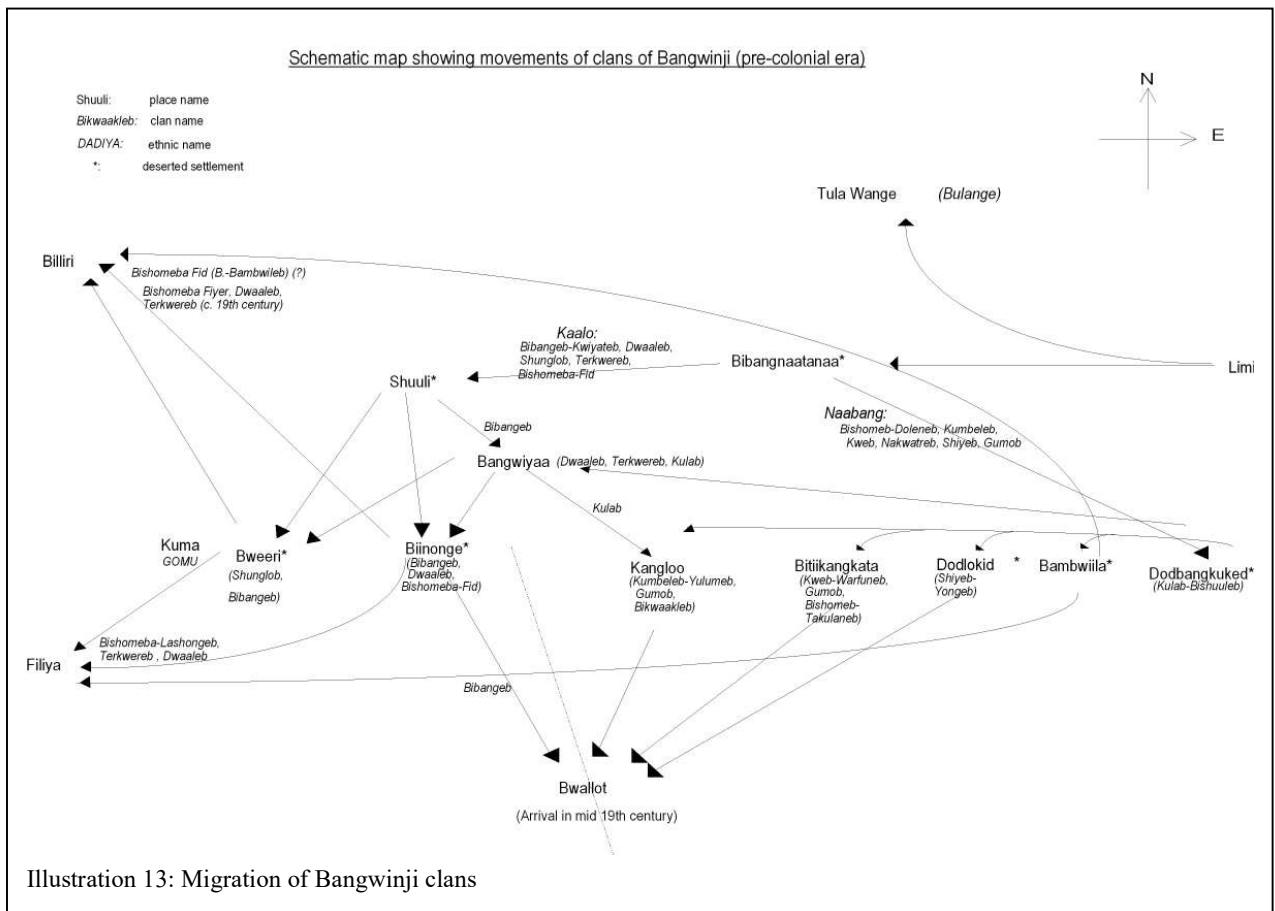


Bangwinji clans:
Genealogy of Toobwiyeb Shungob
 Informant: Jindil (born c. 1923), recorded by Malam Sulei Yerima, May 1992



Appendix B: Clan movements





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