



THE LEEMAK

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

Series

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

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Settlement Area and Demography	2
Interethnic Relations	3
<i>History</i>	4
Pre-colonial migrations and movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period	4
Relations with the Fulani emirates	4
Colonial encounters	6
<i>Social Structure</i>	9
Clans	9
Panya clans	10
Zoo clans	11
Kinship terminology	13
Family	14
Marriage	14
Granaries	16
Birth	17
Burial	17
Village	18
Age groups	19
<i>Political Organisation</i>	19
Village Head	19
<i>Economic Activities</i>	20
Division of labour	20
Agriculture	21
Animal husbandry	21
<i>Material culture</i>	22
Scarification/cicatrisation, bodily ornamentation	23
<i>Rituals and Religion</i>	24
Spirits and associated rituals	24
Water sources	24
Ritual calendar	25
Miscellanea	27
Taboos	27

Glossary	28
Literature	30
Unpublished Sources.....	33
Photos	
Photo 1: Gomu granaries.....	16
Photo 2: A pair of <i>bila</i> beside a ritual pot.....	22
Photo 3: A <i>kabalou</i>	24
Photo 4: A <i>kabalou</i> inside its shrine.....	24
Illustrations	
Illustration 1: Map of Leemak land by Bulus Matthew.....	3
Tables	
Table 1: Leemak clans.....	9
Table 2: Gender specific division of labour among the Leemak.....	20
Table 3: Domestic animals and their uses	21
Table 4: Religious concepts and their material expression.....	25
Figures	
Figure 1: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Panya.....	18
Figure 2: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Panya.....	18
Maps	
Map 1: Language groups.....	1
Map 2: Ethnic map	2
Map 3: Eastern Muri Mountains.....	2

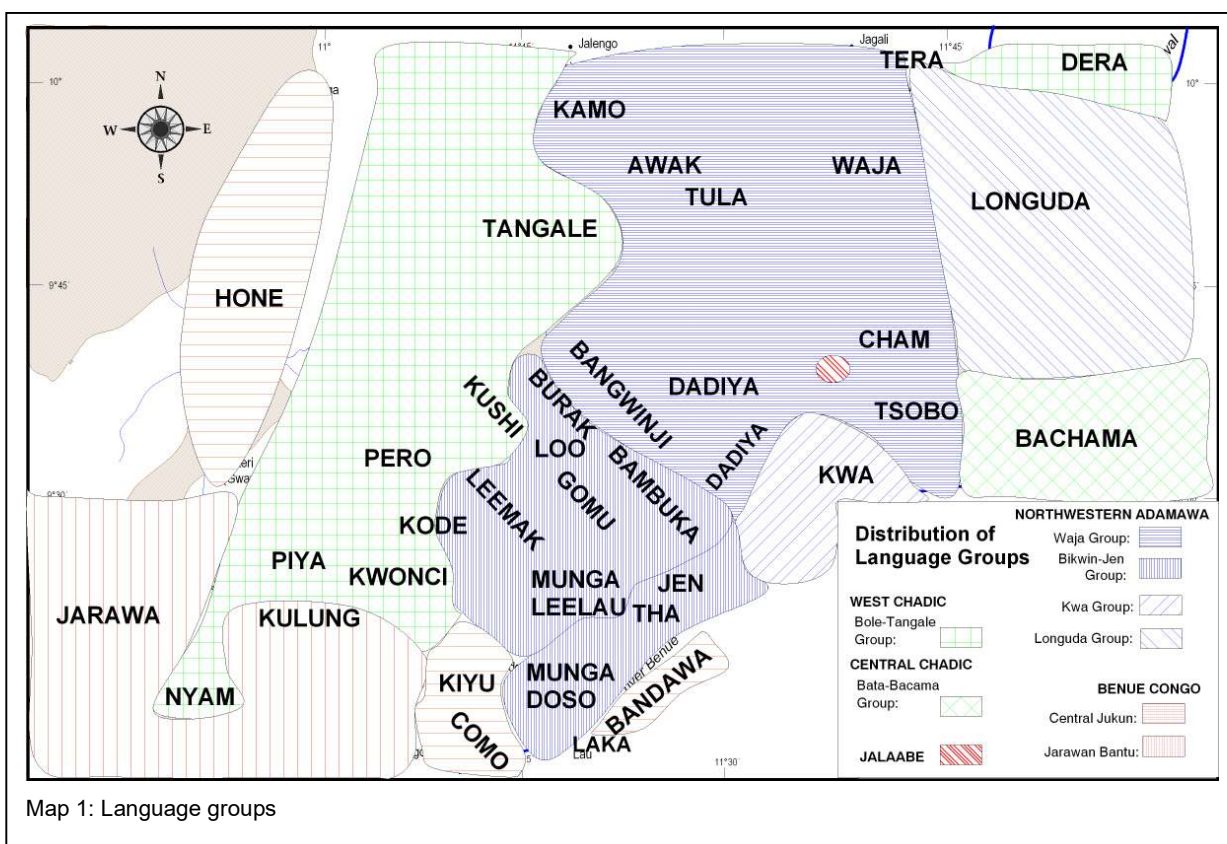
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Introduction

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 language of the Leemak [pbl] is called Mak and is part of the Bikwin-Jen sub-group of the North-Western Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum.² Other members of the linguistic Bikwin sub-group are Loo [ldo], Gomu [gwg], Bambuka [bka], Burak [bys], Tala of Kode [gmd] and Munga Leelau [ldk]. Leemak means "people of Mak", and in local usage Mak designates the area of Panya.



¹ I am grateful to Abdullahi Kaigamma, Adamu Baaba, Magaji Umaru, Yauwi Bawa and Rev. Simon Sule for their co-operation during my research. My special thanks go to Buba Kiling and Bulus Matthew for their untiring and invaluable assistance. I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² Cf. Kleinwillinghöfer 2015, see also Othaniel 2017. In square brackets are the ISO 639 names.

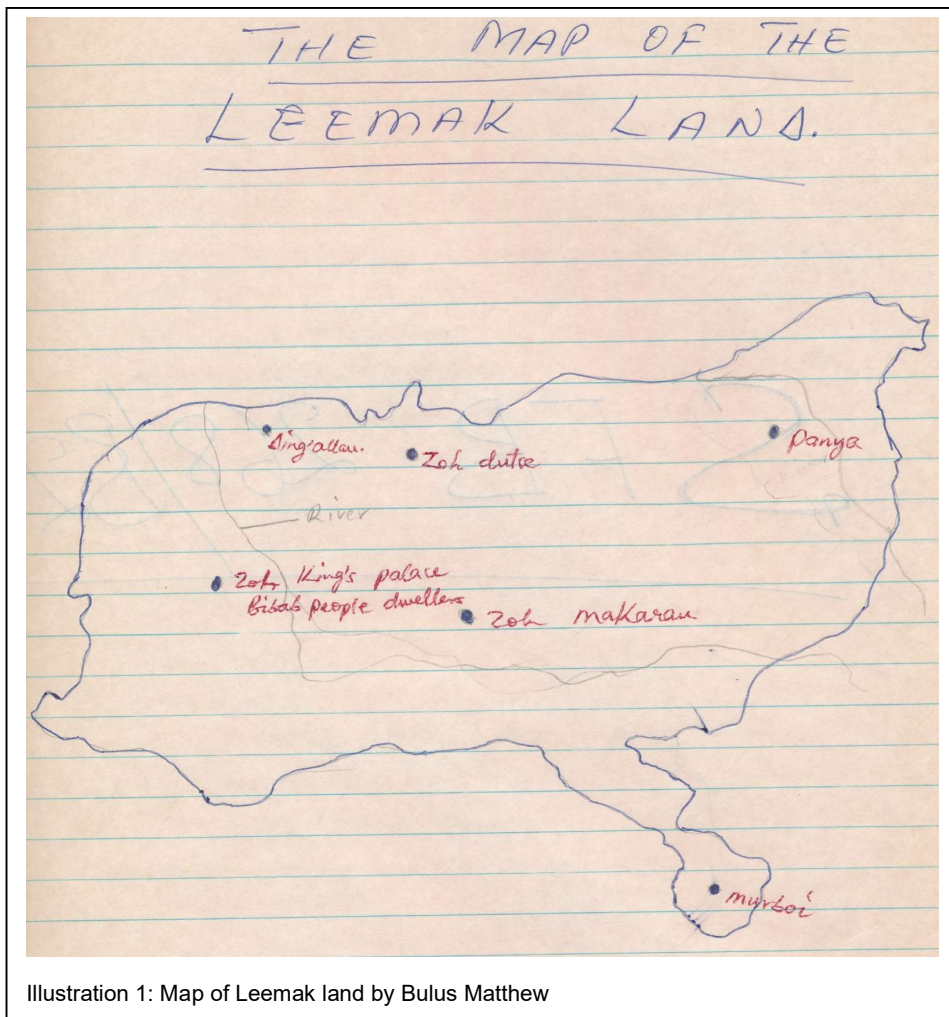


Illustration 1: Map of Leemak land by Bulus Matthew

Panya (also called Mak) and Zoo(-Dutse) are the two main settlements of the Leemak, representing the two localised sections bearing the same names. There are other villages of the Leemak as well, like Zoo-Makarau, Kalbamu, Dingalo, Daa Kindiri, Pirim (on the road to Karim Lamido) or Murboi.

Interethnic Relations

Their neighbours to the north are the Loo, to the east the Gomu, to the south the Munga Leelau and to the west the Kode.

The Leemak acknowledge being part of the supra-ethnic Bikwin cluster, consisting of the Leemak, Munga Leelau, Gomu, Bambuka, Loo and the Tunga section of Dadiya.

Bikwin means "We are one", and the meaning of the term rests on the basis of close linguistic relationship, (with the exception of the Tunga-Dadiya), a shared environment, common interactions and cultural similarities.

Administratively, Bikwin is also a political constituency with representatives in the House of Assembly.

They had friendly relations with the Bambuka, Munga Leelau, Burak, Kode-Tala and Kwonci (Bamingun). At some time in the past, the Leemak and (Kode-)Tala lived close together, then the Kolok arrived from the Wurkun area in the west and settled with the Tala. The Tala and Kolok formed the Kode ethnic group. The Tala call themselves Maghdi ("Magh of the home"), because they consider themselves as the original Mak.

With the Gomu and, by extension the Loo, who were allies of the Gomu, as well as the Karimjo and the Fulani, the relations were strained and there were conflicts between the groups.

Since the *Pax Britannica* was established in the colonial era, the bellicose relations with Gomu, Loo and Karimjo have been replaced by joking relationships that allow the parties involved to mock and abuse each other in a playful and amicable way. In particular, the Mungok clan of Panya has a joking relationship with the Yaa Zok clan of Gomu, and the Guma clan jokes with the Gwanzal and Subiyang clans of Gomu and the Tanyam clan of Munga Leelau.

History

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

The Tanyam clan of the Munga Leelau are said to have been the original inhabitants of Panya, when the Zida, Tawak, Toogung and Mungok clans arrived (in that order). According to the oral tradition of the Leemak, the Tanyam clan of Munga Leelau had no fire and they roasted their food with the help of sun-rays. When the Zida clan arrived, they showed them the use of fire, and in exchange the Tanyam gave the Zida their land and moved to their present location.³

Most of the clans of the Leemak came from other ethnic groups, such as the Gomu, Bambuka, Bandawa, Kode, Kwonci, Kulung or Mumuye. There are only a few clans that have autochthonous status: the Lee Bigiro (or Lee Kadar) are from a cave to the north of Zoo Dutse and are said to have been the originators of Mak language, the Lee Denga are said to have been found in a cave in the area around Zoo, the Lee Bali and the Lee Nwayang are from a cave called Dantin to the northeast of Panya. The Lee Safen are autochthonous to Zoo Makarau.

Relations with the Fulani emirates⁴

The Kiri Fulani, under the leadership of Hammarwa (otherwise called Hammanruwa), who later became the first Emir of Muri Emirate, established a base near Lake Dulum and approached the groups in the region with the choice of either becoming their allies or being subjugated. The Jen made a covenant with the Fulani, and after about two years, the Fulani moved to Gowe in the present Lau district and made a covenant with the Kunini, staying one year at Wulnongo south of Kunini. Before moving on to Kona, the Fulani had a series of clashes with the Bachama and the

³ Hamman (2007: 80) relates that the Munga were routed by the Fulani and fled to Bandawa and Panya in the early 19th century.

⁴ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

Bata, culminating in a fierce battle at Gowe, where the Bachama suffered huge losses, and subsequently the place was called 'pit of death' by the Bachama. At Gowe, Hammarwa received his flag from Buba Yero and started the *jihad* in 1812. While at Wulnongo, the Fulbe approached the Munga, who neglected a covenant and the Fulbe fought and defeated the Munga, who fled to Bandawa and then to Panya. From Wulnongo the *jihadists* went to Kindang-Kuro in Lau Habe, a centre of the Kona state and defeated the Jukun. In 1817, the Fulani took Muri and drove out the Je-Muri, a Jukun group that had settled there. The areas of Bambuka, Loo, Zo, Gomu and Panya, as well as others, were administered by officials of the Emirate of Muri: the *liman* was in charge of Bandawa and Munga, Jen was under the *kaigamma* and the *waziri* took care of Bambuka and Panya.⁵

Local information collected by the missionary McBride, corroborates that several communities such as the Bambuka, Leemak of Panya and Zo, Munga, Karimjo and Jen paid tribute to the Emirate of Muri.⁶ The Loo, Gomu and Burak, on the other hand, were never forced to pay tribute. In the second half of the 19th century, Muri Emirate forces successfully raided the southern fringes of the Muri Mountains for slaves, until they came to Gomu, where they were severely beaten and lost about 150 men.⁷

Although suffering from the various raids, and at least being nominally under the administration of the Emirate of Muri, parts of the populations were able to retain their independence. It is said that the Wurkun groups were never successfully subjugated by the Fulani.⁸ Many groups were strong enough to be able to disrupt trade routes. For instance, the German traveller Eduard Vogel noted in 1855 that the road from Muri to Yola was blocked by the Bachama, who had already defeated the troops of the Emir of Adamawa. It seems that they were supported by troops of the Shehu of Borno (Vogel 1858:32).

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 gate-

⁵ Cf. Hamman 2007: 79-81, 86, 103, 111. *Liman*: *imam*, leader of prayers, *waziri*: vizier, senior adviser, *kaigamma*: commander-in-chief.

⁶ IAI cons 2 box 2(4): 27.

⁷ NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton; NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909; Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909. According to McBride (n.d.:18) this took place about 1850.

⁸ NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

ways. 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.

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).

Colonial encounters⁹

A combined patrol of forces from Gombe and Muri, with officers from both provinces, toured the Muri Mountains proper in May and June 1909.¹⁰ They went along the northern edge, then crossed the hills to the south and returned along its southern edge. Several places in that mountain refuge were visited for the first time. At Gomu a violent conflict arose which resulted in about 30 Gomu being killed. The Gomu warriors were defeated at the same place where they had beaten the Fulani forces years before.¹¹ The proclaimed intention of the patrol was to bring the area under control and to stop offences being committed on traders disturbing the important trading centre of Lau.

⁹ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

¹⁰ NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi: Extract from report on Wurkum Patrol, 1st July 1909 by Elphinstone;

NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909:

- Report by Col. Sergeant C. Bailey 15th June 1909,
- Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909,
- Extract from report from AR Gombe to Resident Bauchi by Lt. Hugh de Putron, OC Nafada.

¹¹ NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi. NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909.

NAK Yola Prof Acc. 15, Misc. Papers re Wurkum and Muri 1912: Gwomu District Wurkum Country Assessment Report Nov. 1912 by AR T. H. Haughton.

NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton.

On 20th April 1909 Colour Sergeant Bailey, with 22 rank and file, left Nafada and marched via Deba Habe, where they joined Assistant Resident of Gombe Carlyle, to the Jukun town of Gateri where they arrived on 28th April. Here they expected to meet with the party from Muri Division, but, due to an illness of the Assistant Resident Fitzpatrick, the meeting was delayed. Eventually on 12th May they were joined by Resident Lau Division K. V. Elphinstone, Assistant Resident Brice-Smith and Lieutenant Feneran with 54 rank and file. The combined patrol left Gateri on 14th May.

From here they first marched east and then south along the boundary line on which, however, both parties had differing views. That stretch of country was covered for the first time by a British patrol. They first visited the Pero settlements of Gwandum and Filiya, and Elphinstone remarked that he was repelled especially by the Pero. As the Pero and Tangale claimed the same saltings on the river, that topic was discussed during the visit by the Galadima of Tangale and Sarkin Filiya. The next settlements they reached were Kushi and Burak. The Burak expressed their contentment with the new administration protecting them against the neighbouring Loo and Pero, and they prepared a road to Gomu. Then the patrol continued to Loo, Gomu and Bambuka. Bambuka had been visited by W. P. Hewby in 1900 (he was an agent of the Royal Niger Company on the Benue and, later, Resident of Benue province) and the Bambuka were said to have been subject to the Emir of Yola. Recently there had been a series of disputes between the Gomu and the Bambuka. When the patrol approached Bambuka, the people, armed with spears and shields, were working in the fields, and, at first, they assumed that the patrol were Gomu warriors. To settle the discord, Resident Elphinstone decided on a fine of spears and shields from both groups, but the Gomu resented the fine. After waiting for one day, the patrol marched into Gomu town on 25th May. Half way up the pass the force was met by the Gomu ready to defend their town, so the soldiers fired two volleys at them and fighting ensued, in which the Gomu were joined by the Loo who were their allies. At the end there were 31 Gomu killed and 19 wounded, and one Loo killed and 9 wounded, with no casualties on the British side.

The patrol continued to Kode. They considered the Kode people to be at a low stage of development but friendly and co-operative. Then they passed through Panya, Bambur and Kwonchi without incident and continued to Pitiko, Bashima, Kirim, Balassa, Ankwara and Batingo. The inhabitants of these settlements were considered to be friendly with the exception of those of Angule. Angule had been burnt three times and fought twice in the past, but now the inhabitants showed no resistance. The patrol did not collect the full amount of tribute, and nothing was given to the Emir of Muri as they felt he had not earned it, for the villages were not administered by him. Although the district had been placed under the Emir by the British administration in 1900, he had never visited it.

The route taken by the patrol was determined to be impractical and it was recommended that it should never be taken again.

On 27th May the two parties split and the Gombe party proceeded to Tangale country, arriving at Nafada on 14th June.

In the year 1915, there was a patrol in Wurkun country again, leaving five Kwonchi dead and their compounds burnt.¹²

District Officer Groom left Mutum Biu on 6th March 1915 and went via Lau to Karim, where he arrived on 10th March. Here he tried to gather information about an incident in which two messengers, who had been sent to Kwonchi to tell them to provide labourers in order to assist a gun convoy, were killed. On the next day there was also a clash between some Kwonchi and some Fulani from Yola, in which three Fulani men were killed and four cattle slaughtered. On 13th March, when Major Ellis returned from leave, the patrol, consisting of District Officer Groom, Major Ellis and 24 soldiers, together with the District Head, left Karim for Kwonchi country. Certain quarters of Kwonchi, which were suspected of having been involved in the killing of the messengers, had formed an armed camp two miles north on the road to Kode. When the patrol approached the camp on the morning of 15th March, however, they fled. Major Ellis followed them and tried to arrest some; in the skirmish five Kwonchi were killed and one wounded. On the next day, the compounds of the men found guilty were razed. This led to the submission of the other quarters of Kwonchi. The following day the compounds of the men who had clashed with the Fulani were also destroyed. The patrol then moved to Angule via Pitiko. On arrival at Angule Lukudu, the tax was collected without resistance. At Ankwara the man who had assaulted the government messengers was arrested. In 1910 ADO Haughton had forbidden a resettlement on Ankwara hill, but nevertheless a highway robber had established himself with some followers on the hill overlooking the Bauchi trade route. He escaped, but his houses were destroyed. The patrol then returned to Kwonchi on 20th March. On 22nd March they proceeded to Zoo and arrested two men. These were sentenced to up to two years' imprisonment. Two others from Kode and Gomu were sentenced for resisting Native Authority. It was reported that the Loo had prepared for a fight before they learnt about the patrol's dealing with the Kwonchi, and so the Loo brought in their tax without resistance. In the report, the Loo and the Kode are described as being the least developed groups in the district. Groom then returned to Karim on 24th March, left Major Ellis at Lau and proceeded to Mutum Biu on March 27th, 1915.

¹² NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919, Report on Wurkun District, Muri Province: A. Holdsworth Groom "From the District Officer I/C Muri Div. to the Resident Muri Province", 7th April 1915. R. Fairfax Ellis "From Major Ellis, Assistant Commissioner of Police to the D.O. in charge Muri Division", 24th March 1915.

Social Structure

The Leemak comprise two localised sections: the Panya and the Zoo, of which the centres are the settlements of the same name. Both sections consist of a number of named, patrilineal and co-residential units or clans.

Clans

Most clan names have the prefix *Lee*, meaning 'people', for instance Lee Dalibak, or Lee Saa. I have omitted that prefix in the list below to allow for a consistent alphabetical ordering.

Table 1: Leemak clans

Section	Clan	Sub-unit, lineage	Origin	Comments
Panya	Bayali		Bambur	
Panya	Guma	Korok	from Mumuye (Goo [Gola?]) via Kode, (Korok is nickname for Kode)	settled first at Kode then at Panya. Brought <i>nungbira/dodo</i> (Makwah); 3 rd to arrive at Mak. Left Kode because these did not want their <i>dodo</i> . Guma joke with Gomu clans Subiyang & Gwanzal, and with Munga Leelau clan Tanyam.
Panya	Guma	Kózo' / Zow	from Mumuye (Goo)	from grave; probably because they settled close to a graveyard?
Panya	Muṅgok/ Mungwak	Nuṅfar	from Gomu	<i>nungfar</i> means they prefer sun. Ancestor was hunter Kukoi who quarrelled with brother Nwadur. Gomu-Nwadur origin confirmed by Gomu traditions. Muṅgok were the 6 th /last clan to come to Mak.
Panya	Muṅgok/ Mungwak	Nuṅkuu	from Gomu	<i>nungkuu</i> means they prefer shade
Panya	Saa		from Bambuka	were partly chased away because of misbehaviour, some settled with the Nwyang at Zoo Makarau
Panya	Tagwam		from Chomo near Didango	almost disappeared
Panya	Tamu		from Wurkun-Worom	ancestor was Nwanyika who fled before Balassa. First settled at Lauboinyak, then at Vak in the mountains before moving to Zoo Makarau.
Panya	Tamu	Garma		founded by a son of Nwanyika
Panya	Tamu	Bibab		founded by a son of Nwanyika
Panya	Tamu	Biori		have ceased to exist
Panya	Tamu	Bikwap		founded by a son of Nwanyika
Panya	Tagwam		Chomo or Gundali (CAPRO 1992: 58)	with Guma in charge of <i>dodo</i> . Almost extinct.
Panya	Tawak		Bambur or Dulum near Numan	4 th to arrive at Mak (Panya), came via Wukari (?), settled first at Lowu-Dai in the W and met Wurkun. Have relationship with Saa and Garma at Zoo.
Panya	Tawak	- Bibang	Bambur or Dulum	
Panya	Tawak	- Lala	Bambur	
Panya	Tawak	- Theram	Bandawa	
Panya	Toogung		from Gomu (Dangjuwal clan)	owner of <i>banzing</i> festival which they have from Zoo Bali: 2 nd to arrive at Mak. Left Gomu due to a conflict.

Section	Clan	Sub-unit, lineage	Origin	Comments
Panya	Toogung	- Kinyiini	Gomu, Dangjuwal clan	have white skin
Panya	Toogung	- Lablakafa	Gomu	used skins of jackals
Panya	Zidà		Dulum near Ruwan Zafi	were first to arrive at Mak, brought fire. May not kill lion or monkey
Panya	Zidà	- Kaswa		name means 'those on the plain'
Panya	Zidà	- Katal	Kode (or Dulum near Ruwan Zafi)	name means 'those on the mountain'
Zoo	Bali		from a cave/hole NE of Panya (Dantin) where they lived with Nwayang / or from Tangale	are under Tamu. Brought white guinea corn with them. Brought <i>banzing</i> cult and gave it to the Toogung for their protection against the Gomu. Were chased out by Panya people and settled with the Bigiro. Closely associated with the Bigiro and Nwayang. Also called Dantin.
Zoo	Bali-Bigiro		from Bigiro (=Pijilang)	Bamingun and Pijilang are clans of the Kwonci
Zoo	Bigiro/Lee Kadar		from hole N of Zo Dutse	originator of Mak language, first settlers at Zoo Dutse. Ancestor Modi. Are under Tamu. Closely associated with Bali and Nwayang.
Zoo	Biiböp		Worom	see Tamu-Lee Bibab
Zoo	Biïore		Worom	see Tamu-Lee Biori
Zoo	Biikop Zoo		partly Pijilang (Kwonci), partly Worom	see Tamu-Lee Bikwap
Zoo	Bongolong		from Gomu clan Nwador	under Tamu, but not as descent group. Different ancestors mentioned. Ancestor had to leave for he had eaten taboo monkey. Closely associated with Garma.
Zoo	Dalibak		Jukun Kwana	under Tamu, but not as descent group, also called Sram or Lee Kwani, only few remain
Zoo	Dönga/Denga		from a cave/hole, around Kode area	discovered in a cave during a hunt by Lee Bikwap/Biikop of Tamu; many left the area because of conflict with Garma, those remaining are under Tamu
Zoo	Garma Zoo		Worom	see Tamu-Garma
Zoo	Kadau		Bigiro (Bamingun)	Bigiro=Pijilang
Zoo	Moms		Worom	
Zoo	Mwam		from west	brought arrows with them (<i>mwam</i> =arrow). First settled with Bigiro; are under Tamu
Zoo	Sáà		Bambuka	see Panya - Saa
Zoo	Safen		autochthonous in Zoo Makarau	
Zoo	Nwayang		from Panya: from a cave/hole NE of Panya (Dantin)	brought brown guinea corn with them which is staple crop of Leemak. Closely associated with Bali and Bigiro. Are under Tamu

Panya clans¹³

The **Lee Zida**, coming from Dulum near Numan, were the first group of the Leemak that came to Mak. On arrival, they met the Tanyam clan of the Munga Leelau settling at Mak. The Zida taught the Tanyam the use of fire for cooking which was previously unknown to the latter, and in exchange the Tanyam gave them their land.

¹³ Information on the clans of Panya is taken from the MS of Buba Kiling.

The **Toogung** came from the Danjuwal clan of Gomu, and they had already met the Zida at Mak. This clan does not eat monkeys. They took over the *banzing* ritual from Lee Bali. *Banzing* is an annual agricultural ritual celebrated in June–July, aiming at securing a good harvest and preventing sickness. The **Bali** - according to one account - were Tangale who had to emigrate due to a conflict and brought *banzing* with them to Mak. The Gomu threatened the Bali because of their cult and the Toogung protected them, therefore the Bali handed over *banzing* to the Toogung. These in turn transferred the ritual to the Zida clan because they were the first settlers.

The Toogung, Zida and Tagwam are closely associated.

The **Lee Guma** came from the Mumuye-Goo¹⁴ around the Jalingo area and left because of war and slave raids. They went upstream along the banks of the river Benue and first settled at Kode. They brought with them the idol *nungbira* (or *dodo* in Hausa), this *dodo* frightened the Kode by making sounds early in the morning and so they sent the Gumma away. The Gumma went further east and met the Zida at Mak who offered them accommodation, showing them a place where to build the house for *nungbira*. All clans joined the worship of *nungbira*. Gumma is subdivided into Gumma-Korok (for they came from Korok at Kode) and Guma-Zow (meaning they came from a grave). The Guma have a joking relationship with the clans Subiang and Gwanzal of the Gomu, and with the Tanyam clan of the Munga Leelau.

The **Lee Tawak** was the fourth clan to arrive at Mak, they also came from Dulum and left because of wars and slave raids, they followed the river Benue through Wukari until they reached Lowu-Dai in the western part of present Karim Lamido LGA. Here they met the Wurkun people who had settled there. Then they moved to Mak where they met the Zida, Toogung and Guma. They have friendly relations with the Saa and Garma clans of Zoo.

The **Tagwam** clan has almost disappeared, only one young man of 18 years is still alive.

The **Lee Mungok** was the last (6th) clan to arrive at Mak land. A man called Kukoi left Gomu due to a conflict with his brother and went to Mak where he met the Munga Leelau. The Mungok are subdivided into Nunfar (sun) and Nunkuu (shade).

The Gumma, Tawak and Mungok are closely associated.

Zoo clans¹⁵

The **Lee Bigiro** or **Lee Kadar** (*dar* meaning strong, fearless people) were the first clan to settle at Zoo Dutse. Modi was their ancestor; he came out of a hole inside the rocks of the mountain in the northern parts of Zoo Dutse. The Mak language came from him, and all other clans learned the language; the Bigiro are therefore the originators of the Mak language.

Then the **Mwam** people came from the west, bringing arrows with them and settled with the Bigiro. Later the **Lee Bali** clan joined them. They also came out of a hole in the mountains, northeast

¹⁴ Presumably this refers to the Gola-Mumuye (cf. Meek 1931: 446) who call themselves Gnoore (Shimizu 1979: 14, 60 FN 5, 62 FN 5).

¹⁵ Information on the clans of Zoo is taken from the MS of Bulus Matthew.

of present Panya, at a place called Dantin. They were chased out of Panya by the Tagwam, Zida and Toogong because they did not observe ritual regulations. The Bali went to Modi of the Bigiro clan and settled with him. They came out of the cave with white guinea corn. In the cave they lived with the **Nwayang** clan, but the **Nwayang** left through a different hole and brought with them brown guinea corn, which is the major crop of the Leemak until now. When the Bali had settled with the Bigiro, the Nwayang also came and settled at Zoo Dutse. The Bigiro, Bali, Nwayang and Mwam are the major clans of Zoo Dutse and are considered to be under the Tamu.

The **Lee Tamu** are mostly settled at Zoo Makarau. The Tamu include the Bongolong, Garma, Lee Dalibak, Lee Dönga, Lee Bibab, Lee Biori, Lee Bikwap and Lee Bali. The ancestor of the Tamu was a man called Nwanyika from the Worom Wurkun near Bambur, who fled because of a defeat in a fight with the clan Bakila of Balasa. He settled first at Lauboinyak with his three wives. Barvu Bilim of the Leemak invited Nwanyika to stay and showed him a place called Daa where he could settle. The children of Nwanyika each founded a lineage within Leemak: Bi-bab (*bab* = a tree), Bi-kwap (*kwap* is also a tree), Garma, Bi-ori (has ceased to exist).

The **Bongolong** came from Gomu, their ancestor was Nyangwa. In another account the ancestor is called Bujinga, and in yet another account it is Mungkah (his father was Kukoi (see Mungok) who later begot Bujinga) who belonged to the Nwadur clan of Gomu. He had to leave because he had eaten monkey meat which is a taboo for the Gomu. He settled close to the Garma; in another account he was accepted by Kyota of the Dalibak clan. At this time the Leemak still lived on the mountains. The Bongolong are considered to be a part of the Tamu. Their ancestor Bujinga had two sons: Lauzo and Tukwa. The Bongolong and the Lee Garma are closely associated and assist each other.

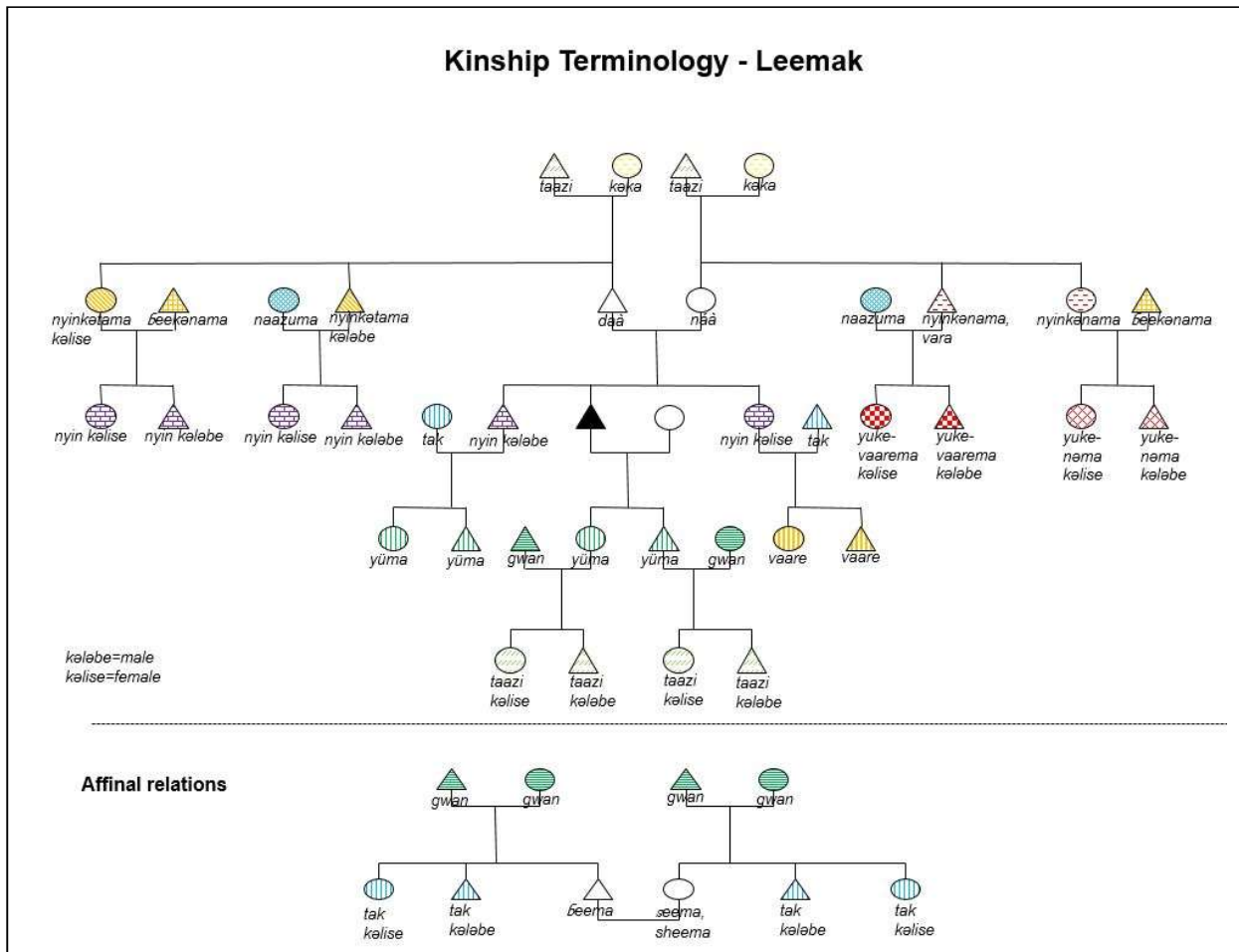
The **Lee Denga** lived in a cave in the mountains. A woman from Denga was hungry, left the cave and turned into a squirrel. A man from Lee Biikop (in another account it was Nwanyika of Tamu on his way from Worom) discovered the Denga living in a cave and offered them to come out and settle; the place is called Pala-Pala and presently the Kode people are settled there. There was a conflict between the clans Denga and Garma at Zoo Dutse, thus most of the Denga moved to Munga Leelau (8 km away from Zoo Makarau). The remaining Denga at Zoo Dutse are under the Tamu clan. The Denga had their own ritual pots (*tukunyan tsafi* in Hausa).

Only a few of the **Lee Dalibak** remain, most of them left. They originally came from Jukun Kwana, they were also called Sram or Lee Kwani by the Leemak. They also had their own ritual pots.

The **Lee Saa** came from Bambuka and were accommodated by the Bali clan at Zoo Dutse. But a woman of the Lee Saa misbehaved and thus they were chased out, some escaped to Gurwa near Didango, some to Kode, some settled with the Nwayang clan of Leemak at Zoo Makarau.

Kinship terminology

The kinship terminology of the Leemak defies easy classification, because it is only on the patrilineal side that the terminology follows a Hawaii system, where in ego's generation cousins are equated with siblings, only differentiated by gender.



Family

The mother's brother/maternal uncle of the children has some kind of power of control over them. In times of hardship, he may sell off a child of his sister to other groups in exchange for foodstuff (see below).

In a polygynous household, usually the wives cook in turn for the members of the compound. If the wives are not on good terms with each other, each will cook for herself. A husband should eat from the meals of each of his wives.

Marriage

Post-marital residence is virilocal.

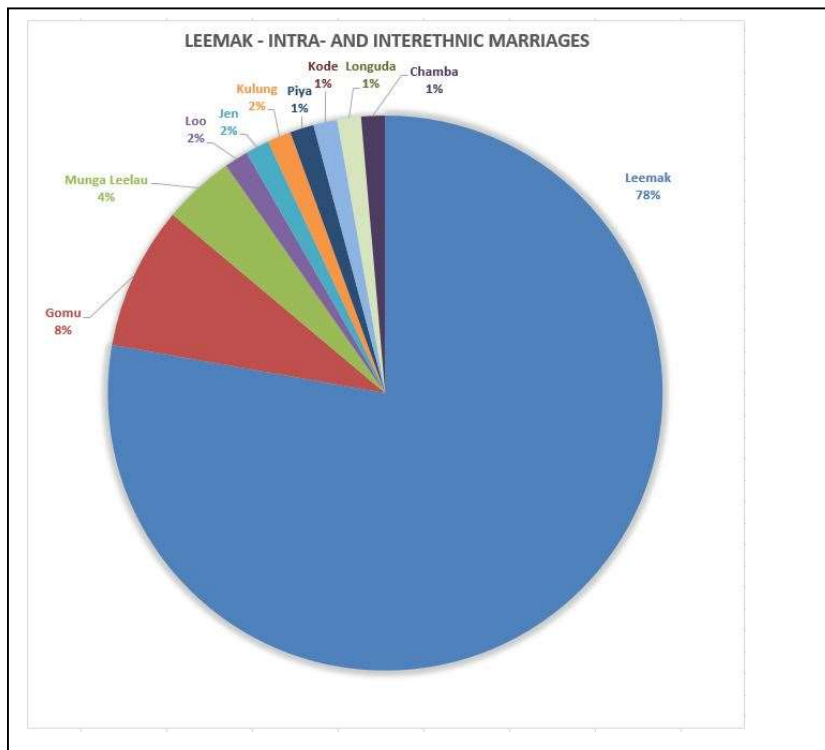
Marriage was by sister exchange in the past. If a girl agrees to marry a boy, he will, after some time, take her secretly in the night to a compound of a friend where they will spend 2-3 days without eating or drinking. After that period, she will visit the compound of relatives at the village and eat and drink there. The prospective husband will visit her parents and give them a part of the bride price (*bi*) consisting of pieces of iron. Then the girl is brought back to her parents and stays there for up to one year. After this time the girl is taken to the husband's house, the remaining bride price is paid and/or it is agreed that a sister exchange will take place. If the girl becomes pregnant before she moves to her husband, the girl's parents may demand the full bride price and keep her.

A prospective wife has to bring an object called *dai gau* with her when moving into the compound of her husband. *Dai gau* is a calabash in the form of a bottle with ground nut oil and leaves from the *vuu* plant which has a nice scent. This bottle gourd is put into a calabash in the form of a dish and covered with another calabash. The *dai gau* is stored in the room of the wife. If the husband wants to divorce her, he tells her to take her *dai gau* back to her parents' compound.

In the past, care was taken that, in the case of marriage by sister exchange, the number of children by each couple connected by the sister exchange was equal; otherwise, the man whose wife had produced less off-spring was entitled to take away children from the other man (and his sister) to balance out the number. In times of hardship, he could sell them or exchange for foodstuff. As long as the brideprice is not paid in full, the parents of the wife have rights over her children and may take her, as well as the children, back until the brideprice is paid (Buba Kiling MS, Bulus Matthew MS).

Some statistics

In a sample of 44 married Leemak men, there were a total of 72 wives, of which 56 were from



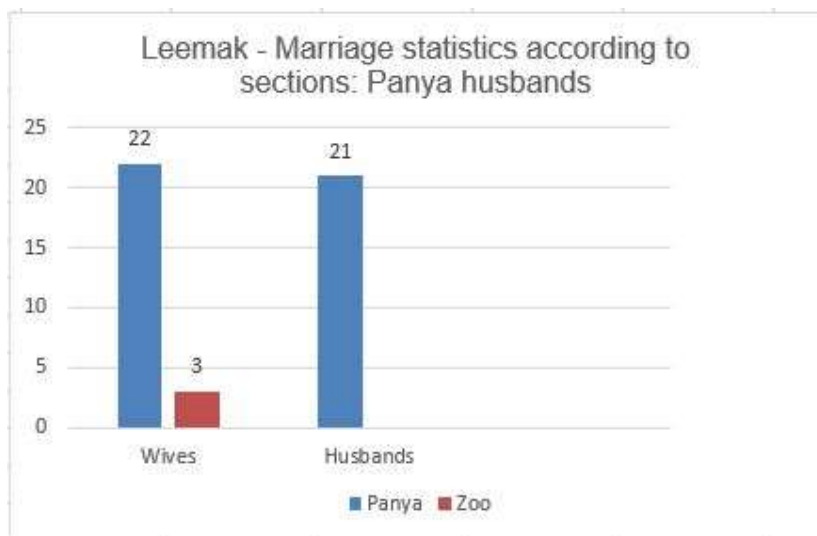
Leemak, and 16 were from other ethnic groups.

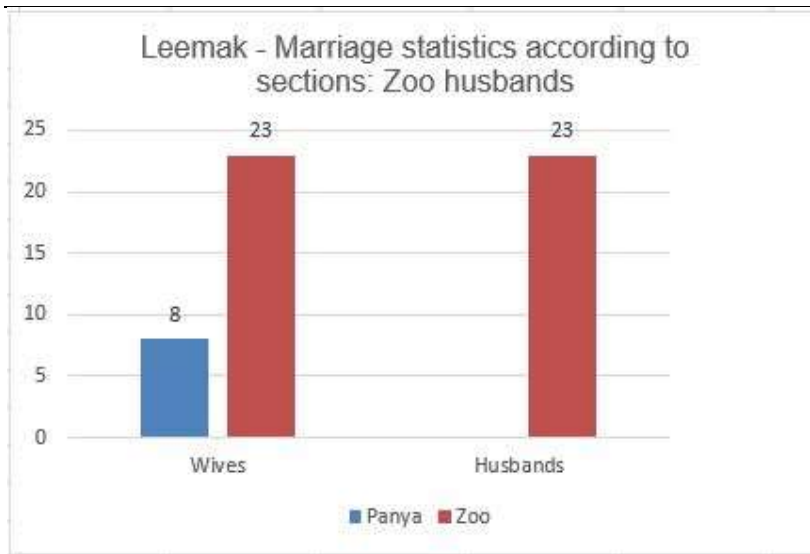
The overall polygamy rate was 1.6, the polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e., wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 1.5.

Marriages with partners from the same section (Panya or Zoo) are prevalent.

Marriages within the same section: 80.4 %.

Marriages with a wife from a different section: 19.6%.





Granaries

The granaries of the Leemak of Panya and the Gomu look identical. Men and women each have



Photo 1: Gomu granaries

their own granaries. The granary of a woman (*burum lishei*) always stands inside the compound. The granary of the husband (*burum labei*) stands outside of the compound. Both types have the same form, but women's granaries are smaller. The granary type with legs of clay is usually built within a house, otherwise it would easily be damaged by rain. Women's granaries are built by themselves, assisted by their husbands, and they handle the replenishment as well as the removing of supplies.

Women usually store groundnuts, beniseed and other produce necessary for preparing sauces. Guinea corn is an exception: here the man fills the granary of the woman and also removes the supply for the first time.

The husband builds the big granaries (*burum labei*) and he also fills them with supplies. Granaries are built in the dry season March-April, or November; there are experts for granary building: men build them assisted by women who fetch water for the preparation of the clay. A well-built granary may last several years and has to be protected by woven grass covers preventing rain from damaging the clay structure. Today, tar or cement is also used for protection against rain. Members of the same clan used to build their granaries together in a suitable place.

After having filled a granary, the household head will apply a mixture of guinea corn flour and water around the opening and on the outside for spiritual protection of the harvested goods. The person filling the granary should not have had sexual intercourse before commencing the task.

If a sealed granary is opened for the first time, it is the husband who takes out the first batch, and he performs a sacrifice (*pōnowai da*). Afterwards, it is always the first wife who fetches provisions from the granary, and she distributes them to her co-wives. This applies especially to the staple crops of sorghum and millet. Menstruating women are not allowed to enter a granary. Granaries are used for the storage of guinea corn, millet, groundnuts, beniseed, beans, maize or rice. Cas-sava, bambara nut, sweet potato, pepper and fruits like mango or banana are not stored in a granary (Bulus Matthew MS).

Birth

After a woman has given birth, the cut umbilical cord is rolled on a small stick and this stick is stuck into the ceiling of the mother's room. The placenta is put inside a broken earthen vessel, covered with a potsherd and buried in the bathing room of the mother. The frequent application of hot water on the bathroom floor will prevent ants or other insects from destroying the tissue, and thus prevent the baby from developing cough or itches. The mother will not leave her room for about 2-3 months after the birth. During this period, the ash from the hearth inside her room has to be accumulated in a heap inside the room. If she fails to do so, she may risk dying, and in order to avoid this, she has to pay a fine to the elders of the clan. When the period has elapsed and the mother is allowed to venture outside, she will take some of the ashes and sprinkle them on the way outside the compound. An elder of the clan will then allow her to collect all the accumulated ashes in a container, the stick with the umbilical cord is laid on top and everything is put to the rubbish tip outside of the compound (Bulus Matthew MS).

Burial

The Leemak believe in re-incarnation. Objects representing talents of the deceased in which he/she excelled are put into and on the grave. For instance, if a woman was a good potter, some clay is placed into her hands in the grave, and broken pots are laid on the grave. This allows the deceased to continue his/her activities if he/she is re-incarnated. Generally, if a married man dies, some heads of unthreshed guinea corn are put on the grave in order to allow him to continue his farmwork when he returns. If a baby or small child dies, its body is buried near the door or inside of the mother's house so that it may come back to the mother's womb.

When a person has died, there is no prohibition to use or call the name of the deceased (Bulus Matthew MS).

If an elder person dies (60 years and above), the grave faces east when it was a male, and for a female it faces west. Two days after the burial the relatives gather in the deceased's compound and shave their heads bald. After seven days the millet beer is ready and there is a little commemoration with a gathering of the elders. After one year another celebration takes place, whereby the remaining stored crops of the deceased are brought out and scattered on the ground.

If the deceased was a good hunter or warrior, leaves of the locust bean tree are tied around the right hand of the corpse (MS Buba Kiling).

Village

In a census conducted among 29 compounds at Panya, a total of 210 inhabitants were counted, of which 116 were males, 94 females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 7.2, with slightly more males (4) than females (3.2).

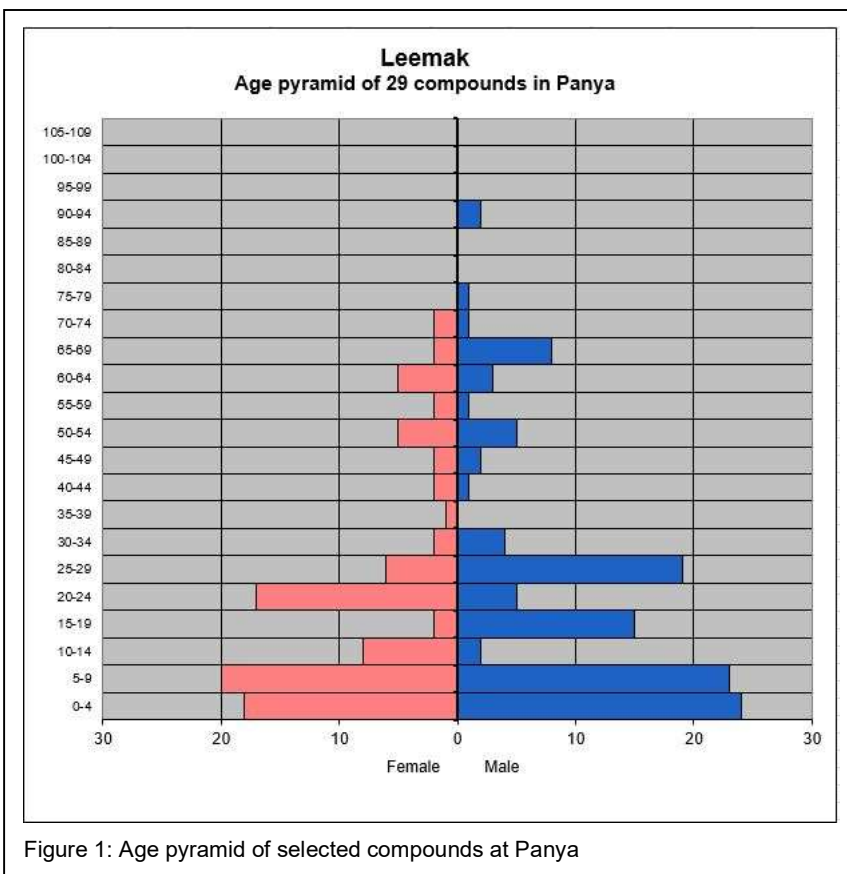


Figure 1: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Panya

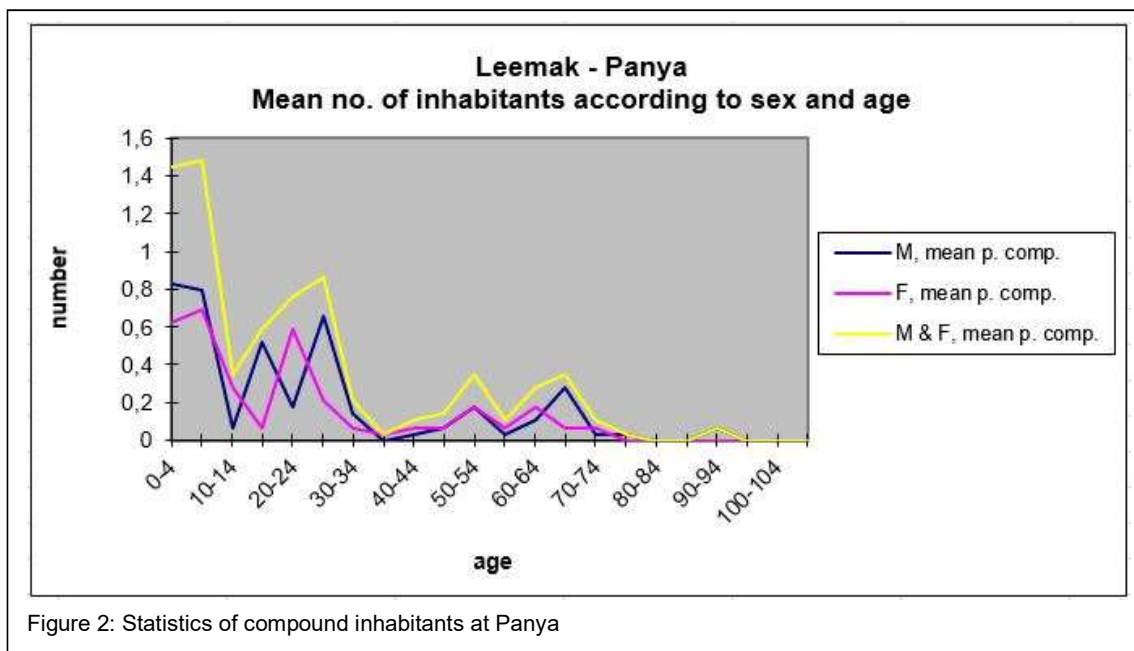


Figure 2: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Panya

Age groups

The Leemak have age groups; the initiation into an age group takes place every 7 years in the course of a ritual involving the *nungbira* idols. Young men about 20 years of age are initiated into the cult of *nungbira* during a period of four months when they will be instructed and learn the secrets of the cult, its dances and songs. The initiates may not talk to a woman during that time. At the final stage, the parents of the initiates have to slaughter a black goat. The final celebrations may last seven days. Boys initiated together form an age group. Members of an age group unite for hunting and during festivities.

Political Organisation

Village Head

The title of Village Head was introduced by the British colonial administration. Before that time, there was no central chief and the clans were independent groups. Buba Kiling in his MS gives this list of Village Heads, (which may only refer to Panya):

- 1) Ninyam Kyakori (from Guma, had been a slave at Sokoto and was made chief by the British for his ability to speak Hausa, ruled for 15 years)
- 2) Geng Yoki (from Togong, ruled for 19 years)
- 3) Zu'am Jura (from Togong, ruled for 25 years)
- 4) Yagwai Geng (from Togong, ruled for 4 years)
- 5) Bushe Geng (from Togong, ruled for 21 years until July 1980)
- 6) Dimas Dambang (from Guma, has ruled since 22nd January 1981).

Economic Activities

Division of labour

Table 2: Gender specific division of labour among the Leemak (m: male, f: female)

Activity	Gender
clearing	m
sowing	m
weeding	m & f
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	m
threshing	f
prepare threshing ground	f
winnowing	f
build house walls	f
build house roof	m
prepare house floor	f
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	f
weaving cotton	m
spinning	f
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	f

In precolonial times, the Leemak got their salt from Bomanda, near Muri, where there are alluvial salt pans; and they got iron from Dulum near Numan (Buba Kiling MS).

Agriculture

As major staple crops, the Leemak are cultivating sorghum (*yita*) and millet, groundnuts (*gyura*) and maize (*yirakwan*), as well as rice (*skabaa*) as a cash crop. In gardens, sweet potatoes, bananas, garden eggs and mangoes are cultivated.

Formerly, virgin land could be cleared and it belonged to the farmer as long as he did not give it up. Now land has become scarce and is all under cultivation. To avoid exhaustion of the soil, shifting cultivation is practised, whereby plots of land are left fallow to allow the ground to regenerate. Three years is the generally acknowledged period for leaving land fallow, after that it may be regarded as unused land and the owner may face problems reclaiming it. Fields are demarcated by lines of long grass or by trees.

To guarantee a bumper harvest, leaves from the *gatal* (?) plant will be sprinkled with a mixture of guinea corn flour and water, and placed under a tree standing in the farm to be harvested. After the harvest, two heads of white and two heads of brown sorghum are bound together with these *gatal* leaves in between and placed inside the granary before the harvest is stored there. (Bulus Matthews MS)

Animal husbandry

The Leemak traditionally keep goats, sheep, chickens and dogs as domestic animals, and, in more recent times, also cattle, pigs, donkeys and horses.

Table 3: Domestic animals and their uses

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, milk, leather	both sexes milk cattle
dwarf cattle	-	-	-
horse	m	riding	used by title holders. Horse gets a burial like human
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	riding, beast of burden	
goat	m & f	meat, leather	
sheep	m & f	meat, leather	
pig	m & f	meat	
dog	m & f	guardian, assisting in hunting	
chicken	m & f	meat, eggs	in the past, women did not eat eggs
duck	m & f	eggs, meat	
guinea fowl	-	-	-
pigeon	-	-	-
cat	m & f	meat, fur, protection against rats	women do not eat cats

Material culture

Bila are wooden objects on which oaths are sworn in order to find out if someone is guilty or not.

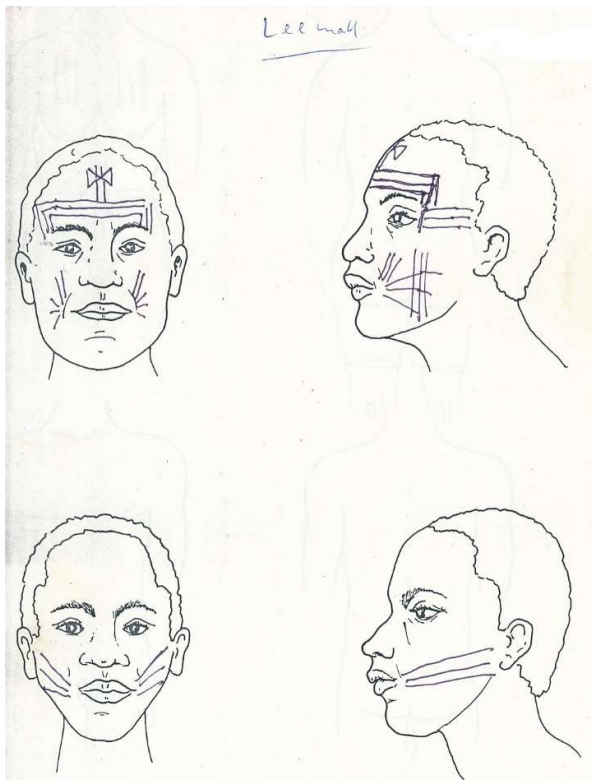


Photo 2: A pair of *bila* beside a ritual pot

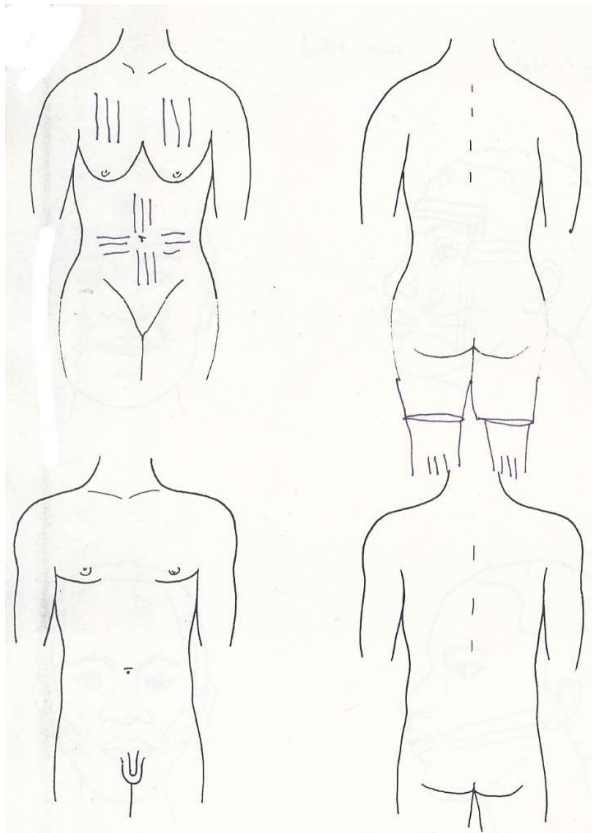
The accusation is presented to the *bila*, and if the suspected person, who has sworn and denied but was guilty, he will die. His relatives have dreams about the cause of the death and may pay a penalty to the other party involved to remove the curse from them. Such a penalty consists of 7 bundles of guinea corn, 1 chicken, 1 goat, 1 dog, 1 calabash of beniseed and 50 kobo (in the past it was 1 shilling 5 kobo). In addition, a sum to be determined must be paid to the ritual expert of the *bila*.

Scarification/cicatrization, bodily ornamentation

See illustrations.



The facial scarifications typical for Leemak people are called *zəma*.



Rituals and Religion

Spirits and associated rituals¹⁶

Dangbang is a spirit that gives protection and well-being and is a mediator between humans and god (Bulus Matthew MS).

Nungbira (*dodo* in Hausa) are spirits manifested in wooden idols in the form of a yoke or vertical



Photo 3: A *kabalou*

mask with a human face and worn in masquerades.¹⁷ The spirits embodied in the *nungbira* idols are capricious and may cause harm if not handled properly.

The Leemak also have wooden idols called *kabalou*, which look like scaled down, handheld miniature yoke masks.¹⁸ They are used in a variety of ceremonies designed to assure well-being and a bumper harvest. *Kabalou* receive beer and porridge made from millet, as well as the sacrifice of a cockerel during a ritual called *minpi* before harvest begins; they may also be used in divination to determine the causes of illness.



Photo 4: A *kabalou* inside its shrine

There are other wooden statues such as *kundul* (*gunki* in Hausa) serving ritual purposes in connection with hunting, as well as victory drums (*gilang*) standing on three legs and being common to other ethnic groups in the area, especially among the Wurkun groups.

Water sources

Water sources are cared for by specific

clans, for instance the Lee Safen clan takes care of a source called *bula* near Zoo-Makarau. At the spring *muibaa*, sacrifices are offered for certain spirits, and after the ritual has taken place, an old woman of the Biikop clan has to fetch water with a calabash first before others are allowed to fetch their water. It is believed that a certain snake (*biling*) is living in these sources and secures the flow of water. The *muibaa* spring is feared by women, particularly during the night, for fear of being attacked by evil spirits that live there. Women during menstruation may not fetch water from

¹⁶ See also CAPRO 1992: 56-63 for some information on rituals and traditional beliefs.

¹⁷ On vertical masks in the region see Berns 2011, also Adelberger 2011.

¹⁸ See also Adelberger 2011.

springs. For fetching water, all kinds of containers, be they made of wood, metal or plastic, may be used.

Table 4: Religious concepts and their material expression

Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>far</i>	creator god
ancestors	<i>nunbira</i>	kind of collective ancestral spirits
water spirit	<i>limi</i>	
bush spirit	<i>nunmor</i>	lives under trees, can kill people
protecting spirit	<i>swiit</i>	lives in a pot, which may be kept inside the house, is like a bird and can fly everywhere
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol)	<i>kundul</i>	
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>nunbira</i>	vertical or yoke mask

Ritual calendar

Leemak Annual festivities												
Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>biyang</i>		—						—				
<i>mam gabra</i>			—							—		
<i>nunbira</i>					—							—
<i>banzing</i>						—						
<i>minpi</i>											—	

Agricultural rituals performed annually to secure good harvest are:

Mam gabra (*boori* in Hausa): it is a possession cult and the celebrations have a bacchanalian character. There are three types of that cult: the Wurbo type was imported from the Wurbo people near Didango, the Baya type was brought from the Kulung. The Kulung in turn had taken it over from the Jukun of Kona. The third type is called Basuai. *Mam gabra* is celebrated twice a year, one in the rainy, one in the dry season.

Buba Killing in his MS offers more detailed information: the leader of the ritual is called *avuma* and his deputy *kawu*. The object central to the cult is either a stone or a metal rod in the form of a spear. Women may take part in the festivities, sing and dance. People from neighbouring groups join the festivities. The celebrations last three to four days, and members of the cult will

be possessed by the spirit *mam*, they dance and drink, cut themselves with a knife or spear, and behave as if they were possessed: a person may not recognise his relatives, sleep in the dirt or eat unclean food. Persons may be possessed for up to 7 days, going from house to house and taking food or objects, talking a different language, e.g. Wurbo or Kona Jukun. Of the three types of *mam gabra*, Wurbo is the cult with the strictest rules. Members of the *Wurbo mam* cult avoid menstruating women and anything touched by them.

Mam baya came from the Wurkun (Kulung), it is less strict than the Wurbo version, as members will accept food prepared by a menstruating woman. *Mam basuai* is even less strict, as menstruating women are not avoided and its members eat animals otherwise regarded as unclean (such as frogs and lizards).

Nungbira – takes place in May and December: wooden idols in the form of yoke- or vertical masks play an important part in the ritual, and the spirit manifested in the idols makes a distinct sound. The ritual in May is intended to secure a good farming season and protection against diseases; the one in December has to take place before the harvest. The major idol was brought from the Mumuye by the Guma clan and embodies the spirit *Maako*. It was first brought to Panya and, therefore, the celebrations are performed there first. There is the male spirit *Maako* and the female spirit *Maadam*; these are the designations of the Leemak of Panya, among the Leemak of Zoo the male spirit is called *Yiiti* and the female *Wapois*. The latter one was imported from the Munga Leelau. *Nungbira* is a cult common among the Bikwin people, as well as among the Jen. Women may not see the *nungbira* or they will die. The *nungbira* only comes out in the dry season from November to May (Buba Kiling MS).

biyang – takes place in February and addresses the ancestors of the clans, asking for well-being and protection. Each clan has a shrine where special pots for the ancestors are kept.

biyang is a *dodo* cult similar to *nungbira*. The chief priest is *gub biyang*. The shrine, which contains a stone, is built under a tree or behind a hill; the priest makes a distinct sound. Whereas *nungbira* drinks millet beer, *biyang* prefers solid food. Boys are initiated into *biyang* before they may be initiated into the *nungbira* cult. The initiation lasts about two to three months. The food prepared as sacrifice for *biyang* may not be touched by women. It is said that *biyang* moves underground where it cannot be seen by women. (Buba Kiling MS).

Banzing – takes place June to July, is celebrated first at Zoo, then at Panya. It is an agricultural ritual designed to provide sufficient rain, a good farming season and prevent sickness. Bulus Matthews in his MS relates that *Banzing* is an original ritual of the Leemak and was later taken over by the Munga Leelau and the Munga Doso.

Minpi – takes place in November, before harvest a sacrifice consisting of millet beer, guinea corn flour and a cockerel is made to the wooden idol *kabalou*. Women have to stay inside the compounds during the celebrations and dances that last throughout the night.

When there is lack of rain, a ritual is performed at a certain rock called *Botaloum*, which is considered to be sacred and is located in the hills near Dingalo. The priest performing the ritual is from the Biikop clan. He will pray to the spirit *dangbang* to send rain, and special drums are beaten.

Miscellanea

Witches have the ability to transmogrify into animals like a sheep or birds, as well as dangerous animals like hyenas.

Menstruating women are considered to be unclean and were not allowed to cook food or sit in a public place in the past. A man would not eat food prepared by a menstruating woman. A long grass or a stick is put on the thatch near the door of the house of a menstruating woman as a sign of her condition.

Bad dreams are invoked by evil spirits.

Millet beer (*min*; *burkutu* in Hausa) is considered as very nourishing and as an addition to the blood.

Taboos

A lion (*zua*) may not be killed by the Leemak people, and accordingly its meat is not eaten. It is believed that the lion is a friend of the Leemak people.

There are some clans that do not eat monkeys (*wari*). The fruit of *gii* (*gwaskaa* H. = *Andira inermis* (cabbage tree) or *Erythrophleum suaveolens* (sassafras or ordeal tree)) is not eaten, but it is used to detect witches. If someone is accused of witchcraft, he will have to drink a concoction made of *gii* - if he vomits, his innocence is proved. In this case, those who have accused him have to give him a girl, the girl and all her offspring will become his slaves (MS Buba Kiling).

Glossary¹⁹

Leemak	gloss	comment
<i>banzing</i>	annual agricultural ritual	
<i>bi</i>	bride price	
<i>bila</i>	sp. wooden rods on which oaths are sworn	
<i>biling</i>	sp. snake living in springs securing the water flow	
<i>biyang</i>	annual agricultural ritual	
<i>burum labei</i>	granary for men	
<i>burum lishei</i>	granary for women	
<i>dangbang</i>	sp. spirit caring for protection and well-being of humans	
<i>dai gau</i>	a token of marriage in form of a gourd with scent inside	
<i>far</i>	high god	
<i>gilang</i>	victory drum with three legs	
<i>gyura</i>	groundnut	
<i>kabalou</i>	a wooden idol like a smaller version of a vertical mask	
<i>limi</i>	water spirit	
<i>mam gabra</i>	a possession cult	<i>boori</i> (H.). Sometimes called "arm slashing cult"
<i>min</i>	millet beer	<i>burkutu</i> in Hausa
<i>minpi</i>	an annual agricultural ritual	
<i>mwam</i>	arrow	
<i>nunbira</i>	large wooden yoke mask/vertical mask	<i>dodo</i> in Hausa
<i>nunmor</i>	spirit of the bush	
<i>pönowaida</i>	sacrifice made when fetching corn from a granary for the first time	
<i>swiit</i>	protecting spirit	
<i>skabaa</i>	rice	
<i>wari</i>	monkey	
<i>yirakwan</i>	maize	
<i>yita</i>	guinea corn	
<i>zema</i>	facial scarification	
<i>zözömá</i>	wetland	<i>fadama</i> (H.)
<i>zua</i>	lion	
Colours:		
<i>biling</i>	black	
<i>vurum</i>	white	
<i>nyini</i>	red	

¹⁹ H. = Hausa term.

Leemak	gloss	comment
<i>yimbi-yimbi</i>	pink	
<i>banga-banga</i>	dark brown	
<i>zang-zang</i>	light brown	
<i>mei yangkap</i>	green	
<i>mei loi</i>	yellow	
<i>karma</i>	dark blue	
<i>fok-fok</i>	light blue	

Plants:

Leemak	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>baing</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>
<i>cowon</i>	<i>gwaazaa</i>	cocoyam	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>
<i>cultok</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>
<i>dangali</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>
<i>gii</i>	<i>gwaskaa</i>	cabbage tree or sasswood tree	<i>Andira inermis</i> or <i>Erythrophleum suaveolens</i>
<i>gatal</i>	?	?	?
<i>gwom</i>	<i>kadanya</i>	Shea tree	<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>
<i>iirem</i>	<i>albasaa</i>	onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>
<i>kergee</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>
<i>kindiri</i>	<i>kuka</i>	Baobab tree	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>
<i>kullaa</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>
<i>kwamburam</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>
<i>luyi</i>	<i>dinyaa</i>	black plum tree	<i>Vitex doniana</i>
<i>loyi</i>	<i>dorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>
<i>muaraa</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>
<i>muoo</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
<i>taa</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana rustica</i> ; <i>N. tabacum</i>
<i>timatir</i>	<i>tumaatur</i>	tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>
<i>vuu</i>	?	?	?
<i>yengnini</i>	<i>barkoonoo</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>
<i>zibi</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>

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