



THE LOO

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

by Jörg Adelberger

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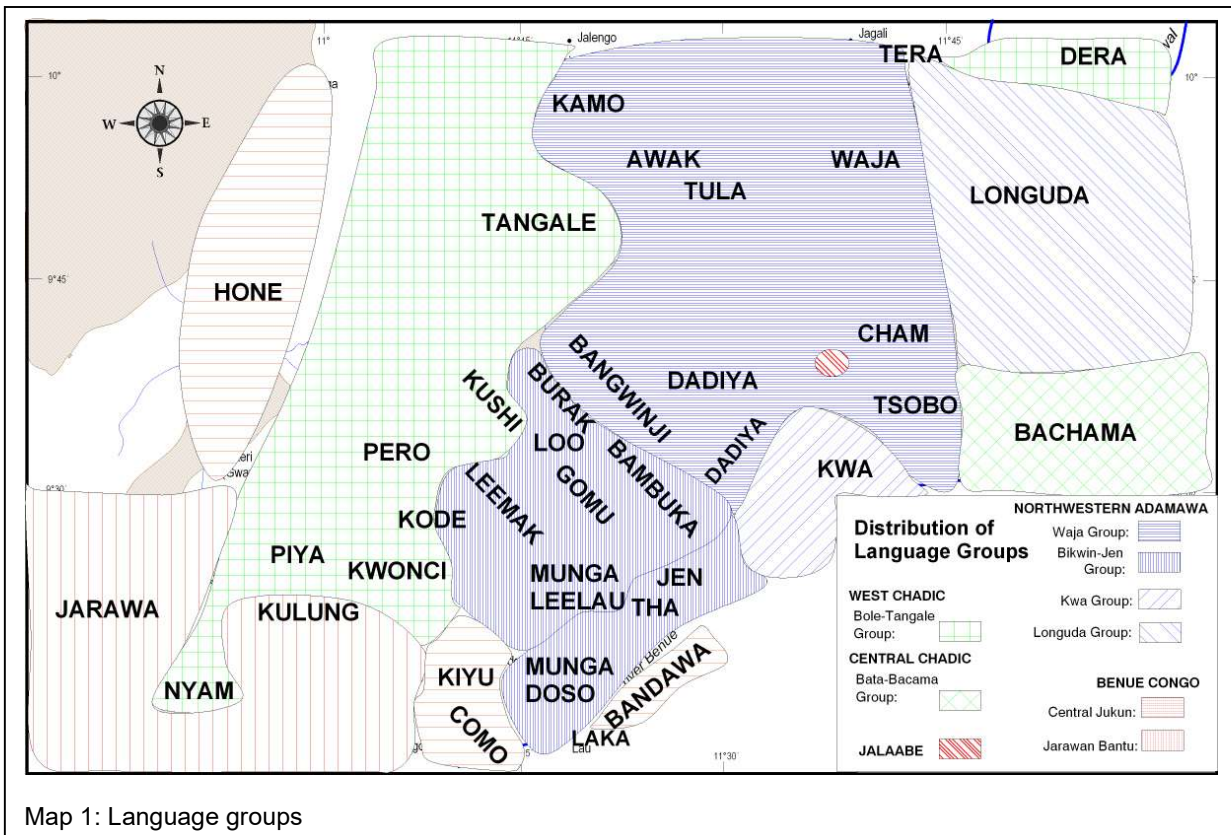
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Introduction

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 Loo² [ldo] language is part of the Bikwin-Jen sub-group of the North-Western Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum. Other members of the Bikwin sub-group are Burak [bys], Leemak [pbl], Tala of Kode [gmd], Munga Leelau [ldk], Gomu [gwg] and Bambuka [bka].³

Settlement Area and Demography

The Loo live rather isolated within the wide valley between the northern and southern ranges of the Muri Mountains. At the time of field research their settlement area could only be reached on

¹ I am grateful to Danladi Maswey for his cooperation during my research. My special thanks go to Gaji Golkos for his untiring and invaluable assistance. Further I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² In the ethnographic survey by CAPRO (1992: 58) they are called Loh.

³ Cf. Kleinwillinghöfer 2015. See also Othaniel 2017. The ISO 639 names for the languages are given in square brackets.

footpaths. They may number about 8,000 people;⁴ in the early 1990s there were 575 taxpayers in the Shuño section.

The Loo are subdivided into two sections: **Shuño** in the northern part of their settlement territory, and **Taadam** in the southern part.

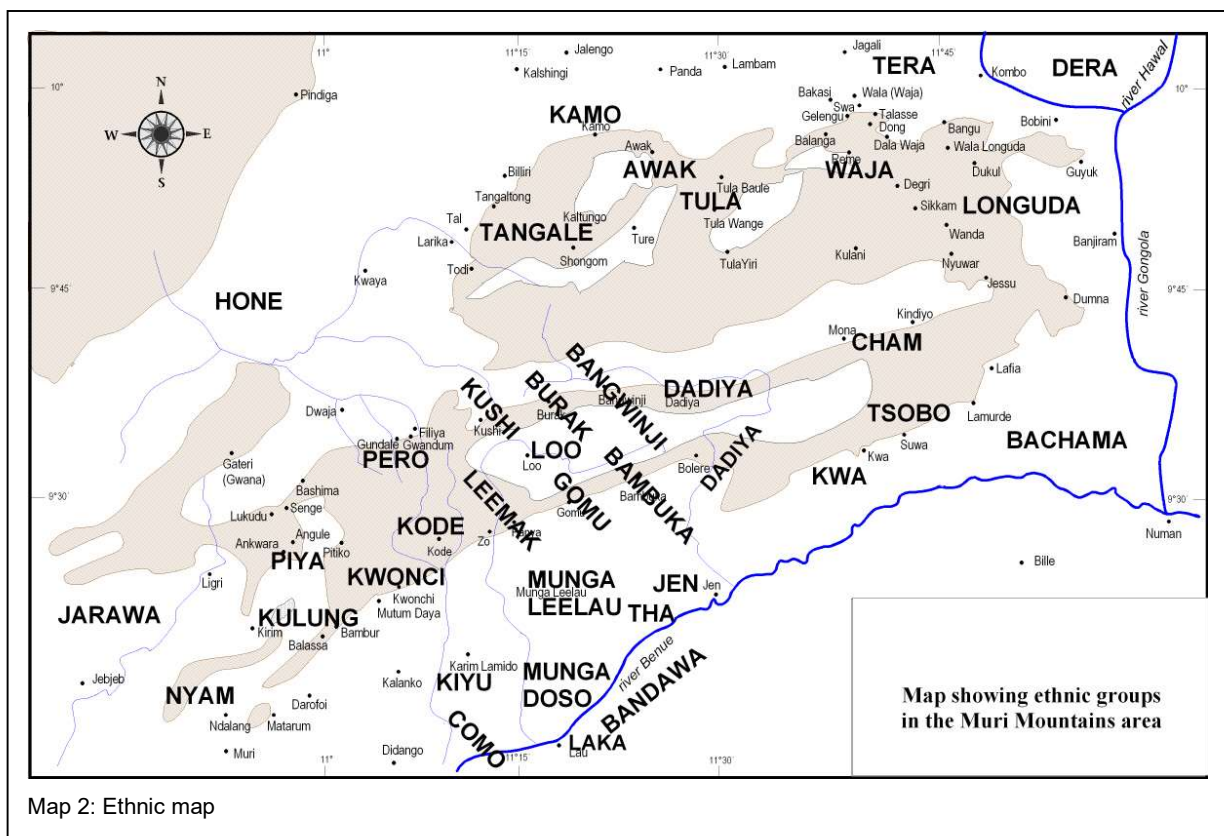
In more detail, the **Shuño** are living in settlements on and around the following hills: Damdit Hill (a prominent hill in the center of the settlement area), Jungo Hill, Naadam Hill, Jūweni Hill, Cuwani Hill, Gbong Hill and Kongkong Hill. The Shuño are more numerous than the Taadam and comprise six clans, while Taadam has two clans.

The **Taadam** live on Taadam Hill in the southwest of the Loo basin.

The Loo themselves state that there are dialectical differences between the two sections.

The settlement area of the Loo stretches from Latal in the west to Galdimaru/Saak in the east.

Boundaries are usually marked by stones, trees or streams.



Map 2: Ethnic map

Interethnic Relations

Their neighbours to the northeast are the Pero and the Kushi, to the north the Burak and the Bangwinji, to the east the Dadiya, to the south the Gomu and Bambuka, to the southwest the Leemak and to the west the Kode.

⁴ According to the website DBpedia (https://dbpedia.org/page/Loo_language).

The Loo acknowledge that they are part of the supra-ethnic Bikwin cluster, consisting of 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, a shared environment, common interactions and cultural similarities.

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

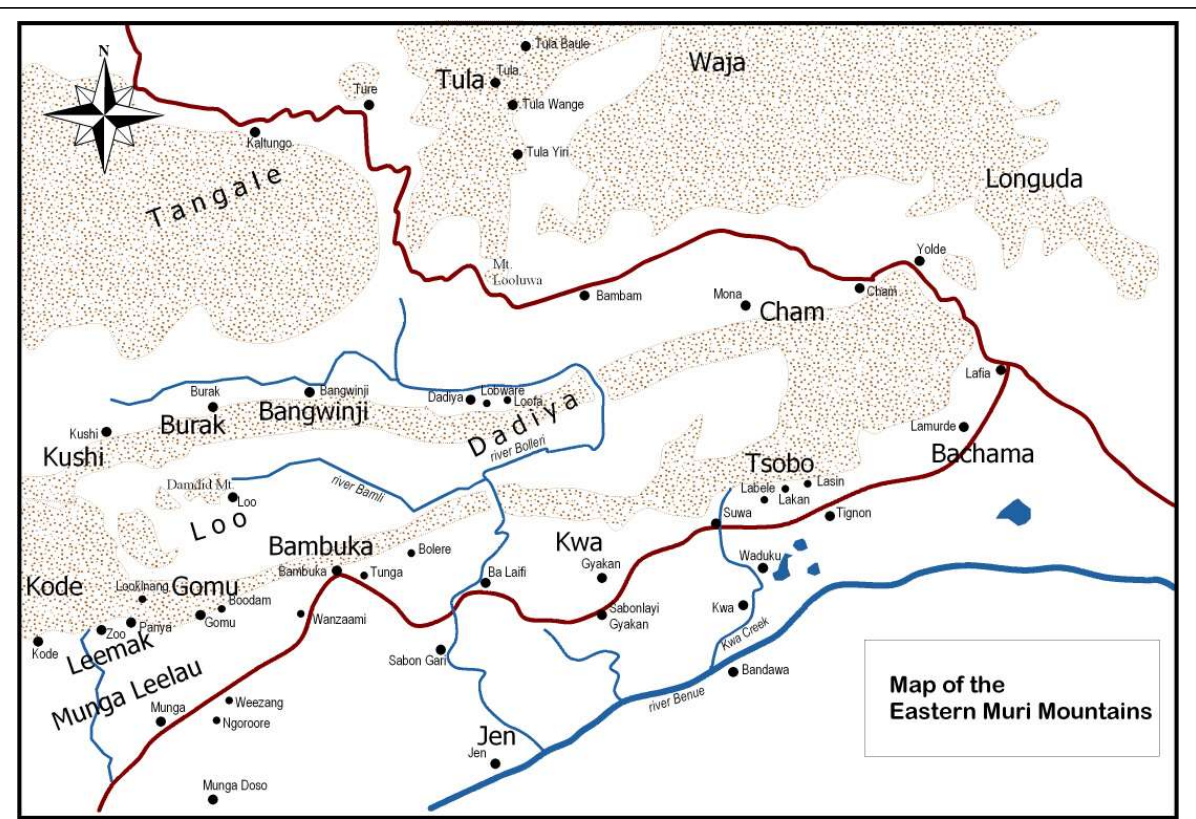
The Loo have their own designations for the following direct and intermediate neighbours:

Bambuka	Bamvukoki
Bandawa	Shiram
Bangwinji	Jangaki
Burak	Buroki
Dadiya	Dadiyaki
Gomu	Shangmu
Jen	Jenki
Jukun	Kpaniki
Kode	Tiraki
Kushi	Taarak
Leemak	Make
Munga	Nyemki
Pero	Piilangki
Tangale of Billiri	Yungoki
Tangale of Kaltungo	Wongki
Wurkun (Piya)	Woloki

The Loo say that they have joking relationships with Kushi, Wurkun (Piya) and Gomu, and there were no conflicts with these groups.

In pre-colonial times, the Loo traded with the Munga, Pero, Panya and Jen, especially potash (*bhakka*) and iron from the Jukun.

The Tangale of Kaltungo have a place of worship at Kuorog Hill near Damdid Mountain in Loo area.



Map 3: Eastern Muri Mountains



Photo 1: View of the Loo valley, from the northern range of the Muri Mountains looking south

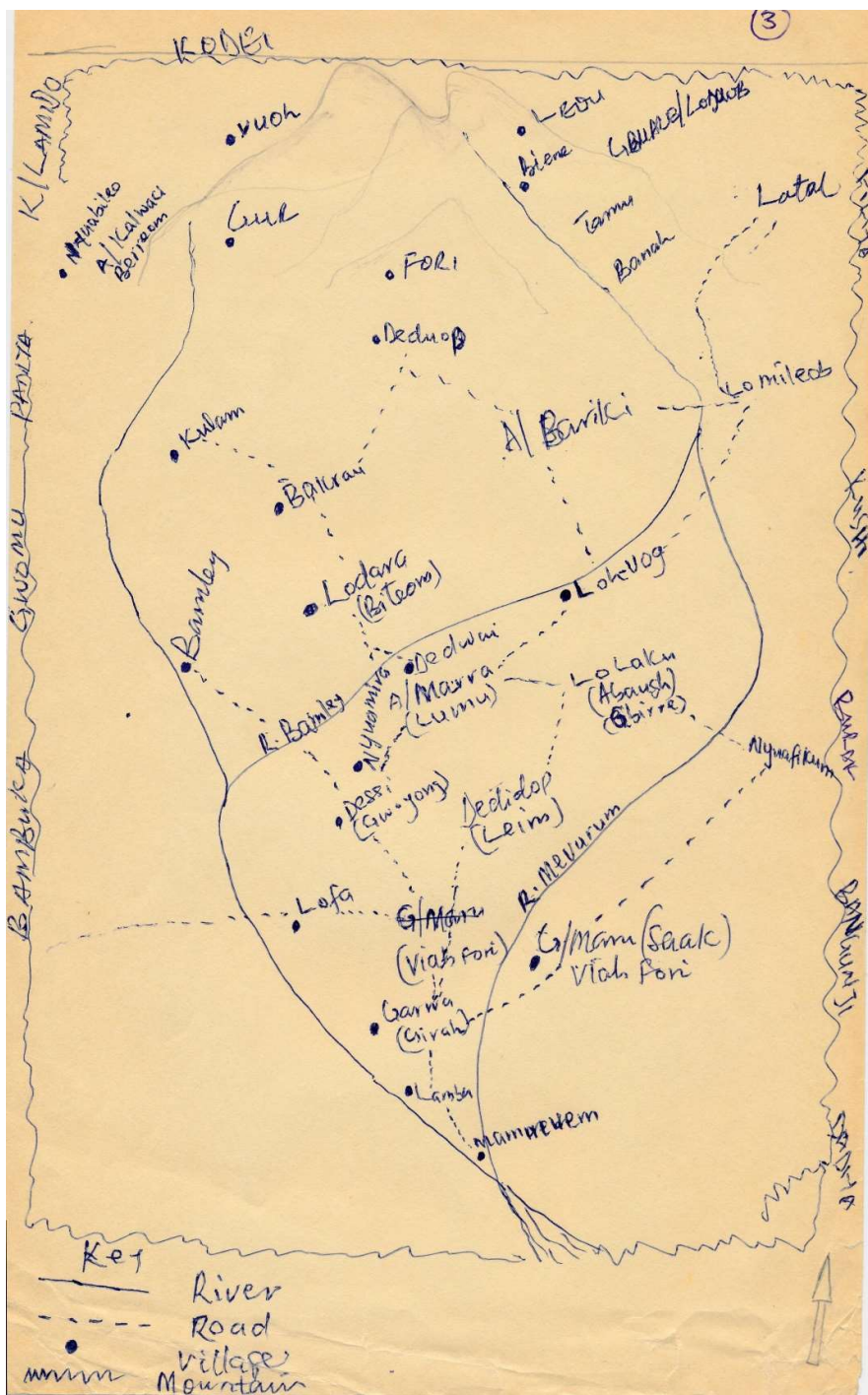


Illustration 1: Map of the Loo settlement area by Gaji Golkos. Orientation is to the west.

History

Pre-colonial migrations

All the different sub-units that make up the Loo people came from outside their present settlement area, and in their oral traditions they explicitly state that they met no one settling in the Loo valley on their first arrival. The Lou clan was the first to arrive in the valley and subsequently became the

name giver for the whole ethnic group. They migrated from hills to the west and from beyond the northern Muri Mountains range, especially from Dõm Hill. Tamu clan also came from Dõm Hill, the Bana arrived from the Wurkun and Kode area, the Byene came from Damu Hill to the north of Kushi and first went to Gomu before they moved into the valley. The Lotop originated from Pero area and the Foore from Jukun, while the two clans of Taadam section came from Dadiya area. Subsequently the clans integrated other groups of various origin as sub-units (see list of clans for more details).⁵

Lookinang, a site to the west of Gomu mountain, is mentioned as a place where the Loo settled together with Burak, Gomu, Bandawa and Jen.

Relations with Fulani emirates⁶

As far as oral, archival or published sources can tell, the Loo were never conquered by the Fulani. Although at the beginning of the 19th century, Emir Yakubu of Bauchi had launched an attack on Gomu and neighbouring Kode, taking slaves and burning the settlements (NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913), in the following years, however, Gomu successfully repelled the attempts by the Emirate forces to conquer or enslave them. Preserved in the oral traditions of Gomu and Loo, and recorded in the files of the British colonial administration,⁷ but not mentioned in the published histories of the Fulani emirates,⁸ is the following event: in the second half of the 19th century, a raiding party from Muri Emirate, which was roaming along the southern fringes of the Muri Mountains, was severely beaten by the Gomu and their allies and the Emirate raiders suffered the loss of about 150 men. Oral tradition of the Gomu even tells us that the leader of the Fulani, (most probably Muhammadu Nya, Emir of Muri 1874-96), was wounded and could only be successfully treated by washing his wound with water fetched from a source belonging to the Gomu. Gomu and the neighbouring Loo and Burak were never forced to pay tribute to the Fulani Emirates. In their oral traditions their undefeated position is well-remembered.

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,

⁵ See CAPRO 1992: 58 for slightly different versions of traditions of origin of different clans.

⁶ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009 and Adelberger 2018.

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".

⁸ Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966.

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 mountaineers 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

In the early years, the British colonial authorities had a negative attitude towards the Loo, as well as other groups that had managed to evade subjection by the Fulani Emirates in their mountain retreats, and regarded them as "*savages [who] in their primitive state understand nothing but force.*"¹⁰

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

In **1909** an endeavour by the British colonial administration was started to delineate the borders between the provinces of Gombe and Muri and bring hitherto unvisited areas under administrative control.¹¹ To this end two patrols from Gombe and from Muri met at Gateri to the north of the Muri

⁹ See Adelberger 2009 for a fuller account of the various British patrols to subjugate the region. For a detailed account of the patrol of 1909 see especially Adelberger 2018. The following chapter is largely taken from these publications.

¹⁰ Resident J. M. Fremantle in a Quarterly Report on Yola Province, Sept. 1907 (NAK SNP 7 - 4230/1907).

¹¹ 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

Mountains on 12th May 1909. The party from Gombe consisted of Assistant Resident of Gombe T. F. Carlyle and Colour Sergeant Bailey with 22 soldiers; the party from Muri comprised Resident Lau Division K. V. Elphinstone, Assistant Resident Brice-Smith and Lieutenant Feneran with 54 soldiers. From Gateri they first went to the Pero settlements of Gwandum and Filiya, and Elphinstone remarked that he found them to be particularly repellent. The next settlements they reached were those of the Kushi and the Burak. The people of Burak expressed their contentment with the new administration protecting them against the neighbouring Loo and Pero, and they prepared a road to Gomu. The patrol then continued to Loo, Gomu and Bambuka.

The oral tradition of the Loo people has it that on the arrival of the British party, they asked the Loo people to procure eggs and chicken, but an elder called Lakwe, from the Lou clan, refused and told his people not to give the food that had been demanded. As a reprisal, his compound was burnt down. Lakwe and his two sons, Munang and Ganggang, were injured by the fire. The incident and Lakwe's grieving are remembered in a song sung by the women of Loo during various festivities.¹²

1. <i>Luwagbo luwa</i>	Fire! Fire oh!
Chorus: <i>Luwa lo yaabho lou</i>	Fire caught our guinea corn at Loo
<i>Luwa tangni</i>	Fire has burnt it
<i>Luwa lo lakwe lou</i>	Fire on Lakwe Lou
<i>Luwa tangni</i>	Fire has burnt him
2. <i>Mah illi kini yumi</i>	I am crying bitterly for my son
Chorus: <i>Ganggang she munang lou luwa tangni</i>	[crying] Bitterly for Ganggang and Munang Lou, fire has burnt them

No mention is made of this in the official British reports of the patrol. There are two possible explanations: either this was considered not significant enough to be mentioned or the incident did not happen during this patrol, but at a later date, and this is an instance of the telescoping of oral traditions, i.e., a series of historical events is condensed into one. During the following years, in 1912 and 1915, the annual taxes from Loo were collected with a show of force and the recalcitrant character of the Loo in this respect was emphasised. Assistant Resident Haughton (NAK SNP7 - 5552/1911) writes in 1912:

"(...) 5. The cases of truculence mentioned (...) occurred at Kwuntsi and Lo. (...) 6. The latter village (LO) are pagans on the very lowest plane of civilisation. They not only refused to pay their tribute but intercepted the messengers of a neighbouring village who were bringing in their taxes to the Political Officer. For this indiscretion for which the Chief took all blame a fine of 60 spears was imposed. Both the fine and the tax were subsequently paid without any trouble."

and District Officer Groom (NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919) for 1915:

- Extract from report from AR Gombe to Resident Bauchi by Lt. Hugh de Putron, OC Nafada.

¹² Transcription of the Loo language and English translation provided by *Malam* Gaji Golkos.

"27. The following day [23rd March 1915] LO, who before punishment had been inflicted on Kwonchi, according to Native reports, had been preparing to fight, on being sent for came in and brought their tribute for 1914 £14 with them. These people are reputed cannibals and very low in the social scale, but making all due allowance for this I fear that a salutary lesson will someday have to be given them before they will pay their tax without the visible threat of an armed force. This town and Kwode are the worst in the District."

What, however, may be deduced from Elphinstone's (NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907) report is that the first patrol was welcomed without any level of enthusiasm by the Loo:

"9. Lo (Chongwom) the next place did not at all care for our appearance. However we spent a day there talking and explaining the administration's aim. But we could do little with them."

And it becomes obvious that the British patrol was only too eager to act forcefully against these recalcitrant groups:

"Now that is all altered as luckily for us they [Loo] elected to assist Gwomu in arms against us and have been taught a lesson. Their manner now is very different."

Although Resident Elphinstone starts his report with a self-critical remark regarding the state of affairs of administration in these remote regions:

"The people say all we can do is to come in with soldiers have a fight and burn some houses, and then leave the country again",

... he explicitly states his antipathy to certain ethnic groups visited, putting them on a scale of low human development and infers that those people should be dealt with forcefully:

"I have never taken a thorough dislike to any pagan tribe out here before, but I certainly did in this case [Pero settlements of Gwandum and Filiya]. They are perhaps the lowest we visited. (...) But I know perfectly well they are a people who will have to be "broken" before they will do anything required of them."

On reaching the area of Gomu the patrol made camp near a stream. According to local traditions some Gomu blocked the flow of water so that it no longer reached the camp. The patrol moved on to Bambuka where the people, armed with spears and shields, were working in the fields. As was found out, there had recently been a conflict between the Bambuka and the Gomu which had left 7 men dead. To settle the dispute, Resident Elphinstone decided on a fine of spears and shields from both groups, Bambuka was to deliver 30 and Gomu 60, but the Gomu, after having held a counsel, (in which the Loo also participated), resented the fine. After waiting for one day, the patrol marched into Gomu on 25th May 1909. Resident Elphinstone (NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907) in his report tries to justify his harsh action:

"I very much regret to say that I met considerable opposition. I argued and begged them to stay and fall in with my modest demands but the young men carried the day. After the town had been cleared two counter attacks were made on an isolated section which were beaten off in one case only when the leading man was shot at 8 paces; in this case the attack was made from dead ground through the houses."

In the fight, the Gomu were joined by the Loo who were their allies. At the end of the skirmish there were 31 Gomu killed and 19 wounded, and one Loo killed and 9 wounded,¹³ with no casualties on the British side. In the oral traditions of Gomu and Loo it is maintained that one man of the British party was killed or wounded by a spear which had instigated the fighting. The contemporary written sources do not support this view and it seems likely that the oral tradition is adjusted to have a convincing explanation for the brutal measures subsequently inflicted upon them.

Among the Loo, the fate of a brave warrior called Wushiwa, who was maimed in the fight by receiving a bullet in his face tearing away his cheek, is still remembered in a song:¹⁴

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Ne nyuamo bi ya, Wushiwa?</i> | What happened to your mouth Wushiwa? |
| Chorus: <i>Dang dang gbuak</i> | Your teeth lie open |
| 2. <i>Ne nyuamo bi ya, yinmi?</i> | What happened to your mouth my brother? |
| Chorus: <i>Dang dang gbuak</i> | Your teeth lie open |
| 3. <i>Nung ka tulli nyua mui</i> | The white man climbs over our farmland |
| Chorus: <i>Dang dang gbuak</i> | Your teeth lie open |
| 4. <i>Nung-gwom be kabyi de</i> | The white man stood up with a baton |
| Chorus: <i>Dang dang gbuak</i> | Your teeth lie open |

The patrol continued to Kode, then passed through Panya, Bambur and Kwonchi and continued on to Pitiko, Bashima, Kirim, Balassa, Ankwara and Ligri. On 27th May the two parties split and the Gombe party proceeded to Tangale country, arriving at Nafada on 14th June 1909.

In **1912**, another patrol was undertaken by Assistant Resident Haughton. Its aims were to deal with disorder and disturbances of trade and to reach the hitherto unvisited areas of Akassa and Gongon in Mumuye country. On 12th February 1912, Haughton, with a patrol of 50 rank and file under Lieutenant Ching and officer Cummins, left Lau and reached Wurkun country two days later. At Kwonchi some villagers, reportedly under the influence of an ex-prisoner, refused to pay tax, thus their stock was confiscated and their houses burnt. They submitted with the exception of the ex-prisoner. People at Loo also refused to pay tax and, as they also disturbed messengers from other locations bringing in their taxes, the people of Loo were ordered to pay, as a fine, 60 spears in addition to their tax. The patrol then continued to Mumuye country from 2nd March to

¹³ H. M. Brice-Smith donated, among other items, six spears from Gomu to the British Museum. About one spear the accession records state: "This spear was used by a young warrior in an attack by the pagans of Gwomu, Wurkun Hills, R. Benue, N. Nigeria, on a British patrol in 1909. The shaft was bound with grass by the youth's sweetheart, who instructed him to return it to her steeped in the blood of the enemy. The young warrior was killed in the action." (see Fardon 2019: 19). This is another token of the individual tragedy inflicted on the Loo and Gomu by this incident.

¹⁴ Transcription of Loo language and English translation provided by *Malam Gaji Golkos*.

11th April. At three locations portions of the towns were burnt and razed for failing to collect their taxes. In Akassa country, which was hitherto unvisited, there was opposition, resulting in three shots being fired and two Mumuye being killed.¹⁵

At the end of **1913**, Assistant Resident Carlyle, who obviously believed in bringing in the taxes by force of a patrol, again made a tour through Waja, Cham and Longuda country. Kindiyo (Cham) refusing to pay its tax was involved in a clash and eight Kindiyo men were killed. At Jessu the headman's compound was burnt. With the help of 2,000 Waja and 1,000 Tula who were asked to gather, Kindiyo was then forced to bring in their tax.¹⁶

Carlyle arrived at Nyuwar on October 29th 1913. The taxes from Dadiya, Tula and Tangale had been paid, and Nyuwar paid on the spot. He camped at Jessu and found that here no tax was paid. The Galadima was left to collect the tax and Carlyle proceeded on 31st October to Kindiyo, where he arrived on 1st November, which happened to be market day and therefore the efforts to collect money met with little success. He estimated Kindiyo to have 3,187 inhabitants. Tension started and in the night the inhabitants came and fired arrows. Next day Carlyle went to Mona. Mona paid their tax and Jessu also sent their tax to Mona. Carlyle sent for 12 soldiers and stayed the 4th to 5th November in Dadiya. The next eight days were spent preparing the road from Dadiya to Filiya, assisted by Dadiya and Tula Wange. He arrived at Kushi on 12th November and collected the tax from Pero. On 14th October Carlyle was joined by Haughton, Assistant Resident Lau Division Muri Province, and engaged in boundary demarcation from 15th to 21st November, which brought them to Lo and Bolere. On 18th November at Lo they were joined by 11 WAFF soldiers from Nafada. At Bolere they also met Mr. Ryan, 3rd Resident Numan Division Yola Province, who was there because the trade road to Lau via Bolere had been closed due to some incidents. Carlyle learnt that all Cham and Pero, except for Kindiyo, had paid their tax. He left Bolere on 24th November passing through the Tsobo towns of Suwa (or Wobongil) and arrived at Kindiyo on 25th November. He found the town deserted, all inhabitants had gone into hiding. He tried to locate the most truculent and found them hidden among rocks on a hill north of the town on 27th November. A fight broke out which left eight Cham dead and one wounded. He returned to the town and next day the headman came in and told him that he was trying to persuade the men to surrender. Carlyle moved to Jessu, where he stayed from 29th to 30th November and appointed the Galadima as the new chief, (the ex-headman was hiding, and his compound was therefore destroyed). On 1st December he returned to Kindiyo where the situation was unchanged, but when the various

¹⁵ NAK SNP 7 - 5552/1911, Patrol Wurkum - Mumuye Country - Muri Border:

Lieut. C. H. Ching "Report on the Wurkum - Mumuye [sic] Patrol", 4th April 1912

T. H. Haughton (A.R. Pagan Districts Lau Division) "Operations of the Wurkum - Mumuye patrol during February and March 1912", 14th April 1912

NAK SNP 10 - 181P/1913, Muri Province, Annual Report 1912.

¹⁶ NAK SNP 10 - 745P/1913, Military Escort for Mr. T. F. Carlyle: From 3rd class Resident I/C Gombe Division to the Resident Central Province, Naraguta (by T. F. Carlyle).

chiefs of Waja arrived with 2,000 men, all came in from their farms and paid their taxes. The Waja left on 3rd December when 1,000 Tula arrived and befriended the Cham people. In Carlyle's opinion their refusal to pay tax was sparked by the unadministered state of the Tsobo towns which paid no tax. The military escort left for Nafada on 5th December.

In **1914** in the southern parts of the Muri Mountains, Assistant District Officer (ADO) Houghton with a police escort visited several settlements of Wurkun groups and Jen due to what was termed "*various outrages*" and took "*executive measures*" at Bambur, Lukudu, Senge and Jen. In September 1914 District Officer Glennly reported that Bashima, Kode and Jen refused to pay grain tribute for the troops at Yola, this resistance was explained with reference to the First World War. No patrol was undertaken because there were no police available. Ankwara, Kwa, Lukudu (Angule) and Lo refused to pay their tax for 1914, and further government messengers were assaulted at Ankwara and driven out by Lo. Ankwara and Kwa did eventually pay their tax in February 1915.¹⁷

In the next year, **1915**, there was a patrol in Wurkun country again, leaving five Kwonchi dead and their compounds burnt.¹⁸

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 Houghton had forbidden a resettlement on Ankwara Hill, but nevertheless

¹⁷ NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919, Report on Wurkum District, Muri Province: A. Holdsworth Groom "From the District Officer I/C Muri Div. to the Resident Muri Province", 7th April 1915.

¹⁸ NAK SNP 9 - 778/1919, Report on Wurkum 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.

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 Zo and arrested two men. They 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 to 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 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 27th March 1915.

Social Structure

The Loo are subdivided into two sections of Shuŋo in the north and Taadam in the south; each of the sections consists of several patrilineal and exogamous kinship units or clans. Each clan claims its own territory. There are settlements bearing the names of clans, for instance Leou (Lou), Foore, Gur and Bana, suggesting that clans are co-residential units.

Clans

The following table lists all the clans of the Loo according to the section they belong to, and gives information on their origin. The variants of the clan names are due to variations in the local manuscripts by Gaji Golkos; the definite spelling has yet to be clarified (see Othaniel 2017: 21).

Table 1: Loo clans

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Shuŋo	Lou /Láw	Taalou	Döm/Deom Hill north of Nyanga Hill and Tira (Kode); or from Nyanga Hill north of Kushi; were Pero/Filiya	1 st settlers at Mt.Damdid (Lo), arrived allegedly mid-16 th century. Water source Butek belongs to them.
Shuŋo	Lou /Láw	Yanga Lou	from Gomu	
Shuŋo	Lou /Láw	Songli Lou	from Kushi	
Shuŋo	Lou /Láw	Wawa Lou		
Shuŋo	Tamɔ/Tamu		Tamu came also from Döm/Deom Hill north of Nyanga, to Tayuwawii Hill at Kushi, thence to Damdid Mt. (Lo)	2 nd settlers. Water source Yin belongs to them and the Bana
Shuŋo	Tamɔ/Tamu	Tamu Deganglang	from Kushi	
Shuŋo	Tamɔ/Tamu	Tamu Biitori	from Kushi	
Shuŋo	Tamɔ/Tamu	Tamu Lemi	from Kushi	
Shuŋo	Tamɔ/Tamu	Tamu Jungo	from Filiya	
Shuŋo	Báná/Banna		Bana came from Wollo/Wallo (Wurkun) to Tira (Kode) then Damdid Mt. (Lo).	3 rd settlers, perform rain ritual at Gomu. Water source Yin belongs to them and the Tamu
Shuŋo	Báná/Banna	B. Didigub	from Wallo (Wurkun)	
Shuŋo	Báná/Banna	B. Detwi	from Gomu	
Shuŋo	Báná/Banna	B. Songli	from Kushi	
Shuŋo	Byéné/Bɛɛɛ		Byene came from Damu Hill north of Kushi to Kinang Hill at Gomu and then migrated to Damdid Mt. (Lo). Were from Filiya/Pero.	4 th settlers
Shuŋo	Byéné/Bɛɛɛ	B. Taajed	from Damu Hill north of Kushi	
Shuŋo	Byéné/Bɛɛɛ	B. Nyuwagirenung		

Section	Clan	Lineage	Origin	Comments
Shuṇo	Byéné/Bene	B. Jungo	from Filiya	
Shuṇo	Byéné/Bene	B. Loogbatam		
Shuṇo	Byéné/Bene	B. Wawa		
Shuṇo	Lótóp/Loduob		Lotop came from Nyanga Hill north of Kushi to Filiya and from Filiya migrated to Damdid Mt. (Lo)	5 th settlers
Shuṇo	Lótóp/Loduob	Jungo Lotop	from Filiya	
Shuṇo	Lótóp/Loduob	Bàlá/Gbale/Kpele Lotop	from Filiya	
Shuṇo	Lótóp/Loduob	Songli Lotop	from Kushi	
Shuṇo	Lótóp/Loduob	Wawa Lotop		
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori		Foore came from Kpani (Jukun), Wollo/Wallo (Wurkun), Gbira/Gbire hill west of Filiya or Shusum Hill west of Gbire (Wurkun)	Water sources Memane and Miejaw at Lodara belong to them
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Didigub	from Wollo/Wallo (Wurkun)	
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Kilayub	from Burak	
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Lummu	from Tira (Kode)	Water source Melum belongs to them.
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Loobe		
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Songli	from Kushi	
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Mei	from Burak	
Shuṇo	Fòoré/Fuori	F. Gbiré	from Kushi	
Shuṇo	Buwura		?	
Tádám	Vuoh		from Dadiya to Swuani Hill east of Lo and thence to Tadam Mt.	6 th settlers. Vuoh did not know death
Tádám	Vuoh	Bila/Billeoh		
Tádám	Gur		from Dadiya. Came from Tira (Kode) and Damu Hill north of Kushi	7 th settlers
Tádám	Gur	Gbilaadid	from Dadiya	
Tádám	Gur	Dissak	from Dadiya	
Tádám	Gur	Birram	from Gomu	
Tádám	Gur	Munggog	from Gomu	
Tádám	Cennu		?	

During the annual festival *min dūyang*, the clans Lou, Foore, Tamu and Bana go together. Byene, Vuoh, Gur and Lotop-Gbale also have a close relationship.

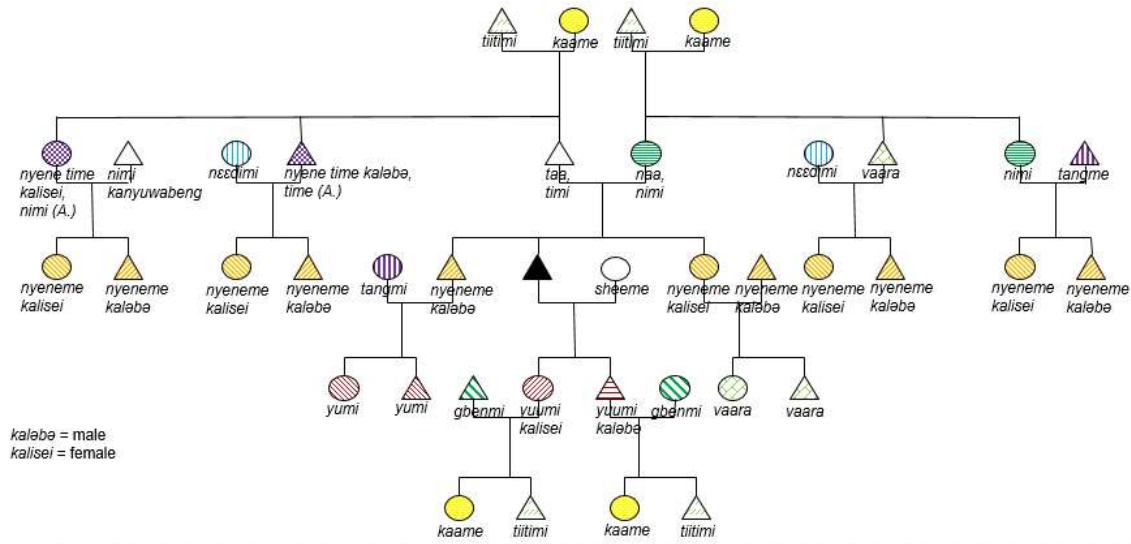
There is a division of responsibilities between clans: the Lou clan is responsible for the land, Tamu for the fertility of the earth, Foore for the fertility of men and women and Bana for rain. Bana are also responsible to act against locusts (MS Gaji Golkos).

Kinship Terminology

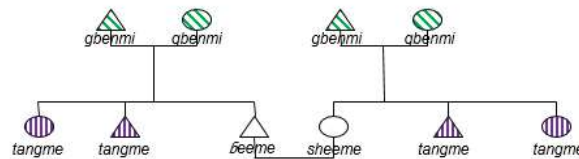
The kinship terminology of the Loo may be classified as a Hawaii system, where in ego's generation all cousins are equated with siblings, only differentiated by gender.

In the first ascending generation, the terminology defies easy classification, for it would be a bifurcate collateral system (Fa ≠ FaBr ≠ MoBr, Mo ≠ MoSi ≠ FaSi), wouldn't be Mo = MoSi, which moves the matrilineal side to a bifurcate merging system.

Kinship Terminology - Loo



Affinal relations



Family

In a polygynous household, each wife has her own house and kitchen, where she cooks meals from her supplies for herself, her children and the husband.

In times of famine the off-spring of a brother or sister could be sold in exchange for foodstuff.

Marriage

Informants state that clan exogamy is practised, however, in a census taken of 34 men with 96 wives (of whom 88 were from Loo), there were 11 cases where the wife was from the same clan as the husband, but from another lineage within that clan. Thus, while a majority marries outside the clan, it is lineage exogamy that is more strictly observed.

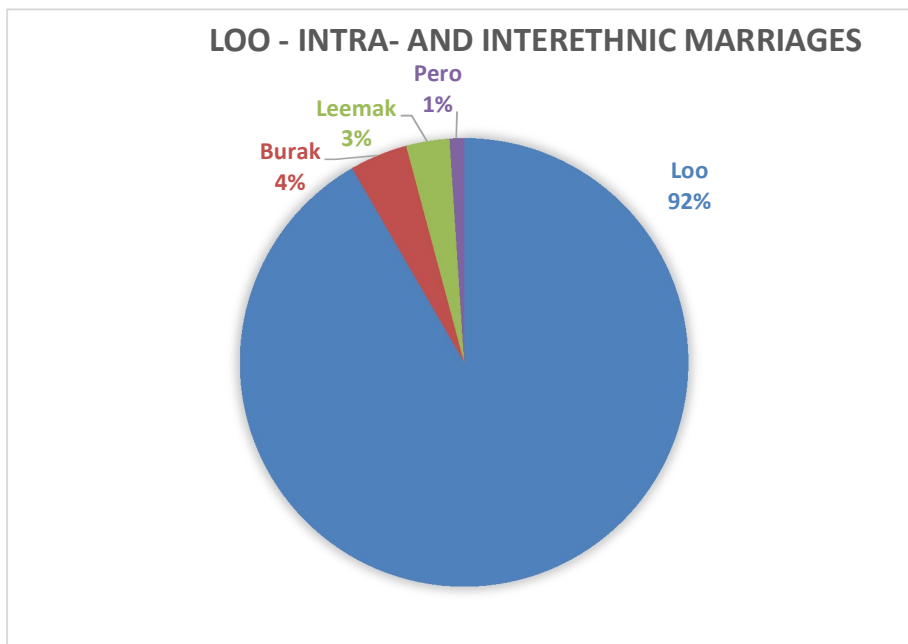
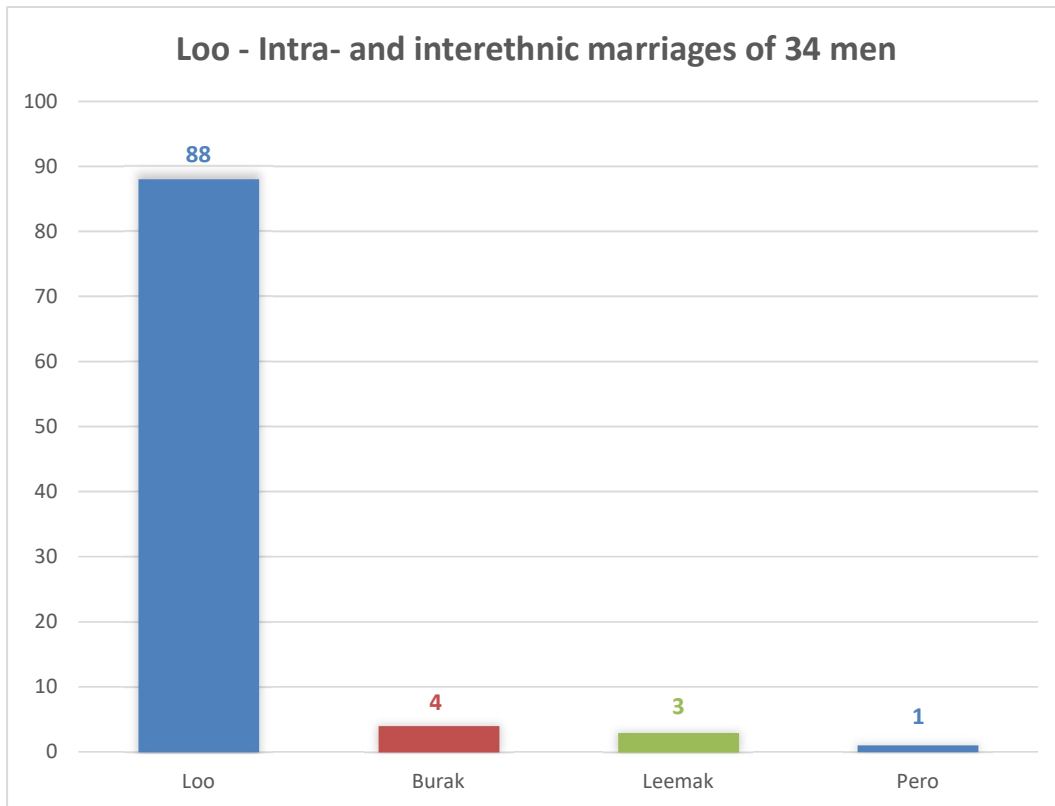
The residence rule is patri-virilocal.

There are no marriage preferences.

Gaji Golkos in his MS writes that before a newly married girl is allowed to move into the house of her husband, she has to give him a jar of oil (*geo*) which is procured by her parents. For the children born to him, a husband has to pay a certain amount of money or give domestic animals or perform labour up to three years to the parents of his wife.

Some statistics

In a sample of 34 married Loo men, there were a total of 96 wives, of which 88 were from Loo, 8 from other neighbouring ethnic groups.

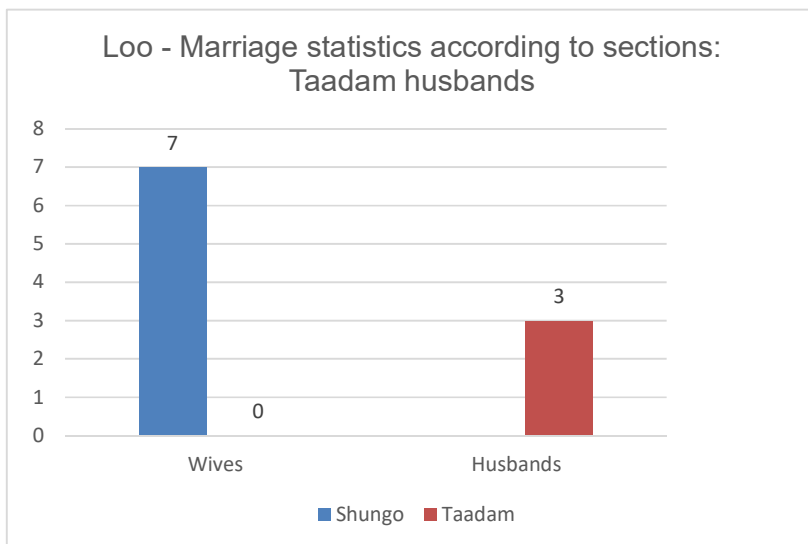
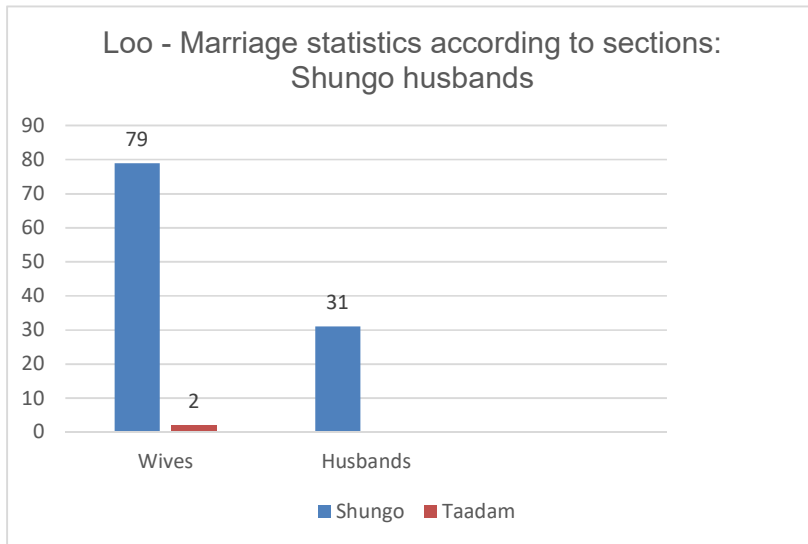


The polygamy rate was 2.8, with concurrent wives (i.e. wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) it was 1.7.

Marriages with partners from the same section (Shungo) are prevalent.

Marriages within the same section: 89.8 %

Marriages with a wife from a different section: 10.2%



Burial

Adults are buried at the burial ground *logwong*, dead babies are buried near the house of their parents at a place called *logumbiri* (dumping ground). Office holders are buried at a special ground separate from commoners (Gaji Golkos MS).

Granaries

Men own most of the granaries, and the food for the family is supplied from the husband's granaries. In the case that women have their own farm (mostly cultivating rice or groundnut) then they

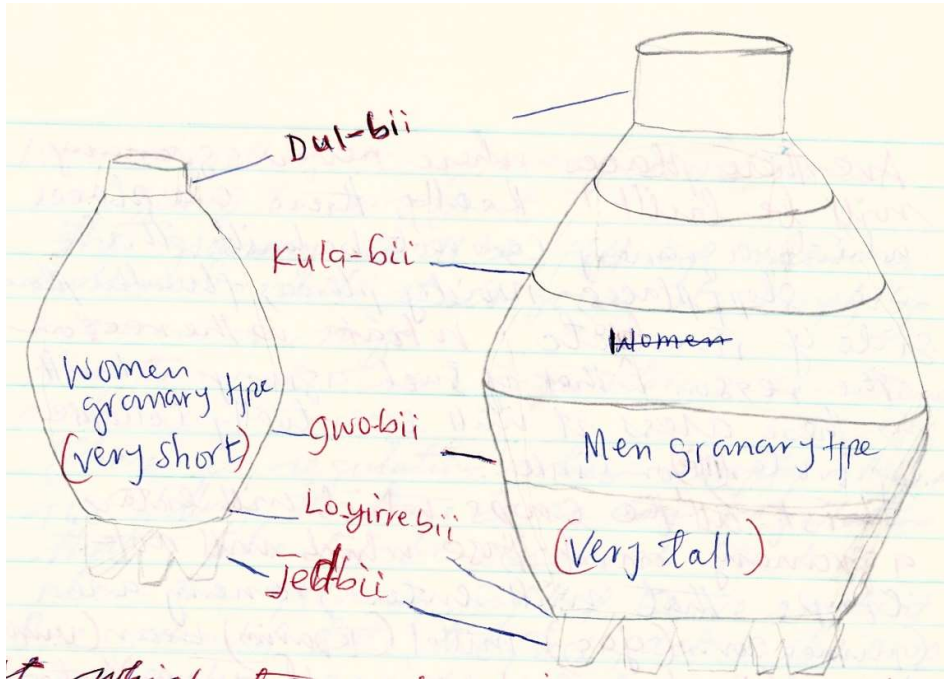


Illustration 2: Sketch of granaries for women and for men by Gaji Golkos

also have their own granaries. These are standing inside the compound and are smaller than a man's granary.

A granary (*bii*) may be decorated with patterns painted with white soil (*wuyang*).

The granaries for men and women are built during the dry season usually by men. Crops that are stored in granaries are guinea corn (*yaa*), millet (*kparim*), beans (*vuro*), bambara nut (*durro*) or beniseed (*yuwaa*).

If a sealed granary is opened for the first time, the first batch of guinea corn or millet has to be offered as a sacrifice to *dodo* (*buyang*). Also the last remaining batch before the granary is empty should be offered as a sacrifice to *dodo* (MS Gaji Golkos).

Village

In a census conducted among 24 compounds at Galdimaru, a total of 196 inhabitants were counted, of which 96 were males, 100 were females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 8, with an approximately even distribution of males (4) and females (4).

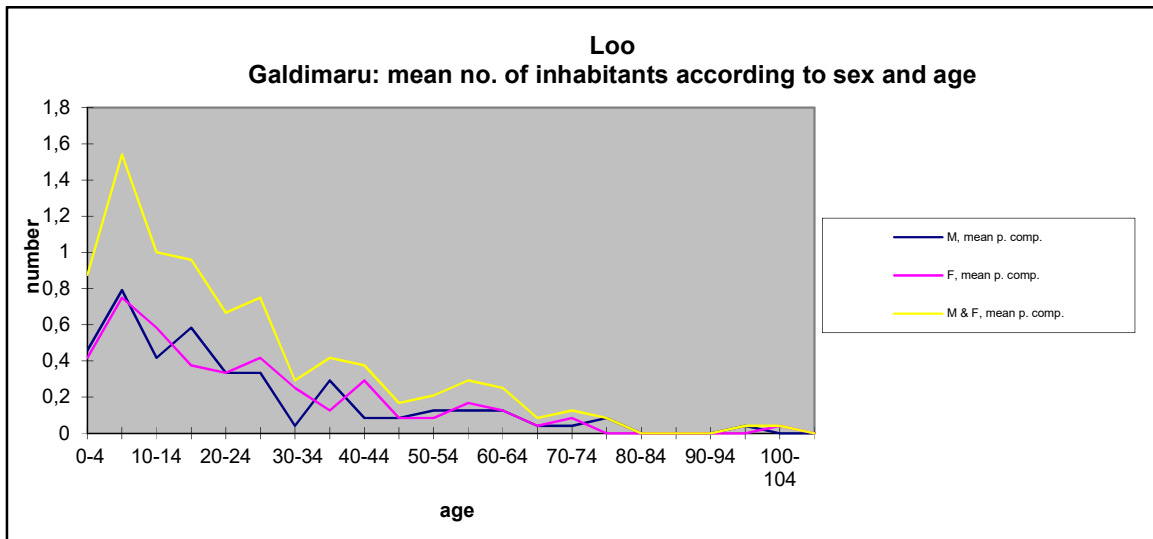


Figure 1: Statistics of compound inhabitants at Galdimaru

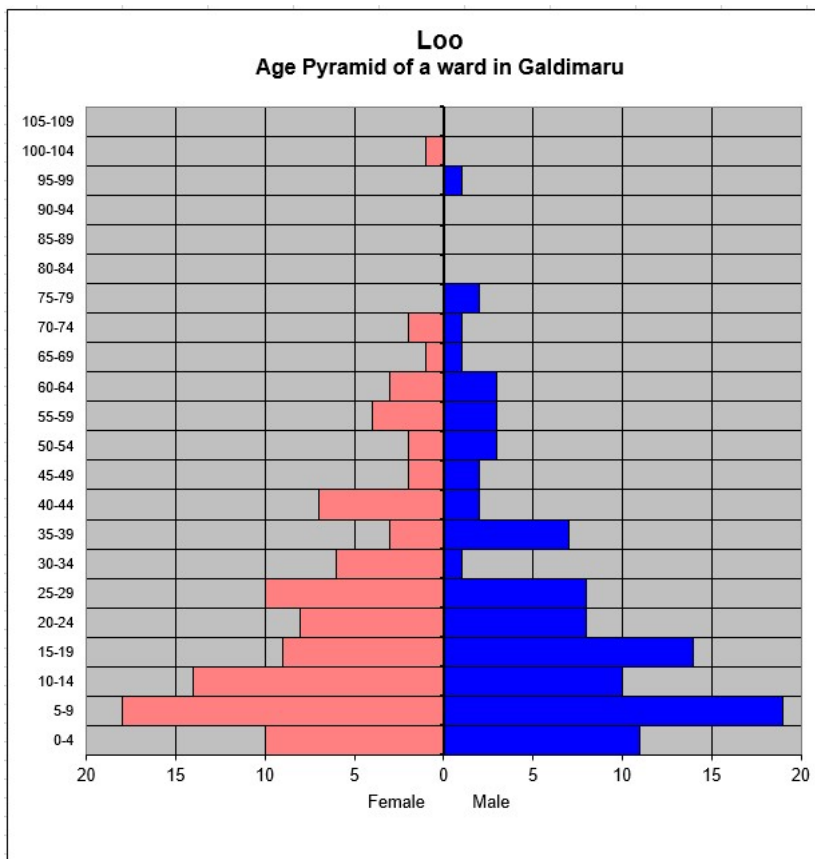


Figure 2: Age pyramid of selected compounds at Galdimaru

Age groups

There are age-groups where males born within the same time range of about two to four years are grouped together.

Political Organisation**Village Head**

The title of Village Head (VH) was introduced by the British administration.

Gaji Golkos in his MS gives the following list of village heads of Loo:

- 1) Buzah Velley (from the Foore clan, appointed by the British, ruled from c. 1912 for about 20 years),
- 2) Daka Latemu or Tindi (from the Byene clan, ruled for about 20 years until 1946),
- 3) Lamido Daka (from the Byene clan, son of 2), ruled 1946-1954),
- 4) Mamuda Tindi (from the Byene clan).

Economic Activities

Division of labour

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

Activity	Gender
clearing	m & f
sowing	m & f
weeding	m & f
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	-
threshing	f
prepare threshing ground	f
winning	f
build house walls	m
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 & f
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	m & f
weaving cotton	-
spinning	f
tailoring	m
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	f

Agriculture

The Loo cultivate guinea corn (*yaa*), millet (*kparim*), maize (*yabuo*), cow peas, beans (*vuro*), bambara nut (*duro*), cassava (*wuikima*), yam (*wui*), sesame (*yuwa*), groundnuts (*gbire*), rice (*gaba*) and cotton (*lana*). Their staple crops are rice, guinea corn and millet.

On sloping farms the Loo may build terraces, but these are not very pronounced and the practice of building agricultural terraces seems to have been given up. Settlement terraces are common in hillside villages.

(Irrigated) land near a stream may be owned individually or by a family, often rice or tobacco (*yeng*) is cultivated there. There is also clan land (*gangdid*) which is acquired by clearing the bush, it is not sold or rented out. After the land is exhausted, it is left fallow for up to three years. Useful trees are baobab (*kpuoni*, individual property), mango (*munggor*), locust bean tree (*mesei*, individual property), shea tree (*dwom*), silk-cotton tree (*fulung*).

Pottery

Pots get a finish with red soil (*luk*). Red soil is also used for body decoration during the celebration of *mam gabra*.



Photo 2: Assortment of beer pots



Photo 3: Beer pot with filtering sieve

A beer pot is called *kànũ*

Markets

Due to their isolated location, there are no markets in the Loo settlement area, but they use to visit the markets at Gomu or Burak.

Animal husbandry

As domestic animals, the Loo keep mainly goats, sheep, pigs, cattle and chickens.

Table 3: Domestic animals

Animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m	milk, meat, leather	
dwarf cattle (<i>tinga</i>)	-	-	-
horse	m	riding	
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	meat, leather, beast of burden, riding	leather is used for drums
goat	m&f	meat, leather	
sheep	m&f	meat, leather	
pig	m&f	meat, leather	
dog	m	meat, assists in hunting, guard dog	
chicken	m&f	eggs, meat, feathers	
duck	m&f	eggs, meat, feathers	
guinea fowl	m&f	eggs, meat, feathers	
pigeon	m	meat	
cat	m&f	meat, for protection against vermin	

Salt Making

Women extract salt from the soil along riverbanks.

Material culture



Photo 4: Hoes and an assortment of calabashes for drinking water

Musical instruments



Photo 5: Young lute player at Dudwey

Drums

dàn káp ("drum wood"): standing drum, played with hands

dàngéyò: a drum, worn on the body with a strap, played with a stick, there is a large and a small one (both have the same name). The membrane of the all drums is made of goatskin or donkeyskin.

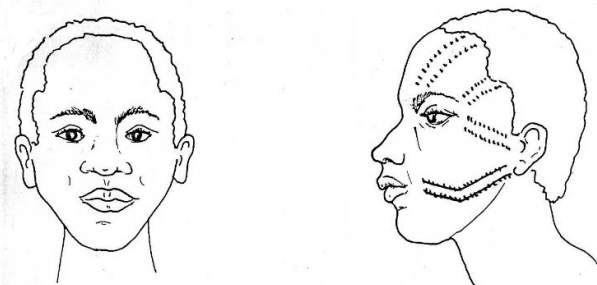
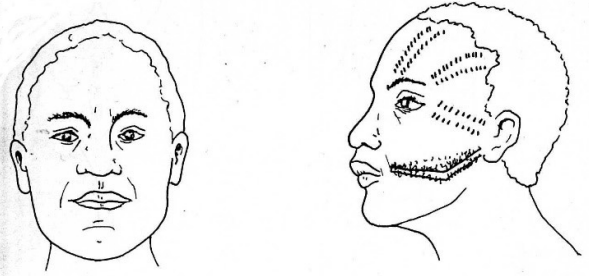
kàp gàbé dàngéyò: drum stick



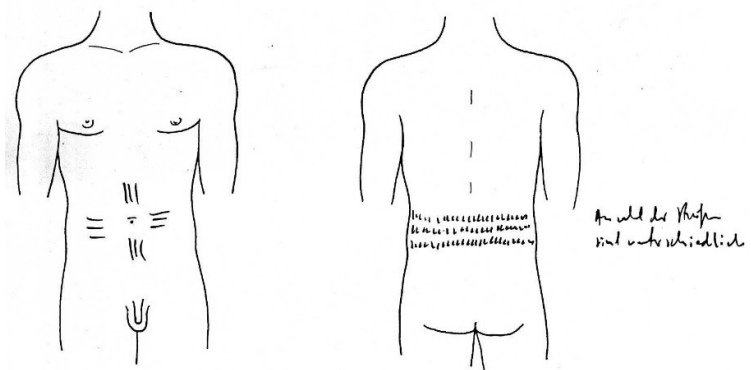
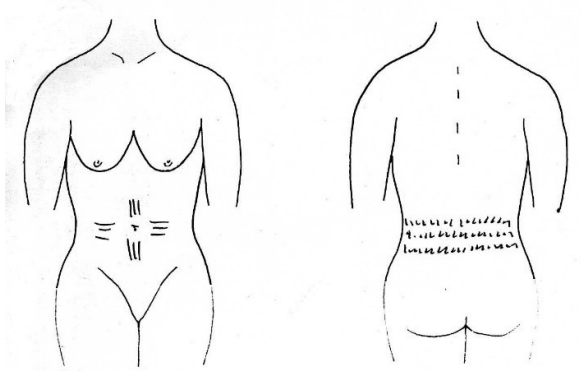
Photo 6: Group of drummers at Dudwey. The drums to the right and the one in the foreground left are examples of *dangeyo*. The second from left is a *dan kap*.

Cicatrization, bodily ornamentation

Loo



Men and women have similar cicatrizations on their face and body. The number of dotted lines on



the back may vary.

Rituals and religion

Beliefs and rituals¹⁹

The Loo believe in re-incarnation: a soul (*bwiang*) exists permanently and after the death of a person the soul will be reborn in a descendant of the family. Some people are believed to be able to transform into animals like snakes or hyenas and cause harm. Death is caused by humans, evil spirits or evil trees.

Apart from humans, there are also some animals and plants that have a soul. The *bab* tree (African rosewood tree, *Pterocarpus erinaceus*) and the *balla fulung* tree (copaiba balsam tree, *Daniellia oliveri*) are believed to have a soul.

In animals it is *kpati kuluk* (a type of wild feline (*damagere* in Hausa)), *shindaŋ* (jackal, *karen dawa* in Hausa), *durum* (lion) and *aŋbaruk* (crownbird, *Balearica pavonina*, *gauraka* in Hausa) that have a soul. *aŋbaruk* may haunt the hunter if killed during a hunt, and the hunter has to perform a sacrifice to get rid of it. *Shindaŋ* (jackal) and *durum* (lion) are regarded as similar to human beings because they leave remains of a killed prey for the consumption of humans, and they do not attack humans (MS Gaji Golkos).

Table 4: Religious concepts and their material expression

Loo

Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>mor</i>	creator god
ancestors	<i>yilabuwa; bwiangba</i>	<i>yilabuwa</i> is a general term for ancestors both male and female, they live subterraneously in their own village. <i>bwiang</i> is the soul of a man, a woman's soul does not become <i>bwiang/dodo</i>
water spirit	<i>limi mee</i> (m&f)	live in springs and rivers, drink blood. Secure the water flow and bring fish, but are also dangerous
bush spirit	<i>limi daka</i> (m&f)	plainly evil
protecting spirit	<i>mam dit</i> (m&f)	controlled by the clan Foore, lives subterraneously, is created by <i>mor</i> , controls all other spirits
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol, fetish)	<i>kagundul, nungbwere</i>	<i>mam dit</i> lives in <i>kagundul</i> . <i>nungbwere</i> is a vertical or yoke mask, all clans have them
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>bwiang</i>	have no masquerade, dance in the night
drum	<i>naadang</i>	

¹⁹ See also CAPRO 1992: 56-63 for some information on rituals.

Ritual calendar

There are several rituals/celebrations during the course of a year:

Loo Annual festivities

Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>boori/ mam gabra</i>			—								—	
<i>min düang</i>				—								
<i>mam kadau</i>						—						
<i>mam kandit</i>								—				
<i>min bubaya</i>											—	

Mindüang/demin dwiyang marks the beginning of the farming season and takes place in early April. During *min dwiyang*, samples of all harvested crops are sacrificed to the high god, *mor*, and the spirits, thanking them and asking for a good agricultural season. Men and women take part.

Only after this ritual, may new marriages take place in a year. The priests of the ritual are from the Foore clan.

Mam Kadau: this ritual has to take place before groundnut may be planted, and a major function of this ritual is to secure a good rainfall for the agricultural season. Men and women are taking part in the celebrations. It also exists among the Gomu and Burak, but was not taken over from them. The priests of the ritual are from the Foore clan or from the Bana clan. When there are problems with rain at this time of the season, then a member of the Tamu clan, (they have a ritual relation to guinea corn), brings the Bana clan some heads of guinea corn, the Bana bring it to the shrine of the Foore clan; then a man from the Bana, together with one from Gur-Dissak, will travel with a sack of grain to Gomu, to a place called Loodwey and pray there, on their way back there will be rain.

Mam Kandit: only after this ritual has taken place, beans (*wake* in Hausa), bean leaves and pumpkin (*kubewa* in Hausa) may be eaten. Each clan performs this ritual.

Min bubaya: this ritual belongs to the ritual cycle of *mam kadau*, it must be performed before the new corn (millet and guinea corn) may be consumed. The priests of this ritual are from the Foore or Bana clan.

Mam Gabra (or *boori*, the so-called 'arm slashing cult'): is widespread in the area, only men take part. The ritual in March marks the end of the *boori* season. The Loo took it over from the Wolo (Wurkun-Piya).

The cult *nungbwere* (or *dodo*, a cult involving masked dancers, and being exclusively for male attendants) was taken over from the Gomu and probably the Wurkun.

The missionary Faust, who worked for many years among the neighbouring Pero, mentions an initiation ritual for hunters which he observed in the early 1930s:

"When we visited the people of the Lo tribe, who live eleven miles from Pero, we saw what they call "the place of the spear". It is a strange method of testing a young man as to whether he may be classed as hunter. There we saw the large pile of thorny wooden sticks, about four feet high and eight feet in diameter. Next to the pile stood the trunk of a dead tree about eight feet high. At the beginning of every hunting season the candidates will climb the trunk of the tree and throw themselves on the pile of thorns. If they do not get hurt, they have passed the test. If they are injured they are taken to the medicine man and treated for three days. They report that there are some who do get hurt, and truly it seems it is the survival of the fittest." (Faust n.d.: 31)

Taboos

Menstruating women are avoided during this time because it is believed that their blood may cause harm, attract bad luck in hunting or a visit by evil spirits during night time trying to harm one's soul (*siling*).

Women may not fetch water from a source while they are menstruating. Further, no one may fetch water there with coins in their pocket. Water may not be fetched with a container made of metal; only with a calabash or a plastic container.

The name of a dead person may not be mentioned as this may bring bad luck.²⁰

Gaji Golkos in his MS mentions that the Loo do not kill lions (*durum*) and another animal called *shindang* (jackal or wild dog, *karen dawa* in Hausa) because these may be humans in animal disguise; and no clan, with the exception of the clan Tamu will make use of the tree *buo* (*Gardenia aqualla*, *gaude* in Hausa). Members of the Foore clan do not eat frogs (*furog*) and will not use the plant *nyangli-nyangli* (? , *asace* in Hausa) nor the tree *jangwari* (*Cassia singueana*). Also, the Byene clan may not use *jangwari*; as well as the trees *jibinung* (*Afromosia laxiflora*, *Burkea africana*), *biling* (nettle tree, *Celtis integrifolia*) and *nyamu* (*Hymenocardia acida*).

²⁰ See Kleinewillinghöfer 1995 for more information on this avoidance in the region.

Glossary²¹

Loo	gloss	comment
<i>aṅbaruk*</i>	crowbird	<i>gauraka</i> (H.), <i>Balearica pavonina</i>
<i>bhakka*</i>	potash	
<i>bii*</i>	granary	
<i>bwiang</i>	soul of man	
<i>dàn káp</i>	standing drum, played with hands	lit. "drum wood"
<i>dàngéyò</i>	sp. drum, worn on the body with a strap, played with a stick, there is a large one and a small one (both have the same name)	
<i>durum*</i>	lion	
<i>furog*</i>	frog	
<i>gangdid*</i>	rainfed farm land belonging to a clan	
<i>geo*</i>	sp. oil	
<i>illè</i>	kin group, clan	lit. "people of"
<i>kagundul</i>	wooden idol	
<i>kànũ</i>	beer pot	
<i>káp gábé dàngéyò</i>	drum stick	
<i>kpati kuluk*</i>	sp. animal, type of wild feline	<i>damagere</i> (H.)
<i>limi daka</i>	spirit living in the bush	
<i>limi mee</i>	spirit living in water	
<i>logumbiri*</i>	burial ground for babies	
<i>logwong*</i>	burial ground for adults	
<i>luk*</i>	red soil, used for decorative painting, especially with pottery	
<i>mam gabra</i>	'arm slashing' cult	<i>boori</i> (H.)
<i>mam kadau</i>	sp. ritual in the annual cycle	
<i>mam kandit</i>	sp. ritual in the annual cycle	
<i>min bubaya</i>	sp. ritual in the annual cycle	
<i>mindüang/ demin dwiyang</i>	sp. ritual in the annual cycle	
<i>mor</i>	high god	
<i>naadang</i>	sp. drum	
<i>nungbwere</i>	yoke mask, vertical mask	
<i>nyangli-nyangli*</i>	sp. plant	<i>asace</i> (H.), ?
<i>shindaṅ*</i>	jackal	<i>karen dawa</i> (H.)
<i>siling*</i>	soul (in general)	
<i>wuyang*</i>	white soil	used for decorative paintings
<i>yilabuwa</i>	ancestor	

²¹Words culled from the MS of Gaji Golkos are marked by an asterisk (*), the correct spelling has yet to be ascertained.

H. = Hausa term,

Plants:

Loo	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>aiba*</i>	<i>ayaba</i>	banana	<i>Musa sapientum</i>
<i>bab*</i>	<i>madoobiiyaa</i>	African rosewood tree	<i>Pterocarpus erinaceus</i>
<i>balla fulung*</i>	<i>maaje</i>	copaiba balsam tree	<i>Daniellia oliveri</i>
<i>biling*</i>	<i>zuuwoo</i>	nettle tree	<i>Celtis integrifolia</i>
<i>buo*</i>	<i>gaude</i>	sp. tree	<i>Gardenia aqualla</i>
<i>butul*</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>
<i>duro*</i>	<i>gujiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>
<i>dwom*</i>	<i>kaɗanya</i>	shea tree	<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>
<i>eomni*</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>
<i>erim*/ eorim*</i>	<i>albasaa</i>	onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>
<i>fulung*</i>	<i>riimii</i>	silk-cotton tree	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
<i>gaba*</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>
<i>galamuti*</i>	<i>gwanda</i>	pawpaw/Papaya	<i>Carica papaya</i>
<i>gbire*</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>
<i>jangwari*</i>	<i>runfuu</i>	sp. shrub	<i>Cassia singueana</i>
<i>jibinung*</i>	<i>karya gaatari</i>	sp. tree	<i>Afrormosia laxiflora, Burkea africana</i>
<i>kitakeou*</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>
<i>kparim*</i>	<i>maiwaa</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>
<i>kpuoni*</i>	<i>kuuka</i>	Baobab	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>
<i>kwiteo*</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>
<i>lana*</i>	<i>audugaa</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>
<i>mesei*</i>	<i>ɗoorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>
<i>munɗor*</i>	<i>mangwaro</i>	Mango	<i>Mangifera indica</i>
<i>nungliri*</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>
<i>nyamu*</i>	<i>jan yaaro</i>	sp. tree	<i>Hymenocardia acida</i>
<i>nyangli-nyangli*</i>	<i>asace</i>	sp. plant	?
<i>sibbi*</i>	<i>barkoonoo</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>
<i>wurro*</i>	<i>waakee</i>	beans	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
<i>wui*</i>	<i>dooya</i>	yam	<i>Dioscorea spp.</i>
<i>wuikima*</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>
<i>yaa*</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>yabuo*</i>	<i>masaraa</i>	maize	<i>Zea mays</i>
<i>yeng*</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana rustica; N. tabacum</i>
<i>yuwaa*</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame/beniseed	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>

The following entries were recorded and transcribed by Rudol Leger

Numbers

1	<i>kuín</i>
2	<i>ráp</i>
3	<i>búnún</i>
4	<i>nát</i>
5	<i>no'p</i>
6	<i>níshín</i>
7	<i>nará</i>
8	<i>nátát</i>
9	<i>níní</i>
10	<i>cóóp</i>
11	<i>cúrí kwín</i>
20	<i>cúr kwín</i>
30	<i>cú búnún</i>
100	<i>cú cóóp</i>

Body parts

hair	<i>fúi</i>
head	<i>lòc</i>
eye	<i>núnj</i>
nose	<i>lúuró</i>
mouth	<i>míà</i>
tooth	<i>léy</i>
chin	<i>bídàgem</i>
ear	<i>túi</i>
nape	<i>đól</i>
chest	<i>díshí</i>
heart	<i>nìgɔ</i>
blood	<i>dùm</i>
arm	<i>bèl</i>
hand	<i>ná</i>
belly	<i>fú</i>
leg	<i>clk</i>
foot	<i>vòù</i>
tongue	<i>đlk</i>
penis	<i>jwùε</i>
testicle	<i>bánj</i>
vagina	<i>đín</i>
clitoris	<i>?εrdín = ?εr</i>

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