

Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 268, Bd. 2, Frankfurt a. M. 1993: 13-42

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND SETTLEMENT IN CHONGE DISTRICT, EASTERN MURI MOUNTAINS, NORTHEASTERN NIGERIA. AN INTERDISCIPLINARY CASE STUDY

Jörg Adelberger, Karsten Brunk and Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer

Introduction

The craggy and hilly Muri Mountains, which are situated to the north of the Benue Lowlands, are an area with a complex pattern of settlement (ADELBERGER and KLEINWILLINGHÖFER 1992). This roughly 80 km long and 20 km wide mountainous area is inhabited by about 20 ethnic groups belonging to different language families. The present ethnic and linguistic situation is understood as the result of a complex series of migrations and adaptations to the natural environment. This paper will describe actual movements of settlements and consider certain conditions which may have been relevant in the decision to leave a settlement or choose a new one. The most important conditions will be the accessibility of arable land and/or pasture, accessibility of water, and conditions dependent on the historical and political context such as affording of security and possibility of defence (NIEMEIER 1977: 54ff.). Therefore an interdisciplinary approach seems to be appropriate to evaluate the natural conditions for settlement and cultivation of the various places from a geographer's point of view, to interrogate into the historical aspects and motifs of the settlement patterns and migrations with a thorough ethnological background, as well as to gain additional information from a linguistic analysis of toponymes and contact phenomena of the languages spoken in the area.¹

For our presentation we chose three peoples, living side by side in the northeastern part of the Muri Mountains, namely Kushi, Burak and Bangwinji. Their Village Areas², covering an area of about 200 km² with a population of roughly 20.000, form the Chonge District³ in Kaltungo

¹ The research for this paper was undertaken within the framework of the multidisciplinary research project "Westafrican Savannah" (SFB 268) financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

² The boundaries show the approximate position of the areas presently administered by the respective village heads. Not all place names mentioned in the text are shown in the map, because of limitations of space.

³ The origin of the name Chonge is not exactly known. It may, however, be derived from one of the ethnic names in this area. Since most of the languages spoken in

Local Government Area, Tangale-Waja region, southeastern Bauchi State.

Natural Conditions for Settlement and Farming

The Chonge District comprises of three natural regions, namely the northern mountain range of the Eastern Muri Mountains, the Chonge-Mona Range, and two lowland areas to the north and south respectively (see BRUNK, this volume).

The up to about 1000 m above sea level (asl) high Chonge-Mona Range forms in the west the prominent southern boundary of the Kushi area and further east it divides the Burak and Bangwinji areas. This craggy mountain range, consisting of predominantly coarse grained, northerly dipping sandstone strata (upper member of the Upper Cretaceous Bima Sandstone) is caused by compressive movements with uplift along the Lamurde Anticline and downwarp along the Dadiya Syncline. The inclination of the strata is less steep in the east than in the west. The less steep dipping causes 1. the rise of more springs (mainly on bedding planes) which give supply to several perennial water courses, and 2. the existence of more gentle upland areas in the eastern parts of the mountains. Therefore more suitable sites for settlements can be found here and the mountain range can easily be crossed by footpaths on mountain

this area have no phonemic distinction between [s] and [sh], nor between [sh] and [c] (= ch in english spelling) and furthermore [j] in word-initial position is almost non-existent in Tangale (of Kaltungo and Shongom) while it functions as an allophon of [s] in medial position (e.g. in compounds), the following names may all be possible sources:

- *shɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m*, *shɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀m*: southern section of the Tangale people, bordering to the north of the Chonge District, spelled also chongwom in older documents (e.g. NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909). Their hunting grounds used to extend well inside the present day Chonge District, for example in the area of modern Burak up to the Nyuaadaaboro Pass at the crest of the Chonge-Mona Range.

- *shɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*: the Loo people in Burak language. The Loo are the dominating ethnic group inside the Loo Basin, the northern part of which belongs to the Chonge District. The languages of the Loo and the Burak are intercomprehensible and can therefore be looked upon as dialects of one language. In an early file of the colonial administration (NAK SNP 7 - 5093/07) their main settlement is mentioned as "Lo (Chongwom)", thus bearing the same name as the Tangale section above. On the "Lau"-sheet of the "War Office Maps (1910)" "Chongwom" appears twice: 1. as a Tangale town and 2. as the main Loo settlement.

- *shɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*: name of Loo people in Bangwinji language.

- *shɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*: section of the Loo people in their own language.

- *jàlâ*: Bangwinji people in Burak language.

- *baljɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*: name of Bangwinji in their own language which is a compound with *bal* "mountain".

passes, for example across the 560 m high Kulan Pass in the eastern Bangwinji area. Many old settlements of the Bangwinji can still be found scattered in this part of the Chonge-Mona Range while to the west the old Kushi settlements are restricted only to the less steep lower northern slope. In general the steeper mountain slopes consist either of solid bed-rock or they are covered by a rocky-sandy weathering detritus. The gentle upland areas are usually covered by sandy-loamy soils which are the most suitable soils in the mountain range.

These more suitable conditions in the east are used to a considerable extent in the Bangwinji area where the portion of cultivated land is largest. On the rocky slopes terrace cultivation is practised.⁴ The regeneration of soil fertility is gained by bush fallowing and shifting cultivation. Wooded savannah vegetation, which is not much influenced by human activities (cultivation, bush burning and wood cutting) is nowadays restricted to the inaccessible areas and the steep valley cuts. There the vegetation is a woodland/savannah woodland respectively ravine forest. Savannah regrowth on abandoned land or long standing fallow is shrub/tree and shrub savannah.

To the north of the Chonge-Mona Range the lowlands of the Digga Plain (southeastern part of the Yeudi-Digga Lowlands) and the longish Dadiya Basin (western part of the Yamel Basin) extend along the Dadiya Syncline. The absolute heights range from 310 m in the northeast to 440 m asl at the foot of the mountain range between Burak and Kushi.

Along the southern fringe of the lowlands water courses from the mountain range have formed mostly sandy alluvial fans which cover larger areas in the west. Particularly in the Kushi area sandy-loamy alluvial materials can be found in broad floodplains which extend down to the central parts of the Digga Plain.

The sandy areas along the mountain range and the broad sandy-loamy floodplains are nowadays the favorite sites for settlements and "roads". The soils in these areas are most suitable for traditional methods of hoe cultivation. To meet the daily water supply sufficient perched ground water can be fetched in most of the incised water courses, especially in the water courses in the eastern parts. The present land use has become dense to moderately dense with plough farming and hoe cultivation. Some bush fallowing is practised on less fertile soils.

The lowland areas underlain by the predominantly loamy sediments of the Yolde Formation consist of a great variety of soils, ranging from rocky outcrops to sandy and loamy-clayish soils. In the more dissected eastern lowlands (Bangwinji area) the occurrence of hardened loamy sur-

⁴ Extensive terrace cultivation is/was commonly found among people belonging linguistically to the Waja group and the Longuda group. The most pronounced terrace cultivation in this area is practised by the Tula.

faces are obviously the result of soil erosion (removal of the sandy topsoil). The other areas show scattered to moderately dense cultivation - hoe cultivation as well as some plough farming - with bush fallowing. Shrub Savannah is growing on eroded and less fertile soils.

The most fertile soils can be found on the clayish Dukul Formation in the western central parts of the lowlands. The usage of the potential fertility of these dark cracking soils (Vertisols) is hampered by the great difficulties to work them. They are either rather hard when dry or very sticky when wet. These difficulties, the muddy and slippery surface in the rainy season and the tsetse fly infested bush common to this type of environment were the reasons why people in the past avoided to cultivate and settle in these areas. Cultivation became possible with the introduction of plough farming during the last decades.⁵ This has led to the severe reduction of the more or less thick *Acacia* Savannah Woodland/Tree Savannahs.

Along the main water courses fertile marshy floodplains (Hausa: *fadama*) can be found. Land use in the *fadama* areas is most intensive, especially for vegetable gardens, but the possibility of small scale irrigation is hardly used. These areas are strongly affected by severe lateral erosion since several years, resulting from the intensified cultivation of the lowland areas.

Single volcanic (predominantly basaltic) cones are scattered in the lowland areas north of the Chonge-Mona Range. Some of these hills have formerly been chosen by people as sites for settlements (e.g. Fodoro Hill north of Kushi-Kommo, Damuk Hills north of the Kushi area, Bangwiya and Shuuli Hill inside respectively north of the Bangwinji area). The weathering residues on the footslopes are forming fertile though stony soils which are preferred areas for hoe cultivation.

To the south of the Chonge-Mona Range extends the partly hilly Loo Basin which is mostly underlain by the middle and lower members of the Bima Sandstone. It is much more hilly in the Burak than in the Bangwinji area. Many of the hills have volcanic cores which often form steep rocky hilltops. A very fine example is the almost 800 m high Damgok Hill, close to the Chonge-Mona Range. Its basaltic plug on top is towering over the former principle settlement of the Burak (Dikadit in about 750 m asl). It is remarkable that even the steeper boulder strewn slopes (slope

⁵ An Agricultural Programme for the Gombe Division (incl. Tangale-Waja Districts) was started in 1946. This includes among other things the introduction of "mixed farming" - farming with ploughs pulled by oxen - and increased seed supplies. In the early years the implementation of this programme was hindered by the shortage of ploughs even in the central parts of the Gombe Division. Therefore it can be assumed that in the remote areas of the Tangale-Waja region, like the Chonge District, the use of ploughs probably did not start before the early 1950s (NAK Bau-Prof - 941).

angles of about 30°) with its rocky weathering detritus are cultivated without recognizable terracing.

In the eastern Burak area and the adjacent Bangwinji area the northern margin of the Loo Basin along the mountain range is covered by moderately sloping, predominantly coarse grained alluvial fans. Present land use of these areas can be characterized as sparse to scattered hoe cultivation with bush fallowing. The other lowland areas of the Loo Basin (250 to 400 m asl) consist of mostly flat rocky outcrops, sandy-loamy foot-slopes and alluvial plains. Here are most of the settlements located and the areas with loose sandy-loamy soils are valued for farming. Land use here is moderately dense and can be described as settled cultivation with some bush fallowing. Furthermore the possibility to fetch water is best in the lowest parts of the basin. The wooded vegetation of the rocky and sloping areas consists of savanna woodland or tree and shrub savannah.

Settlements and their movements

Kushi

Present settlements

The Kushi are the westernmost group in Chonge District. They call themselves Gooji and speak a language which belongs to the southern subgroup of Bole-Tangale, a subgroup of the Chadic language family. Their neighbours are to the west the Pero, to the north the Shongom section of the Tangale - both belonging linguistically to the same subgroup of the Bole-Tangale group - the Loo to the south and the Burak to the east. The latter two are linguistically not at all related with the Kushi since their languages belong to the Niger-Congo language family.

The territory claimed by the Kushi is much larger than the one being defined as their present Village Area, since they claim their western boundary to be at Gwandum along a stream called Angpandi; a claim which will be highly objected by the Pero, as this would put their major settlement Filiya into the area of Kushi. The Kushi, however, defend their claim by pointing out that they once conquered that area in an inter-tribal fight subjugating the Pero of Filiya. The boundary to the north is said to be marked by a river called Taberebere and to the south by a hill named Kubweyo. The eastern boundary is disputed. In pre-colonial times the settlements of the Burak presently living in this area were confined to the Loo Basin within the Eastern Muri Mountains, thus the territories of Kushi and Bangwinji were adjoining each other without any of the modern Burak settlements in between. While the Kushi claim this former bound-

ary to have been along the small stream at Deejam, the Bangwinji place is more westerly at the two hills, Kwi Kulu and Kwi Layira, close to the present Burak hamlet of Layara (or Layira), better known by its Hausa name Kwanan Kuka. Each of the claims would put the area of the Burak within the confines of their own territory.

The present settlements of the Kushi form an almost continuous chain along the northern foothills of the Chonge-Mona Range, consisting of several distinct and named units, each subdivided again in smaller (and also named) wards. This pronounced subdivision of their hamlets distinguishes the Kushi from the other ethnic groups under discussion, Burak and Bangwinji. From east to west the major settlement units are Gomle, Dirang, Kommo, Kauri and Dem or Lapandintai, with Tatamatinyak and Ladongor as minor hamlets attached.

Kauri is the administrative and economic center of the Kushi, it is the residence of the village head, a small market is held on Fridays and also a borehole has been constructed which, however, has dried up shortly after its installation in 1985. In Gomle and in Lapandintai are primary schools, whereby the one in Gomle was the first in the whole of Chonge District, founded around 1960.

The names of the hamlets and their wards are mostly derived from a) names of persons b) trees or plants (which are/were prominent in that area), c) natural features of the environment, or d) incidences having happened there (cf. also GOUFFÉ 1967 and KIRK-GREENE 1969). Some examples may illustrate this. The Gomle wards called Dangbani and Tagerek mean "field of Baobab" and "place of slopes" respectively, another ward called Fodungrung, meaning "place of hole in rock" where tobacco was pounded in round holes in the rock, a kind of natural mortars formed by weathering, and still another is called Fodono Anggamang, Anggamang being the name of a person having dug a well here. In Dirang, the name of the hamlet itself means "locust bean tree" (*Parkia clappertonia*), one ward is called Cibna Em, the name of which refers to the incidence that an old woman retrieved her armlet here. In Kommo there is a ward named Forijia, meaning "mouth of well" while another is named Kulou referring to the tree *Vitex cienkowskii*. In Kauri a ward is called Dangwushi, meaning "sandy-loamy soil", and another one is called Tajir referring to the grass *Andropogon gayanus*. In Lapandintai, probably a Tangale expression [*la-pand'ám taPi*] meaning "stone/mountain of red", one ward is called Berer, meaning ebony tree (*Diospyros mespiliformis*), another Fovare, meaning "place of he-goat".

Clans and their origin

The Kushi are composed of several patrilineal descent groups with diverse historical backgrounds, and the history of the people identifying

themselves as Kushi cannot be understood adequately without reference to these clans. According to their traditions, of all the descent groups of the Kushi, only one (FoJORak) is autochthonous, the others are said to have come from different places. Below a tabular list of the clans and their places of origin is given.

Clans of the Kushi

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Origin</u>
Dongo	Burak
Fogulung	Gomu
FoJORak	autochthonous
FoJOxolo	Loo
FoLOxbe-Burak	River Benue via Gomu and Burak
FoLOxbe-Dara	River Benue via Gomu and Kode
FoLOxbe-Fokori	River Benue via Shirang Hill
Gbere	Burak
Gubno-Andeng	Andeng, via Shonglo Hill
Gubno-Burumi	Andeng, via Shonglo Hill
Gubno-Shonglo	Andeng, via Shonglo Hill
Gubno-Tagongro	Korash Mountain (Kode)
Pewurang-Alewa	Kwaya Hill via River Benye
Pewurang-Fogere	Dadiya
Yange	Yange Hill

In their majority, they come from or via hills located to the north of Kushi area (Shonglo, Yange and Shirang) or from neighbouring ethnic groups to the south and southeast. The reasons stated for leaving their original places were intertribal wars, lack of land and water, epidemics and harassments by wild animals. There is no indication at which time the various migrations took place and when the different groups had assembled at Kushi area. However, the names of ten chiefs ruling successively are still known, which would date the first known chief at the utmost to the end of the 18th century when allowing 25 years for each reign.

The clans, with the exception of FoJOxolo, align themselves with either Gubno or FoLOxbe and one could divide them, on the basis of their alliance, into two sections. However, this cannot be considered to be a

dual division as found among the Burak and Bangwinji (see below) because it does not find any expression in a spatial arrangement, but the clans mix freely in the present hamlets and wards as they used to in their former settlements. The division is based upon which of the two clans Gubno or Foloxbe were met first when arriving in Kushi area and thus are paid allegiance to. It may be assumed that those clans aligning themselves with Gubno were originally groups speaking a Chadic language, while those aligning with Foloxbe were originating from one of the Trans Benue groups (e.g. Gomu, Burak, Loo, Dadiya) thus they must have spoken languages which belong to an entirely different language family. The Fofoxolo stand alone because they are feared by the others for they are in the possession of a powerful cult associated with the sowing of guinea corn.

Movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period

When the British first came into this area in 1909 (cf. *NAK SNP 7 - 5093/07*; *NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909*), the settlement units of the Kushi were situated on the lower parts of the steep northern slopes of the Chonge-Mona Range. Close to each other lay - from east to west - Gomle, Dirang, Kommo and Kauri. The compounds were erected on terraces made of dry stone walls. The area at the lower slopes and in the plains was used for cultivation. It was only under outside pressure that the Kushi left their mountain dwellings. During the earlier phase of colonial government they were left undisturbed and it was relatively late that they were forced to move down-hill in 1949.⁶ They first established their hamlets halfway downwards on the lower elevations at the foot of the hills, but had to move further to the plain land after having been checked by the authorities a year later. The movements were done more or less clanwise, i.e. lineages or parts of clans who were coresident moved to their new locations together and established the first homesteads. Subsequently other descent groups joined these "initial core hamlets" and later on the more distant hamlets such as Lapandintai or Ladongor were founded. The movements took place within a relatively short range, the distance between the place of an old settlement and its new layers being a matter of one or two kilometers only. This small distance implies that the same resources (land, water) were utilized from both the old and the new places of settlement.

⁶ In the late 1940's, resettlement schemes in Gombe Division and elsewhere were initiated to move the hill-dwelling peoples away from their "... insanitary and poverty-producing hill abodes and descend to the fertile plains below." (*NAK SNP 17 - 47597*, p. 4; see also *NAK SNP 17 - 43490*).

Burak

Present settlements

To the east of Kushi the settlements of the Burak people are located. Their language belongs to the Bikwin group of the northwestern Adamawa or Trans-Benue languages, a subgroup of the Niger-Congo linguistic stock, and is therefore not at all related to Kushi. Their neighbours to the north are the Shongom section of the Tangale, to the east the Bangwinji - whose language belongs to another subgroup of the northwestern Adamawa languages - and to the south their linguistic affines, the Loo. The language of the Loo is so closely related to the one of the Burak, that one may consider both as dialects of one language. The Gomu and Bambuka further south along the southern ranges of the Muri Mountains are belonging linguistically to the Bikwin group as well.

As was mentioned above, the area on which the majority of the Burak settle nowadays was formerly a border area between Kushi and Bangwinji. The area considered to belong to Burak, or better: being administered by the village head of Burak, stretches in the west up to a river called Goturo (or Aak in Kushi) between the hamlets of Layara (Kwanan Kuka) and Daajelum (or Fokbwem in Kushi), in the north beyond Lasanjang (a Tangale settlement), in the east to Deejam and in the south into the Loo Basin, coinciding with the boundary between Bauchi State and Taraba State.

The main settlement of the Burak nowadays is the village on the northern foothills of the Chonge-Mona Range, known by outsiders as Burak, but called Tiire by the Burak themselves. It consists of the three wards Shemnyam, Tidi and Loovoogbere (or Sabon Layi). In Sabon Layi the administrative center of Burak Village Area and the seat of the village head is located, and it is economically the most important place in Chonge District, due to the weekly market which is held every Saturday. The market is visited by buyers and sellers from other areas and is especially important in marketing cotton. A primary school, maternity, dispensary, police station and a functioning borehole add to the significance of Tiire. Its development in recent years can be attributed to the initiative of the dynamic village head. Other hamlets inhabited by Burak people are Looyii, Layara and Daajelum (Fokbwem) on the northern side of the Chonge-Mona Range, and inside the Loo Basin Taljwi, Pirim, Nyuaabwetek, Nyuaafiikum and Dikadit, which was formerly their main settlement.

Selected place names of the Burak

<i>Bùrùwàràk</i>	Burak people
<i>Amtáw</i>	"water of red" (Tangale language); river between Lasanjang and Sabon Layi
<i>2Dòwjàm</i>	probably a Bangwinji name
<i>DààDwòw</i>	"inside a certain light grey loamy soil", describes the soil of the area
<i>Dààjèlúm</i>	tree sp. (<i>Acacia sieberiana</i>) characteristic for the area
<i>Dààkùùdùt</i>	"inside many collected people houses"
<i>Dààshàknyòk</i>	"field of cow"
<i>Dàmgbòk</i>	"up/mountain (of) rooster", mountain in Loo Basin; cf. Gomu language: <i>dam</i> "mountain"
<i>Dìyèlètál</i>	"houses of people of stone/rock"; a hamlet situated almost on the crest of the mountain range
<i>Dìkàdùt</i>	"house of house" = permanent house
<i>Kwánàn Kúkà</i>	= Hausa language: <i>kwánàr kúúkà</i> "corner of Baobab (<i>Adansonia digitata</i>)"
<i>Lasanjáí</i>	"of bright, clear" (Tangale language); Tangale hamlet north of Sabon Layi
<i>Layàrà</i>	name of the man who used to farm there; the area is also known as <i>Láyìrà</i> which means "to scare away birds" to prevent them from eating the crops, this was done from a small hill <i>Kwòw Láyìrà</i>
<i>Láyìrà</i>	see <i>Layàrà</i>
<i>Lóòvòògbòw</i>	"head/on leg groundnut" (area good for farming groundnuts); name for the area where Sabon Layi has been built
<i>Lóóyii</i>	"on poor/have nothing"
<i>Maltál</i>	"behind the mountain"; expression used by the <i>yelè tìwòw</i> (cf. <i>Tìwòw</i>) collectively for the people of the villages inside the Loo Basin (Pirim, Taljwi, Dikadit, etc.)
<i>Nyùwááwòtòk</i>	"edge/mouth of swamp"
<i>Nyùwááfìkùm</i>	"mouth/edge - hair of ?"; hamlet in a very bushy area; maybe a Bangwinji name, cf. <i>Bifikùm</i> "place-thick forest"
<i>Nyùwáálimì-dàm</i>	"mouth/edge of <i>limì</i> - up"; hamlet on the upper part of the southeastern side of <i>Damgbòk</i> (mountain)
<i>Nyùwáálimì-yìwòb</i>	"mouth/edge of <i>limì</i> - down"; hamlet on the lower part of the southeastern side of <i>Damgbòk</i> (mountain)

<i>Pirim</i>	"African fox (<i>Canis zerda</i>)"; hamlet named after an animal found plenty in the area
<i>Sábón Láyi</i>	"new line, new street, new extension", common Hausa name for modern extensions (often containing administrative sites and the new market) of villages and towns
<i>Shémnyàm</i>	"bird of meat"; people used to watch bird of prey from a mountain near the present hamlet, to find meat in the bushy plain
<i>Tààdàm</i>	"behind the up (mountain)"; hamlet on the western side of Damgòk (mountain)
<i>Táljwi</i>	"stones/rocks piled on each other"; describes the shape of a nearby volcanic plug on a hill
<i>Tidi</i>	= tigdì in Tangale language: "a permanently moist area (moist even in dry season)"
<i>Tìzìzròz</i>	main village of Burak; <i>yele tìzìzròz</i> those Burak north of the mountain range; the Bangwinji call the area by the same name which may indicate a Bangwinji origin of this toponym.

An analysis of the place names of the Burak supports various statements on the history including the migratory movements of the people. Facilitated by the fact that among the three groups under discussion the Burak are most likely the last to have come to this area, most place names - at least the ones given by the Burak themselves - are still "meaningful" in their present day language. Daakuudit, the settlement from where the Burak migrated to Damgok mountain to seek protection from other groups indicates already by its name a conglomeration of a number of (probably smaller) groups. The stabilizing affect of their new mountain habitat Dikadit again seems to be reflected in the name itself, while the names of the new wards of Dikadit - being identical with the names of the main divisions of the Burak up to now - Nyuaalimi-dam, Nyuaalimi-yub and Taadam are but descriptions of their geographical position on the mountain. The recent occupation of the lowlands in the Dadiya Basin north of the Chonge-Mona Range does also manifest itself in the place names of this area, since a number of them are either Tangale (e.g. Tidi, Amtai) or Bangwinji names (e.g. Tiire, Deejam), or they indicate the former use of the area prior to being the sites of new settlements (e.g. Shemnyam, Layira, Loovoogbere). The most recent settlements (Sabon Layi and Kwanan Kuka) bear Hausa names, resulting from the dominance of the Hausa language in northern Nigerian multilingual societies.

Other place names like Taljwi, Pirim and Daajelum are derived from features characteristic for the area. Finally, the naming of a hamlet or an area as Daashaknyek "field of cattle" could be an indication that the

nearby mountain pass was/is used by Fulani herdsmen [*yele taa nyɛ̀ɛ̀k* "people following cattle"] to transfer their cattle into the Loo Basin and maybe further on to the Benue Valley. The Burak did not use to rear cattle and the word for "cattle" is likely to be a loan from the Fulani language.

Clans and their origin

The Burak are composed of a number of patrilineal descent groups which are divided in three sections. These three sections can, however, be reduced to a dual division: Taadam and Nyuaalimi, whereby Nyuaalimi is subdivided into Dam and Yub.

Sections and clans of the Burak

<u>Section</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Lineage</u>	<u>Origin</u>
Nyuaalimi-Dam	Waawo	Loviri	Lookina Shangang Lookina
Nyuaalimi-Yub	Waawo	Daagong Daasak	Lookina Lookina Lookina
	Shaalo Danga Meyi		Jaa (in Cham area) Lookina
Taadam	Dongo		Koorok Hill (Loo area) via Tara Hill
	Gbere Nyuaatolo Shongli		Lookina Lookina Lookina

The divisions above the clan level refer to spatial, more or less coresident groupings which were derived from the territorial arrangement at Dikadit, the former main settlement of the Burak at Damgok Hill. Nyuaalimi-Dam, Nyuaalimi-Yub and Taadam each settled separately at Dikadit, migrated from there along distinct routes and still inhabit different hamlets and wards now. Only in Sabon Layi at Tiire do they mix.

Oral traditions refer to a place called Lookina at the southern ranges as the place of origin for most of the Burak clans. At Lookina they claim to have lived with other linguistically closely related groups such as Gomu, Loo, Leemak and Jen but also with the Bandawa, which speak a Benue-Congo language. Because of a conflict with the others the Burak left Lookina to the north and settled at the foot of Damgok Hill, calling this settlement Daakuudit. Here another conflict arose, namely between the clans of Shaalo and Waawo, which consequently affected the whole of

Burak. Many people were killed, the remaining either fled to neighbouring ethnic groups or moved up-hill, where they founded the already mentioned village of Dikadit. Spatially Dikadit was arranged in three quarters: Taadam [*tàà dàm* „behind the up (mountain“)] on the western side of the mountain, Nyuaalimi-Dam [*nyú/záá limì dàm* "mouth/edge of *limì* - up"] on the upper part of the southeastern side and Nyuaalimi-Yub [*nyú/záá limì yú/zb* "mouth/edge of *limì* - down"] on the lower part of the eastern side. Ritually, Nyuaalimi was the more important section of Dikadit since all the major shrines (e.g. the one of Limi) were located here.

There is a tradition, that a kin group of the Burak named Gok [*gò/žk* = "grasshopper"] did not stop at Damgok [*dàm gò/žk* "up/mountain rooster"] but moved further and settled at the northern slopes of the Chonge-Mona Range. Due to an outbreak of epidemics they dispersed in various directions, some of them went back south to meet the Burak at Dikadit. It is, however, difficult to decide whether this tradition reflects an historical event or serves as a legitimation for the claim on the territory north of the mountain range the Burak inhabit now.⁷

Only two clans have an origin different from Lookina, these are Dongo and Danga. While the Danga came from the east, from a place in present Cham area and met the Burak at Daakuudit, the Dongo came from the Loo area via a hill called Tara to the west of Damgok. Unfortunately there is no direct hint which would allow at least an approximate dating of these events. It can only be assumed that the process of integrating Dongo clan must have taken place chronologically before the arrival of Dongo at Kushi, because the Dongo of Kushi arrived from Burak. Further it may be assumed that the Gbere of Kushi left Burak in the course of dispersion after the intratribal conflict at Dakudit. If the tentative dating based on a list of ten chiefs for Kushi is correct, it would mean that the intratribal conflict took place sometime in the second half of the 18th century.

Movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period

Dikadit, the settlement on Damgok Hill, has a high significance as a point of ethnic identification. It is the place, where the process of segmentation into clans and lineages valid up to now took place, and where the major shrines which are still worshipped nowadays are located. In 1991 only a few families headed by old men still lived there. The compounds are built on dry stone terraces, the house walls consisting either of stones or some-

⁷ The hamlet Tidi north of the mountain range bears a Tangale name *tigdi* which describes "a permanently moist area (moist even in dry season)". It is said this name was given by Bayín Tîl, a descendent of Gok people who had gone to Tangale country and came back.

times mud, but in the latter case they are quite thin, because mud as a building material is not available in great quantities.

At the beginning of this century, the Burak had not yet crossed the mountain range to the north but were still living on Damgok as can be gathered from the reports of the early colonial patrols (cf. NAK SNP 10 - 263P/1913). The Pax Britannica offered the chance to get away from Damgok, particularly as the Burak suffered from harassments by the neighbouring Loo and they started moving gradually northwards, in distinct movements according to the territorial sections. People from Nyuaalimi-Dam were the first to leave, they founded Diyele Tal almost on the crest of the Chonge-Mona Range, before moving to the adjoining Dadiya Basin to Shemnyam and Loovoogbere. People from Taadam founded Daashaknyek on the southern slopes of the mountain range, before moving further north to the lower slopes of the Chonge-Mona Range to Looyii and adjacent hamlets. And people from Nyuaalimi-Yub crossed directly to the northern side of the mountain range to Tidi. In the course of time other hamlets within the Loo Basin such as Taljwi and Pirim were established. As a small interlude in the 1960's, some people of Shenmyam went back to Diyele Tal because elephants destroyed their fields, but returned to Shemnyam a few years later.

Bangwinji

Present settlements

The most easterly of the three ethnic groups are the Bangwinji. Their language belongs to the Waja group of the northwestern Adamawa (Trans-Benue) languages and is only distantly related to the language of the Burak, their neighbours to the west. The other neighbours are to the north the Kaltungo section of the Tangale, to the south the Bambuka, and to the east and southeast the Dadiya, whose language is closely related with Bangwinji. The problem of their western boundary has already been discussed. It should be added, that in support of their argument, the Bangwinji point to Kwanan Kuka (or Layara) as the area where they received or bid farewell to the colonial officers on their visits to or from Kushi. Their boundary to the east is at a stream called Bwaabiyong (or Boyi) and marked by stones, a delineation made by the British in 1938 (NAK Bau-Prof - 1412) to settle boundary disputes with Dadiya. In the north the area administered by the village head of Bangwinji ends at a small hill called Bangsing, although there are hardly Bangwinji settlements in this area, and to the south it is in the central part of the Loo Basin at a hill called Bangshuka, coinciding with the boundary between Bauchi and Taraba States.

The present settlements of the Bangwinji are mainly strewn along the northern foothills of the mountain range, but there are also several ham-

lets in the mountains and inside the Loo Basin. The main settlement of the Bangwinji consists of the three hamlets Mar, Kungbinaaba and Tintangbe (south of Mar). In Mar the residence of the village head of Bangwinji Village Area is located. Mar has also a primary school and a borehole, and a tiny market is held every Thursday. Bangwinji is economically quite isolated because the rough road coming from Burak does not continue further to Dadiya as it used to some years ago. The compounds are built in a peculiar way with dry-stone walls, the buildings nesting close together. This architecture links them with the Dadiya and Tula, who are close linguistic affines.

Clans and their origin

The Bangwinji are composed of numerous patrilineal descent groups. The descent groups are divided into two sections: Kaalo and Naabang. The two sections are territorial units based on historical grounds. While the settlements of Kaalo are located in the western part of Bangwinji area, those of Naabang are in the eastern part. The boundary between the two is along a water course running through Mar, called Laabikisho. Certain tasks are connected with this dual division, namely that each section has to control and care for the security of its side, the Naabang securing the eastern and southern parts, the Kaalo the western and northern parts of the territory. These functions were of course more emphasised in pre-colonial times than nowadays. Further there are slight dialectical variations in their language.

Sections and clans of the Bangwinji

<u>Section</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Origin</u>
Naabang	Bikwaakleb-Fid	Dadiya
	Bikwaakleb-Fiyer	Dadiya
	Bishomeb-Doleneb	Limi
	Bishomeb-Takulaneb	Lootakulan (Dadiya), came to Bitiikangkata
	Gumob	Partly Limi, partly Loofaa (Dadiya), came to Bitiikangkata
	Kulab-Bishuuleb	Cham, came to Bangwiya
	Kulab-Dongtiyab	Billiri-Tangale, came to Bangwiya
	Kumbeleb-Booken	Limi
	Kumbeleb-Yulumeb	Looyulume (Dadiya), came to Kangloo
	Kweb-Booken	Limi
	Kweb-Batameb	Loodungle (Dadiya), came to Bwallot
	Kweb-Dunglob	Loodungle (Dadiya), came to Bwallot
	Kweb-Warfuneb	Tula-Yiri, came to Bitiikangkata
	Mob	Burak, came to Bwallot
	Nafuwab-Booken	Laabikisho Stream
	Nafuwab-Tongeb	war captives from Kaltungo
	Nakumeb	Bolere-Dadiya, came to Bwallot
	Nakwatreb	Limi
	Shiyeb-Booken	Limi
	Shiyeb-Yongeb	Billiri-Tangale, came to Dodlokid
	Toobwiyeb-Biyakeb	Burak, came to Bwallot
	Toobwiyeb-Nyaamub	Gomu, came to Bwallot
	Toobwiyeb-Shungob	Loo, came to Bwallot
Kaalo	Bibangeb-Kwiyateb	Limi
	Bibangeb-Koyilongeb	Dadiya, came to Bweeri
	Bibangeb-Kumbeleb	from Kumbeleb of Naabang, at Bwallot
	Bibangeb-Fuwob	Gomu met at Kuma Hill
	Bishomeba-Fid	Limi
	Bishomeba-Fiyer	from Bishomeb-Doleneb of Naabang, at Bwallot
	Bishomeba-Lashongeb	from Kweb of Naabang, at Bwallot
	Dwaaleb-Booken	Limi
	Dwaaleb-Yongeb	Billiri-Tangale, came to Shuuli
	Shunglob	Limi
	Terkwereb-Booken	Limi
	Terkwereb-Yongeb	Billiri-Tangale, came to Shuuli

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

The history of migrations of the Bangwinji is a complicated one and only a rough outline will be given here. According to their traditions, the core group of the Bangwinji came from a mythical place called Limi in the east at a time unknown, driven by famine. They first stayed at the small volcanic hill called Bibangnaatanaa to the north of their present area, but it was too small for their population number and after having inspected the surroundings, they divided into the two groups, Naabang and Kaalo, which both followed different routes of migration. At this time, Kaalo consisted of the clans Bibangeb-Kwiyateb, Bishomeba-Fid, Dwaaleb, Shunglob and Terkwereb, and Naabang of Bishomeb-Doleneb, Gumob, Kumbeleb, Kweb, Nakwatreb and Shiyeb. While the Kaalo moved westward and settled at the volcanic Shuuli Hill, the Naabang group took to a southeasterly direction and settled at Dodbangkuked on the northern slopes of the Chonge-Mona Range.

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

The Naabang also left their settlement Dodbangkuked because they feared the nearby Dadiya and founded several hamlets (Kangloo, Bitiikangkata, Dodlokid and Bambwiila) further west. From there the Naabang moved to Bwallot Mountain, too, and occupied the eastern part, the two sections eventually having met again. Intertribal wars with Dadiya, Kaltungo-Tangale and Loo and lack of security were the reasons for the Naabang to move to Bwallot. At different steps in this process of settlement shifting various groups coming from other locations met with the Bangwinji and hence became a part of them (see list of clans).

A dating of all these movements is impossible. It is only stated by informants that the Bangwinji had already moved to Bwallot before the battle between Tula and the Emir of Misau took place, which would mean that they had already occupied this mountain in the mid-19th century.⁸

⁸ Local traditions state that the Emir of Misau was killed in the battle with Tula and this was also recorded by the then District Officer T. F. Carlyle in 1914 (NAK SNP 10 - 445P/1914, p. 20), who gives the name of the Emir as Sale. In Hogben's (1967: 274) standard work on Northern Nigerian Emirate histories, no mention is made of Sale, nor his successor or predecessor having died in such a battle. How-

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

It was on Bwallot that the Bangwinji met with the colonial power in 1910⁹ which forced them to move down-hill and settle halfway on the lower elevations of the foothill: Kaalo went to Kulaashan, Kuwat, Tullang (Bwangbuta) and Dilange, while Naabang went to Kangloo, Bitiikangkata, Kolbiye and Titangbe. Thenceforth the Bangwinji moved further to the plain and along the foothills, establishing the various hamlets found today. By and large, the traditional division was kept, Kaalo clans moving to the western and Naabang clans to the eastern part. Some hamlets were also founded to the south inside the Loo Basin.

Selected place names of the Bangwinji

<i>Baljiŋɛb</i>	Bangwinji people
<i>Lɔ̃zɔ̃zɔ̃ bāljùl</i>	Bangwinji area
<i>Amtaŋz</i>	"water of red" (Tangale language); a hamlet
<i>Balgiŋz(k)</i>	"mountain not high"; a hamlet
<i>Bālwiya</i>	"hill of whistle"; a hill
<i>Bibalnaatanaa</i>	"small hill of women"; a hill
<i>Bifüküm</i>	"dark place; place with a thick forest"; a hamlet cf. <i>Kümä</i>
<i>Bikut@re</i>	"stealing stool"; a hamlet
<i>Bikwāälä</i>	"gentle sloping rock"; a hamlet
<i>Binoŋe, Biinoŋe</i>	name of a person; a hamlet
<i>Bishuwe</i>	"plain land with loamy soil"; a hamlet
<i>Bitŋzŋkākátá</i>	"divide water melon"; a hamlet
<i>Bwaabwiyôl</i>	"cheeks filled with coming out water"; river at the border to Dadiya
<i>Bwällɔ̃z</i>	main mountain of Bangwinji; <i>bwäl</i> "prepare land for farming"; "death house"?
<i>Bwambŋztà</i>	"embrace - come off like burned skin"; a hamlet
<i>Bwɔ̃zɔ̃zrŋz</i>	"child/son of Tula" (the Tula are called <i>yiré</i>); a hamlet
<i>Dilalŋz</i>	"dancing eyes" (= unable to make decisions); a hamlet
<i>Dingikŋzyŋz</i>	"across the river"; a hamlet
<i>Dodbālgŋzkrŋz</i>	"head of mountain not high"; hill near <i>Balgiŋz(k)</i>
<i>Dòdlókid</i>	"head house"; a hamlet
<i>Kālŋzɔ̃z</i>	"deserted house" (only structure remains); a deserted hamlet

ever, Prof. John Lavers of Bayero University, Kano, is of the opinion that Hogben is at fault here and related to me the information, based on a local document, that Sale died in 1885/86 in the battle with Tula (personal communication, 10.10.1992).

⁹ See NAK SNP 7 - 5401/1910 for details of this encounter.

<i>Kǎ̀lǎ̀bìyè</i>	"flat place of - ?"; a former hamlet; <i>kǎ̀lǎ̀lǎ̀</i> "a flat place"
<i>Kǎ̀lǎ̀lan</i>	"clean dish with finger and eat"; a hamlet
<i>Kulaashán</i>	"warn cry of chicken now"; a hamlet
<i>Kùmà</i>	"thick forest"; a hamlet
<i>Kulbináábá</i>	"high place of <i>Naabál</i> (one of the two main divisions)"; a hamlet
<i>Lǎ̀wǎ̀tǎ̀tǎ̀</i>	"house behind mountain"; a hamlet in the Loo Basin
<i>Laabikishò</i>	"reach and sent back"; river dividing Bangwinji area
<i>Laalǎ̀wá</i>	"reach tired"; a hamlet
<i>Lámbà</i>	"sign" (expression from Hausa language probably the border markation); a hamlet near border to Dadiya
<i>Már</i>	"plain flat place"; a hamlet
<i>Najèèjèè</i>	"bitter medicine sp."; "leg trying to walk"; a hamlet
<i>Nyélcén</i>	"stony/rocky area, gravel"; a hamlet
<i>Shǎ̀lǎ̀lǎ̀lǎ̀</i>	"tall bend"; a hill near sharp bend of main river in the Dadiya Basin
<i>Tǎ̀tǎ̀lǎ̀bǎ̀ (tǎ̀lǎ̀lǎ̀ tǎ̀lǎ̀bǎ̀)</i>	"tree of Tangbe"; a hamlet; Tangbe is the name of an important spirit
<i>Tùllàlǎ̀</i>	"shine of free"; a hamlet

Since the Bangwinji according to their own traditions are settling much longer in their present area than for example the Burak, the analysis of their place names is comparably more difficult as well. The origin of the names of some of the places - especially those deserted long time ago, and those bearing names which refer to incidents - is no more known, while other names do not seem to be anymore "meaningful" in the present day language. In addition the number of small groups or clans (speaking different languages) integrated into the Bangwinji "ethnic group" is considerably higher compared to the composition of the Burak. As an example may serve Laaluwa, a hamlet whose name has been translated as "reach tired". The name of this hamlet, near to the main hamlet Mar could refer to an episode in the history of the place, where someone or something "reached tired". The linguistically closely related Dadiya on the other hand call a prominent hill with a steep volcanic cone on top Yem Looluwa [*yem lǎ̀lǎ̀lǎ̀ lǎ̀lǎ̀wa*] "hill of the settlement (area) of *lǎ̀lǎ̀wa*", from where they say to have migrated to their present area east of Bangwinji. A Tangale settlement west of this very hill - commonly known by its Hausa name Dogon Dutse ("high hill/rock") - bears the name Kaa-luwa, whereby *kàà-* ("inside of, within" in Kaltungo dialect of Tangale) could be interpreted as a prefix, which in turn is interchangeable with a prefix *la(a)-* in the Shongom dialect (cf. *La-sanjang* under Burak place names). Thus the settlement name may be translated as "within *lǎ̀lǎ̀wa* (area?)". Since Tangale as well as Dadiya migrants have been incorporated in considerable numbers (cf. origin of clans above) the name of the Bangwinji hamlet Laaluwa may well represent a designation brought by migrants and any story explaining the name with another episode may have risen after.

Apart from the significant high number of Bangwinji places, whose name is likely to refer to an episode, other place names represent in gen-

eral what has been seen with Kushi and Burak, where names refer to certain types of surface features (soil and relief) (e.g. Nyelcen, Mar), nearby hills (Banggu(k), Bangwiya), a geographical position (L $\frac{1}{2}$ w $\frac{1}{2}$ tobe, Dingik $\frac{1}{2}$ y $\frac{1}{2}$), or characteristics of the vegetation (Bifiikum, Najeejee) of the area. Place names reminiscent of personal names referring to e.g. the founder, a prominent member, etc. are rare, likewise in Burak and Kushi.

Comparison and discussion of the reasons for settlement shifting

When comparing the patterns of movements of the three groups, differences peculiar to each become apparent. The Kushi, after having assembled at the northern mountain range, hardly shifted their settlements apart from moving to lower elevations and they more or less occupy the same area as in pre-colonial times. This can be explained by the very steep terrain, which does not allow larger movements except in a lateral direction along the foot of the mountains, and that is precisely the way the recent settlements of Kushi spread. The reasons given by the various clans for their pre-colonial migrations can almost evenly be divided between historico-political ones like intertribal wars and unsafe conditions, and ecological ones like lack of farmland and water, or epidemics.

The pre-colonial times in the Muri Mountains were indeed marked by continuous fights between the different groups and additional slave raids by the northern Emirates thus preventing the establishment of settlements in the plains which offered no natural shelter. The slave raids may not have been felt in the northeastern parts of the Muri Mountains as severe as, for instance, in the southern parts, because those ethnic groups occupying the region to the north of the Muri Mountains (Tangale, Kamo, Awak) served as a kind of buffer since they were located closer to the areas controlled by the northern Emirates. And yet another reason for settling up-hill has to be taken into consideration namely that until the early colonial period the Dadiya-Digga Plain to the north of the mountains was much more populated by larger mammals which may have posed a constant threat to lowland settlements.¹⁰

The establishment of settlements in the present Kushi area was thus inspired by the search for safety and better land, both offered by the locality. The high slopes would allow to spot the approach of enemies well in advance, although they might have caused some problems if a mass retreat from the hamlets into the mountains was necessary. The sandy-loamy soils in the adjoining lowlands are most easily to work and for not

¹⁰ See, for instance, the report by T. F. Carlyle on his patrol to Tangale-Waja: "This plain, I may remark, is full of elephants and big game. A portion is fly infested during the rains." (NAK SNP 7 - 5401/1910, p. 24).

too large a population the water supply is quite sufficient, although limited and less than in the other areas of this study. The lack of additional water to support vegetable cultivation was not felt then because most of these crops were not yet introduced. It is understandable why the Kushi did only move down-hill when they were forced to.

The movements of the Burak are clearly marked by a trend to an ever northerly location and eventually out of the basin and on the plain land to the north of the mountains. The reasons given for the shifting of settlements reflect the constant pressure by malevolent neighbouring - but linguistically closely related - groups to the south - under which this comparatively small group suffered in pre-colonial times. The move up Damgok Hill after the intratribal fight was motivated by security reasons because the reduced population would have been no match for enemies if they would have stayed down-hill. More peaceful conditions in colonial and post-colonial times offered the Burak the chance even to cross the Chonge-Mona Range to settle and farm on so far uncultivated land and subsequently utilize the new economic possibilities offered by markets and newly introduced crops. In all their new and old settlements there is sufficient fertile farmland and water. Out of the three groups, the Burak are the only one having initially moved to their present location deliberately.

The most complex series of movements are the ones recorded for the Bangwinji. After having separated, the two sections shifted around in a kind of an elliptic movement, meeting again on the high Bwallot Mountain to the south of where they had departed. From here their settlements spread, similar to those of the Kushi, in a lateral direction along the foothills. While the initial migration of the core group was motivated by famine which might have its roots either in crop failure or in wars and unrest, nearly all the subsequent movements were inspired by a search for safety, culminating in the settlement close to the highest summit of their area. From here, movements in the plains could be easily monitored and access to this mountain fastness was practically impossible for enemies. The gentle upland areas could quite safely be cultivated and water was available in abundance. The living conditions seemed to have been comparatively good because they attracted quite a number of groups with different origin.

If we look at the movements outlined above in the form of a decision model, we may consider them, at least in the cases they were not forced by outside powers, as steps in a process, whereby actions were taken which ideally rested upon decisions based on deliberations about gains and losses within a certain geographical and historical context. In this decision process, certain factors or qualities will be weighed up against each other and, according to the specific historic context, some will be more emphasised than others. These following factors are likely to be evaluated:

- availability of water, which may not be sufficient any more and a better supply is expected elsewhere;
- availability of arable land, the size or quality of which may not be sufficient any more for the needs of the population, and another locality offers better potentials depending on the circumstances;
- the affording of security which includes defensive advantages against possible aggressors as well as protection against wild animals;
- conditions which may be summarized under hygienic, since up to the early colonial period highly infectious diseases like smallpox or cerebrospinal meningitis spread rapidly in the densely built mountain dwellings, often forcing the population to quit;
- an improved infrastructure like better access to markets, roads, places of work or schools which of course became only relevant in this century;
- religious aspects like, for instance, the wish to be near to a place of worship, or a place maybe considered to be haunted and therefore left, or by some kind of divination the site of a new settlement will be chosen.

Each of the qualities to be expected in the prospective settlement will be compared with the one prevalent in the old settlement and the actor will expect a gain in one or several qualities. However, dependent on the historical situation, he may have to accept a loss in other qualities.

It became apparent, that the potentials of the natural environment were utilized according to the historical context and different factors motivated settlement movements at different times. In pre-colonial times the search for security was predominant, therefore mountainous areas offering shelter were the preferred settlement places. Shiftings of settlements followed a decrease in such qualities as security, hygienic conditions or availability/quality of land and water. In the colonial era more and more settlements were shifted to lower sites due to various factors. These were partly intensified lowland cultivation made possible by the Pax Britannica, partly pressure by the administration in the late 1940s, newly introduced crops (e.g. cotton) and agricultural technologies (e.g. plough), as well as the necessity to earn money (e.g. by cultivating cash crops) in order to pay the taxes imposed by the British.¹¹

Finally, following the increased development of rural areas in the last decades, especially since independence in 1960, the wish to get their share of the national infrastructure (markets, roads, dispensaries, boreholes, schools etc.) became another incentive for moving down-hill. Considerations of security were not any more as relevant as before. On the other hand, shrines and places of worship significant in the traditional culture were left behind in the abandoned hill settlements. However, many of them are still in use.

¹¹ See also GLEAVE (1965 and 1966) who came to similar results in his studies on hill dwellers in other areas of Nigeria, especially the Jos plateau.

Literature and unpublished sources:

Literature

- ADELBERGER, J., and U. KLEINWILLINGHÖFER (1992): The Muri Mountains of North-Eastern Nigeria An outline of the ethnographic and linguistic situation. - *The Nigerian Field* 57: 35-48.
- BRUNK, K.: Land regions of the area between the town Gombe Town and the River Benue, NE Nigeria. *Berichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 268 Westafrikanische Savanne* 3, 97-112
- CONANT, F. P. (1962): Contemporary communities and abandoned settlement sites. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 96,2: 539-574.
- FRICKE, W. (1965): Bericht über agrargeographische Untersuchungen in der Gombe Division, Bauchi Province, Nord-Nigeria. *Erdkunde* 19: 233-238.
- GLEAVE, M. B. (1965): The changing frontiers of settlement in the uplands of Northern Nigeria. - *The Nigerian Geographical Journal* 8,2: 127-141.
- . (1966): Hill settlements and their abandonment in tropical Africa. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 40: 39-49.
- GOUFFE, C. (1967): Problèmes de toponymie haoussa: les noms de villages de la région de Maradi (République du Niger). *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique* 19,2: 95-127.
- HOGBEN, S. J. (1967): *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan.
- JUNGRAITHMAYR, H. (1991): *A Dictionary of the Tangale Language (Kaltungo, Northern Nigeria)*. Berlin.
- KIRK-GREENE, A. (1969): The meaning of place names in Hausaland. - *Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N.* 31, sér. B., no. 1: 264-278.
- KLEINWILLINGHÖFER, U. (in press): Geographisches Vokabular der Waja, Tula, Awak, Tangale und Burak. Ein Vergleich. In: JUNGRAITHMAYR, H. & G. MIEHE (Hrsg.) *Westafrikanische Studien I*.
- NIEMEIER, G. (1977): *Siedlungsgeographie*. Braunschweig.
- TIFFEN, M. (1976): *The Enterprising Peasant*. London.

Unpublished Sources:

Public Record Office, London (PRO):

Map "War Office 1910, Northern Nigeria - Lau, Sheet North C 32/R" (FO 925/7309-123159)

National Archives Kaduna (NAK):

SNP 7 - 3803/1909: "Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on"

SNP 7 - 5093/1907: "Wurkum Patrol"

SNP 7 - 5401/1910: "Waja District - Escort to Tangale Patrol"

SNP 10 - 263P/1913: "Central Province - Gombe Division, Pagan Tribes"

SNP 10 - 445P/1914: "Central Province, Gombe Emirate, History of"

SNP 17 - 43490: "Bauchi Province Annual Report 1947"

SNP 17 - 47597: "Bauchi Province Annual Report 1948", "Bauchi Province Annual Report 1949"

BauProf - 941: "Agricultural Development Gombe Division"

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