

THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON YEKKU FESTIVAL IN TANGALE LAND, GOMBE STATE

Authors & Affiliations

VEN. DR TERWASE AKUYA

Department of Christian and
Value Development Studies,
Gombe State University,
Gombe, Gombe State, Nigeria
Email: terwaseakuya@gmail.com
Phone: 08062363356

MRS JAMIMA JACOB

Department of Christian and
Value Development Studies,
Gombe State University,
Gombe, Gombe State, Nigeria
Phone: 08126100015

MR. BISMACK JERRY MAINA

School of Arts and Social Sciences
Federal College of education (T)
Gombe, Gombe State
Phone Number: 08138464622

ABSTRACT

Yekku festival is celebrated yearly among the Tangale people. This cultural festival played a key role in shaping the moral values of the people over the years. However, with the advent of Christianity, this festival is losing its influence. In view of the above the paper examines the influence of Christianity on Yekku festival. The study adopted structural functionalist perspective of Emile Durkheim (1995) as its theoretical base. The research used a qualitative/content analysis approach using interviews and journals. The research reveals that Yekku festival is losing members because of massive conversion to Christianity. The Tangle god (Yekku), is no longer held in high esteem since people now belief in monotheistic teaching of Christianity and worship of other gods is seen as idolatry. The paper recommends that Traditional rulers who are the custodians of Tangle culture and religion should take measures to revival the celebration of Yekku festival by calling on their sons and daughters in the diaspora to always come home to participate in the festival. The research concludes by calling on the people to embrace their traditional religious beliefs that have positive impact in their lives.

Keywords: Influence, Christianity, Yekku, Festival, Tangale, Functionalist

Introduction

Festivals and ceremonies are an integral part of the African traditional society (Nwanaju, 2024). This is because man is a social being. The whole year is full of social activities ranging from festivals like *Saduku Yamba*, *Wam Pi Mana*, *Tangra* and *Yekku* festivals. Uchendu (1965) notes that the tradition of the ceremonies is deep-rooted that failure in the role fulfilment might spell out misfortune which would not be in the interest of the society. Hardly is there any African society without a liturgical series because it is an indication that the society is lively. African festivals have social and religious significance attached to them and this defines their influence in the lives of the people.

According to Ochieng-Odhambo (2023), African religious festivals are usually carried out more on a communal than an individual basis because Africans are generally communal in nature. Religious ceremonies are performed mainly in a group of family, by relatives, by the whole population of one area, or

by those engaged in a common occupation. Gire (2014) notes that it is an essential part of the way of life of each distinct group of people and its influence covers all of life, from the birth of a person as long as the person's death. Young people learn about it through participating in religious activities such as ceremonies, festivals and rituals.

Itoje-Akpokiniovo (2025) avers that in spite of the important placed on festivals like other traditional practices have in the life of the people, the practices are undergoing changes in this age of globalization. The already established ethical principles and rules of conduct that have been preserved over the years in various customs and traditions provide explanations for the reasons, motivations, values and purpose of behaviour. They determine the moral code and indicate what the people must do to live ethically. Yerokun and Oni (2025) opines that traditional practices passed on from generation to generation becomes their source of knowledge about what God requires.

Pongri, Ediba, & Adamu (2021) notes that the Tangle of North Eastern Nigeria are not an exception to such practices. As a nation, they practiced traditional values which upheld family norms such as festivals, dance and rituals which provided avenue for the expression of communality. However, Itoje-Akpokiniovo (2025) observes that with the coming of Christianity through colonisation, the established social systems particularly the traditional festivals experienced a drastic change. The values that held them together are fading away as the institution of the elders, communal approach to festival celebration among others things is no longer held in high esteem. Itoje-Akpokiniovo (2025) further notes that Christianity which plays a central role in the process of acculturation has made significant changes in areas like Tangle festivals, ceremonies and rituals, matrimony, education, burial rites among others. Some of the changes brought by Christianity are positive while some have caused a lot of damage to the Tangle religion, culture and communal values. This paper therefore examines the impact of Christianity on *Yekku* festival among the Tangle people of Gombe State. Since the advent of Christianity in the area, the practice of Yekku festival had never been the same as it used to be.

Tangale Religious Festivals

Like all African societies, Nathan and Bitrus (2025), notes that Tangale are deeply religious people. The life of the people was on the whole governed by certain religious beliefs and practices. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, other deities and in the influence of the ancestors over the living. Yamba is the Tangle word for God, the Supreme Being, all powerful, creator of heaven and earth and all things therein. He is benevolent. Omnipresent, omniscience and hearkens to the prayers of the people. Their religious worship is spiritualistic. This is because of its dominant characteristics and reference to objects of worshipped and means of employed. There are shrines, sacred places, places of assembly and meetings, as among themselves and as between them and the being worshipped, with pots, and basins for the spirits and demons, service tables, feasting pots. Dead men have their names invoked without any delineation or imaging of their forms of natures.

Tangle worship is of course emphatically ritualistic, almost entirely a matter of ritual, strict observance of prescribed rules and forms, where exceptions or deviation is highly impossible. The rites take the form of prayer, sacrifice and offerings. There are four (4) intermediaries through which the Tangle people communicated with Yamba. At appropriate times the people worship these divinities who will carry their prayers to Supreme Being. These include Yekku, Tangra, Wampimana and Saduku Yamba.

Theoretical Framework

This article uses Functionalist theory propounded by Emile Durkheim (1995) who is believed to be the father of Functionalist sociology. He viewed festivals not just as a party but festivals has a bond that bridge people together and prevent a society from disintegrating. He sees these events as essential mechanism for maintaining the collective conscience. He believed that there is unifying force that bond people together when participating in festivals as a shared purpose.

Functionalism is a theoretical perspective propounded by Emile Durkheim (1995) that focuses on the functions performed in society by social structures such as institutions, hierarchies, and norms. Within this theory, function refers to the extent to which a given activity promotes or interferes with the maintenance of a system. Émile Durkheim (1995) noted that, festivals are the main engine of communal amalgamation. Durkheim argues that society is not just a gathering of persons, but a just force that needs to be infrequently energized through shared meeting. He perceived that when a group gathers for a festival, the bodily nearness and communal emphasis create a sole mental state. Durkheim argued that social bonds obviously "wear-out" over time as people focus on their private lives. He viewed festivals as a way to bringing back these shared beliefs. By participating in the festival, members of society reaffirm their commitment to the group's rules and values that prevents social normlessness. He argues that festivals are the main site of shared sparkle, where the group becomes conscious of itself. From this perspective, festivals serves many hidden functions that unite the society together. It bridge lapses between different people there by bringing social cohesion. Festivals provide a sense of belonging which Durkheim argues protect individuals from a state of normlessness.

The Origin and Development of *Yekku* Festival

Yekku is a national festival celebrated annually by the Tangle people of Gombe State. The festival is usually celebrated between the month of March and April. This is a time when farmers are expecting rainfall. According to Benedick Lasiri, *Yekku* started as a result of a woman who went to the bush to cut firewood. The woman was from Tanlang one of the seven clans of Tangale, daughter of Wayede named Kulung Wayede and was married to a man at Labwah. It was around October to April when women used to cut firewood (Oral Interview, 2025).

One day when Kulung Wayede went to cut firewood in the bush, she saw a very big bird fly off, she quickly went to the very place where the bird had fled, thinking a dead animal like vultures that eats dead animals. On reaching the place, she saw a huge/collection of chains dumped in a particular place. She did not pick it but rather went back home and told her husband about it. The following day, they went together with her husband to the bush where she left her husband under a tree (Benedick Lasiri, Oral Interview, 2025).

Later the same bird came as she was cutting her firewood and sat on the chains and she quickly called her husband who went and saw a collection of chains. He took the chains and put them under a huge baobab tree in someone else's farm because Tangale people do not want to take such things home in the day time. He went under the tree and searched the chains twice at night but could not get it on the third time, he went together with the owner of the farm and found the chains. Chain (*Yangli*) is a thing to be taken for *Yekku* worship Supreme Being. So this chain has become the main symbolic material for *Yekku* worship.



Uses of *Yangli* (Chain)

In an oral interview with Benedict Lasirri he listed the importance and uses of *Yangli* (chain) thus:

- i.* *Yangli* (chain) is used for protection. The Tangle people used *Yangli* through Maikantilang who is the custodian of *Yangli* for protection. Whenever the Tangale people had disputes with their neighbors e.g. Shongom and Fulani people, Maikantilang will lead the warriors to fight, he will pray before they go to the battle field. Once the chain makes noise, there will be success and if the chain did not make noise, there will be failure.
- ii.* *Yangli* will make strong noise to notify Mai Kantilang that bad stranger, which an armed robber, spies etc. have come to harm the community. Mai Kantilang will quickly communicate Mai Tangle and

other seven clans to check the community and get ready to defend the land.

- iii. *Yangli* (chain) is also useful to destroy charms from visitors, and control the power in *Oko* (Wizardism).
- iv. *Yangli* is used to calm any wicked person that visited Tangle and make the wicked become confused by revealing his bad plans against Tangle.

According to James Dami, *Yekku* is celebrated every year and Labwakondo who served as the Public Relation Officer (P.R.O) to inform the man from Labwah, Wayede from Tangland and all other clans in Tangale. It is only initiated men who will attend *Yekku* worship on the mountain, (interview 2025). According to Innawuro Madina, formerly women used to participate in *Yekku* worship but because they fought during the worship due to pride concerning their skills in making draw soup, each of them felt more perfect than the other. Because *Yekku* festival is holistic, women were barred from attending the worship (oral interview, 2025). Danjuma Kwibwah says “Tangle worship of *Yekku* is of course holistic, emphatic, ritualistic, and strictly observed of prescribed rules and forms. Ritual is action, and the action side of the people's religion shows more prominent than any” (Oral Interview, 2025).

The national *Mai Yekku* is from Keleng family and also there are *Mai Yekku* in each clan of Tangle who lead the worship. In any case *Yekku* is celebrated on the hill of *Yekku* chosen by the individual families or clans. The *Yekku* altar is a grayish, hard stone about the length of the forearm each clan performed its rituals at the altar of *Yekku*. During *Yekku* festivals male children of between four to seven years are initiated. During the *Yekku* festival, there are many rituals and prayers offered by the chief priest and the elders in the area. *Yekku* festival is followed by eating food, drinking, singing and dancing by both men and women at the lowland (Chindo Hamma, Oral Interview, 2025).

YEKKU FESTIVAL

Adega and Yokkos (2025) notes that festivals are among the many events that are celebrated among the Yel Tangle of Gombe state. Festivals like *Yekku* provided colourful activities that bring out the beauty of Tangle culture, and these practices have socio-cultural, religious and economic significance in the lives of the people. However with the advent of Christianity in 1906 in Yel Tangle (Tangle land) these festival is no longer celebrated like in the past because of the way they have been perceived by Christianity and Christian converts. *Yekku* is the main intermediary between God and man and of course mainly a rain God though other functions like fertility, progress, success in war, health among others. The chief priest of *Yekku* comes from Keleng family and is called *Mai Yekku*. The worship of *Yekku* is done once a year around March and April, a time when rain is needed by farmers. Only initiated men attend *Yekku* worship carrying food, draw-soup, chickens, and beneseed for sacrifice. The food items are eaten by the worshippers. The activities of *Yekku* and timing differ from one clan to another. During the *Yekku* festival, many rituals and prayers are offered by the chief priest and *Mai Kantilang* and elders in that particular clan (Mallam Danjuma, Oral Interview, 2025).

Barnabas Kano points out that the remaining food and meat would be kept under a tree some kilometres away from home. Uninitiated young boys and old men only will eat it under the tree without carrying it home. Any woman that mistakenly eats food and meat brought from *Yekku* will be tormented by *Yekku* spirits leading to barrenness sickness and sometimes death, unless the spirits are appeased. Local wine from *Yekku* worship will be drunk there only the wine that was not taken to the hill of *Yekku* would be drunken by women and others. The other days of the festival were completed by drinking the local beer from one house hold to the next,

dancing *Kollu Kwagme* (*Kwagme* dance) and indulging in other forms of merry-making. The process of initiation into *Yekku* worship as being explained by Buba Leggal:

Each family that had a male child or children to introduce to *Yekku* up-hills was free to go along with the children. The *Yekku* priest from each clan will visit and bless the male child or children at home before taken them to the *Yekku* hill. The children to be introduced will be 4years and above. In the hill, the chief priest will remove a sword or sharp knife ready to cut the child, to see whether he will react negative if the child cries, then the chief priest will say this is a coward and cannot attend wars. He will encourage the child to be a hero. Some children are courageous and cannot run away. The congregation will shout to the glory of the child and will be praised (Oral Interview 2025).

These children would participate in the ceremonies after which they were expected to have received *Yekku* blessings. At this point they would be fully accepted into certain status in the society.

According to Ankele Yelyel, the chief priest of the three dominant groups; *Maikantlinag*, *Mai Bekeri* and *Mai Billiri* sits down under a tree called *sulut* and presides over the festival (oral Interview, 2025). The priest uses a broken pot in pouring the *men'n* native beer then invokes the spirit of his predecessors by calling their names. He pours libations and drinks from the broken pot. A calabash of wine or beer is poured on a piece of stone and a bit of food is placed on it, the god is represented by the stone. After this process, the priest then drinks the *men'*and serves food for all to take. But due to Western education and the changing economy, there appears to be a gradual and evident deviation from these traditional practices.

***Yekku* Religious (festival) Practices**

Ma *Yekku* is a shrine or place of worship. The sacred hill where shrines are said to have been set up originally by the people even before they built their houses. When it was time for *Yekku* worship, Labwahkondo who was the Public Relations Officer (PRO) started by informing the man from Labwah and Wayede from Tangleland and all other clans in Tangle land, only initiated men attended the *Yekku* worship.

According to Bula Musa Dengel the grain is beaten out and put into soak. The day when it is crushed, some of the creamy issue from the grain is taken and a fowl is carried by the individual to be initiated in *Yekku* hill. Some of that white substance that is taboo is splashed on the shrine, the neck of the fowl is pierced and the wing blood caused to drop on the shrine. The fowls are cooked and the heart and liver are taken and given to the *Yekku* chief priest, (oral interview, 2025. He took three pieces and drops them to the ground and takes a piece for himself and eats. The next in authority does the same. Then the meat is shared out to all others who are gathered with them.

Taboos Associated with the Celebration of the *Yekku*

Yekku Festival is very holistic in nature. The following are the taboos as observed in *Yekku* worship. According to Mai *Yekku* in an (oral interview, 2025):

- i. You shall believe and worship Yamba (God) and venerate meyen telli (ancestors).
- ii. You shall not swear in the name of Yamba and *Yekku* in vein.
- iii. You shall respect your father, mother, *Yekku* Priest, elders in the community and abide by their teachings.
- iv. You shall not kill, commit suicide or curse anyone, but to reconcile.

- v. You shall not rape or commit adultery or commit incest.
- vi. You shall not steal or destroy someone's property or allow your animal to destroy someone's crops.
- vii. You shall not gossip against your brother or neighbor or bear false witness against them.
- viii. You shall not covet or act bad against someone progress or take his farmland by force.
- ix. You shall not charm your brother or sister even if he or she offended you.
- x. Menstruating women are not allowed to prepare the wine (*men'n*) and cook for the *Yekku* festival.

Mai *Yekku* (*Yekku* Priest)

The field work revealed that the worship of *Yekku* is holistic and pure. The Priest on going to the hill of *Yekku* would not have sex with his wife, fight or commit any offences in the society. He cannot drink *men'n* (wine) or eat food outside or in restaurant but will eat always in his house. The implication if he had sex with his wife a day to *Yekku* worship, he will be afflicted with a serious disease or even death if the god is not quickly appeased by his deputy.

Qualities of Mai *Yekku* (*Yekku* Priest)

The chief priest of *Yekku* must be a man who is honest and just. He must not be greedy a man who the spirits of *Yekku* approves his appointment and the immediate community. He must be a hero, a hardworking and properly manages his family. He must not be a liar, a man who is faithful to his wife and children. At the same time, if the chief priest wants to vacate his office, he will make it known to the members of the clan and explain accepted reason(s) for his retirement. The members of the group will appoint his deputy and the next person to assist him with the approval of *Yekku* priest. But in a situation whereby the chief priest dies, the men will meet together to choose or elect a new priest. In a situation whereby the priest is alive, the successor asks the new appointed or elected priest to take up the duties at a ceremony in the next *Yekku* worship.

However if the *Yekku* spirit and *Meyem Telli* (ancestors) of that clan did not approve the appointment of the new priest it continues to cause misfortune in his family and may sometimes lead to his death.

Celebrating *Yekku* Festival

Sunday, Maiyama, Maibege, & Maikud, (2024) notes that festivals are in fact among the many events that are celebrated among the people of Yel Tangle of Gombe State. Festival like *Yekku* provided colourful activities that bring out the beauty of the Tangle culture and these practices have socio-cultural, religious and economic significance in the lives of the people.

The convocation in the house of *Yekku* among the Tangle is performed according to clans. This festival takes place from the month of March to May. *Yekku* worship and celebration is annual. When it is time for *Yekku* worship Labwakondo who was the Public Relations Officer or town crier goes to man from Labwah first about *Yekku* worship and Wayede from Tanglang then all other clans in Tangle land. It is only initiated men who attend *Yekku* worship carrying food items, *men'n* (local wine), *Kome* (goats), grounded beneseed and chickens (*Yabe*) for sacrifice. The new ones to be initiated must also carry alone each with *Kolok* (cock). The above animals were slaughtered, cooked and shared the meat, local wine and food to all men that attended the worship. According to Samsom Reuben the other days of festivals was completed by drinking the local *men'n* (wine) from household to household singing and dancing "*kollu kwagme*" (Oral Interview, 2025).

It should be noted that when the local wine and the chickens, goats are taken to *Yekku* hill, the chief

priest has to pray as it is their belief that *Yekku* is next to “Yamba”. That is why the people express their feelings to *Yekku* to intercede on their behalf. After the prayer, the priest will pour local wine on the ground at the altar, he drinks the wine first, then his assistant will follow and then the rest of the local wine is given to the assembly to drink. The priest cut the meat, takes his own share and eat, his assistant did the same after him and also the assembly. The most important thing to note is that in *Yekku* worship, the most central thing is the performance of the rituals, prayers, and exhortation in the hill of *Yekku*.

The Preparation for *Yekku* Festival Celebration

Yekku festival is celebrated annually. The preparation for the *Yekku* Festival Celebration takes a number of days beginning with the announcement of the event by the Labwahkondo who is the Public Relations Officer. *Yekku* priest normally send him out to announce the celebration of the festival to the entire community. The Public Relations Officer to inform first man from Labwah and to all Tangle seven clans that *Yekku* festival will take place in the next one week. The custodian of *Yekku* will go *Yekku* hill three days to the commencement of the worship to ensure the environment is clean and to prepare materials for the festival celebration. Some participants will send their wine and cocks for worship.

In preparation to this, men will beat their guinea-corn and soak it in the water. Men preparing to participate in the *Yekku* festival are forbidden from sleeping with their wives during the time of preparation and celebration as the period requires consecration. The day when it is crushed, some of the tabu (creamy) from the grain is taken to *Yekku* shrine or hill pour on the shrine. Also, men from different families take a fowl with them to *ma Yekku* (*Yekku* shrine or hill) as it is demanded. Some of the white substance is splashed on to the shrine basin (Lasiri Benedict Oral Interview, 2025).

The next level of preparation is that boys who are to be initiated during the *Yekku* festival is celebration are prepared for the initiation rites. The priest of *Yekku* will visit households where there are intended children to be initiated for orientation. The priest for each clan will also bless the children, teach them not to fear when they are ask to abuse their parents, let them not do, let them not fear any sharp knife, is not to kill them but to see whether they will be brave or scared. A day to the *Yekku* worship, the priest will get himself ready for his roles. According to Daniel Peter *men* will be carried along with the food items, fowls and goat to *Yekku* hill for worship. Young boys to be initiated will go each with his cock to *Yekku* hill for sacrifice. The goat and all the fowls will be slaughtered, pour out blood for libation as well as local wine. They will cook the meat, eat, drink and pray for blessings and leave (Oral Interview, 2025).

The Importance of *Yekku* Festival

Chukwukelue and Mabayoje (2024) avers that festivals are communal celebrations established by custom and they are carefully planned and programmed involving the out-pouring of respect, rejoicing and high revelry. Festivals bring a sense of unity to the celebrants as a people with common ancestry or roots. As a result, people come from far and near to participate in festivals. Most festivals are religious oriented and attract sacrifices and other rites and rituals. The role of priest like Mai *Yekku*, Mai Kantilang cannot be over emphasized.

The Tangle national religious festival is *Yekku*. The *Yekku* serves many purposes in the lives of traditional Tangle people. Every clan had its own *Yekku* and the priest as previously mentioned. *Yekku* festival is generally a joyous occasion celebrated and have some beliefs necessarily attached to it. The *Yekku* festival is full of

songs and dance. Festivals like *Yekku* provided colourful activities that bring out the beauty of Tangle culture and these practices have socio-cultural, religious and economic significance in the lives of the people, (Sunday et al 7).

Yekku festival is of great religious and ritualistic significance to Tangle because it is a period marked by the desire of the people to associate by means of dances, musical performances, prayers, and expectations. Dancing at that time of the events is done to the excellent musical produced by the traditional musicians and women. The examples of some dances during the *Yekku* festival celebration includes *Kollo Kwangam* and *Kollo bit-bit* (Abarchi Zailani, oral interview, 2025).

The Impact of Christianity on *Yekku* Festival

Adega and Yokkos (2025) notes that Christianity has made a significant impact on Tangle and their religious and cultural practices. The celebration of *Yekku* festival has never remained the same since the advent of Christianity in the land. The impact could be seen culturally, religiously, socially and economically.

Ezeanya, Ajah, Ibenwa, Onuorah and Eze (2022) avers that Religiously, Tangle religion is losing its impact in the Tangle society. Massive conversion of the people to Christianity and Islam has reduced and affected negatively the practice of Tangle traditional religion, (4). The Tangle god (*Yekku*), is no longer held in high esteem since people now belief in monotheistic teaching of Christianity and worship to other gods is seen as idolatry. Christians among Tangle no longer have any regard to the traditional worship (Kennedy Levy, Oral Interview, 2025). This is another negative impact of Christianity on *Yekku* festival.

The contact of the Tangle with the British Colonial powers at the beginning of the 20th century resulted in forced acculturation when their traditional socio-structure was altered in accordance with the thinking of the British (Musa Saul, Oral Interview, 2025).

Ajiki (2013) notes that, the abolition of indigenous values in Africa such like *yekku* festival in Tangale and were replaced with those of European, the African lost his or her background as well as his or her personality and taken up someone's orientation of life. Christianity has played a central role in the process of acculturation which has made significant changes in areas like Tangle festivals, education, and burial rites among others. Some of the changes brought by Christianity are positive while some have caused a lot of damages to the Tangle traditional practices and values. This happened through the process of acculturation.

Through the process of acculturation as pointed out by Winthrop (1991), cultural change of a particular society carried out by an alien, dominant society is made possible. It is this change brought about by the Christian religion in Tangle land which affect the traditional practices values of the people that are almost extinct. This change is brought about under conditions of direct contact between individuals of each society in this case between Christianity and Tangle culture. Individuals of a foreign or minority culture learn the language, habits, and values of a standard or dominant culture by the cultural process of acculturation. This similar situation happened between the Tangle and the Christian culture.

Recommendations

- i. Traditional institutions should work towards the revival of the traditional festivals among the Tangle people of Gombe State.
- ii. Christian and Muslim religious leaders should allow their members to take part in festivals without necessary interfering with their faith.

- iii. Government should invest in these festivals with the view of making them a national and brings to an international status in order to attract tourists for revenue generation.
- iv. There is need for the traditional institutions to work towards removing the negative elements in the celebration of this festivals and to give it a modern look.

Conclusion

The practice of *Yekku* festival in Tangle land over the years had helped in uniting the people together. It has been an avenue through which the people live out their religious, social, economic and political lives. The festival enables the people to come together to celebrate their culture, religion and socio-political life. The period of these festivals draws the people both from diaspora and from farm land to one place and the gods of the land were appeased and sacrifices were made for cleansing of the land. This has a number of benefits to the Tangle.

With the advent of Christianity, the practice of *Yekku* and other festivals has witnessed a declining role in the life of the people. Many Christian converts frown at such practices resulting to low turnout during these festival periods. This development has a negative impact on the socio-economic, political and religio-cultural development of Tangle. There is need to revive these festivals and make them more active and alive in Tangle land.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

S/No	Name	Age	Sex	Location	Occupation	Date/Time
1	Benedict Lasir	50	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Farmer	23/2/2025 At 4pm
2	Innawuro Madina	46	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Farmer	23/2/025 At 10am
3	James Dami	60	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Trader	20/3/2025 At 3pm
4	Danjuma Kwibwah	56	Male	Kaltungo LGA, Gombe	Teacher	23/3/2025 At 2pm
5	Chindo Hamma	52	Female	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Farmer	24/3/2025 At 11am
6	Mallam Danjuma,	55	Male	Gombe LGA, Gombe	Farmer	25/3/2025 At 12noon
7	Buba Leggal	52	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Teacher	25/3/2025 At 1pm
8	Ankele Yelyel	44	Male	Kaltungo LGA,Gombe	Farmer	4/4/2025 At 2pm
9	Bula Musa Dengel	53	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Lecturer	7/4/2025 At 4pm
10	Mai yekku	54	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Priest	4/5/2025 At 9am
11	Samsom Reuben	56	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Teacher	7/5/2025 At 6pm
12	Daniel Peter	57	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Lecturer	7/5/2025 At 12:noon
13	Abarchi Zadani	58	Male	Kaltungo LGA, Gombe	Farmer	8/5/2025 At 4:pm
14	Kennedy levy	61	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Civil servant	20/6/2025 At 2pm
15	Musa Saul	56	Male	Billiri LGA, Gombe	Civil Servant	7/8/2025 At 11am

Source: Field Interviews 2025.