1. Description
1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:
Bura-Pabir
1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):
bwr
1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):
Pabir: between 12 and 12°50 longitude and 10°50 and 10°30 latitude (1,139)
Bura: between 12 and 13 longitude and 10°40 and 10°15 latitude (1,139)
The Pabir are centered in the Province of Bornu but a number of the Bura extend in the Adamawa Province (1,139)
1.4 Brief history:
“The Pabir and Bura through speaking a common language differ considerably in culture and appearance… the Pabir having been
subjected for four (?) centuries to cultural influences from the North, introduced by the royal “clan” of the Woviri. This influence (Tida-
Kanuri or Mandara) resulted in the establishment among the Pabir of a central authority, which the Bura never had. The Pabir did not,
however, adopt the Muslim religion, though Islam is now making some impression among the tribe.” (1,139)

“There are wards or hamlets that are run by a Bulama, usually the head of the largest household in the area. There are several districts in
Borno, each with a District Head (DH). The Shehu, or king, is a political-religious leader. A person who has studied the Koran is called a
Malam. The Kanuri are a large ethnic group in Borno in northeastern Nigeria. Biu is in the southern portion of the Borno state. The
peoples of Borno speak Bura-Pabir.” (5)
1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:
From my information it seems that the Pabir were taken over and ruled by a monarchy. (1,140)
1.6 Ecology (natural environment):
“In the southern area the terrain breaks up into hills, promontories, rivers and thick forest groves.” (3, 100-101)
1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density
250,000

2. Economy
2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):
2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:
2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:
“The bow-and-arrow is the usual weapon. Short swords of the type found among the Plateau tribes are carried by the Bura. Bossed oval
shields of bush cow hide, precisely the same pattern as is used by the Borom of Kanem were seen among the Bura. Spears are carried
by the Pabir, and the Chief of this tribe provided some of his followers with suits of chain-mail, and quilted cotton for their horses.”
(1,143)
2.4 Food storage:
2.5 Sexual division of production:
There is differences in the division of labor “Among the Pabir a wife works three days per week on the husband’s farm: the other four
days she devoted to her own farm, the produce of which she stores for her own use.” (1, 154) but “Among the Bura, wives only assist
husbands in farming one day the year.” (1,154)
2.6 Land tenure:
“A year consists of twelve lunar months and an intercalary periods called Bilam by which the first month of the year is made to coincide
with the beginning of the wet season when the home guinea-corn is planted, i.e. the calculation of the year is dependent on the farming
season.” To see a break down of the months and farming periods visit the source. (1,144)
2.7 Ceramics:
From the pictures shown in the different sources I utilized it is evident that the tribes did make pottery. However, I was unable to find
any text that specified what the different potteries were. (1)
2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:
2.9 Food taboos:
I couldn’t find a taboo for a certain food but I did see that, “no Pabir or Bura man will eat food cooked by his wife during her menses nor
will he drink water from her water-pot” (1,157)
2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

3. Anthropometry
3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):
3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage
4.1 Age at menarche (f):
4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):
4.3 Completed family size (m and f):
4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):
4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):
4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:
4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:
4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry:

Though I wasn’t able to find the price of a dowry for either tribe, I know that there is a “purchase.” “Marriage is by ‘purchase’ in both tribes; there is no regularized form of marriage by exchange, capture, or elopement.” (1,154)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:
I found some insight into the inheritance pattern through the allowed inheritances of wives as indicated here: “The inheritance and marriage of the wives of one’s father is permitted and practiced. The inheritance and marriage of the wives of one’s grandfather is also permitted and practices, and this type of marriage, which is of great social interest and importance.” (1,154)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:
4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:
4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):
4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?
4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)
4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?
4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape
4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
I didn’t find the preferred spouse now I did discover that “it may be that cross-cousin marriage was at one time practiced,” but it isn’t any longer. (1,155)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?
It appears that Bura women have sexual freedoms because, “Not Bura girl goes to her husband’s house as a virgin—she has invariable had prior sexual relations with her fiancé or other men, and to this no stigma attached.” (1,156)

It is different for Pabir women because “pre-nuptial chastity was expected.” (1, 156)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring
4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?
4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females
4.22 Evidence for couvades
4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)
4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?
4.24 Joking relationships?
The following sentence leads me to believe that there are joking relationships: “the fact that Bornu people and Fulani are joking relations” (2,108)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations
“Descent is patrilineal, but the sense of kinship is not confined to the clan in which the descent from a common ancestor may be fictitious or at any rate cannot be demonstrated), but extends to relatives on the mother’s side whose relationship can easily be traced.” (1,148)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules
As I stated earlier, cross-cousin relationships may have once been permitted but now “Cousin marriage is not permitted (except among members of the royal family.” (1,155)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
It seems, from the readings, that there is a formal marriage ceremony, but I was not able to find information on what it is. One of my resources referenced that Major Edgar from wrote about the ceremonies in a paper called the Gazetter, but I was unable to find this source. (1,155)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
“A child is named by the father who may, after consulting his wife, bestow his own father’s or mother’s name or that of his wife’s father or mother. Every Bura (but not Pabir) has two names. A private and a public, the first being used only by his parents and close relatives.” (1,156)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)
“The Bura and Pabir have some extent intermingled, as is shown by possession of common clan titles, but intermarriage between Bura and Pabir is uncommon.” (1)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide
4.31 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
4.32 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:
Blood revenge
-If homicide by a member of another clan then the clan of the murdered man took immediate vengeance. The murderer’s clan fled. The clan of the murdered chose someone to kill on the opposing clan. They would then kill that man and celebrate their success. (1,148)
- “But among the Pabir, where there was a central authority, the Chief made himself responsible for the apprehension of a murderer, who was handed over the murdered man’s clan and then stoned to death (by women and boys—no grown–up man would condescend to lend a hand).” (1,148)

4.33 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:
“There was interclan feuding and clans unified to fight defensive operations. But violence and warfare were oriented primarily outwards for raiding.” (3,109)

4.34 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

4.35 Cannibalism?

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction
5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
“wards or hamlets” (5)
“The clan, which may include anything from fifteen to five hundred biological families.” (1,147)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):
The Pabir must have a royal family of some sort because “such traditions as exist centre round Yemta-ra-Wala, the founder of the Pabir royal family,” but “Nothing is known of his parentage but the story runs that he was at one time a candidate for the throne of Birnin Ngasr-Gamo.” (1,140)
“There are several districts in Borno, each with a District Head (DH). The Shehu, or king, is a political/religious leader.” (5)

5.4 Post marital residence:
For Pabir “the husband has a hut of his own (unlike many other tribes where the husband uses the porch by day and one of his wives’ huts by night). Each wife has her own hut…” (1,145)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:
As I mentioned above it seems that the tribes do have joking relationships. I came to this conclusion through the following sentence: “the fact that Bornu people and Fulani are joking relations” (2,108)

5.8 Village and house organization:
“Pabir and Bura huts are of the circular mud or plaited straw type with conical thatched roof. When the walls are of plaited straw they are cemented on the inside with a smearing of mud, as a protection against weather and fire.” (1,145)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses):
“The Bura build their compounds in scattered groups of three or four.” (1,145)
“The Pabir are more gregarious and their villages more compact.” (1,145)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?
They sleep in huts. (1,145)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:
“The clan, which may include anything from fifteen to five hundred biological families, may have its own name or may share a common name with two or more other clans, the combination of clans forming a ‘phratry’ (though these phratries are not exogamous).” (1,147)

5.12 Trade:
Currency: (1,144)
Among both tribes the medium of exchange was
-Thread (Bura only)
- Narrow strips of clothe
- Bul (gown/shirts)
- Metal bracelets

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?
For the Pabir there seems to be a social hierarchy because of the references to a royal family. (1, 140)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)
6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):
“A person who has studied the Koran is called a Malam.” (5)

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):
The Pabir have the Mambila feast and a man’s soul returns after death. (1, 160)
“The Bura have no public Mambila feast, but each year at the maize harvest every Bura who has lost a father or mother selects three heads of corn, dresses them carefully, burning off the sheath, and places them on a tray which he sets by his head at night…” (1,161)

6.4 Other rituals:

6.5 Myths (Creation):

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):
Musical instruments:
“Bura have a xylophone… the player sits on the ground with the instrument between legs and uses a pronged stick as a striker.” (1,143)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:
6.8 Missionary effect:
6.9 RCR revival:
6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:
“The Pabir conception is that on a man’s death his soul goes to join his grandfather’s but returns to the town each year at the Mambila feast.” (1,160)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?
6.12 Is there teknonymy?
6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)
“Speakers of Bura are predominately non-Islamic, while speakers of Pabir (also known as Babur or Babir) are predominately Islamic.” (5)

7. Adornment
7.1 Body paint:
7.2 Piercings:
Like I will mention again below, Pabir women “wear ear plugs and metal earrings and perforate the right nostril, inserting lead plugs, threepenny bits, etc.” (1,143)
7.3 Haircut:
“The Bura men used to wear their hair long, plaiting it with rags and metal ornaments and plastering it with red earth and fish-oil, but they are now becoming ashamed of these practiced and have taken to shaving the head completely (like the Pabir) or partially so as to leave a circular tuft on the back of the head.” (1,142)
7.4 Scarification:
7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):
“Every Pabir Chief wears a pigtail.” (1,140)
Women “often wear circlets of beads on their heads and plugs (brass rings or strings of beads or reed or guinea-corn stalks) in the upper and lower lips (a practice not followed by Pabir women, who, however, wear ear-plugs and metal earrings and perforate the right nostril, inserting lead plugs, threepenny bits, etc.).” (1,143)
7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:
People who “exercise priestly functions” are not allowed to shave their head. (1,142)
7.7 Sex differences in adornment:
Pabir women are known at once by their distinctive manner of dressing the hair over a raised pad with a plaited lock hanging down on either side resurrection (1,142)
Bura women, on the other hand, wear their hair, which they plaster with red earth, in bowl-shaped fashion, and bound with pieces of brass. (1,142)
7.8 Missionary effect:
7.9 Types of clothing:
“Bura men wear loin-coverage of cloth or hide which they pull through the legs from front to rear.” (1,142)
“Pabir on the other hand, like the Kanuri, wear their loin cloths behind and pull the end through from rear to front. The Pabir has always worn the short trousers and short sleeveless jumper.” (1,143)
“Pabir women wear large cloths, Bura small ones. The breasts are left uncovered as a rule. Bura girls are often seen wearing a cloth flap, which hangs down in front or is pulled through the legs to the back. Or they may be seen with fringes of string or of string bound round with metal.” (1,143)

8. Kinship systems
8.1 Sibling classification system:
8.2 Sororate, levirate:
8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):
I couldn’t get a hold of them but if you go to source (5) the Robert Cohen papers should provide a lot more information.
“Twins were not viewed with favour, being regarded as reincarnations ever ready to take offence and die, with a view to being reborn somewhere else.” (1,156)

When meeting the chief, a Pabir woman will greet him by falling to her knees and throwing dust into the air with the right hand over the right and left shoulder three times and then clapping her hands three times. (1,144)

Numbered references

