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Cultural and Economic Significance of the Northern Indigenous Tamarind Tree *(Tsamiya)*: An Analysis of Hausa Folk Beliefs

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Abstract

This study explores the cultural, symbolic, and economic meanings of the tsamiyā *(tamarind) tree as they are lived and enacted in everyday Hausa social life. Rather than treating the tree solely as a symbolic artefact, the study approaches tsamiya as a social presence embedded in ritual practices, household economies, healing traditions, and communal memory. Drawing on Bunza's (2006) and Ibrahim's (2020) frameworks of Hausa folk belief, alongside Morgan's (2010), material culture theory, this study analyzes data from both ethnographic field observations and secondary historical sources. It provides ethnographic detail on local narratives, ritual uses, food processing, and medicinal applications that situating the tsamiya at the intersection of the sacred and the mundane. The tree functions simultaneously as a site of spiritual significance, a marker of place and identity, and a resource that supports livelihoods through subsistence use and small-scale trade. By foregrounding these everyday engagements, the study highlights the role of indigenous ecological knowledge in sustaining social cohesion and resilience. The findings suggest that trees such as tsamiya are not passive elements of the landscape but active participants in Hausa cultural life, offering valuable insights for culturally grounded approaches to sustainable development and community-based resource management in Nigeria.*

Keywords: *culture, economic, Hausa, northern Nigeria, tree, folk belief,*

Introduction

Culture has long been understood as a dynamic system of shared meanings, beliefs, practices, and material expressions through which societies interpret and negotiate their world (Morgan 2010)[1]. Within this system, belief systems constitute a critical domain of cultural life, shaping how communities respond to uncertainty, interpret natural phenomena, and transmit collective values. Scholars of anthropology such as Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard and later Geertz

[1]Morgan, D. 2010. Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief. London: Routledge

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have debated whether belief systems should be read primarily as pragmatic responses to existential insecurity, symbolic texts embedded in thick cultural contexts, or forms of social control that maintain moral order. These debates remain central in contemporary analyses of African cultural traditions, where belief systems persist not merely as residues of the past but as evolving frameworks of meaning that inform everyday life.

In many non-literate and oral-oriented societies—historically and even today—superstition and folk belief function as important mechanisms of social regulation, providing moral guidance and symbolic frameworks for dealing with misfortune, illness, and environmental uncertainties. Tremearne's (1970)[2] classic work emphasizes the resilience of folk beliefs, arguing that they cannot be fully displaced by rationalist or scientific paradigms because they are embedded in long-standing cosmologies and lived experiences. This scholarly position continues to animate debates on the coexistence of indigenous knowledge systems and modernity in the 21st century. Rather than dismissing folk beliefs as irrational, contemporary scholars highlight their role in shaping ecological ethics, social cohesion, and cultural identity.

Within this broader discussion, the cultural and ecological significance of indigenous trees in West Africa—particularly among Hausa communities—deserves closer attention. Trees have featured prominently in African cosmologies, economies, and moral teachings, yet their symbolic and material roles remain understudied. The tamarind tree *tsamiya*, widely revered among the *Hausawa*, provides a compelling case study. Not only is the tamarind tree a source of food and livelihood, it is also situated within Hausa sacred geographies, ritual practices, and moral instruction. Proverbs associated with *tsamiya* communicate values of restraint, discipline, hospitality, generosity, and social responsibility, thereby illustrating how material objects in the environment serve as conduits for moral philosophy.

By adopting Morgan's (2010)[3] and Bunza's (2006)[4] models of culture, which distinguish between material and non-material cultural expressions, this study interrogates the interrelationship between the tamarind and Hausa social life. It explores how belief systems surrounding the tree structure social behaviour, how ecological knowledge is embedded in cultural narratives, and how indigenous trees contribute to national development through their economic using fruits, bark, leaves. In addition to this, the study also adopts an integrated material culture and material religion framework to examine how the tamarind tree functions as both material and non-material expressions as could be seen in the selected ritual, festival, superstition, and folktale namely: *bagiro*, *shankabewa, camfi, and tatsuniyar Yarima da Labbi.*

The tamarind's applications in Hausa medicinal practices, household sanitation, and agricultural life further demonstrate the inseparability of cultural

[2]Tremearne, A. J. N 1970. *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*: *An Introduction to the Folklore and the Folk*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
[3]Morgan, D. 2010. Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief. London: Routledge
[4]Bunza, A. M. 2006. *Gadon Fexe Al'ada*. Lagos: Tiwal Nigerian Ltd.

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symbolism and ecological utility. Thus, this research situates *tsamiya* within contemporary debates on indigenous knowledge, environmental humanities, and cultural sustainability, arguing that the tree embodies both the tangible and intangible dimensions of Hausa cultural heritage.

Northern Nigeria

The concept of *Northern Nigeria* as it is commonly understood today is largely a colonial construction, emerging from British administrative strategies in the early twentieth century. Although the geographical designation refers to the vast territory located north of the River Niger—a river whose name ultimately became the basis for the naming of the Nigerian state—the label itself was not indigenous to the peoples who occupied the region. Instead, communities prior to British conquest identified themselves through a multiplicity of political formations, including city-states, emirates, lineages, and kingdoms (Afigbo, 1991[5]; Watts, 2013[6]). These identities were historically fluid, shaped by patterns of migration, religious diffusion, trade networks, and warfare.

Debates among historians and anthropologists have focused on the extent to which the notion of a culturally homogenous "North" should be understood as an outcome of colonialism or as a continuation of pre-colonial political processes. One interpretation emphasizes the homogenizing effects of British indirect rule, which drew heavily on extant emirate structures and Islamic legal frameworks to craft an administratively coherent region (Mailer, 2000)[7]. Another perspective suggests that long before colonial consolidation, the Sokoto Caliphate had already unified large parts of the region under a relatively centralized system of Islamic governance. Thus, while the colonial state formalized the territorial expression of "Northern Nigeria," it also built upon earlier forms of political integration.

A distinct feature that set the northern region apart from other parts of what later became Nigeria was a high degree of cultural and religious uniformity—at least from the vantage point of colonial observers. The dominant influence of Islam, the prevalence of Hausa as a lingua franca, and the widespread acceptance of emirate authority contributed to a perception of internal cohesion. Yet, scholars have argued that this perceived uniformity often obscured significant internal diversity. The region included diverse non-Muslim groups, such as those in the Middle Belt, whose socio-political structures and religious worldviews diverged sharply from the emirate system. Critics of the colonial narrative argue that the British overemphasized unity in order to

[5]Afigbo, A. E.1991. "Background to Nigerian Federalism: Federal Features in the Colonial State" Publius: *The Journal of Federalism* 21(4):13-29. http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals pubjof. 9037965.
[6]Watts, F. 2013. "Embodied Cognition and Religion". Zygon, 48 (3): 745-58 https://doi.org/10.1111/zygo.12055.
[7]Mailer, A.A. 2000. "Colonial Administration and Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria". *Journal of African History* 41(2): 245-62.

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simplify administration and to justify the adoption of indirect rule (Ibrahim, 2020)[8].

With the military conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate and its affiliated polities between 1900 and 1903, the British formally incorporated the area into the colonial economy as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The economic transformations that followed—ranging from the introduction of cash crops to the restructuring of trade routes and taxation systems—deepened regional distinctions within Nigeria while also embedding the region into global capitalist circuits (Watts, 2013)[9]. Historians of political economy have emphasized that the British relied heavily on existing structures of authority, thereby preserving the emirates' hierarchical order. While this enhanced administrative efficiency, it also contributed to the entrenchment of traditional elites and the consolidation of a regional identity that would have long-term political implications.

Although the phrase "Northern Nigeria" emerged within a colonial context, the question of the region's homogeneity predates British rule and is closely tied to processes of state formation in the pre-colonial era. Central to these processes was the Usman dan Fodio Jihad of 1804–1810, which significantly transformed the political landscape of what would later be termed the "North." The jihad succeeded in overthrowing or subordinating the ruling dynasties of numerous Hausa states, replacing them with a network of emirates united under the spiritual and political leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate. Scholars such as Last (1967)[10], Paden (1973)[11], and more recently Ibrahim (2020) [12]argue that this jihad represented one of the most successful and far-reaching Islamic reform movements in sub-Saharan Africa, creating a political configuration that endured well into the colonial period.

Before the jihad, the Hausa states—often referred to as *Hausa bakwai* (the "legitimate seven")—consisted of Biram, Gobir, Kano, Rano, Zaria, Katsina, and Daura. These states shared linguistic, cultural, and to some extent religious commonalities, but they were politically independent and frequently engaged in warfare, alliances, and competition for resources. By focusing on these core Hausa states, the present analysis aligns with a significant strand of historiography that distinguishes the *Hausa bakwai* from the *Banza bakwai* ("illegitimate seven"), which were politically and culturally related but not regarded as part of the original Hausa lineage narratives. This distinction, however, is itself contested. Some scholars argue that the dichotomy between

[8]Ibrahim, U. (2020). "Geography and Religion in Hausa and Tangale Belief Systems: An Emic Perspective". In *Kashere Journal of Humanities, Management and Social Sciences* Umar Mohammed 4 (1).
[9]Watts, F. 2013. "Embodied Cognition and Religion". Zygon, 48 (3): 745-58 https://doi.org/10.1111/zygo.12055.
[10]Last, M. 1967. The Sokoto Caliphate. London: humanities Press
[11]Paden, J. N. 1973. *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
[12]Ibrahim, U. (2020). "Geography and Religion in Hausa and Tangale Belief Systems: An Emic Perspective". In *Kashere Journal of Humanities, Management and Social Sciences,* Umar Mohammed 4 (1).

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the "legitimate" and "illegitimate" states reflects later political myth-making rather than historical reality.

Shaw (2012:264)[13] provides an important intervention in this debate by highlighting the extent to which Hausa identity, and by extension the idea of a cohesive northern cultural sphere, was constructed through myth, memory, and political ideology. According to Shaw, the narratives surrounding the origins of the Hausa states—particularly the Bayajidda legend—served to legitimize ruling houses and reinforce political hierarchies. This suggests that processes of identity formation in the region were dynamic, shaped by shifting political interests and contexts, rather than fixed or inherently uniform.

The expansion of the Sokoto Caliphate further complicated this landscape. Islamic reformists under dan Fodio instituted a governance model that emphasized religious piety, scholarly authority, and bureaucratic order. This created a relatively centralized administrative system, which, while not entirely eliminating internal diversity, fostered a level of cohesion unprecedented in the region's history. Some scholars argue that this cohesion laid the groundwork for the later colonial construction of Northern Nigeria as a distinct entity. Others contend that emphasizing the caliphate's unifying role risks marginalizing the experiences of groups that remained outside or resisted caliphal authority, including various Middle Belt communities.

In examining these historiographical tensions, it becomes clear that the notion of "Northern Nigeria" is best understood not as a static or monolithic identity but as a layered concept shaped by overlapping historical processes. Colonial administrators, pre-colonial reformers, and indigenous communities all contributed to the evolving imagination of the region. Moreover, debates continue over whether the emphasis on unity obscures important differences that have shaped political conflicts in post-colonial Nigeria, including struggles over federalism, resource allocation, ethnicity, and religion. Ultimately, the emergence of "Northern Nigeria" reflects a complex interplay between pre-colonial statecraft, Islamic reform movements, and colonial administrative rationalities. Understanding these dynamics provides a more nuanced appreciation of how regional identities are constructed, contested, and continually reinvented across time.

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative research design grounded in ethnographic and interpretivist traditions to explore the cultural and economic significance of indigenous practices across selected states in Northern Nigeria. Given the complexity of cultural knowledge and its embeddedness in local cosmologies, qualitative methods-particularly interviews and focus group discussions-offered the most appropriate means of accessing the nuances of lived experience. The data was collected from 90 key informants drawn from nine

[13]Shaw, F. L 2012. *A Tropical Dependency*: *An Outline of the Ancient, History of the Western Soudan, With an Account of the Modern, Settlement of Northern Nigeria.* London

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states in Northern Nigeria (Table 1). These informants were purposively selected based on their deep-rooted knowledge of local traditions, ecological practices, and community histories. Such purposive selection aligns with Patton's (2002)[14] argument that information-rich cases are crucial for understanding phenomena that are deeply cultural and experiential.

Individual interviews formed the primary mode of data collection. Semi-structured questionnaires were utilized to guide these interviews, enabling a balance between structure and openness. Scholars of qualitative methodology, such as Kvale (2007)[15] and Brinkmann (2013)[16], argue that semi-structured interviews guides are particularly effective for research that seeks to elicit detailed narratives while maintaining comparability across participants. In this research, the semi-structured format allowed respondents the freedom to articulate practices, beliefs, and historical recollections in their own words, while ensuring that the central themes related to cultural significance, ecological knowledge, and indigenous economic systems were consistently addressed.

The incorporation of focus group discussions (FGDs) further enriched the data. FGDs are widely recognized in anthropological and sociological scholarship as powerful tools for capturing collective memory, shared practices, and community-level interpretations (Morgan, 1997)[17]. In the context of Northern Nigeria—where cultural knowledge is often transmitted orally and communally—focus groups provided a platform for dialogic engagement, enabling participants to build upon each other's responses. This dialogical process is supported by scholars such as Bloor et al. (2001)[18], who argue that group interaction stimulates the articulation of ideas that may not emerge in individual interviews. For this study, the FGDs contributed to a deeper understanding of communal norms, symbolic meanings, and the socio-economic functions of indigenous cultural practices.

The decision to combine individual interviews with focus groups reflects debates within qualitative methodology regarding the triangulation of data sources. While some scholars critique triangulation as an attempt to mimic positivist notions of validity (Denzin, 2012)[19], others argue that methodological triangulation enhances the richness and credibility of qualitative findings (Flick, 2004)[20]. This study adopts the latter perspective, using triangulation not to pursue objective truth but to capture the layered and multifaceted nature of cultural knowledge. The combination of methods allowed for cross-verification

[14]Patton, M. Q. 2000. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
[15]Kvale, S. 2007. Doing Interviews. London: Sage Publications.
[16]Brinkmann, S. 2013. *Qualitative Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.
[17]Morgan, D. 2010. Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief. London: Routledge
[18]Bloor, M. Frankland, J., Thomas, M., & Robson, K. 2001. Focus Groups in Social Research.London: Sage Publications
[19]Denzin, N.K. 2012. *The Qualitative Manifesto:* A Call to Arms. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
[20]Flick, U. 2004. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications

of themes, ensuring that findings were grounded both in personal narratives and in collective reflections.

Data collection was carried out in participants' localities to ensure cultural sensitivity and ecological contextualization. This field-based approach aligns with postcolonial critiques of extractive research practices that call for methodological frameworks attentive to local voices and epistemic agency (Smith, 2012)[21]. By engaging participants within their familiar environments, the research sought to minimize power asymmetries and enhance the authenticity of the narratives elicited. Overall, the methodological approach adopted in this study reflects a commitment to capturing the complex, layered, and dynamic nature of indigenous cultural practices in Northern Nigeria. The combination of purposive sampling, semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions created a robust and interpretively rich dataset capable of supporting nuanced scholarly analysis.

Population and sample

The target population for this research comprised elderly men and women, herbalists and traditionalists across selected states in Northern Nigeria. These categories of informants were purposively chosen because they constitute the primary custodians of indigenous ecological knowledge, particularly regarding the cultural and utilitarian functions of indigenous trees such as tamarind. Scholars of ethnobotany and cultural anthropology have long debated the validity of privileging elderly and specialist knowledge-holders, with some arguing that such groups offer the most authentic accounts of tradition, while others caution that this focus may overlook younger or gender-marginalised perspectives that also contribute to evolving knowledge systems.

In recognition of these debates, the study adopted a snowball sampling technique, a method widely discussed in qualitative research for its ability to provide access to hidden or specialized populations that are otherwise difficult to identify. Although critics suggest that snowball sampling risks producing socially homogeneous samples, its strengths in locating knowledgeable respondents made it suitable for this study. The interview process centred on the domestic, medicinal, and socio-cultural uses of the tamarind tree. To capture geographical variation, the Hausa-speaking region was stratified into southern, central, and northern ecological zones (Table 1), an approach consistent with scholarly arguments that stratification enhances representativeness by accounting for spatial differences in resource distribution, including the uneven occurrence of tamarind trees across Northern Nigeria.

[21]Smith, L. T. 2012. Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books

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Table 1: Sample of the study areas

Status	States	Sample State	Number of Respondents
Southern	Kaduna Niger Bauchi	Kaduna	30
Central	Kano Zamfara Kebbi	Kano	30
Northern	Katsina Sokoto Jigawa	Katsina	30

Theoretical frame work

Material culture and material religion
Ra'in al'ada da addini

This study adopts and modifies the seminal theoretical perspective developed by David Morgan whose field encompassed sociology and anthropology. Drawing on material culture and material religion theory, which emphasizes the entanglement of objects, meanings, and social practice (Geertz, 1973[22]; Shore, 2002[23]), the study has examined the symbolic and ritual significance of the tamarind tree *tsamiya* in selected Hausa folklore and folktales. Within this framework, the tamarind tree functions as a material mediator through which spiritual beliefs, communal memory and cultural identity are articulated and sustained. Its recurring presence in folktales reflects a broader African epistemology in which sacred meaning is embedded in the physical environment, particularly in revered trees preserved for ritual purposes (Fortes, 1969[24]).

Across African societies, trees are not passive natural resources but active participants in religious life; serving as sites of sacrifice, healing, spirit presence, and social gathering (Abimbola,1977)[25]. In Hausa culture, the tamarind tree embodies this material-spiritual interface, simultaneously valued for its practical uses and its role as a locus of ancestral power and communal continuity. Interpreted through the lens of material religion, the tamarind tree emerges as a cultural artifact that mediates relationship between humans, the environment, and the sacred beings. This analysis demonstrates how Hausa folktales encode ecological, ethical and spiritual cosmology within material

[22]Geertz, C. 1973. The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books
[23]Shore, C., and S. Nugent, eds. 2000. *Elite Cultures: Anthropological Perspectives*. ASA Monographs no. 38. London: Routledge
[24]Fortes, M. 1969. Kinship and the Social Order: The Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan. Chicago: Aldine.
[25]Abimbola, W. 1976. Ifa: *An Exposition of Ifa Literary Corpus*. Ibadan: Oxford University press Nigeria.

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forms, reinforcing the role of sacred trees in sustaining social cohesion and intergenerational knowledge transmission (Olupona, 2014)[26].

Tamarind as a means of livelihood

In this research, livelihood is conceptualised through three interrelated components: means, income, and assets. This tripartite classification aligns with broader debates within livelihood studies, where scholars such as Chambers and Conway argue that livelihoods must be understood not only in terms of economic activities but also the social and cultural resources that sustain them. In the context of this study, *means* refers to the various strategies individuals employ to secure their survival-ranging from pastoralism and herbalism to craft production, food processing, and the brewing of traditional beverages. These activities constitute the immediate sources of *income*, which is the second component.

The third component, *assets*, reflects a more contested category in livelihood scholarship. While some researchers view assets primarily as material possessions, others emphasise their symbolic and social value within indigenous societies. In this study, assets are defined as the tangible and intangible resources acquired from the proceeds of tamarind, whether sold in its raw form or processed. Such assets include housing, domestic equipment, craft tools, kitchen utensils, and other elements of both material and non-material culture. Despite disagreements among scholars over whether single-resource dependence undermines livelihood resilience, the evidence here indicates that many individuals in Northern Nigeria derive substantial aspects of their livelihood from the tamarind tree. Major livelihood activities associated with tamarind include

Food and beverage (kayan ci da sha)

Xanxanon miya	curries
Alawar tsamiya	sweet/candy
Kunun tsamiya	gruel
tsimi	drinks
fate	tamarind porridge

Medicine (magunguna)

maganin rage kiba	anti-obesity
maganin kumburin ciki	flatulence
maganin cin abinci	appetite inducers
maganin gudawa/zawo	anti diarrhea
maganin maleriya da taifod	anti malaria and typhoid

Raw material

kujera	furniture making
turmi	mortar

[26]Olupona, J. K. 2014. *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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buzu (a jima) lion-cloth (in tanning)

Spiritual

Among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria, the tamarind tree *dorawa or tsamiya* occupies an important place not only as a botanical resource but also as a cultural and spiritual entity. In Hausa ethnomedical practice, the bark and leaves of the tamarind are commonly employed in the treatment of afflictions understood to have spiritual origins-such as spirit possession, malevolent witchcraft, and disturbances attributed to ***iskoki*** (spirit beings). These therapeutic uses align with broader African ethnobotanical traditions in which medicinal plants are believed to possess both pharmacological and metaphysical potency. Scholars such as John Mbiti and Victor Turner have debated the extent to which such treatments should be understood primarily as symbolic acts embedded in cosmological beliefs or as pragmatic responses to psychosocial stressors within local communities.

Hausa folklore further reinforces the tamarind's spiritual significance. Numerous tales describe the tree as exhibiting mysterious behaviours, including luminescence at night, hosting wandering spirits, or communicating warnings to passers-by. While functionalist scholars interpret these narratives as mechanisms for social regulation-discouraging children from wandering at night or protecting sacred spaces-symbolic anthropologists argue that they reveal deeper cultural logics linking the natural environment to the moral universe. Contemporary ethnographers continue to debate whether such beliefs decline under modern influences or persist through adaptive reinterpretations within Islamic and urban contexts.

4.2 Multiple-purpose of tamarind *tsamiya*

Tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), a versatile and economically significant tree species, belongs to the Fabaceae family, specifically the Caesalpinioideae sub-family. Although research generally situates its origin in tropical Africa, other scholars argue for an Indo-Malayan origin, highlighting the long history of transcontinental botanical exchanges that complicate attempts to attribute a single birthplace for many tropical species. What is clear, however, is that tamarind has become naturalised across vast regions of the tropics, including South Asia, Southeast Asia, and parts of Latin America, due to centuries of human mobility, trade, and ecological adaptation. Its wide distribution means that tamarind can be found both on cultivated farmlands-where it is deliberately planted for shade, food, and commercial purposes-and in the wild, where it grows spontaneously and forms an important part of local forest ecologies.

Scholars widely acknowledge tamarind as a multipurpose species whose diverse functions make it indispensable to rural livelihoods. Buyinza,Senjong,

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and Lusiba (2010)[27], for instance, demonstrate that tamarind contributes significantly to subsistence and income generation among rural households in East Africa. Yet, other researchers have emphasised the gendered dimensions of its utilisation, noting that women often dominate the collection, processing, and marketing of tamarind products. This participation not only supplements household income but also strengthens women's bargaining power within community markets, raising important debates about non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and their potential to enhance rural empowerment.

The medicinal value of tamarind constitutes another area of scholarly engagement. Traditional medical practitioners across Africa and Asia have long used its leaves, bark, fruits, and seeds to treat ailments ranging from fever and gastrointestinal infections to malaria and skin diseases. Ethnobotanical studies highlight the plant's antimicrobial, antioxidant, and anti-inflammatory properties, and these findings have inspired modern pharmacological research. However, some scholars question the standardisation and dosage reliability of traditional tamarind-based remedies, arguing for more rigorous biomedical trials to validate their efficacy. This debate reflects broader tensions between indigenous knowledge systems and Western scientific paradigms, especially regarding medicinal plants and the politics of knowledge authentication.

Beyond its cultural and medicinal roles, tamarind is also of considerable industrial importance. Its fruits serve as raw material for a wide range of processed products, including tamarind kernel powder (a vital component in textile sizing and paper manufacturing), pectin, tartaric acid, tamarind juice concentrate, jams, syrups, confectionaries, and fermented drinks. Morgan (2010)[28] notes that the versatility of tamarind in industrial applications underscores its value chain potential, particularly for countries seeking to expand rural-based agro-industries. Nevertheless, scholars have raised concerns about sustainability and cultivation pressures, arguing that increased commercial demand may lead to over-exploitation of wild tamarind stands. This has prompted calls for domestication initiatives, improved seed management, and the development of community-based agroforestry systems that ensure long-term conservation.

In sum, tamarind stands at the intersection of ecology, culture, medicine, and industry. Its importance is deeply embedded in local livelihood strategies, yet it is also entangled in global markets and scientific debates about the balance between traditional uses and modern industrial demands. As scholarship continues to evolve, tamarind remains a compelling case study for examining how indigenous species shape-and are shape by-social, economic, and environmental transformations.

[27]Buyinza, M., Senjonga, M., and B Lusiba. 2010. "Economic Valuation of a Tamarind(*Tamarindus indica L.*) Production System: Green Money from Drylands of EasternUganda". Small-Scale Forestry 9(3): 317-329. http://doi.org/10.1007/s11842-0109118-y

[28]Morgan, D. 2010. Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief. London: Routledge

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Hausa folk belief

Zad, (2014)[29] posits that folklore, or folk, constitutes a wide array of cultural expressions through which communities articulate their values, beliefs, and social norms. These expressions include legends, riddles, jokes, proverbs, games, festivals, charms, omens, spells, spirit or devil possession, and ritual performances. Such forms are particularly salient in pre-literate societies or among specific social classes, where oral and performative traditions serve as the primary vehicles for transmitting knowledge and maintaining social cohesion. Scholars have long debated the functions and classifications of folk traditions. While early folklorists such as Dorson (1972)[30] and Finnegan (2005)[31] emphasized their aesthetic and entertainment qualities, functionalist theorists highlight their role in regulating social behaviour, resolving conflicts, and reinforcing communal ethics (Bronner, 2011)[32].

In the African context, folklore assumes distinctive and complex dimensions. For instance, among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria, riddles and proverbs are not mere intellectual exercises but tools for moral instruction, negotiation, and social commentary. Similarly, the Yoruba employ ritual performances, masquerades, and festivals such as the Egungun to maintain ancestral memory and sustain spiritual cosmologies (Abiodun, 2001)[33]. Legends and tales of spirit possession, common across West and Central Africa, function both as cautionary narratives and as frameworks for understanding misfortune or unexplained events. Postmodernist scholars, however, caution against viewing folklore as static or purely preservative; instead, it is a dynamic process, continually reshaped by historical, political, and economic forces, as seen in the adaptation of traditional songs and festivals in urban spaces (Ben-Amos, 1992)[34].

Lawal's perspective underscores the dual nature of folk traditions: they are repositories of collective memory and moral order, but also performative arenas where identity, power, and knowledge are negotiated. Far from being relics of the past, these traditions remain vibrant and adaptive, reflecting the evolving concerns, anxieties, and aspirations of African communities. Through this lens, folklore emerges not only as a cultural artifact but as an active medium for understanding human experience, social structure, and the intricate ways in which societies preserve continuity while navigating change.

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[29]Zad, R. E. 2014. "Superstitious Beliefs and Some of its causes (Case Study: Ghachsaram Citizens". *Journal of Behavioral and Psychological Studies*. Online ISSN 2277-1808
[30]Dorson, R.M., ed.1972. *Folklore and Folklife*: An Introduction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[31]Finnegan, R. 2005. *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices.* London: Taylor & Francis e-Library
[32]Bronner, S.J. 2011. *Explaining Traditions: Folk Behavior in Modern Culture*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
[33]Abiodun, R. 2001. "African Aesthetics". *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 35 (4): 15-23.http://doi. Org/10.2307/3333783.
[34]Ben-Amos, D. 1992. Do We Need Ideal Types (in Folklore)? NIF Papers no. 2. Turku: Nordic Institute of Folklore.

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> *"…iskoki suna warwatse ko'in a cikin duniya, amma sun fi zama a gidajen tururuwa da cikin suri da kan tsamiya da kuma kogon kuka."*
> "…spirits are spread everywhere in the world but predominantly domiciled at black ants pit, anthill, tamarind tree and cave of baobab tree…"

In Hausa traditional medicine, the primary sources of remedies are often rooted in the practices of sorcerers, herbalists, and practitioners believed to engage with spiritual or supernatural forces, including instances of spirit or devil possession. These traditionalists utilize various plant-derived components-such as leaves, barks, fruits, roots, mistletoe, and nectars-to prepare medicines aimed at treating a wide spectrum of illnesses and ailments. Scholars such as Lawal (2014)[35] and Adamu (2017)[36] emphasize that these practices are not merely pharmacological; they are deeply embedded within the social, spiritual, and moral fabric of Hausa communities.

Traditional healers frequently combine the administration of medicinal substances with ritual performances, which may include divination, incantations, and other ceremonial acts intended to ensure efficacy, reinforce communal values, or address metaphysical causes of diseases. Beyond healing, such rituals may serve social functions, including testifying to the character or integrity of individuals, as observed in matrimonial ceremonies. One widely recognized example within Hausa culture is *tsafin Bagiro*, a traditional remedy and ritual practice that enjoys broad acceptance and legitimacy among community members. The enduring relevance of such practices invites scholarly debates on the intersections of indigenous knowledge systems, spiritual beliefs, and healthcare, challenging simplistic dichotomies between "scientific" medicine and traditional healing.

Magic (*Bagiro)*

In Hausa culture, the practice of *Bagiro* fetishism serves as a ritualized mechanism to assess the sexual integrity of brides prior to marriage, reflecting the intertwining of spirituality, morality, and social regulation. Among the Maguzawa of the Hausa states, *Bagiro* fetishism is conducted beneath sacred trees, such as the tamarind (Tamarindus indica) or baobab (Adansonia digitata), which are traditionally revered as liminal spaces connecting the human and spiritual worlds. During the ceremony, the bride is questioned about her premarital sexual conduct, particularly regarding *tsarance*—sexual activity outside of marriage. Should she claim chastity, ritual objects such as a cock, a goat, and a calabash of wine are placed beneath the sacred tree until sunset. Cultural belief maintains that, if the bride is innocent, the cock and goat will die, and the wine will be consumed by spiritual forces, thereby affirming her purity. Conversely, transgression is thought to provoke immediate spiritual retribution, sometimes described in folklore as fatal consequences for the bride.

[35]Liman, M. and Idris, H. A. and U. K. Mohd. 2014."Weather and Climate" In Kano: *Environment, Society and Development*, edited by Tanko and Momale. London: Adonis& Abbey Published Ltd.
[36]Adamu, Y. 2017. "Unofficial Dollarisation and Monetary Policy in Nigeria. CBN Economic and Financial Review 55 (2): 69-86.

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Scholarly debate on *Bagiro* fetishism situates the practice within broader discussions of African indigenous religions, ritual fetishism, and social control. Hagan (2012)[37] and Adamu (1978)[38] argue that such rituals serve not only as spiritual safeguards but also as moral and social mechanisms that enforce gendered expectations of sexual behaviour. Critics contend that these practices exemplify patriarchal oversight, emphasizing female chastity as a communal value, often at the expense of individual autonomy. However, proponents and cultural historians underscore the performative and symbolic dimensions of the ritual, noting that it also functions as a form of communal cohesion, invoking spiritual authority to validate social norms and integrate families within the sacred moral order.

Comparative studies in West Africa suggest that similar virginity or purity rituals are widespread, though the specific forms, sacred objects, and consequences vary across ethnic groups, reflecting local cosmologies and social structures. *Bagiro* fetishism, therefore, exemplifies the intersections of spirituality, gender, and societal regulation in Hausa traditional life. It is a vivid illustration of how indigenous ritual practices are simultaneously spiritual, moral, and socially normative, providing a lens for understanding broader African approaches to morality, purity, and communal ethics in premodern and contemporary contexts.

Pumpkin Festival (*Buki Shan Kabewa)*

Bukin shan kabewa represents one of the annual ritual performances distinctive to Hausa cultural and religious life. Its central purpose is the protection of the community from diseases anticipated in the coming year, alongside an attempt to foresee future events. According to Ibrahim (1982:256)[39], the festival was not merely a localized affair, rather, it involved the gathering of magicians and ritual specialists from both nearby and distant communities. This participation underscores the regional significance of the festival and highlights the extensive networks of ritual expertise within Hausa society.

Debates in African scholarship suggest that festival of this nature functioned simultaneously as protective and performative mechanisms, blending practical health concerns with symbolic and cosmological meanings (Horton, 1993)[40]. While some scholars emphasize the prophylactic intentions of such rituals, others argue that *Bukin shan kabewa* also serves as a platform for asserting social hierarchies, negotiating power among ritual specialists, and reinforcing communal identity. The deliberate invitation of magicians from both near and distant areas reflects the competitive and cooperative dimensions embedded within the ritual economy of Hausa religious life.

[37]Hagan, F. E. 2012. Introduction to Criminology: Theories, Methods, and Criminal Behaviour 8th ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
[38]Adamu, M. 1978. *The Hausa Factor in West African History*. Zaria and Ibada: Ahmadu Bello University Press in collaboration with Oxford University Press.
[39]Ibrahim, M.S 1982. "Dangantakar Al'ada da Addini*:* Tasirin Musulunci Kan Rayuwar Hausawa Ta Gargajiya. Kudin Digiri na Biyu. Kano: Jami'ar Bayero
[40]Horton, R., ed. 1993. Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West: Essays on Magic, Religion and Science. Cambridge: University Press.

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The ritual process, Ibrahim (1982:256)[41] notes:

> *"...amma a cikin tukunyar sai a fara zuba ruwa da kanwa da 'ya'yan kanya da goriba da kuma gwandar daji"*
> "...it commenced with the pouring of water into the pot, followed by the addition of potash, shea fruits, ginger bread plum, and wild custard apple"

He further observes:

> *''...wani lokaci kuma sukan hau kan tsamiya idan akwai bishiyar a kusa da wuri. Daga kan wannan turmin ko bishiyar tsamiya ne xan borin zai wo tsalle ya faxi da gindi a kan kabewar..'' (Ibrahim, 1982:256)*
> "... sometimes, they would climb a nearby tamarind tree or a mortar. From there, the spirit-possessed individual would jump down, and landing on the pumpkin on their backside."

In organizing such festivals, the selection of the ritual site is of critical importance and is often determined by the presence of significant natural markers. Traditionally, Hausa festival organizers prioritize locations dominated by large tamarind trees, reflecting a broader cosmological belief in the spiritual potency of certain arboreal forms. In this context, the tamarind tree functions not merely as a physical setting but as a symbolic conduit between the human and spiritual realms. Comparative evidence from the Niger Republic reveals variations in ritual site selection, where displays of spirit possession frequently occur in areas abundant with ginger bread plants, indicating localized adaptations of broader West African ritual practices (Ibrahim 2016).[42]

These variations have generated scholarly debate regarding the extent to which ritual sites are shaped by ecological conditions, symbolic meanings or socio-cultural conventions. While some scholars interpret these choices through the lens of environmental determinism interacting with cultural cosmology, others emphasized in indigenous religious practices.

Superstition/*Camfi*

Ibrahim and Lamido, (2024)[43] defined superstition as a belief in phenomena that are irrational, non-empirical, and inconsistent with the principles of scientific reasoning. This definition aligns with broader debates in anthropology and sociology, where scholars argue about the boundary between cultural belief

[41]Ibrahim, M.S 1982. "Dangantakar Al'ada da Addini*:* Tasirin Musulunci Kan Rayuwar Hausawa Ta Gargajiya. Kudin Digiri na Biyu. Kano: Jami'arBayero
[42]Ibrahim, U. 2016. "The Hausas and Their Contributions to the Development of the Economic System of Kano-Nigeria." A Paper Presented at the 1st National Conference on: The Role of Language, History and Religion in the Development, Integration and Security of Nigeria Held at Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto on 1st -3rd March,2016.
[43]Ibrahim, U., & I. Lamido. 2024. "An Empirical Evidence of Hausa Superstitions on Intelligence: A Case of Federal University of Kashere Undergraduates" in *MBORMI Journal of Language, Literature & Culture*, edited by S. Abdu 1 (1).

systems and "irrational" practices (Evans-Pritchard, 1937[44]; Malinowski, 1925)[45]. While some view superstitions as mere remnants of pre-scientific thought, others contend they function as mechanisms for social cohesion, risk management, or spiritual protection. Drawing on field survey data, this study identifies specific superstitions associated with culturally significant trees, including tamarind, baobab, and gingerbread, highlighting how local knowledge and ritual practices intersect with these beliefs. These are:

1. *Ba a hawa kan tsamiya da tsakar rana domin a lokacin aljanu suke hutawa*

Do not climb up tamarind tree at noon. It is the leisure time for spirits
i. The Beginning: Do not climb up tamarind tree at noon/ *Ba a hawa kan tsamiya da tsakar rana*
ii. Reward: A leisure time for spirits / *A lokacin aljanu suke hutawa*
iii. Protection: Avoid the tree/ *Ka da a hau bishiyar*

Special power for casting spells (*Qohi)*

In traditional Hausa society, certain indigenous trees, particularly the tamarind, are ascribed mystical properties and occupy a significant place in cultural and spiritual practices. Scholars such as Ibrahim (1982)[46] argue that the tamarind is considered a "den of spirits," reflecting a broader African cosmological belief in the sacredness of natural elements. Similarly, (Adamu, 1978)[47] notes that these trees are often associated with ritual efficacy, including spell-casting and protection against malevolent forces. However, some anthropologists, like (Horton, 1993)[48], contend that attributing supernatural powers to trees may also serve as a social mechanism to regulate community behaviour and mediate conflict, illustrating the intersection of belief, ritual, and social order. In Bunza (2006:216)[49] cited:

> *Ba a sare ta, ko a xeb ixiyanta gabanin su nuna, a kwashe lafiya. Da ita, da kuka, da xorawa, Hausawa sun ce, idan aka jefe su nan take suke rama jifa.*
> "Neither the tamarind tree nor its unripe fruit may be disturbed if one wishes to live in peace. As the saying goes: If you throw stones at the baobab and the locust-bean, they will surely throw them back."

[44]Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
[45] Malinowski, B. 1925. "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages". London: Routledge.
[46]Ibrahim, M.S 1982. "Dangantakar Al'ada da Addini*:* Tasirin Musulunci Kan Rayuwar Hausawa Ta Gargajiya.Kudin Digiri na Biyu. Kano: Jami'ar Bayero
[47]Adamu, M. 1978. *The Hausa Factor in West African History*. Zaria and Ibada: Ahmadu Bello University Press in collaboration with Oxford University Press.
[48]Horton, R., ed. 1993. *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West*: Essays on Magic, Religion and Science. Cambridge: University Press.
[49]Bunza, A. M. 2006. *Gadon Fexe Al'ada*. Lagos: Tiwal Nigerian Ltd.

Proverb (*Karin magana)*

Proverbs function as repositories of a people's cultural heritage, encapsulating both material and non-material aspects of society. They serve not only as linguistic expressions but also as vehicles for transmitting historical knowledge, social norms, ethical values, and folk beliefs across generations. For instance, in Hausa culture, domestic tools and animals are frequently invoked in proverbs to convey complex meanings; axes, sickles, mortars, and dishes, as well as animals, are symbolically linked to broader societal and ecological concepts. The proverb *"Sai wani jiko kare da ya zubar da tsamiyar kura"* ("Meet another: Dog says when spilled hyena's tamarind") illustrates how local flora and fauna become metaphors for human behaviours, conflicts, and moral lessons. Scholars such as Bulama (2023)[50] argue that proverbs enshrine cultural memory, embodying traditions, historical consciousness, ethical frameworks, and folk cosmologies. This perspective aligns with debates in African oral literature studies that stress the centrality of proverbs as both performative and didactic instruments in sustaining communal identity. The proverbs are as follows:

Tamarind (*tsamiya*)
Mutum iccen tsamiya
Mankind is the tamarind tree

The proverb under discussion highlights the resilient and courageous nature of man within Hausa cultural thought. It metaphorically likens human fortitude to the physical qualities of the tamarind tree, whose boughs are notably strong, elastic, and resistant to breaking, in contrast to other trees such as the baobab, which can be snapped with relative ease. Scholars of African oral traditions, such as Finnegan (1992)[51] and Isah, (2025)[52], argue that proverbs operate as moral and social instruments, transmitting cultural ideals and shaping behavioural expectations. In this context, the proverb functions both as praise and as a form of social pedagogy, encouraging children to embody bravery and emotional restraint. Furthermore, debates within African studies emphasize that such proverbial expressions do not merely reflect societal values but actively construct notions of masculinity, resilience, and communal standards. Thus, the saying exemplifies how material culture here, tree, is employed symbolically to communicate ethical and psychological virtues in society.

Tsamiyar kan juji bakin cikin mai damakunu

A tamarind tree that grows on a tomb is the envy of the porridge maker.
Although tamarind is a common foodstuff among the Bade people, its growth on a tomb renders it superstitiously inedible, as reflected in the proverb under

[50]Bulama, H. 2023. *An Ethnopragmatic Study of Selected Bade Proverb*. An Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Submitted to the Department of linguistics and Foreign Languages, School of postgraduate Studies, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria
[51]Finnegan, R.H. 1992. *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices* ASA Research Methods in Social Anthropology Series no. 4. London: Routledge
[52]Isah, U. A. 2025. *Al'ada da Tattalin Arzikin Hausawa: Nazarin a Kan Itacen Mangwaro*. Unpublished BA Dissertation, Department of Language and Linguistics, Federal University of Kashere Gombe.

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discussion. Scholars such as Abimbola (1976)[53] and Mbiti (2001)[54] have argued that proverbs often encode both moral instruction and culturally specific taboos, serving as vehicles for social critique. In this instance, the proverb functions to mock or censure greedy and parasitic individuals, who, despite being presented with opportunities for gain, are unable to access them due to social, ethical, or supernatural restrictions. The imagery of tamarind growing on a tomb symbolizes a tantalizing yet forbidden reward, reflecting a morally instructive tension between desire and propriety. Furthermore, the proverb carries strong emotional undertones, operating not merely as satire but as an indictment of individuals who exhibit stinginess or exploitative tendencies. From a broader anthropological perspective, such proverbial discourse demonstrates how Bade culture negotiates ethics, scarcity, and social cohesion through metaphorical language.

Ina zawo kana damamin tsamiya
A running gut finds its anchor in the juice of the tamarind

Tamarind is widely recognized in Hausa and broader West African ethno medicine for its laxative properties, particularly its use in alleviating constipation (Ibrahim, 2020)[55]. However, when administered to an individual already suffering from diarrhea, it exacerbates rather than relieves the condition. This physiological paradox underpins the meaning of the Hausa proverb in question, which metaphorically depicts a scenario in which an individual in distress is subjected to further aggravation by another. The proverb operates within the figurative logic of human interactions, serving as a critique of opportunism, insensitivity, or malicious interference. Scholars of African oral literature, such as Finnegan (2012)[56] and Muwanga (2005)[57], emphasize that proverbs often employ such semantic contrasts-juxtaposing literal and figurative meanings-to convey ethical lessons or social commentary. In this sense, the proverb is not merely a reflection on herbal knowledge, but a sophisticated cultural mechanism for expressing moral disapproval and highlighting the social consequences of exacerbating another's misfortune.

Folktales

Folktales, as an oral narrative subgenre of prose, represent one of the oldest and most enduring forms of storytelling recognized across human societies. Scholarly debates have long emphasized their dual function as both entertainment and repositories of cultural knowledge, social norms, and moral instruction (Dundes, 1965[58]; Evans-Pritchard, 1937[59]). In the African context,

[53]Abimbola, W. 1976. 'An Exposition of Ifa' Literary Corpus. Oxford University Press Nigeria
[54]Mbiti, J. S. 2001. *African Religions & Philosophy*. 2nd rev. & enl. ed. London: Hainemann
[55]Ibrahim, U. 2020. "Geography and Religion in Hausa and Tangale Belief Systems: An Emic Perspective". In *Kashere Journal of Humanities, Management and Social Sciences,* Umar Mohammed 4 (1).
[56]Finnegan, R. 2012. Oral Literature in Africa. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers
[57]Muwanga, N. K. 2005. "The Politics of Higher Education Reform: The Case of Makere University." *African Journal of Political Science*9, no. 1:51-70
[58]Dundes, A. 1965. *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
[59] Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

and particularly within Hausa society, such narratives are locally referred to as *tatsuniya*, denoting fictional or imaginative stories that often blend ethical lessons with fantastical elements. This paper foregrounds the symbolic and thematic significance of the tamarind tree within selected *tatsuniya* documented by Bukar Usman in his seminal compendium, *Taskar Tatsuniyoyin Hausa*. Scholars such as Finnegan (2012)[60] argue that trees and other natural motifs in African oral literature serve as cultural signifiers, anchoring stories in ecological and cosmological frameworks. By examining these tales, this study contributes to ongoing discussions on the interplay between indigenous environmental knowledge, symbolic representation, and narrative practice in Hausa oral literature. Hence, the role the tamarind serves in the tale could be highlighted from the extracted phrases as examples:

A Beautiful Young Girl and her Elder Brother

> *"…Da ta gaji, sai ta zauna a gindin wata bishiyar tsamiya tana kuka. Can sai wani dodo ya vullo…" (Usman 2012:24)*[61]
>
> *When she was tired, she sat down under the tamarind tree and cried. Soon after, the monster appeared (Usman, pp.24)*
>
> In many traditions, the tamarind tree is sacred but also mysterious. It's said to be a dwelling place for spirits *iskoki* both protective and vengeful. Its sour fruit, its shade, and its dark silhouette give it an aura of both life and danger.

'Yan mata masu kamun kifi
The Fishing Ladies

> "*Bayan kowacce ta kama hanyar gidansu, sai ita kuma amaryar sarki marainiya ta tafi gindin wata tsamiya ta zauna ta kama kuka, tana waqa tana cewa" (Usman, 2012:39)*
>
> *Later each of them returned to their father's home. But the emir's bride, being orphan, went and sat beneath the tamarind tree, weeping as she sang and spoke to herself. (Usman, pp.39)*
>
> The tale that features the tamarind tree portrayed it as sacred. The emir's bride went to the shade of tamarind not because it will take care of her, but she went unconsciously to have a peace of mind and to rethink on the next line of action, but God in his mercy brought a spirit out of the tamarind to assist her.

Yarima da Labbi
Prince and Labbi

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[60] Finnegan, R. 2012. Oral Literature in Africa. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers
[61] Usman, B. 2012. *TaskarTatsuniyoyin*: LittafinaXayazuwana Goma sha Huxu a Haxe (Kano: GidanDabino Publishers pp39)

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> *"Ashe da man matar nan ba mutum ba ce, kasace da ke zaune a cikin kogon wannan tsamiyar take rikida ta zama mace" (Usman, 2012:24)*[62]
>
> *"Behold! That woman was no mortal. She is the viper that dwells within the tamarind cave, known transform itself into human form. (Usman, pp:24)*[63]

In the tale of *Yarima da Labbi* Prince and Labbi, the cave of the tamarind is described as a permanent dwelling place for snakes and other mysterious beings. Therefore, one must be cautious when resting in its shade. Furthermore, a moral lesson derived from the Hausa superstition about the tamarind tree is the warning to avoid sitting under it at mid-day, for the sake of one's safety and security.

Conclusion

Culture is widely understood as the totality of a society's way of life, encompassing material and non-material elements that define communal identity, values, and practices (Aliyu,2004[64]; Ariyo, 2020)[65]. Within this framework, plants-particularly trees-constitute a critical dimension of material culture, serving as markers of cultural identity, social cohesion, and spiritual cosmology. This paper has examined the position of the tamarind tree *tsamiya* in selected Hausa folklore and folktales, highlighting its recurring role as a sacred and ritual object. The prominence of the tamarind tree in these narratives underscores a broader African epistemology, where certain trees are deliberately preserved and revered for their spiritual, ritualistic, and symbolic significance (Fortes, 1969[66]; Amali & Mba 2019)[67]. In Hausa culture, the tamarind tree is thus valued not only for its nutritional and medicinal properties but also as a locus of ancestral presence, spiritual power, and communal memory.

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[62] Usman, B. 2012. *TaskarTatsuniyoyin*: Littafina Xaya zuwa na Goma sha Huxu a Haxe (Kano: Gidan Dabino Publishers pp24)
[63] Usman, B. 2012. *TaskarTatsuniyoyin*: Littafina Xaya zuwana Goma sha Huxu a Haxe (Kano: Gidan Dabino Publishers pp24)
[64]Aliyu, A. A.2004.*Dalilul Muslimina Fi'ilaji Sihir Walsar'u Wal aynu*. Maktabatul Safar.
[65]Ariyo, e tal. 2020. "Ethnobotanical Survey of Medicinal Plants Used in the Treatment of Cough in Akinyele Local Government Area, Oyo State, Nigeria". *European Journal of Medicinal Plants.*
[66] Fortes, M. (1969). *Kinship and the Social Order*: The Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan. Aldine
[67]Amali Halima Idris and Onwukah Benjamin Orji-Mba, 2019." Tragedy & Human Responsibility in Asabe Kabir Usman's Destinies of Life: A Study in Cultural and Religious Philosophy" In *Gender Folklore and Cultural Dialectics in African Literature*., edited by Ibileye, Akujobi, Amali, Umar &Yero (p347)..Makurdi: SEVHAGE Publishers .

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