



Utilization of Fish in Some Hausa Folk Medicine

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Abstract: Hausa land is blessed with abundant water bodies in the forms of rivers, natural and man-made lakes, and ponds. These water bodies are teeming with freshwater fish. The availability of these fishery resources has led to the habitation of people whose main occupation is harnessing these resources in Hausa land. These people are professionally known as the *Sarkawa*. The *Sarkawa's* primary occupation is fishing and hunting aquatic animals that inhabit the waters. The practice of traditional healing is not alien to the Hausa people. It is an old practice that was used even before the Hausa people came into contact with foreign civilizations from the east or the west. In Hausa society, practitioners of various traditional occupations play a pivotal role in the traditional healthcare delivery system. They often resort to the use of herbs, such as roots, bark, stems, and leaves, as some of the ingredients in their remedies. Parts of animals are also used for the treatment of ailments and diseases. Fish and fishery products also form part of the ingredients used in Hausa traditional healing. This paper, therefore, seeks to explore the uses of fish in Hausa's traditional healing practices. Through a survey, different practitioners of traditional healing were sampled and interviewed to obtain information from them regarding the usage of fish as medicine or as an ingredient in the treatment of various ailments. This paper has revealed that Hausa professional fishermen are knowledgeable in the use of fish as medicine for the cure of diseases and ailments that afflict human beings. They also offer their health services to those who seek their assistance.

Keywords: Utilization, Fish, Hausa, Folk Medicine.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The fish is an aquatic vertebrate whose taxonomy is classified as Pisces. It is aquatic because its habitat is water. Sometimes, fish are classified according to the type of water in which they live. There is the marine fish, which thrives in the ocean, whose water is saline in nature. There is also the brackish water fish, which has some element of saline and fresh water in it. Some fish species are also found predominantly in the brackish environment. This type of water is found in estuaries and creeks. There

are also freshwater fish, which inhabit the freshwater found in upland rivers, lakes, ponds, and dams.

Hausa land is geographically located in the hinterland. There is an absence of sea, estuaries, or creeks, as such, only freshwater fish abound in its rivers and lakes. The drainage system in Hausa land consists of rivers and streams that serve as tributaries to the river Niger, which traverses several West African countries before it crosses into Nigeria at Bahindi in Kebbi state. The notable rivers Rima and

Kaduna are tributaries that drain their water into the river Niger.

During the rainy season, available rivers overflow with water, such that they overstretch their banks, which results in the floodplain areas becoming flooded. The water collected lasts for months even at the expiration of the rains. The plains flooded with water provide a suitable breeding space for juvenile freshwater fishes due to their inherent low current. This, therefore, provides an enabling environment for fishing as an occupation to thrive in Hausa land.

The Sarkawa are professional fishermen whose main occupation is fishing at any season of the year. Fishing apart, the Sarkawa professional group also engages in providing services relating to traditional healthcare delivery in Hausa society. Along with other ingredients used in medication, fish are also utilized as part of the medication for the treatment of ailments and diseases.

The main thrust of this paper, therefore, is to explore the usage of fish and fishery products in the treatment and cure of ailments in Hausa traditional healthcare delivery. It is, however, worthwhile to delve into the definition of the key terms that make up the title of the paper for proper elucidation.

2.0 Definition of Terms

The key terms used in the formulation of the title of this paper need to be looked at, more especially their meanings. This is done for clarity and proper understanding of the topic under consideration. These terms are explained below.

2.1 Utilization

The word means the usage of something as a means of accomplishing or achieving a task. It may also mean to employ for some purpose [1]. As used in the title of the paper, it connotes the exploitation, deriving, employing applying or processing of fish and or its products as a means of medication to treat ailments and diseases traditionally. In other words, it is how fish is processed and utilized in various ways as a means to provide cure, succour and relief to a person suffering from some ailments or diseases.

2.2. Hausa

Hausa is a word that refers to both the people and the language of a people who originally inhabited Hausa land. In other words, the word connotes the people who are dwellers of Hausa land and native speakers of the language, Hausa. The Hausa people are predominantly or majorly domiciled in the northwest part of Nigeria and the southern part of the

Niger Republic. The Hausas are also found in other countries of West Africa in significant proportion. They inhabit countries like Ghana, Cameroon, Chad and a host of others. The Hausa language is widely spoken in most West African countries. The Hausa people are a distinct group of people that speak the Hausa language as their mother tongue and obey and practice the Hausa culture as their way of life. They are largely known to be a people who strongly hold fast to their language and culture.

2.3 Folk Medicine

Folk medicine is also referred to as traditional medicine. The World Health Organization has defined the term traditional medicine as the total of the knowledge, skills, and practices based on the theories, beliefs, and experiences indigenous to different cultures, whether explicable or not, used in the maintenance of health as well as in the prevention, diagnosis, improvement, or treatment of physical and mental illness. (Che, *et al.*, 2017 P.15) Thus, traditional medicine means a way of treating ailments and illnesses affecting either the human body or mind, which is based on the beliefs, norms and aspirations that are indigenous or native to the people who practice it. This is usually done through the use of but not limited to herbs, water, ointments, oils and fats from different sources,

2.4 Background to Hausa Folk Medicine Providers

Before the Hausa man's contact with the outside civilization either from the East or Western part of the globe, he has enshrined in his culture an indigenous way of healing the sick. In Hausa society, apart from the native doctors whose major means of livelihood is traditional medical practice, all practitioners of the traditional occupations and crafts are custodians and also engage in providing medical assistance as it relates to their trade. The fisher folk, for instance, specialize in treating waterborne diseases. Professional barbers undertake minor operations like circumcision, minor gynaecological issues, and cupping, among others. The farmers are specialists in the treatment of backache. The Hausa blacksmith specializes in providing medicine for burns sustained through fire or hot substances. Professional hunters are known for their in-depth knowledge of medicinal trees and shrubs due to the nature of their craft, which entails frequenting the forest for hunting expeditions. They provide medicines for those afflicted with illnesses caused by the spirits. The adherents of the Bori cults also undertake the provision of cures and treatment for patients who suffer from harmful spirits, which it is believed exist and are capable of afflicting humans with various types of illnesses. The Malams who

¹ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary New 9th Edition. Page 1724.

practice *dibb* are also stakeholders in this regard. They make use of or apply Islamic principles and methods of medicine to provide succour to clients who may be ill or suffering from sickness. They employ the use of portions of the Holy Scripture, the Quran, and lots of other ingredients to provide medicine for the sick [2].

2.5 The Use of Fish in Hausa Medicine

The Hausa professional fishermen referred to as '*Sarkawa*' play a significant role in the Hausa traditional health care delivery. They provide medicines for several ailments, especially those having to do with water-borne diseases. It is however worth noting that they offer treatment of certain other ailments using fish or parts of it as an ingredient for the medication. They help in the provision of concoctions to treat certain ailments and fish or its part form the major ingredient for its formulation. Below are instances where fish is used as a means of medication.

2.5.1 Treatment for Ear and Eye Diseases

The ear and eye are parts of the human body responsible for the sense of hearing and vision. When the ear is afflicted with a disease, it sometimes results in a feeling of burning sensation or feeling of excruciating pain around its inner part. If proper medication is not sought after by the patient, it begins to discharge fluid in the form of pus. This if left untreated may result in hearing impairment in the affected ear. The eye when affected by a disease becomes reddish and sometimes discharges fluids frequently. The person afflicted with distaste direct eye contact with the brightness of light most especially at night. The *Sarkawa* who are professional fishermen usually offer traditional medication for ailing ears or eyes through the use of fish. Some of them use *yauni* a fish species known as *gymnarchus niloticus* or the African knifefish. The part of the fish one requires for the medication is the tail which is rat type comparatively. The tail is cut and sun-dried. It is soaked in water and left for hours. It is then picked from the water and used to drip the water into the affected ear or the eye. This is repeated twice per day until the symptoms disappear [3].

The fishermen's philosophical thought behind the usage of the medicine is the belief they

hold that though the fish has no ears in its visible physical features, its hearing ability is so sharp that it responds spontaneously to any sound or threat. Its protruding eyes are always viewed by the fishermen as perfect with no defects and its ability to sight threats from a far. To them, the fish must have been endowed with certain elements of substances that allow it the sharp ability to hear and sight instinctively. When this is applied to the human body, it is likely to produce the desired effects.

2.5.2 Remedy for Nyctalopia (Night Blindness)

Nyctalopia is a condition characterized by an abnormal inability to see in dim light or at night, typically caused by vitamin A deficiency [4]. It is a sort of vision impairment which results in a patient's inability to visualize at night or in low light. Experts have asserted that one of its causative agents may be a lack of or deficiency in vitamin A intake in the body. Whatever the cause might be, the Hausa fishermen provide a remedy for the ailment. They resort to the use of tilapia *kafala* or *gargaza* in the medication. What they traditionally require the patient to do in the first instance is to consume the adult tilapia fish in one's diet, as it is greatly believed to contain nutrients that enhance vision. Additionally, the patient is instructed to sun-dry the head of the tilapia fish. It is then crushed or ground into powder. Every evening, a bit of the substance is burnt in live amber. The emanating smoke is allowed to pass around the eyes of the patient. This is repeated severally every evening until recovery is achieved [5].

Another treatment for nyctalopia as provided by the Hausa fishermen is the consumption of grilled liver of fish species called *balli*, African Bony Tongue, scientifically known as *Heterotis niloticus*. The grilled liver is to be eaten while it is steamy. This is done repeatedly until one's vision normalizes. The idea behind the usage of the fish liver for medication is the firm belief they have in its nutrient contents and its efficacy noticed through usage over time.

2.5.3 Treatment for Blurred Vision

Blurry vision is a condition where a person becomes unable to see or vision. The person affected by this condition begins to see or view objects indistinctly. Aside from diabetes, stroke, and low blood sugar, to mention but a few, the causes of

²For detail discussion of this see Bunza, M.A. (1989) and Bunza, M.A. (1995), Sarkin Gulbi, A. (2014)

³ The information is sourced through various interview with numerous professional fishermen at different times and locations. They include Alhaji Maibirgi Falam, of Illela Auwal ward, Gummi Local Government, Zamfara state. Bala Mairuwa Barga of Tambawal Local Government of Sokoto State, and a host of others.

⁴This is a Dictionary definition sourced online from Oxford languages through google.

⁵ This medication is gotten from Malam Sahabi Kardaji, a harbadasher who I have severally interviewed at his residence in Kardaji village in Falale district of Gummi Local Government, Zamfara state. The last interview I had with him was on Saturday, 5th August, 2023.

blurred vision, may also be age-related, brought about by degeneration of the macula. The macula is the round area in the middle of the retina, at the back of one's eyeball [6]. This is the area that functions to enable one to see or view objects sharp and clear. To remedy the condition of blurry eye vision, the Hausa professional fishermen prescribe to the afflicted person to increase the intake of fish in his daily diet. The consumption of fish, most especially *uri/giwan ruwa* Nile perch known scientifically as *lates niloticus* is highly recommended. The philosophical idea behind their prescription is that Nile perch has a high concentration of protein and amino acids suitable for improving vision in old age. The person is also instructed to obtain the eye of a Nile perch. Allow it to sun dry and grind into powder. Its fine powder is then applied to the lower eyelid, the same way an eyeliner is applied. This is repeatedly applied morning and evening until the desired result is met [7]. The philosophy behind the medication is the notion they hold that late notices is almost the giant of all the freshwater fishes that inhabit the waters of Hausa land and while in its habitat, it can see distinctly its prey and can view any predator or danger from afar. As such its eye must have certain sighting properties which enhance its powerful vision. When substances obtained from a dried eye are applied to a defective human eye, a positive impact will be derived by enhancing and improving vision.

2.5.4 Treatment for Skin Infection

The professional Hausa fishermen called *Sarkawa* hold the belief that one of the waterborne diseases is caused by swimming or bathing in a stagnant pond which results in infection of the human skin. The person experiences irritation and serious itching in the affected area most especially the hands and the legs. While scratching the affected part, it becomes inflamed at times with rashes emanating therefrom. Traditionally, the Hausa fishermen treat this ailment by the use of fishery substances. One of their medication encompasses the usage of the peeled scales of *uri/giwar ruwa* known as Nile perch. The scales are burnt into ashes and mixed well with *man shanu*, and cow butter. The cream is then applied to the affected part after washing the area with soap.

⁶<http://my.clevelandclinic.org> accessed Monday, 26th September, 2023.

⁷The information was sourced from a professional fisherman and herbal practitioner, Bala Mairuwa Barga, Tambawal local government, Sokoto state, in an interview conducted at his residence on Saturday, 15/07/2023.

⁸This was obtained from Malam Bala Mairuwa Romon Sarki during an interview held in his residence at Romon sarkin of Tambawal Local Government, Sokoto state. It was held on Saturday, 15/07/2023 at

This is repeated every morning and evening until remedied. However, if Nile perch is not available, the scales of *Balli*, an African bony tongue scientifically called *heterotis niloticus* can be a substitute [8].

Another medication that the fishermen offer for the treatment of itchy and irritating skin is the fatty oil obtained from the liver of *talibamban* known in English as the puffer fish or the balloon fish, scientifically referred to as *tetraodontidae* *fahaka*. This is the fish that when frightened, gets itself inflated with air in the like manner of a balloon. It does this to frighten its predators and ward off enemies. The liver of the fish is obtained and boiled. The fatty oil extract from the liver is then strained. The oil is applied to the affected part until the ailment is cured.

2.5.5 Use of Fish to Treat Abdominal Pain

Stomach pain is a condition in which the sufferer experiences excruciating pain around the stomach region or the abdomen. The causes of mild abdominal pain may include among others, constipation, food allergies, overeating, food poisoning, stress, etc. However, at certain times, its causative agents may be more serious, as it may likely be a result of an underlying disease affecting the body. These diseases may include appendicitis, bowel blockage, cancer and a host of others. For the treatment of mild abdominal pain, the Hausa fishermen utilize fish especially its organs, to find remedy. What is provided as medication is the water in which the gallbladder [9], of *tarwada*, known in English as mudfish or *clarias* spp. as it is known scientifically. The gallbladder of the fish is removed and allowed to sun dry. Whenever it is to be put into use as a medication for stomach pain, it is soaked in a small bowl of water for a while. It is removed from the bowl and the water is served to the patient to drink. The philosophy behind its usage as medicine is the fact that it contains a substance (the bile) that is naturally bitter. The Hausa people generally believe that bitter substances have the efficacy to remedy abdominal pain [10]. It is however not advisable for one to be cautious not to frequent the consumption of bitter substances as it has side effects.

noon. Bala Mairuwa is both de jure and de factor leader of fishermen of the district of Romon Sarki.

⁹The Online Oxford Dictionary defines gallbladder as a small sac-shaped organ beneath the liver in which bile is stored after secretion by the liver and before release into the intestine.

¹⁰The information is sourced from an interview with Malam Sani Mujahid Gayari. He is a professional fisherman who possess enormous knowledge with regards artisanal fishing and the tradi-medical practices of fisher folk. He was interviewed at his residence on Sunday, July 16th July, 2023.

2.5.6 Treatment for Hypogalactia

Hypogalactia in breastfeeding women means low milk supply. It is also called lactation insufficiency. It is the production of breast milk in daily volumes that do not fully meet the nutritional needs of her infant [11]. Hypogalactia also called hypogalactorrhea refers to a condition in which a lactating mother produces not enough breast milk on which her baby feeds. In other words, a mother cannot produce sufficient breast milk that will sustain the nutritional needs of her baby. It is a low milk supply from the mammary glands of a breastfeeding mother which results in a lack of enough milk for the suckling child. It has been proven that lack of or deficiency in micronutrients and hormone imbalance are among the factors that cause the condition. The Hausa fishermen believe that if the condition of sufficient lactation is caused by inadequate micronutrients in the lactating mother's body, then intake of fishery products will certainly remedy the condition. They therefore prescribe the preparation and consumption of either medium size or a more sizeable mud fish *tarwada* known as *claria* spp. The fish shouldn't be smoked but be cooked along with spicy ingredients like clove, *kanunfuri* garlic *tafarnuwa*, alligator pepper, *diyan yaji*, and ginger *citta*. The fish is prepared to make a spicy soup and the lactating mother is encouraged to consume both the fish and the soup. This they believe, remedies the condition if consumed for several days. The fish is rich in amino acids and other nutrients capable of stimulating the mammary glands to produce optimally, sufficient milk for the baby. The spicy ingredients included in cooking the soup are traditionally believed to be very effective as stimulants in the production of milk if often consumed moderately by a lactating mother [12].

2.5.7 Use of Fish As Aphrodisiac

An aphrodisiac is a substance alleged to increase libido, sexual desire, sexual attraction, sexual pleasure or sexual behavior [13]. Sexually active adult males are sometimes faced with the problem of low sexual libido or desire to engage in sexual activity with one's spouse. Many factors may be attributed to the causative agents of the anomaly. The Hausa professional fishermen attribute urinary tract infections as one of the causative agents. They therefore offer herbal medicine to cure the problem affecting the urinary tract. Furthermore, they believe

that the consumption of fish provides one with the stamina and vigour that helps adults become very active in sexual activity. The person with low sexual libido is encouraged to frequently consume spicy soup prepared with juvenile Nile perch or in the alternative, juvenile tilapia fish which is an area that will in turn result in sustained erection. It also reduces the feeling of fatigue and weakness which follows as an aftermath of sexual activity.

2.5.8 Treatment for Erectile Dysfunction

Erectile dysfunction is the inability to get and keep an erection firm enough for sex [14]. In other words, it is the failure of a male person to achieve a strong erection of his sex organ sustainable enough to allow the occurrence of sexual activity with one's spouse. In essence, it is the poor erection of the male sex organ in such a way that sexual activity with one's spouse becomes practically impossible or the erected organ shrinks before the attainment of pleasurable moments associated with sexual activity. To a good number of Hausa fishermen interacted, the problem may be associated with the inadequate flow of blood to the penile area. This they opined, might be caused by the patients' non-intake of a proper diet rich in nutrients as can be obtained in fishery products. Infection of the urinary tract is also presumably taken to be a factor inhibiting proper erection. They therefore treat urinary tract infections alongside the medication for the correct flow of blood into the penile veins. To remedy this anomaly in the traditional way as practised by the Hausa fishermen, they encourage the patient to very often include in his diet intake, the consumption of fish. This they believe will go a long way in improving penile erection. Several plants are also utilized to cook soup in which fish and other spices form the ingredients. The recipe for preparation of the concoction involves one getting the roots of *gaude*, gardenia equally together with *Sabara*, *guiera senegalensis* and roots of the grass *damage*, *chrozophora senegalensis*. All these are thoroughly washed to remove sand particles. The bark of *kaiwa/kanya*, *diospyros mespiliformis* and *kirya*, *Prosopis africana* is also obtained and washed thoroughly. All the herbs are boiled in a pot and the concoction is then strained and used in cooking the *clarias* or mud fish, using spices. When the soup is ready, the patient is required to eat the whole of the fish and the soup. This is repeated for onwards of five to eight days [15]. The philosophical thought behind

¹¹ This definition is from Wikipedia <http://en.m.wikipedia.org>

¹² Same as footnote 9 above. Additionally, this information was re echoed by the Homa of Argungu, Malam Muhammadu Bashar, in an interview a had with in him at his family house in Argungu, Kebbi state on Saturday, 1st June, 2023.

¹³ The definition comes from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org> accessed Saturday, 30/09/2023.

¹⁴ For the definition and other details, see Erectile dysfunction – symptoms and causes at <http://www.mayoclinic.org>

¹⁵ The information was derived from an interview with Sahabi Kardaji, Falale district of Gummi Local government, Zamfara state. It was conducted at his

this is the roots bark of the plants are tough and strong due to their genetic composition and such will not only make an impact in improving the erection of the sexual organ but will certainly also cure underlying ailments if any. The fish will provide the necessary nutrients that will improve the vigour and virility of the penis.

2.5.9 Treatment for Malnutrition in Children

According to the online Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, malnutrition is physical weakness and bad health caused by having little food, or too little of the types of food necessary for good health. Malnutrition in children may therefore mean the inability of the child to feed on a diet suitable to his health and well-being. This invariably suggests that even if a child eats regularly but the food taken does not have the much-needed nutrients contents to ensure the health and well-being of the child, he is said to be malnourished. The child may appear frail and weak and sickly too. The Hausa artisanal fishermen offer a solution to an infant suffering from malnutrition. The medium or big size of the *tarwada* known by its English name mud fish or its scientific name *clarias spp* is gotten and smoked. It is allowed to be fully sun-dried so that it is ground after removing its bones. Bambara nuts are also ground into fine flour. Groundnut is also ground along with a small quantity of maize or millet. All the ingredients mentioned are then mixed and used to prepare hot gruel. Malnourished children will very often be fed from the gruel prepared. Within a short while, the child will begin to recuperate from the ailment [16].

2.5.10 Use of Fish as Repellant for Snakes in Houses

The majority of the Hausa population is mostly agrarian, especially the dwellers of towns and villages. Even if they engage in other trades occupations different from farming, it will be more prominent in the dry season which runs from October to May. During the rainy season, May to October however, their attention turns towards farming. They also partake in rearing domestic animals like goats, sheep and free-range poultries. The bye products of cultivated products are taken home and used as fodder for the animals kept. This could be in the form of stalks and hay from groundnuts and cowpeas. Bundled and packaged items kept on the farm before being taken home may provide hiding places for the reptiles like the snake. Through this, unwanted visitors are unknowingly brought into the homes.

residence in Kardaji village on Saturday, 5th August, 2023.

¹⁶This information was obtain from two professional fishermen interviewed variously at different time and location with slight variation in the submission. Malam Umaru Manu Bunza, the Sarkin ruwa of Bunza

They find shelter in holes, suck away and chambers of toilets and latrines, or even sometimes in the living areas. To average Hausa fishermen, fish bones when burnt in the home provide an excellent repellant for the marauding reptiles. It is believed that snakes abhor the odour emanating from the smoke of burnt fish bones. It therefore quickly leaves if it frequently smells the odour. It is therefore encouraged that bones from eaten fish should not be thrown away for it may constitute danger if trampled upon unknowingly when barefooted. Alternatively, it is more beneficial to burn it in live amber for the value derivable from the practice.

3.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The issue of knowledge of traditional or folk medicine as far as Hausa Culture is concerned is beclouded with secrecy as the knowledge is passed mostly from parents to children. Even at this, not every member of the family is opportune to possess the knowledge. It is often disclosed only to the most preferred or favourite child who exhibits total submission and dedication towards the parents and consistently shows his inclination towards possessing the knowledge by being persistent in asking questions to the parents with regards to the knowledge and skills of the traditional medicine endowed in the family. At certain times, this may not be the only enough reason for the child to be given the knowhow. There is the belief that for traditional medicine to be very potent, a reward must be given out whether for its acquisition or application, which hitherto could be in monetary form or kind. This is therefore one of the reasons why sometimes elderly people knowledgeable in traditional healing art go to the great beyond with their knowledge unharnessed.

Despite the difficulty associated with accessing knowledge of folk medicine by a person strange to some of the people interacted with in the course of the research, this work has successfully collected a reasonable number of the medical practices imbibed by Hausa professional fishermen in providing alternative medical care to their immediate family and those members of their society who when afflicted with the medical problems, seek solace in them, for a solution to their predicament.

This paper has successfully found out that in Hausa medical practice, the use of fish is paramount as far as it concerns the fishing folk who traditionally play an important role in the Hausa traditional health

town, Kebbi state. He was interviewed about twelve years ago. In a recent interview, Malam Sahabi Kardaji echoed the same explanation but included maize or millet among the ingredients with the gruel is made. He was interviewed on 5th August, 2023.

care delivery. It has brought to the bare; some ways by which fish or its substances are utilized for medical purposes. These range from medical issues of the eye, and the skin, issues of malnutrition in children, lactating mothers' inability to produce breast milk sufficiently enough to cater for the feeding needs of their baby, the issue of low libido in sexually active male individuals and the monster of erectile dysfunction. The paper has shown that these problems are not insurmountable as far as the traditional medical practice of the Hausa professional fishermen is concerned.

CONCLUSION

This research has therefore attempted to document the knowledge of the Hausa professional fishermen's use of fish or its substances in the traditional way to serve as medication for certain ailments. This we believe is helpful as the knowledge of their practices is saved for the use of posterity. Secondly, the paper has paved the way for pharmacognosists to engage in further research into the medications to determine appropriately, the composition of the medicines in terms of the presence of harmful substances or otherwise and a further confirmation of its efficacy and the right doses to be taken for better results if found worthwhile. It is the firm belief of this paper that if this is done, affordable and accessible alternative medical services will be brought to the doorsteps of the downtrodden mass population.

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List of People Interviewed

1. Alhaji Maibirgi Falam of Illelar Auwal ward of Gummi Local Government, Zamfara state.
2. Bala Mairuwa Barga of Barga village in Tambawal Local Government of Sokoto state.
3. Sahabi Kardaji of Falale ward, Gummi Local Government, Zamfara state.
4. Bala Mairuwa Romon Sarki of Romon Sarki village of Tambawal Local Government Sokoto state.
5. Malam Sani Mujahid of Gayari ward, Gummi Local Government, Zamfara state.
6. The Homa of Argungu, Homa Muhammadu Bashar Argungu, Kebbi state
7. Malam Manu Bunza, Sarkin Rowan Bunza, Kebbi state.
8. Alhaji Garba Nda, the Sarkin ruwa of Yauri Kebbi state and Agwara, Niger state.
9. Fadama Auwal, Fadaman Kurfa, Gummi Local Government Zamfara state.
10. Fadama Sa'idu, Fadaman Gummi Zamfara state