

The Duala peoples

The **Duala** (or **Douala**) peoples are a number of [ethnic groups](#) who speak one of the various Duala languages. They inhabit the coast of the Republic of Cameroon and form a major portion of the Sawa, or Cameroonian coastal peoples. Together, the Duala make up about 1.3% of Cameroon's total population. They have historically played a highly influential role in Cameroon due to their long contact with Europeans, high rate of education, and wealth gained over years as [traders](#) and land owners.

The Duala peoples are divided into eight individual ethnic groups or [tribes](#): the **Bakole**, the **Bakweri** (or **Kwe**), the **Bamboko**, the **Duala proper**, the **Isubu** (**Isuwu** or **Bimbians**), the **Limba** (or **Malimba**), the **Mungo**, and the **Wovea**. The Duala proper have dominated the others historically, and these other groups all profess some sort of kinship to that people. Moreover, most of the Duala groups share a common origin, and similar histories and cultures.

In this article, the term "Duala" refers to all peoples who speak Duala languages. The term "Duala proper", on the other hand, refers to one *specific* people among them, notably the people that lives in and around the city of [Douala](#).



Total population:	<p>Total: 213,000 (2005 est.) Bakole: 300 (1982) Bakweri: 32,200 (1982) Bamboko: 4,000 (2000) Duala proper and Mungo: 87,700* (1982) Isubu: 800 (1982) Limba: 2,230 (2001) Wovea: 600 (1977)</p> <p>*Note: These figures represent the number of speakers of the respective Duala <i>languages</i>. The Mungo use this tongue exclusively, and the other groups commonly employ it as a lingua franca, so these numbers no doubt misrepresent the smaller peoples, such as the Isubu and Wovea. Populations of most of these groups undoubtedly surpass these totals today.</p>
Language:	Duala languages (Bakole, Bubea, Duala , Isu , Malimba, Mokpwe, Wumboko)

History

Early population movements

Early Duala history may only be conjectured from [oral traditions](#). The Duala proper and most Limba trace their ancestry back to a man named Mbedi, who lived in an area called "Bakota" in what is today [Gabon](#) or the [Republic of the Congo](#). His sons, Ewale and Dibongo, migrated north and reached a place called Pitti on the Dibamba River. Here, the brothers parted ways after a row. Ewale moved to the mouth of the Dibamba with his followers and then northwest to the east bank of Wouri River [estuary](#). Meanwhile, Dibongo and his companions migrated southeast to the Sanaga River and then split up, some heading upstream with Dibongo and others moving downstream with a man named Elimbe. Ewale's people became the Duala, and Dibongo's the Limba.

According to the traditions of the Duala proper, the Bakoko and [Bassa](#) ethnic groups occupied the Wouri estuary when the Duala arrived. The Duala then drove them inland, a displacement that likely occurred in the late [17th](#) or early [18th century](#). The Bakole probably splintered off of the Duala proper at some point and made their way west to their current territory.

The Mungo share no singular origin story. Some claim the same history as the Duala proper and Limba, while others trace their ancestry to a man named Lokula who migrated east from near Efik territory in modern-day [Nigeria](#). The former tradition seems more likely, however, and the Nigerian story possibly indicates that later settlers entered Limba country from Efik territories at some point and assimilated.

The Bamboko probably moved to Mboko, the area southwest of [Mount Cameroon](#), in the early 17th century. The predominant Bakweri and Isubu traditions claim they originated from this area, as well. The Bakweri likely migrated to their present home east of the mountain in the mid-18th century. From the foothills, they gradually spread to the coast, and up the Mungo River and the various creeks that empty into it. In the process, they founded numerous villages, usually when individual families groups split off. A rival Bakweri tradition says they descend from Mokuri or Mokule, a brother of the Duala proper's Ewale, who migrated to the Mount Cameroon area for hunting. In addition, a few isolated villages, such as Maumu and Bojongo, claim some alternate descent and may represent earlier groups whom the expanding Bakweri absorbed. The predominant Isubu belief tells of a man named Isuwu na Monanga who led their migration to the west bank of the Wouri estuary. When a descendant of Isuwu named Mbimbi became king, the people began to refer to their territories as Bimbia.

Wovea legend names a man from the island of [Bioko](#) as their forebear. His ship washed ashore at Mboko, where he married a local woman. They then moved southeast and settled at Ambas Bay. The Wovea likely lived along Ambas Bay in the 17th or 18th century, and they could have participated in the same migration from Mboko that brought the Bakweri and Isubu to their territories.

European contacts

[Portuguese](#) traders reached the Wouri estuary in [1472](#). There they encountered a people they called the "Ambos" or "Ambozi". It is unclear whether these were the ancestral Duala, or perhaps the Bakoko or Bassa, whom the Duala later displaced. The Portuguese described the Ambos as a [fishing](#) people who supplemented their diet with small-scale [hunting](#) and farming.

Over the next few decades, more adventurers came to explore the estuary and the rivers that feed it, and to establish [trading posts](#). The coastal peoples provided [ivory](#), [kola nuts](#), and [peppers](#), but [slaves](#) proved one of the more lucrative commodities. Most of these ended up working the growing [plantations](#) on nearby islands such as Annobon, [Fernando Po](#), [Príncipe](#), and [São Tomé](#). The Duala had long kept and traded slaves, who lived in separate settlements and performed menial tasks such as cultivation. Slave owners could only trade their slaves to other members of the same ethnic group, however, and owners were responsible for paying their slaves' debts and arranging their marriages. With the Europeans providing such a hungry market, however, these customs gave way.

The Duala proper emerged by the [16th century](#) as the leading traders on the Cameroonian coast, though the Isubu and Limba did not trail far behind. The earliest Duala merchants were likely [chiefs](#) or headmen. The main Duala village soon grew into a prospering township named Douala for the people who lived there. Bimbia, the primary Isubu settlement, also grew quickly. The coastal Duala purchased goods and slaves from interior groups such as the Bakweri, Mungo, Bassa and Bakoko. In turn, they sold these items to the Europeans, typically aboard their ships (and later at mainland factories or stores). In exchange, the Europeans provided alcohol, gunpowder, guns, mirrors, shoes, textiles, and tools.

Europeans traders did their best to support friendly chiefs against their rivals, adulating them with titles such as "King", "Prince", or "Chief". In exchange, these indigenes offered trade [monopolies](#) to their patrons and sometimes ceded land. In this way, Ndumb'a Lobe of the Bell [clan](#) propped himself up in the [19th century](#) as "King Bell", ruler of all the Duala proper. Heads of rival sub-lineages soon split from Bell, including the self-styled "King" Akwa (Ngando Mpondo) in [1814](#), "King Deido" (Jim Ekwalla) of the Deido (an Akwa splinter group), and Prince Lock Priso (Kum'a Mbape) of the Bonaberi. Meanwhile in Bimbia, [Bile](#) became leader of the Isubu as "King William". Dick Merchant of Dikolo village and other chiefs eventually opposed his dominance.

By the mid-19th century, the [British](#) had taken the lead in trade with the Duala. This coincided with the [abolition](#) movement, and the Crown employed the traders to end slavery in the [Gulf of Guinea](#). On 10 June [1840](#) and 7 May [1841](#), Akwa and Bell became the first to sign anti-slavery treaties. King William of Bimbia approved similar agreements in [1844](#) and [1848](#). In exchange, the Europeans provided these rulers with annual gifts of alcohol, guns, textiles, and other goods. Over the next 20 years, similar accords followed with other Duala groups. In addition, the rulers outlawed practices the British viewed as barbaric, such as [sacrificing](#) a chief's wife

upon his death. With William's blessing, Bimbia became a haven for repatriated slaves and escapees from the illicit trade, which continued for many more years.

The British also wanted to "civilise" the Duala. This meant educating them in Western learning and converting them to [Christianity](#). King William rebuffed the earliest [missionaries](#) because he did not agree with their insistence on prayer and opposition to [polygamy](#). In 1844, however, [Joseph Merrick](#) convinced William to let him open a church and school in Bimbia. [Alfred Saker](#) followed with a mission in Douala [the following year](#). In [1858](#), the Spanish ousted Protestant missionaries from their base at Fernando Po. King William sold a portion of his domains to Saker, who then founded Victoria (today known as [Limbe](#)). The Wovea people living there were forced to move to Mondole Island. By [1875](#), numerous missions and schools sprung up in Victoria, Douala, and other settlements. The early missionaries learned some of the Duala languages and invented written forms for them, as Bible translation was one of their earliest priorities. Victoria came to be a mixture of freed slaves, working Duala, and Christianised Duala from all the various Duala groups. [Cameroonian Pidgin English](#) began to develop at this time.

[Trade](#) dramatically altered Duala society, particularly for the Duala proper and the Isubu. European goods became [status symbols](#), and some rulers appointed Western traders and missionaries as advisors. A high proportion of Duala and Isubu grew wealthy through the new trade, and tensions arose between the haves and have-nots. Competition escalated between coastal groups and even between related settlements. Between [1855](#) and [1879](#), the Isubu alone engaged in at least four conflicts, both internal and with rival ethnic groups. Traders exploited this atmosphere, and beginning in [1860](#), German, French, and Spanish merchants had established contacts and weakened the British monopoly. The Duala had gained a virtual hegemony over trade through the Wouri estuary, and the Isubu had little power left. Young King William was virtually powerless when he succeeded his father in [1878](#).

In response to the threat from foreign merchants, the British put pressure on the Duala kings to request British annexation. In 1879, King Akwa sent such a request; Bell followed suit in [1881](#) (some historians believe that these documents were faked, however.) When King Pass All of the Limba ceded his territories to the French, British traders expressed the urgency of annexing the Duala territories to the Crown. In July of [1884](#), however, German explorer [Gustav Nachtigal](#) staged a coup by signing land-cession treaties with Kings Akwa, Bell, and Deido. The British arrived too late and on 28 March [1885](#) ceded Victoria to Germany.

German administration

Opposition to German rule followed the annexation. Prince Lock Priso still favoured the British and staged a [rebellion](#) in December of 1884. Around this same time, King Bell faced off against his own people, who were largely opposed to the German rule. Bell then found himself up against the other Duala chiefs in the Duala War, which was fought over the killing of a Bonaberi Duala and Bell's alleged refusal to share his profits with the other sub-lineages. Germany stopped the conflict when one of their nationals was killed. Bell survived, but his power had diminished significantly. Realising that the Duala proper would never again follow the rule of a single king, the Germans instead played the competitors off of one another. They supported the weaker King Bell to counter the powerful King Akwa.

In [1891](#), the Gbea Bakweri clan rose up in support of their traditional justice system when the Germans forbade them to use a [trial by ordeal](#) involving poison to determine whether a recent Christian convert was in fact a [witch](#). This revolt was squelched with the razing of [Buea](#) in December [1894](#) and the death of Chief Kuv'a Likenye. The reprisals disunited the Bakweri, and they lost all rights under the German government.

Despite the unrest there and its small land area, Duala territory became the economic and political nexus of Kamerun. The Germans initially ruled from Douala, which they called "Kamerunstadt", but they moved their capital to the Bakweri settlement of Buea in [1901](#). The colonials' primary activity was the establishment of [banana](#) plantations in the fertile Mount Cameroon region. The Bakweri were impressed to work them, but their recalcitrance and small population led the colonials to encourage peoples from further inland, such as the [Bamileke](#), to move to the coast. The Germans gave little credence to population pressures this caused, and the Wovea were relocated once again in [1905](#) to their present home west of the Wouri estuary when Mondole Island became a leper colony. In addition, constant shipping traffic along the coast allowed individuals to move from one plantation or town to another in search of work. The Duala groups intermingled like never before, particularly the Duala proper and Bakweri.

German arrival on the mainland meant that the coastal peoples' monopoly on trade had ended. Most Duala turned to [subsistence farming](#) or fishing to survive. Among the Duala proper and Isubu, however, years of contact with Westerners and a high level of literacy had allowed a literate upper class of [clerks](#), farmers, and traders to emerge. This class were familiar with European law and conventions, which allowed them to pressure the German colonial government with petitions, legal proceedings, and special-interest groups to oppose unpopular

or unfair policies. A series of these began in [1910](#), when the German administration initiated a new [poll tax](#), attempted to seize lands in Douala township, and then tried to oust the native population from the town completely. King Bell's successor, King Rudolf Duala Manga Bell tried to rally resistance by sending emissaries to visit the leaders of inland groups. Ibrahim Njoya of the [Bamun](#) tipped the Germans off, and Bell and his collaborators were executed in [1914](#) for high treason.

British and French administrations

In [1918](#), Germany lost [World War I](#), and her colonies became mandates of the [League of Nations](#). Great Britain and France split the administration of the Kameruns, partitioning them through the middle of Duala territory. The Bakole, Bakweri, and Bamboko now lived under British control, while the Duala proper, Isubu, Limba, and Wovea fell in French territory. The Mungo were divided in two.

Great Britain integrated its portion of Cameroon with the neighbouring colony of Nigeria, setting the new province's capital at Buea. The British practiced a policy of [indirect rule](#), entrusting greater powers to Bakweri and Isubu chiefs in Buea and Victoria. Chief Manga Williams of Victoria became one of two representatives to the Nigerian Eastern House of Assembly. He was succeeded by another Isubu, John Manga Williams.

The Duala proper continued to prosper. Though the French had largely stripped their kings of power, almost half of the ethnic group's 15-20,000 members were important traders, plantation managers or owners, chiefs, or clerks in the civil service by the [1930s](#). The rest of the people were fishermen and farmers. By the [1940s](#), many Duala had attained prominence as [builders](#), as well, servicing the growing cities of Douala and Victoria.



The new colonials maintained the German policies of ousting uncooperative rulers and of impressing workers for the plantations. Individuals could opt to pay a fine to avoid the labour, however, which led to a dearth of workers from the wealthier areas. The French and British thus encouraged people from the interior to move to the coast and work the plantations (settled well away from the influence of the Duala chiefs). These immigrants were primarily Bamileke in French Cameroon and [Igbo](#) from Nigeria in British Cameroon. The newcomers grew numerically and economically dominant over time, leading to ethnic tensions with the indigenes. By the early 1930s, the Duala were a minority in the town named for them.

By this time, the Duala proper had lost most of their reverence for Europeans. They did not hesitate to

oppose new taxes and to demand their [independence](#). On 19 December [1929](#), for example, four paramount chiefs sent a petition to the League of Nations asking for independence for the Cameroons. Their largest concern, however, was the return of seized Duala lands. This so-called Duala Land Problem reached a head in [1925](#) when the French sold lands on the Joss Plateau that the Germans had appropriated. In response to pressure from the Bell clan, the French offered other territory in compensation. The Bells initially refused, but the [Great Depression](#) eventually prompted them to accept the French compromise. The Bells gained land in Bali district, and the French promised not to take any of the Akwa or Deido clans' holdings. The Bakweri faced a similar problem in [1946](#).

In the late 1930s, Alexandre Duala Manga Bell had emerged as the unofficial leader of the Duala proper. The French grew more hostile toward these Duala elite, whom they considered "precociously developed". In [1937](#), they expelled the Duala from Akwa town (an area of Douala), though they allowed them to maintain ownership of the land. During [World War II](#), the French and British showed favouritism toward white-owned plantations, and many Duala-owned farms became unprofitable. Meanwhile, other Cameroonian ethnic groups had caught up to the Duala's lead in education and Westernisation. Over the next two decades, peoples such as the [Beti-Pahuin](#) and Bamileke came to rival the Duala's position.

At war's end, the [United Nations](#) set in motion the decolonisation of Africa. The Duala remained important in this process. For example, many Duala proper supported the pro-independence *Union des Populations du Cameroun* party (UPC) when it first formed. Other parties that had either Duala founders or significant backing include the *Bloc Démocratique Camerounais* (BDC), and *Action Nationale* (AN).

Geography

The Duala peoples are primarily concentrated in Cameroon's Littoral and Southwest Provinces. Their settlements lie largely along the coast or just inland. The Wouri estuary, where the Wouri, Mungo, and Dibamba Rivers empty, forms the centre of Duala country. Douala is the traditional capital of the Duala proper, who live in and around the city, though today it has come to reflect the diversity of Cameroon as a whole. The Wovea live on the west coast

of the estuary, and the Isubu occupy the coast directly west of them, with their main settlement at Bimbina. Limba territory lies southeast of the Duala at the mouth of the Sanaga River and up its course to [Edéa](#). The Mungo live along the Mungo River's lower stretch and the creeks that feed it. Their territory straddles the border of the Littoral and Southwest Provinces.

In the Southwest, the Bakweri live in over 100 villages east and southeast of Mount Cameroon with Buea their main population centre. Bakweri settlements largely lie in the mountain's foothills and continue up its slopes as high as 12,000 metres. They have further villages along the Mungo River and the creeks that feed into it. Opposite them to the west and northwest of the mountain lies Bamboko territory, beginning at the villages of Sanje and Mukundage and continuing to the sea. On the coast directly north of the Bamboko live the Bakole along the Rio Del Rey. The town of Limbe is a mixture of Duala and other ethnic groups.

Culture

The Duala today are divided into the urban and rural. Those who live in the cities, particularly Douala itself, earn a living at a number of skilled and unskilled professions. Many Duala proper still own parts of the city, allowing them to live off of rents and development. The rural Duala, in contrast, work as fishermen and farmers, mostly at the subsistence level. Among the Duala proper, Isubu, Limba, Mungo, and Wovea, fishing is the trade of choice, while the Bakole, Bakweri, and Bamboko make use of Mount Cameroon's fertile volcanic soils to cultivate [cocoyams](#), [maize](#), [manioc](#), [oil palms](#), and [plantains](#).

Traditional Duala society was divided into three strata. At the top were the *Wonja*, native Duala, with full rights of land ownership. The next tier consisted of the *Wajili*, either non-Duala peoples or the descendants of slaves. Finally, the *Wakomi*, or slaves, made up the bottom rung. Chiefs and headmen sat at the pinnacle of this hierarchy in the past, though today such figures have very little power in their own right. Instead, such individuals are more likely to own property and to have inherited wealth. [Councils of elders](#) and [secret societies](#) allow communities to decide important issues.

Language

Each of the Duala ethnic groups speaks a distinct Duala language, except the Mungo, who speak a dialect of Duala. The Duala languages are: Bakole, spoken by that people; Bubea, spoken by the Wovea; [Duala](#), spoken by the Duala proper and the Mungo; [Isu](#), spoken by the Isubu; Malimba, spoken by the Limba; Mokpwe, spoken by the Bakweri; and Wumboko, spoken by the Bamboko. The Duala languages are very closely related, and may represent a [dialect continuum](#). Mokpwe, Bakole, and Wumboko may be intelligible with one another, for example, and linguists sometimes classify Wumboko as a dialect of Mokpwe. In addition, Malimba speakers have little difficulty understanding Duala. The Duala languages are part of the [Bantu](#) group of the [Niger-Congo](#) language family.

The Duala and neighbouring peoples often utilise Duala and Mokpwe as trade languages, due largely to the spread of these tongues by early missionaries. This is particularly true among the Wovea, many of whom speak Duala in lieu of their native tongue, and the Isubu, many of whom are bilingual in Duala or Mokpwe.

In addition, individuals who have attended school or lived in an urban centre usually speak a European language. For the Duala, Isubu, Limba, and Wovea this is [French](#); for the Bakole, Bakweri, and Bamboko, it is Cameroonian Pidgin English or standard [English](#); and for the Mungo it is one or the other. A growing number of the Anglophones today grow up with Pidgin as their first tongue. The rate of [literacy](#) is relatively high among the Duala, though this is for reading and writing European languages.

At least until the German period, Duala men used a kind of "drum language", tapping out coded messages to communicate news over long distances. The Bakweri also utilized horns to this end.

Marriage and kinship patterns

Duala [inheritance](#) is patrilineal; upon the father's death, his property is split among his male heirs. The Duala have traditionally practiced polygamy, though with Christianisation, this custom has become rare, particularly among the Bakweri. The Duala have never barred marriage between sub-lineages of the same group, nor have they ever put much restriction on inter-tribal marriage. In fact, today, such unions have grown increasingly common, particularly in urban centres like Douala. Children of such marriages become full members of their father's ethnic group.

Religion

The Duala proper and the Isubu have been mostly Christianized since the 1930s and the other Duala groups since the 1970s. [Evangelical](#) denominations dominate, particularly the [Baptist](#) church. Christianity plays an important role in Duala lives, especially in the Anglophone region, where music played over the radio is as likely to be the latest from Nigerian [gospel](#) singer Agatha Moses as it is the latest hit by an American hip-hop star.

Nevertheless, remnants of a pre-Christian [ancestor worship](#) persist. Traditional Bakweri belief states that the ancestors live in a parallel world and act as mediators between the living and God ("Owase" to the Duala proper and "Jengu" to the Isubu). As might be expected for coastal peoples, the sea also plays an important role in this faith. Belief among the Duala proper, for example, is that their ancestors live in the sea. In this worldview, demi-human water spirits known as Miengu (singular: [Jengu](#)) live in the waters and mediate between worshippers and God. Other, evil spirits live in the forests and the sea, and many Duala believe that witchcraft holds a malign influence on everyday life. Traditional festivals held each year serve as the most visible expression of these traditional beliefs in modern times.

Arts

The Anglophone Duala, particularly the Bakweri, still practice arts and crafts handed down for generations. The Bakweri are known to be skilled [weavers](#) of hats and shirts, for example. They also construct armoires, chairs, and tables.

A lively heritage of music and dance most visibly expresses the Duala's colourful culture. Ambasse bey, a style of folk music marrying guitar with found-object percussion, developed in the 1950s in the Mungo area. [Makossa](#), a popular musical style in West and Central Africa, originated with the Duala proper around this same time. The style mixes [jazz](#), [highlife](#), and [soul](#) with [African traditional music](#). [Manu Dibango](#) popularised it in the mid-1970s with *Soul Makossa*, also a pioneering [Disco](#) album. Salle John followed with a rejuvenation of both makossa and ambasse bey.

Duala dances serve a number of purposes. The Bakweri Male Dance, for example, demonstrates the performers' virility. The Esséwe funeral dance re-enact the life of the deceased. The Duala proper perform the Abélé dance after a wedding to accompany the newlyweds to their home. Other dances are purely for enjoyment, such as the maringa and the ashiko, which arose in the 1930s, and the makossa and ambasse bey dances that accompany those musical styles.

The greatest venue for Duala music and dance are the two major festivals that take place each year in December. The Ngondo is a traditional festival of the Duala proper, though today all of Cameroon's coastal peoples are invited to participate. It originated as a means of training Duala children the skills of warfare. Now, however, the main focus is on communicating with the ancestors and asking them for guidance and protection for the future. The festivities also include armed combat, beauty pageants, [pirogue](#) races, and traditional [wrestling](#).

The Mpo'o brings together the Bakoko, Bakweri, and Limba at Edéa. The festival commemorates the ancestors and allows the participants to consider the problems facing the Duala and humanity as a whole. Lively music, dancing, theatre, and recitals accompany the celebration.

Sports

Pirogue racing has traditionally been the most important sport among the Duala. The sport reached its peak during the German colonial period, when organisers held races annually on 27 January (the Kaiser's birthday). Under the French, they became biannual, occurring on 14 July ([Bastille Day](#)) and 11 November ([Armistice Day](#)). A typical Duala racing pirogue is 20-28 metres long with no keel and a bow carved with intricate designs. A team of 40-50 canoeists, mostly men who make their livings as fishermen, mans each vessel. In the past, [diviners](#) used the results of these races to predict the future, but today a Christian priest presides instead. Up to the late 1930s, a family on Jebale Island claimed to be able to summon the Miengu water spirits to help favoured participants.

Beginning in the 1930s, football has grown to eclipse other sports in popularity.

Institutions

Assemblies, secret societies, and other groups play an important role in keeping the Duala peoples unified, helping them set goals, and giving them a venue to find solutions to common problems. Chief among these is the Ngondo, an assembly of important chiefs of the Duala proper. Another of these is the *muemba* (plural: *miemba*), a grouping of all Duala proper of a certain age range or tribal clan. The *miemba* serve to let their members network and socialise. Secret societies include the Ekongolo, Jengu, Losango, and Munji among the Duala proper and the Leingu, Maalé, Mbwaya, and Nganya among the Bakweri.

Classification

All of the Duala peoples are [Bantu](#) in language and origin. More narrowly, they fall into the Sawa, or the coastal peoples of Cameroon.

Subgroups

In addition to the tribal distinctions noted in the introduction, the Duala groups further sort themselves into a number of sub-lineages or clans. Among the Bakweri and Isubu, sub-lineages typically fall along village lines. Each village thus is composed of one extended family. Among the Duala proper, these are the Bonanjo (including the Bonapriso), the Bonaku, the Bonabela, and the Bonaberi. These names represent the principal families in each clan: Njo, Priso, Akwa, Ebele-Deido, and Bell, respectively. In addition, the Duala proper include the Bodiman, Pongo, and Wuri among their ranks, but not as sub-lineages.

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