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The origins of Kushi in oral narratives

Abstract: The Kushi are a relatively small Chadic-speaking group settled in north-eastern Nigeria. Reconstructing the migratory movements that brought the Kushi to their present area is a daunting task. Oral history is one of the most valuable tools we can turn to in order to understand the origins of Kushi as well as the several ethnic and linguistic components that contributed to the merging of the present-day community. A critical reading of the historical events as narrated by a Kushi speaker will show that Kushi is the result of a series of migrations undertaken by different groups over a certain period of time, thus contrasting with the default narrative of an indivisible and linear migration coming from east. Apart from its historical significance, the text – supplied with interlinear analysis – is intended to contribute to the documentation and description of the Kushi language.

Keywords: Kushi, oral history, Bole-Tangale, language documentation

1. Introduction

Kushi[1] is a Chadic language classified in the Bole-Tangale group (West Chadic, A.2, Tangale proper (Newman 1990). It is spoken on the northern fringe of the Chonge-Mona range in north-eastern Nigeria (Gombe State). As is often the case with under-described Chadic languages, we do not have reliable sources for the current number of speakers: apart from Leger (1993), who posits the number of speakers at 6,000, *the Ethnologue* provides a figure of 11,000 and labels the language status (i.e. in terms of vitality and endangerment) as 'vigorous' (Simons and Fennig 2017).

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[1] Language codes: ISO <639-3 kuh>; Glottolog <kush1236>.

2. The origins of Kushi: history and narrative

The story of the origins of the Kushi was written, read, and recorded by the late Malam Samson Waziri in 1992. M. Samson Waziri worked as the main Kushi informant in the Sonderforschungsbereich 268 (J. W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main), a major research project carried out between 1988 and 2003 dealing with linguistic, sociological, anthropological, and geographical aspects of the Gongola river basin area.[2]

Until 1993, M. Samson Waziri collected – under the supervision of Rudolf Leger – an important number of stories (folktales, biographical narrations, songs, etc.). While the great majority of them are transcriptions of direct narration (i.e. Kushi speakers were asked to tell a story and then recorded), a few texts were composed before being recorded and read only at a later time. This is the case of *Tàréhìi pírè Gòjì wànnân* 'The story of where the Kushi are from' (TPGW).

2.1 The historical outline

Reconstructing the history of Chadic speaking ethnic groups is particularly challenging, since there are no written records or documents to rely upon. In this sense, oral tradition plays a pivotal role in guiding the researcher through the intricate sequence of migrations and language contacts that took place in the area and that determined the current ethnolinguistic distribution in the Gongola basin.

The story provides important insight into the dynamics that led to the constitution of the present Kushi village area, a constellation of adjoining hamlets resulting from a series of migrations that brought several ethnic groups to settle on the northern slopes of the Chonge-Mona range (eastern Muri mountains).[3] These migrations took place

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[2] I am very much indebted to Dr Rudolf Leger for having granted me full access to the material collected under the framework of the project and for his encouragement to pursue the research that was started more than 20 years ago.

[3] The resettlement schemes of the British colonial administration were implemented on the Kushi in 1949, hence the abandonment of the northern

over many decades, with each incoming group contributing to form the identity of what came to be known under the name of 'Kushi'. As Adelberg, Brunk, and Kleinewillinghöfer point out, "the Kushi are composed of several patrilinear descent groups with diverse historical backgrounds, and the history of the people identifying themselves as Kushi cannot be understood adequately without reference to these clans" (1993: 23). Traces of these migrant movements can be found in the oral tradition and also in the present-day clanic stratification of the Kushi.

According to the narration, the Kushi were originally from the Kanuri dominated region of Borno. They migrated to Gwana, in Pindiga area (south-west of Gombe), where they lived peacefully until a war broke out between the Pindiga and other unidentified groups. The Kushi, seeing that the conflict was intensifying, decided to leave Gwana and moved to several other places (such as Korash, Shonghlo, Damok, Yame, Benye, Dara, and Burak) to finally settle on the slopes of the Chonge-Mona range. It was there that they found the Fojorak, an autochthonous group usually described as 'a people of light complexion living in caves' (Rudolf Leger, p.c.).

The reasons given for abandoning all of these places and finally migrating to Kushi are related to the lack of fertile land and scarcity of water. As we will see in the next paragraph, the Kushi people and their movements as reported in TPGW should be interpreted as a synthetic representation of a series of numerous migrations to the northern uphills of the Chonge-Mona undertaken by different groups living in the area, and not by a single Kushi group migrated from Borno. The groups mentioned in the story, as well as their places of origin and their clanic denominations, are reported in table 1 (the order given by the narrator has been maintained):

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slopes for the lower area and the plains (Adelberg, Brunk, and Kleinewillinghöfer 1993: 27).

Group	Place	Clan alignment[4]	Clan
Korash	Korash	Gubno	Gubno Tagonro
Shonghlo	Shonghlo	Gubno	Gubno Shonghlo
Yame	Yame	Gubno	Yame
Dara	Dara	Fologhbe	Fologhbe Dara
Burak	Burak	Fologhbe	Fologhbe Burak
Benye	Benye	Gubno	Pewrang
Fojorak	autochthonous	Fojorak	Fojorak

Table 1 – Groups and clans

TPGW offers a brief account of the relationship between the autochthonous group and those who came before. When the Korash arrived in Kushi, the Fojorak were suffering famine. The newcomers, who brought food (and maybe some agricultural technique), were asked for help and soon the Fojorak became dependent on the resources dispensed by the Korash. The dominant position of the Korash (and also of the Shonghlo) was sealed when the Fojorak were granted permission to perform some cults on behalf of the incoming group(s), thus recognizing the Korash (i.e. the Gubno Tagonro) as their masters or *gùp míná* 'chief house' [42-43]. The right of assigning cult-related duties was exclusive to the Gubno Tagonro, hence every new group had to be 'initiated' by them: since not all the cults were equally powerful, it is clear that the clan exerting control over the worship sphere had a crucial advantage in the recently-born multi-clanic society.

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[4] According to Adelberg, Brunk, and Kleinewillinghöfer "the clans […] align themselves with either Gublo or Foloxbe and one could divide them, on the basis of their alliance, into two sections. However, this cannot be considered to be a dual division as found among the Burak and the Bangwinji […] because it does not find any expression in a spatial arrangement" (1993: 24).

In the last section of TPGW, the appearance of the British is mentioned. The 'white men' arrived in Kushi looking for a person to appoint as chief. The choice fell upon Jamfula Tagonro, a man belonging to the clan of the Gubno Tagonro from Korash.

2.2 East, technique, and idols: the motifemes of the story
The narration presents some interesting elements, namely (a) the reference to a Kushi group coming from Borno, and (b) the description of the dynamics that led the autochthonous Fojorak to submit to the newly arrived people from Korash.

A literal reading of [14-19] seems to suggest that after leaving Pindiga the Kushi would have started to migrate from one place to another with the present-day Kushi village area as their final choice [14-19]. A contextual reading of the events, however, indicates otherwise. While we do not know anything about this original group coming from Borno – the Kushi group – we know something about the current clanic subdivision, the places each clan originated from, and the existence of an autochthonous group (see Table 1). In [25-27], for example, the narrator provides the list of the groups that settled in Kushi and clarifies that they migrated *dòk-dòk* 'one by one' and *déngî-déngì* 'clan by clan', meaning that they arrived in different times and settled following clanic division. Therefore, if at first the narrator says that it was the Kushi that left Pindiga and 'climbed' to Kushi, when making an explicit reference to the first group coming into contact with the Fojorak he mentions the Gugbo Tagonro from Korash and not the Kushi.

What we can infer is that at a certain point in the past a group from Korash, the Gubno Tagonro, arrived in Kushi and came into contact with the autochthonous Fojorak, successively followed by other groups from different places: the current clanic subdivision mirrors this sequence of small-scale migrations. According to our current knowledge, the notion of 'Kushi' itself (i.e. the idea of an ethnic identity associated to a Kushi group) seems to have emerged as a result of these convergent migrations. From a narrative perspective, the operation of tracing back the origin of a community to a

group coming from east (i.e. Borno or also Yemen via Borno, see Dinslage and Leger 1996: 68f.) is consistent with a well-known topos in the oral traditions of northern Nigeria. This particular motifeme is functional to the beginning of the story (because, we could simplify, stories about the foundation of villages used to start that way) and is abandoned as soon as the narrator follows a storyline more adherent to the facts.

The second meaningful aspect in TPGW is the 'technique-for-cult' exchange leading to the establishment of one clan as the dominant one. We observe that when the Fojorak (that is, the Gubno Tagonro) arrive in Kushi, things are not going well for the autochthonous people – and it remains unclear why the Korash would remain in a place where there is no drinking water and the land is unsuitable for farming. Perhaps an explanation might be found in the necessity of lowering the status of the Fojorak, therefore justifying the rising preeminence of the Korash. In this sense, another motifeme takes shape: that of a human group with an advanced knowledge or technique coming into contact with a less advanced human group. Therefore, the intervention of the Korash in the Fojorak food crisis necessarily implies a counterbalancing act, a political repayment enabling the weaker group to find its position within the new asset. As we have seen, it is with the acceptance of the Fojoraks' offer to perform some tasks concerning idol worshipping that the equilibrium will be established.

3. The language
3.1 A profile of the Kushi language
Kushi, or *fò(k) Gòjì* 'mouth of Kushi', is a southern Bole-Tangale language. As a Chadic language, it shares many typological features with its Chadic neighbours. Having emerged as the resultant of different convergent migrations undertaken by Chadic speaking groups (the ascendants of the Gubno-aligned clans) as well as by Trans Benue groups (the ascendants of the Fologhbe-aligned clans), it would be extremely valuable to identify the non-Chadic contribution – both in terms of lexical substrata and typological features – to present-day Kushi language.

Feature	Realisation
Order	SVO/VOS
Tones	Level tones: high (H) and low (L) Contour tones: falling (HL) and rising (LH)
Gender	Gender distinction is productive at pronominal level. Almost all nouns are feminine.
Genitive	The genitive construction can be rendered (a) through juxtaposition (with tone change), (2) by employing a genitive particle, or (3) by using a grammaticalised form with the meaning of 'possessor of'.
Adjectives	Kushi has a small closed adjective class (about 9). Semantically, adjectives belong to five main types: dimension, age, value, colour, and physical property.
Pronouns	Gender distinction is operative in the second and third person singular. The first and second person plural distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive.
Demonstrative	Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives mark a two-way deictic contrast, i.e. proximal and distal.
TAM	Kushi is an aspectual language distinguishing between perfective and imperfective aspect. The nature of the subjunctive, a particular ductil TAM, remains unclear. PERFECTIVE IMPERFECTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE perfect progressive subjunctive preterite future The TAM is marked by the quality of the final vowel of the verbal form.
ICP	ICP are an established feature in southern Bole-Tangale languages (e.g. Piya, Widala-Kholok, Pero, and Kupto). Kushi requires the use of an ICP with verbs such as 'go', 'enter', 'come out', 'arrive', 'walk, become', 'be satisfied', etc.

Table 2 – A typological profile of Kushi

3.2 Transcription

High and low tones are marked with an acute and grave accent respectively. Falling tones (H-L) are marked with a circumflex accent. Vowel length is also indicated, with the tone marked on the first vowel (ex. *shéetè* 'these'). The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is transcribed with gh, the aspirated velar [kʰ] with kh, and the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] with sh. The dental and labial voiced implosives are transcribed with ɗ and ɓ respectively.

4. *Tàréhìi pírè Gòjì wànnân*

[1] How Kushi people obtained their story and how they started coming to Kushi. [2] (We) have given the story about them and the story of the people whom they saw worshipping idols. [3] At the beginning, the Kushi came from another place, a place called 'Borno', [4] where the Kanuri people live [5] and where the Kushi are from. [6] The Kushi lived in the land of Borno [7] and left [8] for another place known as 'Gwana', which is the place of the Pindiga people.

[1] *Yáddà   Gòjì   wáyàn làabárí khù-jù   kàn   yáddà yè*
   how   Kushi get.PERF story   head-POSS.3PL with how   REL

táŋŋà   wàrìn   khà   tòn   Gòjì [2] *mùnà   làabárí khù-jù*
start.PER coming at   first Kushi   give.PERF story   head-POSS.3PL

kàn   nìyà   gèe yèréy yùwòn   sàfì   mìná-jù
with   people see REL   doing   idol worship   house-POSS.3PL

[3] *khà   tòn   Gòjì pénnà   tì   mánní pìrè, pìrè   yè*
   at   first Kushi come.PERF in   other place place REL

yàa   'Bòrnó', [4] *tì   yè   mèrí   fò   tèerè yàa*
say.PERF   Borno   on   REL   those mouth there say.PERF

mèrí   Kànúrì [5] *dàgà   yé   Gòjì* [6] *yè   'ìllínà tì   khù*
those Kanuri   from   here Kushi   REL stand   in   head

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ɓúk	'Bòrnó' [7]	'ìn	wûr-jù	fò	tèerè [8]	'ìn
ground	Borno	SUBJ	leave-ICP.3PL	mouth	there	SUBJ

wàrò	dìllù	tì	mánní	pìrè	tì	yè	yàa	'Gwàná',
come	put up	on	other	place	on	REL	say.PERF	Gwana

pìrè	mèrí	Pìndìgá.
place	those	Pindiga

[9] At the time of their coming their stay was trouble-free, [10] but later on a war broke out between the Pindiga and other people that are not known. [11] The war didn't stop and was starting to overpower them, [12] so they decided to run away [from Pindiga] because they were afraid, [13] and so they left following their own way, one by one.

[9] dàgà	lóokàcíi	wà	díin	tì	fò	tèerè	tì	fò
from	time	come	stay	on	mouth	there	on	mouth

shà	tòmàn-jú,	[10] sânnán	gèi	'ìn	'ìllínà	kàn	mèrí
eat	sweet-POSS.3PL	then	war	SUBJ	stand	with	those

Pìndìgá	kàn	shékì	mánní	pìrì	yèè	hár	'à
Pindiga	with	between	other	place	REL	up to	NEG

pénà-m	mè	tà	yà	gèi	pìrì	kàn	shìnì	bá.
know.PERF-NEG	those	on	do	war	place	with	3PL	NEG

[11] dàgà	fò	tèerè	gèe-rì	yùwà	gèe-rì	gèi	yíghà	yégh
from	mouth	there	war-DEF	doing	war-DEF	war	start.PERF	exceed

bán-jù,	[12] sânnán	'in	líktì-jú	khà	yábà	dúl
strength-POSS.3PL	then	SUBJ	send-ICP.3PL	at	run	because

shè	mùrò	yè	wéeyà	tà	yòo-rò	gèi	tì	khù-jù
fear	death	REL	find.PERF	in	call-OBJ.3F	war	in	head-POSS.3PL

[13] | *dàgà* | *yé* | *'ìllínàn* | *tì* | *fò* | *tèerè* | *'ìn* | *'ìppù-rù-jú*
| from | here | leave.PERF | in | mouth | there | SUBJ | follow-DIST-ICP3PL

kòghò-jù | *khà* | *ɗòk-ɗòk*
way-POSS.3PL | at | one by one

[14] After that, the people left Pindiga to go to other places [15], places that are known as Korash, Shonghlo, Damok, Yame, Benye, Dara, and Burak. [16] They travelled to these places one by one, clan by clan. [17] This is how the Kushi people left the place of the Pindiga [18] and went somewhere else, one by one, [19] before they started the migration to Kushi.

[14] | *dàgà* | *yé* | *yùnán* | *ɗín* | *khà* | *tèerè,* | *ɗín* | *khà* | *tèerè* | *sái*
| from | here | do | all | at | there | all | at | there | then

mìmmín | *wé-jù-rù* | *Pìndìgá* | *'ìn* | *wántù-jú*
people | leave-ICP.3PL-DIST.PERF | Pindiga | SUBJ | come-ICP.3PL

mánní | *pìrì,* | [15] *pìrèe* | *tì* | *yè* | *yàa* | *Kóoràsh,* | *Shònghlò,*
other | place | where | in | REL | say.PERF | Korash | Shonglo

Dàmòk, | *Yàmè,* | *Bènyê,* | *Dàrà* | *kàn* | *Búràk* | [16] *dúk* | *yáddà* | *yè*
Damok | Yame | Benye | Dara | with | Burak | all | how | REL

yúnàn | *méré-jù* | *khà* | *ɗòk-ɗòk* | *bísà* | *déngî-déngì,*
do | travel-POSS.3PL | at | one by one | over | clan-by-clan

[17] *shí nèe* | *yáddà* | *mèrí* | *Gòjì* | *wàjínán* | *míná* | *mèrí*
that is | how | those | Kushi | left | house | those

Pìndìgá | [18] *'ìn* | *wárìn-jú-n* | *míná* | *mánní* | *pìrì* | *khà*
Pindiga | SUBJ | come-ICP.3PL-DIST | house | other | place | at

ɗòk-ɗòk | [19] *kàafín* | *'ìn* | *tàŋ* | *wàrín* | *Gòjì*
one by one | before | SUBJ | start | come.SUBJ | Kushi

[20] Their stay there was not easy, [22] because of the scarcity of drinking water and land to farm, and there were also other difficulties that worried them, [22] so again they started leaving one by one [23] and climbed to Kushi.[5] [24] When they arrived in Kushi, they came into contact with the native people of the place, called 'Fojorak'.

[20]	pìrèe	dììnàn	'à	wée-rù	kògó	yè	fòo	shùlèn
	where	stay	NEG	find-DIST	way	REL	mouth	eating

tòmànìn	dììi	tì	fò	tèerè	bà	[21]	dùn	ràshín	dàlìlíi
sweet	stay	in	mouth	there	NEG		because	lack	reason

dòó	fò	shìràw	kàn	fòjíwù	wéè,	wé	yèe
water	mouth	farming	with	remaining	things	thing	REL

dàmìnà	shìní	[22]	dàgà	yé	wéenà	khà	tèerè	'ìn
worry	3PL		from	here	come.PERF	at	there	SUBJ

yùgh	'ìllì-jû	khà	dòk-dòk	[23]	khà	wòo	'àmmù-rù
start	stand-ICP.3PL	at	one by one		at	towards	climb-DIST

Gòjì.	[23]	kàafín	fìjjì	mìmmín	shétè	'ìn	tàŋ	fò-ttì-n
Kushi		before	rest	people	these	SUBJ	start	reach-DIST

Gòjì	khà	'áinífí	[24]	mèe	dĩin	díndìndín	tì	khù
Kushi	at	origin		those	stay.PERF	originated	in	head

ɓùk	Gòjì,	mèe tì	khù	ɓùk	Gòjì	khà	tòmí	mèrí
ground	Kushi	thosein	head	ground	Kushi	head	first	these

yè	yàa	Fòjòràk.
REL	say.PERF	Fojorak

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[5] See note 3.

[25] The peoples that started migrating – one by one – to Kushi were these: [26] the Korash from Korash – that is, the Gubno Tagonro; the Shonghlo from Shonghlo – that is, the Gubno Shonghlo; the Yame from Yame – that is, the Yame; the Dara from Dara – that is, the Fologhbe Dara; the Burak from Burak – that is, the Fologhbe Burak; the Benye from Benye – that is, the Pewrang. [27] Before all these peoples could come to Kushi, the only ones to inhabit the place were the Fojorak.

[25] *pìré [nèe]* [6] *mìmmín táŋ 'illín dòk-dòk khà shèe*
place COP people start migrate one-one at these

[26] *Kóoràsh 'illìnà tì Kóoràsh-ì – Gùbnò Tágòŋrò, Shònghlò*
Korash come in Korash-DEF Gubno Tagonro Shonghlo

tì Shònghlò – Gùbnò Shònghlò, Yámè 'illìrì tì Yámè –
in Shonghlo Gubno Shonghlo Yame migrate in Yame

Dàrà 'illìrì tì Dàrà – Fòlòghbé Dàrà, Búràk 'illìrì tì
Dara come in Dara Folokhbe Dara Burak come in

Búràk – Fòlòghbé Búràk, Bènyê 'illì-rì tì Bènyê, –
Burak Fologhbe Burak Benye come in Benye

mèrì Pèwràŋ. [27] *Kàafín mìmmín shéetè táŋ wárìn Gòjì*
those Pewran. Before people these start come Kushi

khà 'áinífí mèe yè ɗĩin tì Gòjì shíní Fòjòràk.
at origin those REL stay.PERF in Kushi 3PL Fojorak

[28] Now, the Fojorak didn't have any drinking water, [29] they had to go far away to fetch some water to drink, [30] for water could be found only far away. [31] The first people to come into contact with the Fojorak in Kushi were the Gubno Tagonro, from Korash. [32]

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[6] Hausa

When they came, they brought with them many things to eat. [33] A famine was striking the Fojorak, [34] so they started begging for food from the hand of the Gubno Tagonro [33] who came along.

[28] *dàgà yé Fòjòràk ɗíin 'à tì wèe dò-m* [29] *khà*
from here Fojorak stay.PERF NEG in find water-NEG at

wó shéyànì-m sái wàrà tálí khà wé dò-y
for drinking-NEG only going far at find water-DEF

[30] *sái wàrà tálí khà wò pírì dò-y* [31] *táŋŋà*
only going far at for place water-DEF start.PERF

wàrá wée Fòjòràk tì Gòjì Gùbnò Tágòŋrò mè
come find Fojorak in Kushi Gubno Tagonro who

pènnà tì Kóoràsh [32] *Gùbnò Tágòŋrò wánnà kàn*
come out.PERF in Korash Gubno Tagonro come.PERF with

wè kírà-jù, kàn wè shínà-jù [33] *shí nèe 'ìn*
thing hand-POSS.3PL with thing eating-POSS.3PL that is SUBJ

wárò wáan Fòjòràk tà tàshìlìn kúyàm, [34] *dàgà fò*
come get Fojorak on suffering hunger from mouth

tèerè Fòjòràk 'ìn wàrí-jù bènón wè shínà tì
there Fojorak SUBJ come-ICP.3PL begging thing eating in

kírà-y Gùbnò Tágòŋrò [35] *yè wánnà jèlè*
hand-DEF Gubno Tagonro REL come.PERF side

[36] Afterwards, the Fojorak said that the Gubno Tagonro should become their masters, [37] because it was always from them that they were getting food. [38] Now, the people of Borno – the Shonghlo – accepted and the Fojorak became like sons to them. [39] But they also

asked the Gubno Tagonro to be allowed to worship the idols for them. [40] The Gubno Tagonro accepted, saying that worshipping was not a difficult thing, [41] and that they had hard things to take care of.

[36] *shí nèe   dàgà   nân,   kúmú   Fòjòràk   yàa   pìmén*
    that is   from   here   also   Fojorak   say.PERF   3PL

Gùbnò   Tágòŋrò   yàa-jì   shígà-nì   láa-nò   pìmè
Gubno   Tagonro   say.LOG.3M   become-ICP.3M   child-GEN   3PL

[37] *dól   yè   ríi   múnín   wè   shínà   tì   shìní*
    because   REL   in   giving   thing   eating   in   3PL

kúllúm   [38] dàgà   nán   wà   mó   shín   Fòjòràk   yàa
always   from   here   for   let   3PL   Fojorak   say

mìmmín   Bòrnó   Shònghlò   yàa   tóò   yàa-jì
people   Borno   Shonghlo   say   well   say-LOG.3M

shígà-ní   làa-mà   pìmè,   [39] àmmá yàa-jì
become-ICP.3M   son-GEN   3PL   but   say-LOG.3M

sáfi-yé   yè   jì   tì   yà sái   mòo   Fòjòràk yàa pímê.
worship-DEM.PROX   REL   3M   in do only   let   Fojorak   do   3PL

[40] *Gùbnò   Tágòŋrò   yà   pìmû   shìlìgùn   sáafì   pìé-m,*
    Gubno   Tagonro   say   3PL   difficult   worhip   3PL-NEG

[41] *dún   shín   kàn   wè   yànì   néná   shílìbìi*
    because   3PL   with   thing   doing   as   hard

nìŋó-n   ɗìŋ.
person-GEN   black

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[42] After that, the Fojorak were given the right of worshipping idols, [43] therefore the Gubno Tagonro became the 'Chief House'. [44] Again, any person who came to Kushi had to be initiated by the Gubno Tagonro. [45] Then, people started to come and gather in Kushi [46] and the Gubno gave everybody some task concerning worshipping, [47] that is why the Gubno Tagonro were the 'Chief House'.

[42] *Sânnán*	*Fòjòràk*	*'ìn*	*mùnín*	*sáafí*	*yè* =*yàa*	-*jì*
after	Fojorak	SUBJ	give	worship	that	3M

yè	*rì*	*yàa*	*tée*	*Gùbnò*	*Tágòɲrò*	*dúk*	[43] *hár*	*shíní*
REL	in	do	DEM	Gubno	Tagonro	all	up to	3PL

Gùbnò	*'ín*	*shíwò-jú*	*Gùp*	*míná.*	[44] *Yànzû*	*dúk*
Gubno	SUBJ	become-ICP3PL	chief	house	Now	all

bìràŋ	*níyò*	*yè*	*tá*	*wáró*	*bìràŋ*	*Gùbnò*	*rì*	*mùnìn*
again	person	REL	FUT	come	again	Gubno	in	give

shùràn	*shì-jù*	*yè*	*rá*	*yànì.*	[45] *dàgà*	*nân*	*khà*	*tè*
work	3PL	REL	FUT	doing	from	here	at	these

hár	*mìmmín*	*wánàtùn*	*'ìn*	*gàlì*	*tì*	*Gòjì*	[46] *hár*
up to	people	come	SUBJ	gather	in	Kushi	up to

Gùbnò	*'ìn*	*gwàrán*	*shùràn-nìnì*	*tì*	*kìrè*	*wándà*	*kóonòŋ*
Gubno	SUBJ	divide	work-them	in	hand	rel	every

tá	*yànì*	[47] *[shí*	*nèe]*[7]	*dàlílì*	*yèè*	*Gùbnò*	*shígà-jú*
FUT	doing	3M	COP	reason	REL	Gubno	become-ICP3PL

gùp	*míná*	*Gòjì*	*tà*	*khù*	*dòjì.*
chief	house	Kushi	on	head	rest

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[7] Hausa

[47] And this is the reason for which any person practising a cult [48] must ask to the Gubno. [49] One day the white man came to Kushi [50] and appointed the Chief of Kushi. The appointed Chief of Kushi was selected among the first traditional idol worshippers – the Gubno – and his name was Jamfula Tagonro.

[47] *shí*   *yàa*   *dàlílì-yé*   *kóo*   *wànì*   *wè*   *yè*   *tá*
   3M   say   reason-DEM.PROX   any   certain   thing   REL   FUT

yàni   *tì*   *Gòjì*   [48] *sái*   *kàn*   *kùmán*   *Gùbnò*   *yè*   *tèllà*
doing   in   Kushi   until   with   permission   Gubno   REL   ask

shìi   [49] *hár*   *dàràŋ*   *nóo*   *yè*   *'ànàshárá*   *fònnàn*
OBJ.3PL   up to   sun   some   REL   white person   reach

Gòjì.   [50] *Kàafín*   *dàràŋ*   *nóo*   *yè*   *'ànàshárá*   *fònnàn*   *'ín*
Kushi   before   sun   some   REL   white person   reach   SUBJ

yàa   *líiyà*   *gùp.*   [51] *[shí nèe]*[8]   *hár*   *Gùbnò*   *'ìn*   *shàrì*
say   choose   chief   3M   COP   up to   Gubno   SUBJ   talk

gùp   *yè*   *khà*   *tòn*   *shómmó-ní*   *Jàmcúlà*   *Tágòŋrò*   *tà*
chief   REL   at   first   name-POS.3M   Jamfula   Tagonro   on

shìi   [52] *kàafín*   *Gùbnò*   *Tágòŋrò*   *'ìn*   *táŋ*   *fòttín*   *yè*
3M   before   Gubno   Tagonro   SUBJ   start   reach   REL

wánnà   *wèèyàn*   *Fòjòràk*
come   find   Fojorak

[53]After the Gubno Tagonro came the Gubno from Shonghlo, then the Fologhbe people from Burak and Dara, [54] then the Yame and Pewrang from Benye and Yame. [55] This is what I know about the origins of the Kushi people.

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[8] Hausa

[53] *wànnà*   *tà*   *shíní*   *kààfín*   *Gùbnò*   *tì*   *Shònghlò*   *'ìn*
come   on   3PL   before   Gubno   in   Shonglo   SUBJ

fóotìn   *dàgà*   *shíní*   *kúwá*   *sái*   *Fòlòghbè*   *yè*   *wánnà*
reach   from   3PL   also   until   Fologhbe   REL   come

tì   *Búràk*   *kàn*   *Dàrà,*   [54] *sánnán*   *'ìn*   *fóotìn*   *tàa*   *màa*
in   Burak   with   Dara   after   SUBJ   reach   in   DEM

Yàmé   *kàn*   *Pèwráŋ*   *yè*   *shánà*   *shè-jú*   *tì*   *Bènyé*   *kàn*
Yame   with   Pewrang   REL   come   DEM-3pl   in   Benye   with

Yàmé   [55] *[shí*   *nèe]*[9]   *wè*   *nè*   *pénà*   *tì*   *fòo*   *dìiyó*
Yame   3M   COP   thing   1SG   know.PERF   in   mouth   stay

Gòjì   *kàn*   *pìrèe*   *wànnàn.*
Kushi   with   where   come from.

Abbreviations:

1, 2, 3	person
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
ICP	intransitive copy pronoun
LOG	logophoric pronoun
M	masculine
OBJ	object
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROX	proximal
REL	relative
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive

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[9] Hausa

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