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 ‘vigoros’ (Simons and Fennig 2017).

\(^{1}\) 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 \(\text{Tàrēhii pîrè Gòjì wànnân} \) ‘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.

\(^2\) 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 patrilineal 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):

slopes for the lower area and the plains (Adelberg, Brunk, and Kleinewillinghöfer 1993: 27).
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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### Table 1 – Groups and clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Clan alignment⁴</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korash</td>
<td>Korash</td>
<td>Gubno</td>
<td>Gubno Tagonro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shonghlo</td>
<td>Shonghlo</td>
<td>Gubno</td>
<td>Gubno Shonghlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yame</td>
<td>Yame</td>
<td>Gubno</td>
<td>Yame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dara</td>
<td>Dara</td>
<td>Fologhbe</td>
<td>Fologhbe Dara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burak</td>
<td>Burak</td>
<td>Fologhbe</td>
<td>Fologhbe Burak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benye</td>
<td>Benye</td>
<td>Gubno</td>
<td>Pewrang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fojorak</td>
<td>autochthonous</td>
<td>Fojorak</td>
<td>Fojorak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 dëngi-dëngi ‘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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>SVO/VOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tones</td>
<td>Level tones: high (H) and low (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contour tones: falling (HL) and rising (LH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Gender distinction is productive at pronominal level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Almost all nouns are feminine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>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’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>Kushi has a small closed adjective class (about 9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semantically, adjectives belong to five main types: dimension, age, value, colour, and physical property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>Gender distinction is operative in the second and third person singular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The first and second person plural distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives mark a two-way deictic contrast, i.e. proximal and distal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Kushi is an aspectual language distinguishing between perfective and imperfective aspect. The nature of the subjunctive, a particular ductil TAM, remains unclear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERFECTIVE IMPERFECTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect progressive subjunctive preterite future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The TAM is marked by the quality of the final vowel of the verbal form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICP</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ď and ɓ respectively.

4. Tàréhii pìrè Gòjì wànnān
[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 wàyàn làabári khù-ju kàn yáddà yè how Kushi get.PERF story head-POSS.3PL with how REL

tànñà wàrin khà tòn Gòjì [2] mìnà làabári khù-ju start.PERF coming at first Kushi give.PERF story head-POSS.3PL

kàn niyà gèe yèrèy yìwòn sàfì míná-ju with people see REL doing idol worship house-POSS.3PL

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


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

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[13] dàgà yé 'illìnàn tì fò tèerè 'in ippù-rù-jú
  from here leave.PERF in mouth there SUBJ follow-DIST-ICP3.PL

kòghò-jù khà dök-dök
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 mi-
  gration to Kushi.

[14] dàgà yé yùmán dìn khà tèerè, dìn khà tèerè säi
  from here do all at there all at there then

mimmin wé-jù-rù Pindigá 'in wàntù-jú
people leave-ICP.3PL-DIST.PERF Pindiga SUBJ come-ICP.3.PL

mânni pìrì, [15] pirèe ti yè yàa Kóoràsh, Shònghlò,
other place where in REL say.PERF Korash Shonglo

Dàmòk, Yàmè, Bènyê, Dàrà kàn Búràk [16] dük yàddà yè
Damok Yame Benye Dara with Burak all how REL

yùmàn méré-jù khà dök-dök bìsà déngí-déngì,
do travel-POSS.3.PL at one by one over clan-by-clan

[17] shí nèe yàddà mèrì Gòjì wàjinàn mìná mèrì
  that is how those Kushi left house those

Pìndigá [18] 'in wàrin-jù-n mìná mânni pìrì khà
Pindiga SUBJ come-ICP.3PL-DIST house other place at

dök-dök [19] kàafañ 'in tàŋ wàrin Gòjì
one by one before SUBJ start come.SUBJ Kushi
[20] Their stay there was not easy, because of the scarcity of drinking water and land to farm, and there were also other difficulties that worried them, so again they started leaving one by one and climbed to Kushi. When they arrived in Kushi, they came into contact with the native people of the place, called ‘Fojorak’.

[20] pirèe dìnànn ̀ à wèè-rù kògò yè fòò shùlèn
where stay NEG find-DIST way REL mouth eating

tòmànìn dìiì ̀ fò tèèrè bà [21] dìn ràshìn dàlìlì
sweet stay in mouth there NEG because lack reason

dòó fò shírɔ̀w kàn fòjìwù wèè, wè yèè
water mouth farming with remaining things thing REL

dàminà shìnì [22] dàgà yè wèènà khà tèèrè ̀ in
worry 3PL from here come.PERF at there SUBJ

yùgh ̀ iìlì-jù khà dòk-dòk [23] khà wòò ̀ âmmù-rù
start stand.ICP.3PL at one by one at towards climb-DIST

Gòjì. [23] kàafìn fìjjì mìmmìn shètè ̀ in tàŋ fò-tù-n
Kushi before rest people these SUBJ start reach-DIST

Gòjì khà ̀ ̀ aìnífì [24] mèe dììn dìndìndìn ti khù
Kushi at origin those stay.PERF originated in head

bùk Gòjì, mèe ti khù bùk Gòjì khà tòmì mèrí
ground Kushi thosein head ground Kushi head first these

yè yàa Fòjòràk.
REL say.PERF Fojorak

5 See note 3.
The peoples that started migrating – one by one – to Kushi were these: 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. Before all these peoples could come to Kushi, the only ones to inhabit the place were the Fojorak.

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

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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.

\[dàgà \text{ yé} \quad Fójòràk \text{ dììn} \quad 'à \text{ tì} \text{ wèe} \quad dò-m \quad khà\]

from here Fojorak stay.PERF NEG in find water-NEG at

\[wó \quad shéyànì-m \quad sái \quad wàrà \quad táli \quad khà \quad wé \quad dò-y\]

for drinking-NEG only going far at find water-DEF

\[sái \quad wàrà \quad táli \quad khà \quad wó \quad píri \quad dò-y \quad tάmŋà\]

only going far at for place water-DEF start.PERF

\[wàrã \quad wée \quad Fòjóràk \quad tì \quad Gòjì \quad Gùbnò \quad Tágonró \quad mè\]

come find Fojorak in Kushi Gubno Tagonro who

\[pènnà \quad tì \quad Kóorràsh \quad Gùbnò \quad Tágonró \quad wánnà \quad kàn\]

come out.PERF in Korash Gubno Tagonro come.PERF with

\[wè \quad kírâ-jù, \quad kàn \quad wè \quad shírâ-jù \quad shí \quad nèe \quad 'ìn\]
	hing hand-POSS.3PL with thing eating-POSS.3PL that is SUBJ

\[wárò \quad wáan \quad Fòjóràk \quad tà \quad tâshìlìn \text{ kúyàm}, \quad dàgà \quad fò\]

come get Fojorak on suffering hunger from mouth

\[tèerè \quad Fójóràk \quad 'in \quad wârì-jù \quad bènón \quad wè \quad shírâ \quad tì\]

there Fojorak SUBJ come-ICP.3PL begging thing eating in

\[kírâ-y \quad Gùbnò \quad Tágonró \quad yè \quad wánnà \quad jèlè\]

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 Shongholo – 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. The Gubno Tagonro accepted, saying that worshipping was not a difficult thing, and that they had hard things to take care of.

[36] *shí nèe dàgà nàn, kìmú Fòjòràk yàa pìmèn*

that is from here also Fojojak 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 rii múnín wè shìnà tì shìnì*

because REL in giving thing eating in 3PL

**kúllúm**

always from here for let 3PL Fojojak say

**mìmmín Bòrnó Shònghlò yàa tòò 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 sáí mòo Fòjòràk yàa pìmè.**

worship-DEM.PROX.REL 3M in do only let Fojojak do 3PL

[40] *Gùbnò Tágòŋrò yà pìmù shiligùn sáafì pié-m,*

Gubno Tagonro say 3PL difficult worship 3PL-NEG

[41] *dìn shìn kàn wè yànì néná shiliibii*

because 3PL with thing doing as hard

**nînó-n dîŋ.**

person-GEN black
After that, the Fojorak were given the right of worshipping idols, therefore the Gubno Tagonro became the ‘Chief House’. Again, any person who came to Kushi had to be initiated by the Gubno Tagonro. Then, people started to come and gather in Kushi and the Gubno gave everybody some task concerning worshipping, that is why the Gubno Tagonro were the ‘Chief House’.

[Sannan] Fojorak in minin sāafī yè=yàà -jì after Fojorak SUBJ give worship that 3M

yè rì yàà tée Gubnò Tágòŋrò dúk [hár shini] in do DEM Gubno Tagonro all up to 3PL

Gubnò 'in shiwó-jú Gùp mínà. [Yànzù dúk] Gubno SUBJ become-ICP3PL chief house Now all

biràŋ niyò yè tá wáró biràŋ Gùbnò rì minin again person REL FUT come again Gubno in give

shùrán shi-jù yè rá yànì. [dàgà nàn khà tè] work 3PL REL FUT doing from here at these

hár mimmin wánàtùn 'in gàli tì Gòjì [hár] up to people come SUBJ gather in Kushi up to

Gùbnò 'in gwàrán shùrán-nini ti kirè wàndà kóonòŋ Gubno SUBJ divide work-them in hand rel every

tá yànì [shì nèe] dàlìli 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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And this is the reason for which any person practising a cult must ask to the Gubno. One day the white man came to Kushi 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.

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

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[53] wànnà tà shìnì kààfìn Gùbnò tì Shònghlò́ ʼin
come on 3PL before Gubno in Shonglo SUBJ

fóotìn dâgà shìnì kúwá sái Fòlòghbè yè wànnà
reach from 3PL also until Fologhbe REL come

tì Búràk kàn Dàrà, [54] sânnán ʼin fóotìn tàa màa
in Burak with Dara after SUBJ reach in DEM

Yàmè kàn Pèwrâŋ yè shànà shè-jú tì Bènyé kàn
Yame with Pewrang REL come DEM-3pl in Benye with

Yàmè [55] [shi nèe]9 wè nè pènà tì fòo dìiyó
Yame 3M COP thing 1SG know.PERF in mouth stay

Gòjì kàn pirèe wànnà
come from.

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

9 Hausa
References: