



THE KUSHI / GOJI

A collection of ethnographic and historical data from fieldwork 1989-1993

Series

Ethnographic and Historical Profiles of the Peoples of the Muri Mountains
- The Northern Groups

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The Kushi/Goji

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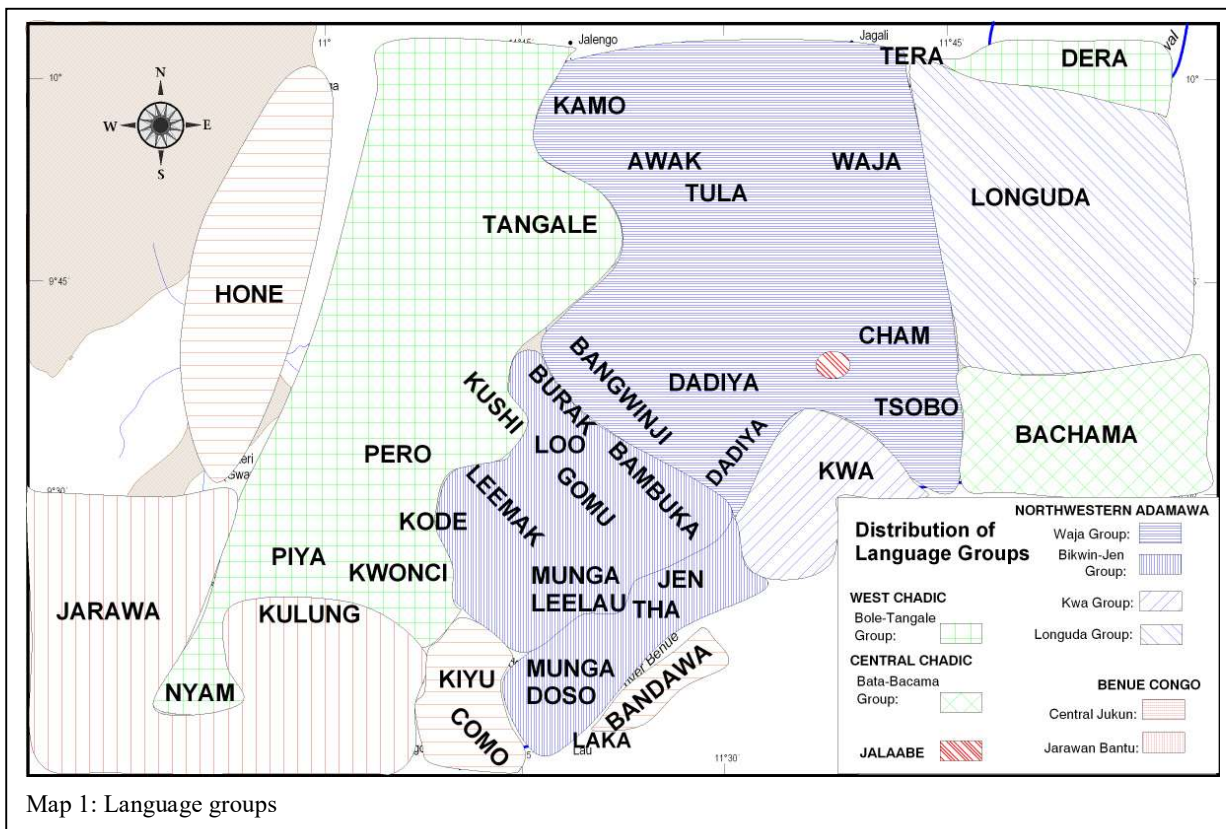
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Introduction

Ethnographic field research was undertaken within the framework of the interdisciplinary research project "Cultural Development and Language History in the Environment of the West African Savannah" (SFB 268) in the years 1989 to 1993. The information provided below reflects the situation at that time.¹

The Kushi [kuh]² live in the northern part of the Muri Mountains. They call themselves Góji; their language is classified as a member of the southern Bole-Tangale group of the West Chadic languages (Blench 2022b).

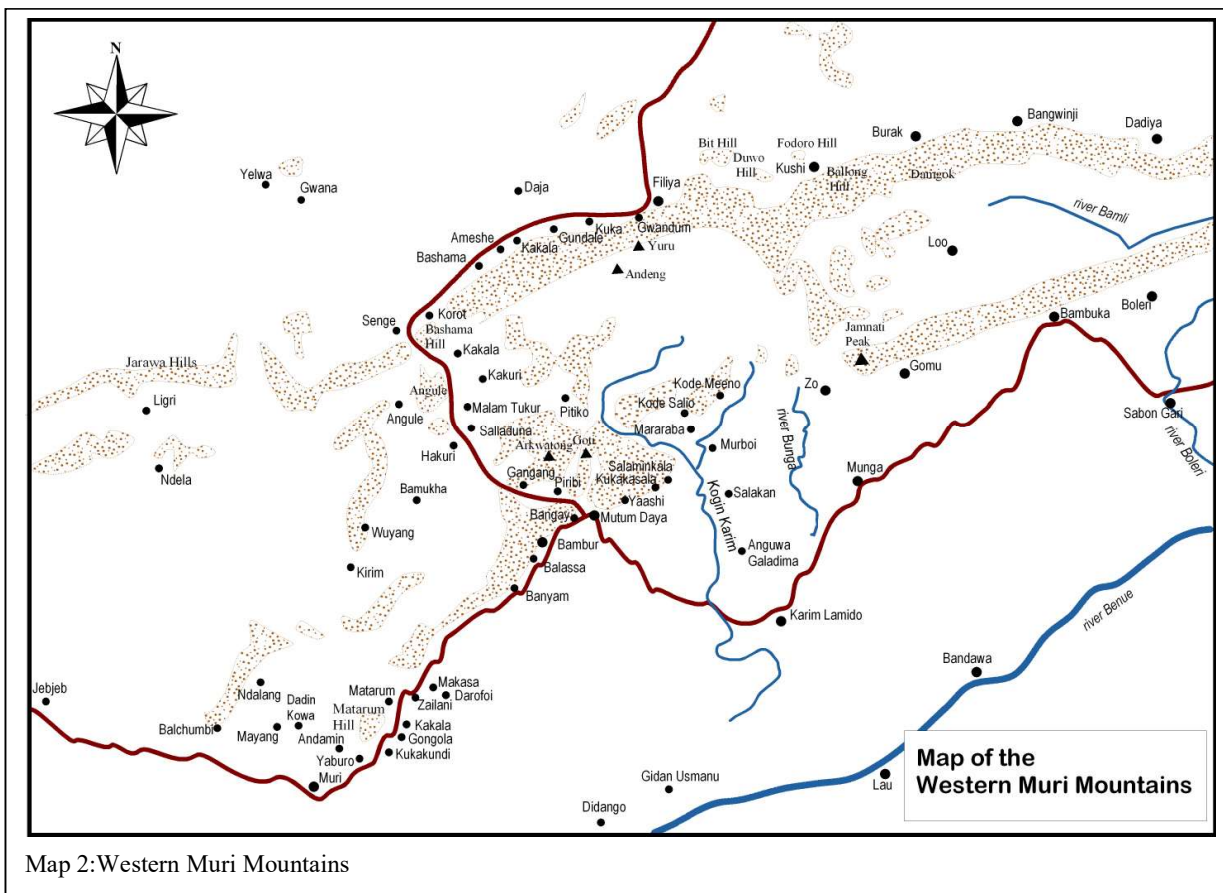


¹ I am grateful to Chief Ishauku Yarima (VH Kushi), Alim Jerma, Audu Mairei Jerama, Bayam Dankau, Dan Kombo Jerma, Dan Ladi Kado, Garba, Jamsi Maidoki, Kabas Dungu, Kure Taduro, Pepa Dugo, Waziri and Yaaro Jawro for their co-operation during my research. My special thanks go to Dauda Modi and Samson Waziri for their untiring and invaluable assistance. I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English. This treatise is dedicated to the memory of Samson Waziri, a good friend and true Kushi warrior who left us much too early.

² The ISO 639 designations of languages are given in square brackets.

Settlement area and demography

At the time of research there were 561 taxpayers registered at Kushi;³ that may be extrapolated to a population figure of about 5,000-6,000 people; a more reliable figure, based on the population census of 1991, is given by Brunk (1994: 70-71) with 6,952 inhabitants for the Kushi Village Area.⁴



Map 2: Western Muri Mountains

There is no single settlement called Kushi, but Kushi consists of a conglomeration of five major villages Káurì, Kòmmò, Díràng, Gómlè and Làpàndíntàì, which are again subdivided into wards. A sketch map showing the various settlements and which clans are living there can be found in the appendix. In addition, people from other ethnic groups are living in several hamlets.⁵

³ Tax Payers List of 30th September 1989.

⁴ In the ethnographic survey by CAPRO (1995:147) a population figure of 11,000 is given without referencing a source; this number seems to be too high.

⁵ The following is largely taken from Adelberger, Brunk & Kleinwillinghöfer 1993: 19-23

The territory claimed by the Kushi is much larger than the one being defined as their present Village Area, since they claim their western boundary to be at Gwandum along a stream called

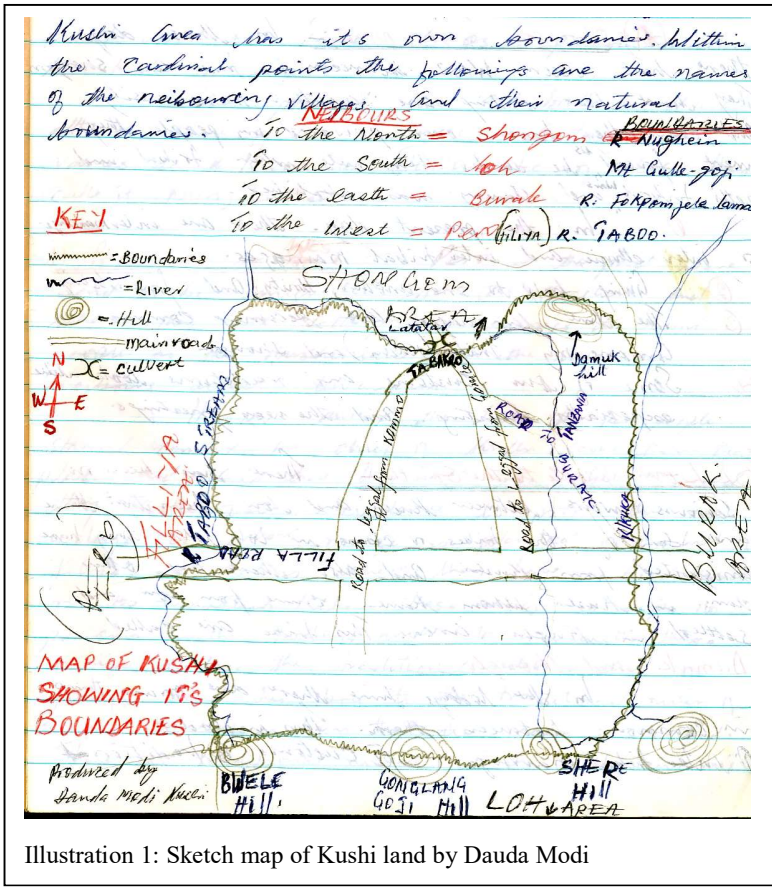


Illustration 1: Sketch map of Kushi land by Dauda Modi

Angpandi; a claim which will be highly objected by the Pero, as this would put their major settlement Filiya into the area of Kushi. The Kushi, however, defend their claim by pointing out that they once conquered that area in an inter-tribal fight subjugating the Pero of Filiya. The boundary to the north, towards the Shongom-Tangale, is said to be marked by a stream called Taberebere and to the south by a hill named Kubweyo. The eastern boundary is disputed. In pre-colonial times the settlements of the Burak presently living in this area were confined to the Loo Basin within the

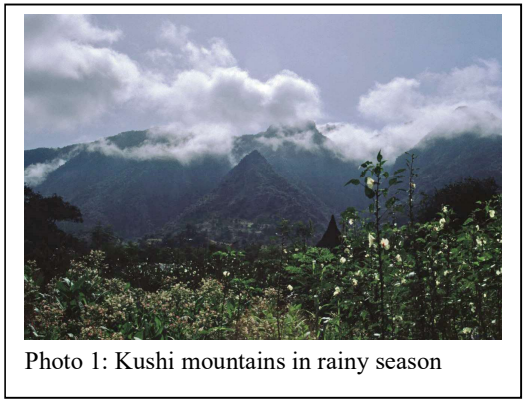


Photo 1: Kushi mountains in rainy season

Eastern Muri Mountains, thus the territories of Kushi and Bangwinji were adjoining each other without any of the modern Burak settlements in between. While the Kushi claim this former boundary to have been along the small stream at Deejam, the Bangwinji place it more westerly at the two hills, Kwi Kulu and Kwi Layira, close to the present Burak hamlet of Layara (or Layira), better known by its Hausa name Kwanan Kuka. Each of the claims would put the area

of the Burak within the confines of their own territory.

The present settlements of the Kushi form an almost continuous chain along the northern foothills of the Chonge-Mona Range, consisting of several distinct and named units, each subdivided again into smaller (and also named) wards. From east to west the major settlement units are Gomle, Dirang, Kommo, Kauri and Dem or Lapandintai, with Tatamatinyak and Ladongor as minor hamlets attached.

Kauri is the administrative and economic centre of the Kushi; it is the residence of the Village Head, a small market is held on Fridays and also a borehole has been constructed which, however, has dried up shortly after its installation in 1985. There are primary schools in Gomle and in Lapandintai and the one in Gomle was the first in the whole of Chonge District, founded around 1960.

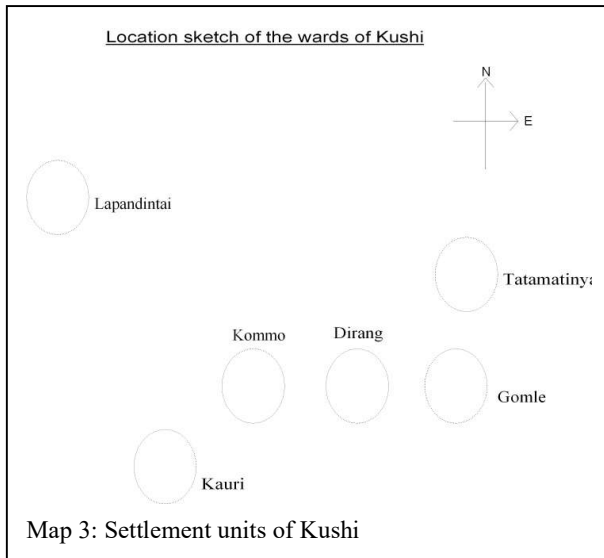
The names of the hamlets and their wards are mostly derived from names of persons, trees or plants which are/were prominent in that area, natural features of the environment, or incidents having happened there. At Gomle, the wards called Danɓani and Tagerek mean "field of Baobab" and "place of slopes" respectively, another ward is called Fodunruŋ, meaning "place of hole in rock", where tobacco was pounded in round holes in the rock, a kind of natural mortars formed by weathering, and still another is called Fodono Angamaŋ, Angamaŋ being the name of a person having dug a well here. The following are explanations of place names, roughly following an east to west axis:

Table 1: Kushi place names

Major settlement unit / village	Sub-unit / ward	Comments
Gomle		just a name
Gomle	Danɓani	"field of Baobabs"
Gomle	Tagerek	"place of slopes"
Gomle	Fodunruŋ	"place of hole in rock"
Gomle	Fodono Angamaŋ	Angamaŋ was a man having dug a well here
Gomle	Fogbwem	"mouth excretion of earth worm", earth worms are common here
Gomle	Tatarar	sp. herb
Gomle	Danduro	<i>duuro</i> is the name for Bambara nut
Gomle	Danjido	<i>jido</i> is the name for sausage tree
Gomle	Tadang	<i>d'ang</i> is a special herb
Tatamatinyak		<i>tinyak</i> is the name for finger millet
Tabagooro		<i>bagooro</i> is a plant, in Hausa called <i>farin ginya</i> (?).
Dirang		"locust tree"
Dirang	Cibna Em	<i>em</i> means bracelet; an old woman retrieved her bracelet there
Dirang	Beng	"edge"
Dirang	Tajangwaari	<i>jangwaari</i> means shelter
Dirang	Tudu	Hausa for 'high ground' or 'hill'
Kommo		just a name
Kommo	Kulou	<i>kulou</i> is the name for black plum tree
Kommo	Doruwa	from <i>d'oorawa</i> , Hausa for locust tree
Kommo	Forijia	"mouth of well"
Kommo	Kugera	"clay of pots"
Kommo	Tajen	<i>jen</i> is the name for a certain tree
Kommo	Lagbani	derived from <i>bani</i> meaning baobab
Kauri		just a name
Kauri	Dongor	equivalent to the Hausa <i>kan tudu</i> (on the hill))
Kauri	Tajir	name for gamba grass
Kauri	Tagawur	name for whitethorn tree
Kauri	Bani	baobab tree
Kauri	Dangwushi	"sandy-loamy soil"

Dəm / Lapandintai		Dəm is the name of a hill, Lapandintai is probably a Tangale expression [<i>la-pandim tai</i>] meaning "stone/mountain of red"
Dəm / Lapandintai	Fovare	"place of billy-goat"
Dəm / Lapandintai	Berer	name for West African ebony tree
Dəm / Lapandintai	Voodəm	means "down the hill of Dəm", voo is a term from the Loo language
Dəm / Lapandintai	Kumadungul	means "under the Dungul hill", Dungul being a small hill to the north

There is good farmland at Gomle and the people fetch their water from the Tashwana, Birango and Fodafula streams. Those people living in the hillside wards have little farmland there, therefore they have most of their fields on the plain;



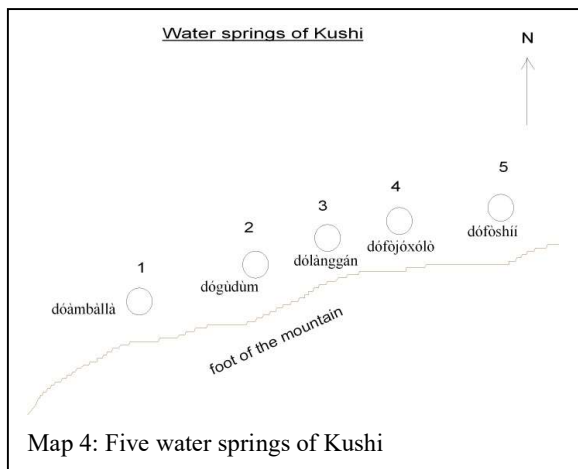
they fetch their water from five springs/ponds stretched out along the foothills or from the perennial stream Aak near Fogbwem.

They have good farmland at Dirang-Ladongor but a shortage of water and people fetch their water from the streams Shawani and Tashwana streams in the Gomle area, approximately 1 km away.

There is good farmland at Kommo too and people fetch their water from the Baghab, Galwang and Leng streams.

There is also good farmland at Kauri and people fetch their water from the five springs/ponds or from the Galwang and Baghab streams. A bore-hole was installed in about 1985, but due to a broken pump it is dysfunctional.

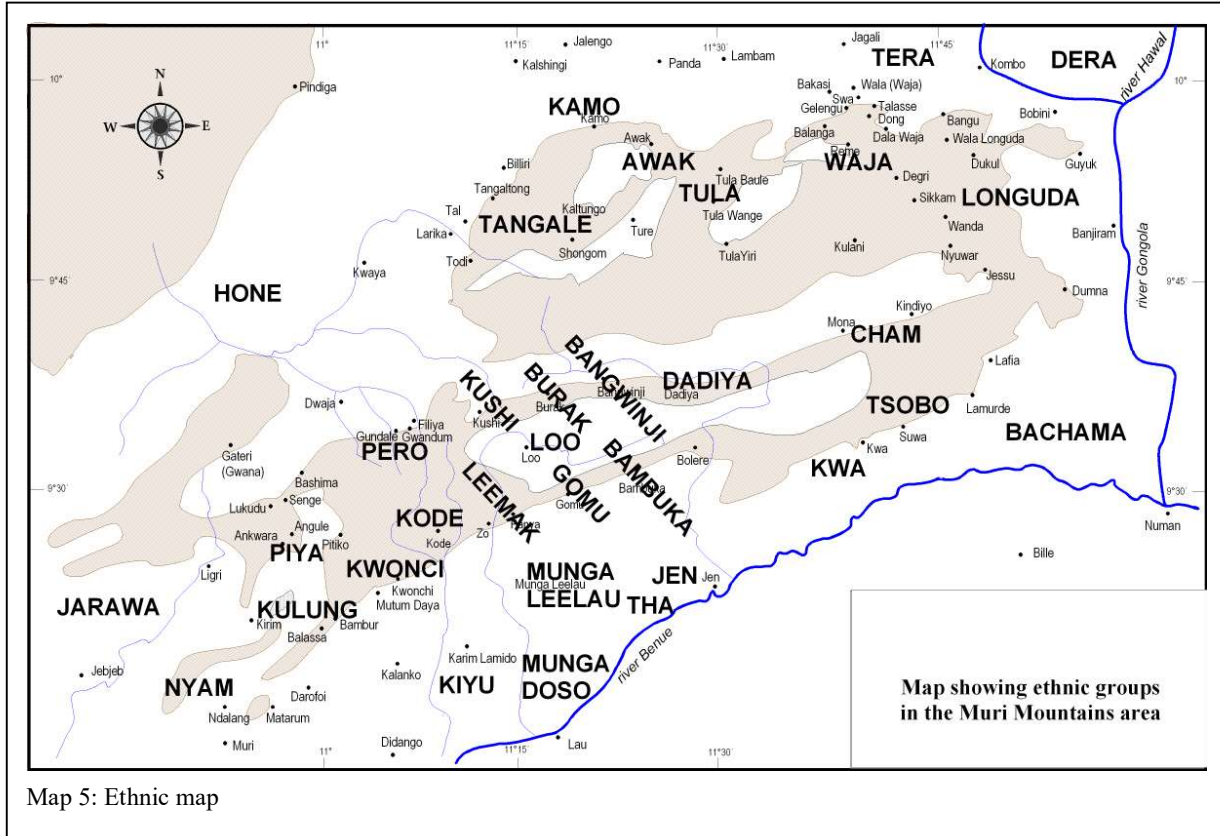
The soil is suitable for farming at Dem/Lapandintai, but there is a lack of water as the only source of water are the Tabo and Pajuk streams. The Folokhbe clan was first to settle there under the leadership of Bodawurin, who left his village Dengen because his elder brother Jeldam had been accused of witchcraft and killed.



There is good farmland at Tabagoro and Tatamatinyak, the people living there fetch their water from the Aak stream together with the inhabitants of Fogbwem and Dangbani.

Interethnic relations

Their neighbours to the north are the Shongom-Tangale [tan], to the east the Burak [bys], to the



south the Loo [do] and to the west the Pero [pip].

In general, the Kushi have cordial relationships with the neighbouring ethnic groups such as the Pero, Billiri-Tangale,⁶ Burak, Loo or Kode and they intermarry with them. The Kushi and the Pero join each other's annual *dabang* celebrations, but there were also conflicts between the groups. The same is true for the Loo, with whom the Kushi intermarry; it is said that there was a dispute more than 80 years ago that developed over the offspring of a marriage between a Kushi man and his Loo wife, who had returned to Lo and gave birth there. The Kushi claimed that child and fighting ensued, eventually the Kushi took the child whose name was Jàppàrò.

During a feud between the Jukun of Gwana and those of Pindiga, the Kushi sided with the Gwana.

There are said to be close ties, based on historical relations, linking different ethnic groups on the level of descent units or clans: between the Gbaya (Pero), the Kwaya (Billiri-Tangale) and the Yange (Kushi) clans, between the Anyakhakharad (Pero) and the Gubno (Kushi) clans, and between the Dagam (Pero) and the Pewurang (Kushi) clans.

⁶ The relations with the Shongom- and Kaltungo-Tangale were, however, less cordial in the past.

Table 2: Kushi names for neighbouring ethnic groups

Ethnic group	Kushi name
Bambuka	Bamvukha
Bangwinji	Jàngà
Burak	Bùùrák
Dadiya	Dadíya
Fulani	Antangga
Gomu	Shaghmu
Jukun	Kpana
Kode	Dara
Kwonci	Fulan
Leemak (of Panya)	Shaghmu
Loo	Shòngò
Pero	Fòwéérò
Piya / Wurkun	Kulung
Tangale (of Billiri)	Yòngè

History

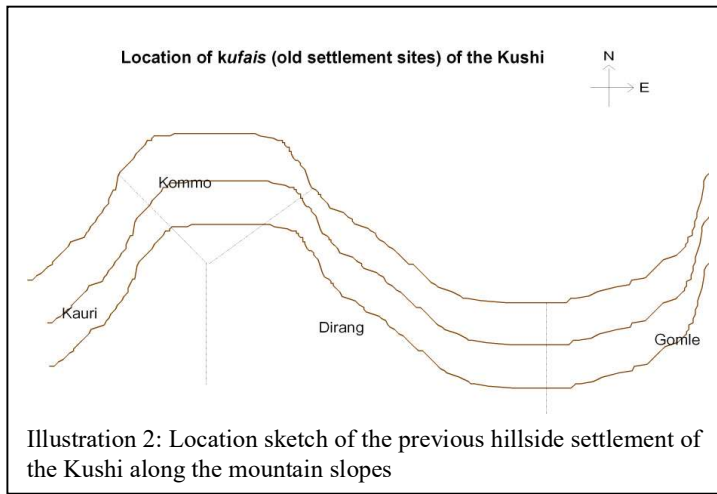
Pre-colonial migrations and movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period⁷

In general, the Kushi claim to have ultimately come from Bornu, (a putative origin widespread in the region), by way of Pindiga, thereby associating themselves with these historical centres of power. When taking into consideration their constituent sub-units, a more realistic picture emerges. The Kushi are composed of several patrilineal descent groups or clans with diverse historical backgrounds, and the history of the people identifying themselves as Kushi cannot be understood adequately without reference to these clans. According to their traditions, of all the descent groups of the Kushi, only one (the Fojorak) is autochthonous, the others are said to have come from different places (see chapter “Clans”).

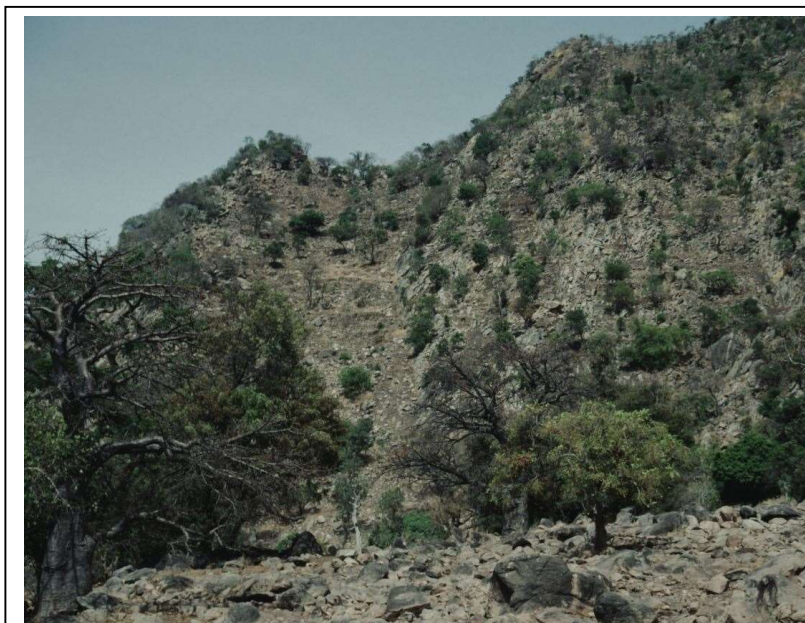
In their majority, they came from or via hills located to the north of Kushi area, (Shonglo, Yange and Shirang), or from neighbouring ethnic groups to the south or southeast. The reasons stated for leaving their original places were armed conflicts, epidemics, lack of land and water or harassments by wild animals. There is no indication at which time the various migrations took place and when the different groups had assembled at Kushi area. However, the names of ten chiefs ruling successively are still known, which would date the first known chief at the utmost to the end of the 18th century when allowing 25 years for each reign.

⁷ The following is largely taken from Adelberger, Brunk & Kleinwillinghöfer 1993: 19-27

When the British first came into this area in 1909 (cf. NAK SNP 7 -5093/1907; NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909), the settlement units of the Kushi were situated on the lower parts of the steep northern slopes of the Chonge-Mona Range. Close to each other lay - from east to west - Gomle, Dirang, Kommo and Kauri. The compounds were erected on terraces made of dry-stone walls.



The area at the lower slopes and in the plains was used for cultivation. It was only under outside pressure that the Kushi left their mountain dwellings. During the earlier phase of British colonial government, they were left undisturbed and it was relatively late that they were forced to move down-hill in 1949. They first established their hamlets halfway down on the lower elevations at the



foot of the hills, but had to move further to the plain land after having been checked by the authorities a year later. The movements were done more or less based on clan relations, i.e. lineages or parts of clans who were co-resident moved to their new locations together and established the first homesteads. Subsequently other descent groups joined these "initial core hamlets" and later on

the more distant hamlets such as Lapandintai or Ladongor were founded. The movements took place within a relatively short space, the distance between the place of an old settlement and its new offshoot being a matter of only one or two kilometres. This small distance implies that the same resources (land, water) were utilised from both the old and the new places of settlement.

Relations with the Fulani emirates⁸

The Bauchi Emirate was founded by Yakubu, who had already received a flag from Uthman dan Fodio prior to 1804. In 1809 Bauchi town was founded and in the following years a vast area, including the Wurkun hills in the western Muri Mountains, down to the rivers Benue and Gongola, was conquered. Yakubu pitched a war camp in front of Bambur Hill, (McBride, n.d.:15; Fremantle 1972:27) and it is said that he destroyed Kode and Gomu and received slaves as a sign of submission, but no regular tribute was paid.⁹ Under Yakubu's successors, however, the control over the subject peoples weakened, especially under Umaru (1883–1902). The region inhabited by non-Muslim peoples in the south of Bauchi Emirate was a regular target for slave raids (Yakubu 1992:147).

Although suffering from the various raids, and at least being nominally under the administration of the Emirate of Muri, parts of the populations were able to retain their independence. It is said that the Wurkun groups were never successfully subjugated by the Fulani.¹⁰ Many groups were strong enough to be able to disrupt trade routes. For instance, the German traveller Eduard Vogel noted in 1855 that the road from Muri to Yola was blocked by the Bachama, who had already defeated the troops of the Emir of Adamawa. It seems that they were supported by troops of the Shehu of Borno (Vogel 1858:32).

The military strategy of the Fulani emirates was largely based on their cavalry, with noble horsemen leading the attacks (Marjomaa 1998:218–19, 232–34, 254–56; Smaldone 1977:29–32). Mounted warriors could employ their military tactics to great effect on the undulating plains of the Northern Nigerian savannah, but could not exploit their superiority in the craggy and hilly landscape of the Muri Mountains area nor in other mountainous regions. The inhabitants of the plains surrounding the hills, especially in the Tula area, built defensive stone walls and thorn hedges, which were successfully used to check attacks by horsemen. As a protective measure, the villages were strategically well-placed in the steep and rocky hills. Usually, they were protected by stone walls and could only be reached through narrow, winding paths, partly obstructed by gateways. These could be well defended against emirate raiders, even if they approached armed with rifles.

Firearms were part of the weaponry of the emirate forces, especially since the middle of the 19th century, but since they were of the front-loader musket type and, compared with contemporaneous European standards, few in numbers, their effect was mostly psychological inducing fear through their loud discharge. The arms of the mountain dwellers consisted of spears with varying,

⁸ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

⁹ NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton.

¹⁰ NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

often quite vicious, tips, bows and arrows, the latter often poisoned, daggers, short swords and clubs. For protection, shields made of buffalo hide and elephant ears were used.

Thus, although the different emirates exercised considerable pressure by undertaking frequent raids on the population groups of the wider Muri Mountains area and adjacent regions, their control of the area was rather loose and varied over time. Supported by a suitable terrain, the mountain dwellers could successfully defend themselves or were able to withdraw into even more inaccessible regions. The acephalous nature of their societies and the existence of a multitude of factions on the one hand made it difficult to form alliances for more successful defence, on the other hand the subjugation of a single community did not entail the conquest of any wider political network.

Mountain dwellers, such as the Awak, Cham, Dadiya or Pero, were able to retain their independence against the Fulani (Temple 1922: 34, 87, 88, 365).

Colonial encounters¹¹

A combined patrol of forces from Gombe and Muri, with officers from both provinces, toured the Muri Mountains proper in May and June 1909.¹² They went along the northern edge, then crossed the hills to the south and returned along its southern edge. Several places in that mountain refuge were visited for the first time. At Gomu a violent conflict arose which resulted in about 30 Gomu being killed. The Gomu warriors were defeated at the same place where they had beaten the Fulani forces years before.¹³ The proclaimed intention of the patrol was to bring the area under control and to stop offences being committed on traders disturbing the important trading centre of Lau.

On 20th April 1909 Colour Sergeant Bailey, with 22 rank and file, left Nafada and marched via Deba Habe, where they joined Assistant Resident of Gombe Carlyle, to the Jukun town of Gateri where they arrived on 28th April. Here they expected to meet with the party from Muri Division, but, due to an illness of the Assistant Resident Fitzpatrick, the meeting was delayed. Eventually on 12th May they were joined by Resident Lau Division K. V. Elphinstone, Assistant Resident

¹¹ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

¹² NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi: Extract from report on Wurkum Patrol, 1st July 1909 by Elphinstone; NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909:

- Report by Col. Sergeant C. Bailey 15th June 1909,
- Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909,
- Extract from report from AR Gombe to Resident Bauchi by Lt. Hugh de Putron, OC Nafada.

¹³ NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi. NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909. NAK Yola Prof Acc. 15, Misc. Papers re Wurkum and Muri 1912: Gwomu District Wurkum Country Assessment Report Nov. 1912 by AR T. H. Haughton.

NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton.

Brice-Smith and Lieutenant Feneran with 54 rank and file. The combined patrol left Gateri on 14th May.

From here they first marched east and then south along the boundary line on which, however, both parties had differing views. That stretch of country was covered for the first time by a British patrol. They first visited the Pero settlements of Gwandum and Filiya, and Elphinstone remarked that he was repelled especially by the Pero. As the Pero and Tangale claimed the same saltings on the river, that topic was discussed during the visit by the Galadima of Tangale and Sarkin Filiya. The next settlements they reached were Kushi and Burak. The Burak expressed their contentment with the new administration protecting them against the neighbouring Loo and Pero, and they prepared a road to Gomu. Then the patrol continued to Loo, Gomu and Bambuka. Bambuka had been visited by W. P. Hewby in 1900, (he was an agent of the Royal Niger Company on the Benue and, later, Resident of Benue province), and the Bambuka were said to have been subject to the Emir of Yola. Recently there had been a series of disputes between the Gomu and the Bambuka. When the patrol approached Bambuka, the people, armed with spears and shields, were working in the fields, and, at first, they assumed that the patrol were Gomu warriors. To settle the discord, Resident Elphinstone decided on a fine of spears and shields from both groups, but the Gomu resented the fine. After waiting for one day, the patrol marched into Gomu town on 25th May. Half way up the pass the force was met by the Gomu ready to defend their town, so the soldiers fired two volleys at them and fighting ensued, in which the Gomu were joined by the Loo who were their allies. At the end there were 31 Gomu killed and 19 wounded, and one Loo killed and 9 wounded, with no casualties on the British side.

The patrol continued to Kode. They considered the Kode people to be at a low stage of development but friendly and co-operative. Then they passed through Panya, Bambur and Kwonchi without incident and continued to Pitiko, Bashima, Kirim, Balassa, Ankwara and Batingo. The inhabitants of these settlements were considered to be friendly with the exception of those of Angule. Angule had been burnt three times and fought twice in the past, but now the inhabitants showed no resistance. The patrol did not collect the full amount of tribute, and nothing was given to the Emir of Muri as they felt he had not earned it, for the villages were not administered by him. Although the district had been placed under the Emir by the British administration in 1900, he had never visited it.

The route taken by the patrol was determined to be impractical and it was recommended that it should never be taken again.

On 27th May the two parties split and the Gombe party proceeded to Tangale country, arriving at Nafada on 14th June.

From November 1910 until January 1911 an extensive patrol under Assistant Resident Carlyle and Captain Wolseley traversed the countries of Waja, Tula and Tangale and marched through hitherto untouched areas in the north-eastern parts of the Muri Mountains. In addition, Longuda

country, which had only been marginally touched by the patrols in 1904 and 1906, was further explored. Fighting broke out with the previously unvisited Kindiyo (Cham) and Bangwinji, which left one Kindiyo and 12 Bangwinji dead, several wounded and the obligatory burnt compounds. The so-called 'pacification' of local conflicts in the Tangale settlement of Tal led to the destruction of a village and the death of one man.¹⁴

Assistant Resident Carlyle left Deba Habe on 17th November 1910 and went via Panda, Ture and Kaltungo to Tangaltong, where he arrived on 20th November and built his camp at Tal. The objectives of his patrol were to settle friction in the Tangaltong area, to enquire into disturbances in the Waja area and to arrange the boundary with Yola Province.

A faction fight in Kamo in which one man was killed was also settled by Carlyle through the payment of compensation. As the military escort had not yet arrived, Carlyle accomplished his tasks in Tangale country without military support.

On 3rd December Carlyle arrived at the Waja town of Gelengu where he was joined a day later by a force of 41 rank and file and a Maxim gun under the command of Captain Wolseley and accompanied by the Medical Officer of Nafada Dr. Lobb.

At Gelengu arrests were made in connection with a recent attack on the District Headman and the quarters of the guilty persons were destroyed.

The patrol started towards Cham country on 7th December, visiting Degri on the way and then Sikkam, which they left on 9th December 1910, then proceeding via Nyuwar to Kindiyo, which is one of the main settlements of the Cham. Here they stayed until 11th December. Carlyle observed that the plain between the Muri Mountains range and Tangale country was full of elephant and big game and a portion was infested with tse-tse fly. He stated that the Cham had been driven out of Degri by the Fulani. This, however, is doubtful, as all evidence suggests that the Cham were pushed to their current territory by the Waja. According to Carlyle, Kindiyo was once visited by officers from Yola Province in 1906; Mona and Dadiya, however, had never been visited by British officers before.

Then the patrol marched along the foot of the mountain range to Mona.

The Cham people had been told to clear the road to Mona, but at Kindiyo the inhabitants of a small hamlet consisting of four compounds refused and even stopped other Cham from doing it. As a warning Carlyle had one compound burnt. This made the Kindiyo men pick up their arms, one arrow was shot and as a result the archer was killed. Then the rest of the compounds were burnt.

¹⁴ NAK SNP 7 - 5401/1910, Waja District, Escort to Tangale Patrol:

- Report of November 26, 1910 by Assistant Resident Carlyle, Assistant Resident Deba Habe to the Resident Gombe. The Tangaltong group of Tangale

- Assistant Resident Carlyle to Resident Gombe. Waja - Tangale Patrol

- Tangale - Waja - Longuda Patrol by Capt. E. J. Wolseley

NAK SNP 7 - 1881/1911, Bauchi Province Annual Report 1910. NAK SNP 7 - 952/1911, Bauchi Province Quarterly Report ending December 1910.

The patrol stayed at Mona and went to Dadiya on 12th December where they were welcomed. On 14th December they proceeded to Bangwinji (or Kwim, as it is called in the report, Kwim being the Dadiya name for Bangwinji), where they camped at the foot of the hills. Title holders from Dadiya, i.e. Sarkin Dadiya and Galadima of Dadiya, accompanied the patrol. As the inhabitants of Bangwinji refused to come down from their mountain settlements, the patrol climbed up the hill and warned the Bangwinji people to show no resistance. At 2.30pm, they advanced on the village on the summit of the hill, where two attempts were made to stop the patrol which were answered by gunfire leaving 12 Bangwinji dead and three wounded. Again, the violence may have been aggravated by local interests as the relationship between Dadiya and Bangwinji was strained. The chief of Dadiya served the patrol as guide and interpreter at Bangwinji, thus it is quite likely that he manipulated the situation to have the Bangwinji punished. Evidence from oral traditions supports this interpretation.

The patrol stayed at Bangwinji until 15th December. From here they marched on 16th December further in a westerly direction to Kushi and proceeded on 18th December to Filiya. At the Jukun town of Gateri (Gwana) a WAFF (West African Frontier Force) station was established. Carlyle pointed out that there was some friction between Filiya and Gwandum. Pero, Cham and Dadiya were told that they had to pay tribute for the years 1911–12.

From Filiya the patrol went to Tal on 20th December. At Tal “several outrages” had been committed, but the inhabitants behaved in a friendly manner to the patrol with the exception of one hamlet which was therefore destroyed. In the ensuing skirmish one Tangale was killed. The patrol remained at Tal until 25th December, then went back to Waja country halting at Ture on 25th, Tula Wange on 26th and arriving at Gelengu on 27th. From here they intended to meet Mr. Webster of Yola Province at Guyuk in order to delineate the border between Waja and Yola districts. Thus on 28th December they crossed the hills via Bungo and Wala to Guyuk, where they arrived on 31st December 1910. From Guyuk they proceeded southward along the ‘Yam Yam hills’, visiting various Longuda hamlets which they found to be mostly deserted. They stopped at Bobini on 3rd January 1911 and crossed the big range moving to south west with a detachment of 20 men. Here they visited some Longuda villages on the south-eastern side of the ‘Yam Yam hills’. On 4th January they returned to Guyuk and as Mr. Webster did not arrive, they proceeded to Kombo the next day and returned to Nafada on the same day, arriving on 15th January. The report sums up that in total 180 shots had been fired and no casualties had been suffered on the British side.

The major settlements of the various groups in and around the Muri Mountains had now all been visited by British patrols. However, local conflicts, refusal to pay tribute and highway robbery led to further patrols in the following years.

From January to April 1913 Assistant Resident Carlyle undertook another extensive patrol through the southern region of Gombe Division and he left a trail of destruction. A skirmish with the Pero at Gwandum resulted in 16 Pero being killed and four wounded and the destruction of

the settlement; Kindiyo was again destroyed, as was the Waja settlement of Wala and a part of Ture.¹⁵

The patrol, consisting of 30 soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Geoghegan, left Nafada on 21st January 1913 and marched via Tongo, Deba Fulani and Deba Habe to Panda, where they arrived on 26th January. They then went to Awak and Kamo and on the 30th back to Awak. Next day they proceeded to Ture where they stayed until 2nd February. On 3rd February they continued to Kaltungo and on 6th to Tal. A local fight which had occurred at the village of Larika in October 1912 had left two Tangale dead, thus a fine of 75 shields and 300 spears was imposed. Kalmei was fined 30 shields and 100 spears for an attack at Banganje.

On 11th February the patrol went to Filiya and Carlyle observed that no road clearing had been done. The chief of Filiya came in to meet him but the chief of Gwandum refused.

Thus, on the next day Carlyle, Lieutenant Geoghegan and 23 soldiers marched to Gwandum and climbed Gwandum hill. Carlyle estimated its population at 2,323 with 829 male adults. As the Gwandum people came close, the soldiers started shooting and a skirmish ensued. The patrol fired their way up to the top and destroyed the town. In the evening the chief of Gwandum came in and reported that 16 of his men were killed and four wounded.

The force returned to Filiya where they stayed until 17th February and ordered the road to be cleared as far as Bangwinji. On 18th they marched to Kushi, on 20th to Bangwinji and then to Dadiya. On 3rd March they continued to Mona and on 8th to Kindiyo. Because of a hostile attitude towards the British, a part of Kindiyo was destroyed on 12th March. Two days later they went to Jessu, then visited Nyuwar on 16th, Sikkam on 17th and Kulani on 19th March. On 21st they arrived at Degri and on the 22nd at the town of Wala, which was destroyed without opposition. Next day they went to Jalengo and on 25th March to Tula Wange. On 26th the patrol went by night to Ture in order to arrest some offenders. On 28th March a part of Ture was destroyed. The patrol returned to Panda and marched via Deba Habe, Deba Fulani, Tongo and Bage to Nafada, where they arrived on 2nd April 1913.

At the end of the year 1913, Assistant Resident Carlyle, who obviously believed in bringing in the taxes by force of a patrol, again made a tour through Waja, Cham and Longuda country. Kindiyo (Cham) refusing to pay its tax was involved in a clash and eight Kindiyo men were killed. At Jessu the headman's compound was burnt. With the help of 2,000 Waja and 1,000 Tula who were asked to gather, Kindiyo was then forced to bring in their tax.¹⁶

¹⁵ NAK SNP 10 - 263P/1913, Central Province - Gombe Division, Pagan tribes, Report by Mr. T. F. Carlyle on his visit to:

- South Gombe Pagan Patrol, January–April 1913, Diary of Itinerary by Lt. J. R. Geoghegan,
- To the Resident Central Province re Your 236/A and subsequent correspondence by AR Gombe T. F. Carlyle.

¹⁶ NAK SNP 10 - 745P/1913, Military Escort for Mr. T. F. Carlyle: From 3rd class Resident I/C Gombe Division to the Resident Central Province, Naraguta (by T. F. Carlyle).

Carlyle arrived at Nyuwar on October 29th 1913. The taxes from Dadiya, Tula and Tangale had been paid, and Nyuwar paid on the spot. He camped at Jessu and found that here no tax was paid. The Galadima was left to collect the tax and Carlyle proceeded on 31st October to Kindiyo, where he arrived on 1st November, which happened to be market day and therefore the efforts to collect money met with little success. He estimated Kindiyo to have 3,187 inhabitants. Tension started and in the night the inhabitants came and fired arrows. Next day Carlyle went to Mona. Mona paid their tax and Jessu also sent their tax to Mona. Carlyle sent for 12 soldiers and stayed the 4th to 5th November in Dadiya. The next eight days were spent preparing the road from Dadiya to Filiya, assisted by Dadiya and Tula Wange. He arrived at Kushi on 12th November and collected the tax from Pero. On 14th October Carlyle was joined by Haughton, Assistant Resident Lau Division Muri Province, and engaged in boundary demarcation from 15th to 21st November, which brought them to Lo and Bolere. On 18th November, at Lo, they were joined by 11 WAFF soldiers from Nafada. At Bolere they also met Mr. Ryan, 3rd Resident Numan Division Yola Province, who was there because the trade road to Lau via Bolere had been closed due to some incidents. Carlyle learnt that all Cham and Pero, except for Kindiyo, had paid their tax. He left Bolere on 24th November passing through the Tsobo towns of Suwa (or Wobongil) and arrived at Kindiyo on 25th November. He found the town deserted; all inhabitants had gone into hiding. He tried to locate the most truculent and found them hidden among rocks on a hill north of the town on 27th November. A fight broke out which left eight Cham dead and one wounded. He returned to the town and next day the headman came in and told him that he was trying to persuade the men to surrender. Carlyle moved to Jessu, where he stayed from 29th to 30th November and appointed the Galadima as the new chief, (the ex-headman was hiding, and his compound was therefore destroyed). On 1st December he returned to Kindiyo where the situation was unchanged, but when the various chiefs of Waja arrived with 2,000 men, all came in from their farms and paid their taxes. The Waja left on 3rd December when 1,000 Tula arrived and befriended the Cham people. The military escort left for Nafada on 5th December.

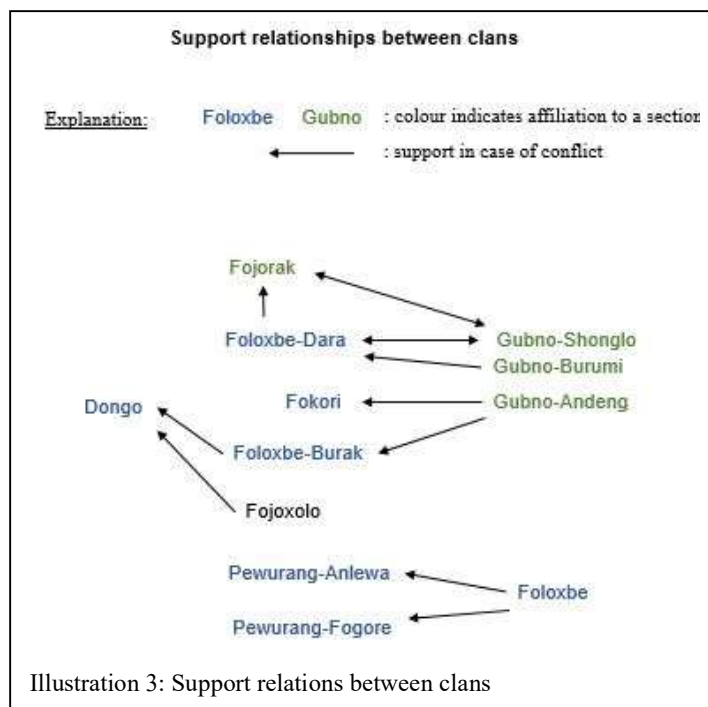
Social structure

The Kushi comprise a number of named, patrilineal descent units or clans (*fòpéré*). The clans, or major lineages, are partly subdivided into smaller units or lineages. Clans are not localised any more, but scattered in different hamlets. The most senior member of a clan is considered the head (*jiji*).

Clans

The clans, with the exception of the Fojoxolo, align themselves with either the Gubno or the 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 neighbouring Burak or Bangwinji because it does not find any expression in a spatial arrangement, but the clans mix freely in the present hamlets and wards as they used to in their former settlements. The division is based upon which of the two clans, Gubno or Foloxbe, were met first when arriving in Kushi area and thus are paid allegiance to. In the case of a conflict, usually clans of one section support another against those of the other section. However, due to historical relations, some clans have closer ties and support each other cutting across this sectional divide. For instance, the Gubno-Shonglo and Gubno-Burumi support the Foloxbe-Dara, while the Gubno-Andeng support the Foloxbe-Burak and the Fokori. The Yange support the Gubno as well as the Foloxbe.

The Fojoxolo stand alone and belong neither to the Gubno nor the Foloxbe section; they are



feared by the other clans, the reason being that they are in the possession of a powerful cult associated with the sowing of guinea corn. The illustration shows some of these relationships between a selection of clans.

Some informants maintain that this division has an impact on marriage regulations, that the divisions are exogamous and clans within the same section avoid intermarriages. However, the statements of other informants contradict this, as they even indicate marriage preferences

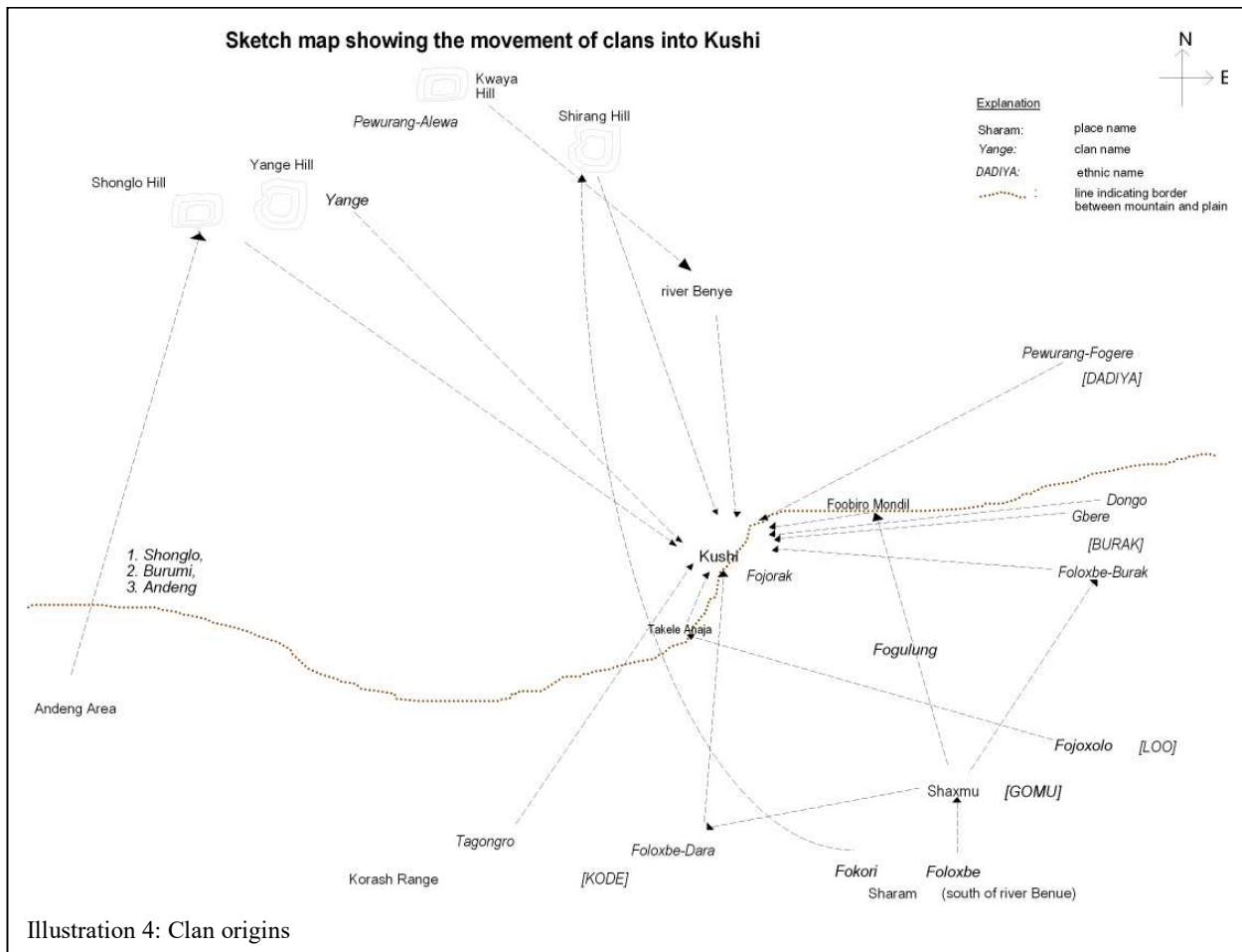
between certain clans belonging to the same section, for instance the Fojoxolo would prefer intermarriage with the Gubno and the Gbare.

Clan exogamy is practised, and if the historical relationship between clans is too close, intermarriage between them is avoided, for example between the Gubno and Gbare, or between the Foloxbe and Fokori. This is confirmed by census data.

This is a list of clans according to their supposed order of arrival in Kushi area:

1. Fòjòràk
2. Gùbnó and Gbáré
3. Fólóxóbè and Fókóri
4. Péwúràng
5. Fòjóxólò
6. Dóngò
7. Yángè

It may be assumed that those clans aligning themselves with the Gubno were originally groups speaking a Chadic language, while those aligning with Foloxobe were originating from one of the Adamawa speaking groups (e.g. Gomu, Burak, Loo or Dadiya) thus they must have spoken languages which belong to an entirely different language family. (Adelberger, Brunk & Kleinewillinghöfer 1993: 24).



The **Fòjòràk** are considered to be autochthonous to the area, where they lived on a mountain named Gùllé Gùshi near Kushi, their ancestor was called Dwííni. In other accounts their original

settlement site is called Ganagana located along a stream running between the *kufais* (Hausa: old settlement sites) of Dirang and Gomle. The Fojorak are in control of the practice of blacksmithing, anyone who wants to become a blacksmith has to ask them for permission and in return will give a calabash full of grain to the elder of the clan. The Fojorak have the ritual authority: being autochthonous, their idol is considered to be the most powerful; and they allocated idols to the incoming clans on their arrival.

The **Gubno** came from Shonglo Hill to the northwest of Kushi where they left because of constant armed conflicts with the Shongom-Tangale. Some of them went to Burak, some to Kushi. They consist of three sub-groups: the Shonglo, the Andeng and the Burumi. All three were originally from Mount Andeng to the west, but left that area at different times to settle at Shonglo Hill. The traditional chiefs (*gub minna*) of the Kushi come from the Gubno-Burumi; Burumi means "wooden sitting place" (or piece of wood to sit on), on which the chief sat at certain occasions.¹⁷ One of the two war leaders (*antoomgei*) is provided by the Gubno-Shonglo, the other by the Foloxbe-Dara; both always act together.

The **Gbare** came from Burak due to conflicts with the Dadiya and settled in the same location as the Gubno. For both clans the red monkey (*jambiri* in Hausa) is taboo and they both worship the same idol.

The **Foloxbe** consist of people from Kode and from Burak; those from Kode are called the Foloxbe-Dara, they left their place of origin due to an outbreak of smallpox; those from Burak are called the Foloxbe-Burak. Their ancestor was a warrior called Gùrágwì. Originally the Foloxbe came from Sharam in the south, then they split up at Gomu: one part went to Kode, another to Burak, and from here to Kushi.

The **Fokori** are descended from the Foloxbe, but have their own clan idol (*dodo*), so they chose a name of their own, otherwise they are together with the Foloxbe. The Fokori also originate from Sharam and left this place for Shirang Hill in the Tangale-Shongom area, from here they moved to Kushi to join their brethren.

The **Pewurang-Fogere** came from the Dadiya area, their ancestor was called Pinde; the **Pewurang-Anlewa** were from Kwaya, to the north of Kushi, where they left due to armed conflicts with the Jukun and first settled at the river Benye before moving further to Kushi.

The **Fojoxolo** are from Loo originally and first settled at a place called Takele Anaja behind the hill near Kauri, to the northwest of Kushi; they left because water was scarce and the land barren [Takele Anaja ("in frying pan bag [made of wooden fibre]"). Anaja was a Fojoxolo woman who rested there, which is how the place got its name. The Fojoxolo are in possession of a cult described as 'wicked spirit of guinea corn' that is considered to be dangerous, so they are fiercely

¹⁷ Such a wooden plank for the chief to sit on is also found with the neighbouring Bangwijini.

independent. They are the first to sow guinea corn, whoever is doing this before them must die.

Further, they provide the rain priest (*banghal*).

The **Dongo** also came from Burak because of conflicts with the Dadiya, but from another location than the Foloxbe-Burak. They brought the cult of *dabang* with them and provide the priests; it is a rain and fertility cult.

The **Yange** came from Yange Hill to the northwest of Kushi because elephants used to destroy their crops. An off-shoot of the Yange clan is found among the neighbouring Pero to where they migrated due to an internal dispute.

The **Fogulung** originally came from Gomu where they left due to famine and first settled at Foobiro Mondil, a hill in the Kushi range, before moving to Kushi.

The **Tagongro** came from Korash range close to Kode and left due to lack of water and good farmland.

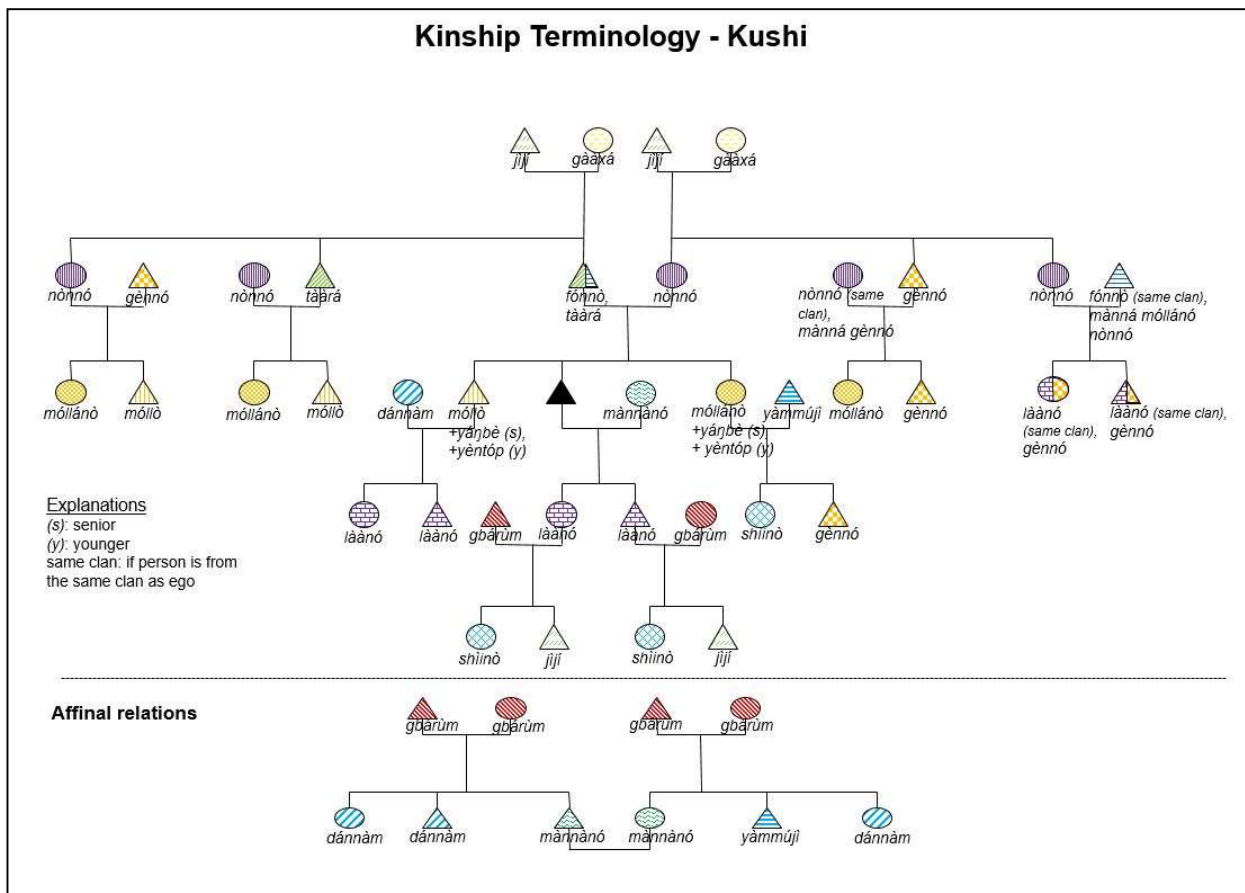
Table 3: Kushi clans

Clan	Lineage	Section	Origin	Comments
Dongo		Foloxbe	Burak	left due to fights with the Dadiya; have idol <i>Dàbàng</i> .
Fogulung		Gubno	Gomu or Lau (or Shonglo?)	left due to famine
Fojorak		Gubno	autochthonous	founder Dwíni, lived on mount Gùllé Gùshi /Gulle Goji on boundary with the Loo, or at Ganagana. Have most powerful idol called <i>Jùm</i>
Fojoxolo		-	Loo	leaders of <i>víyo</i> festival, have the <i>árpéshò</i> and <i>Tírsháu</i> idols; left due to lack of water & land
Fokori		Foloxbe	Sharam - Shirang Hill	the Fokori are descended from the Foloxbe. Sharam is said to be south of Lau (the Gomu call the Bandawa Shiram); reasons for leaving were fights, small-pox, lack of water & land
Foloxbe-Burak		Foloxbe	Sharam - Gomu - Burak	founder Gùrágwi, he introduced the <i>dabang</i> ritual from the Burak; reasons for leaving were fights, small-pox, lack of water & land. Have the <i>Pékash</i> idol
Foloxbe-Dara		Foloxbe	Sharam - Gomu - Kode	reasons for leaving were fights, small-pox, lack of water & land. Have the <i>Pékash</i> idol
Gbare		Foloxbe	Burak	left due to fights with the Dadiya. Have the same idol as the Gubno
Gubno		Gubno	Andeng, via Shonglo Hill	Shonglo is located NW of Kushi. Have the <i>Béégòn</i> and <i>Táu Fódiyù</i> idols
Gubno	-Shonglo	Gubno		left due to lack of water & land, fights with the Tangale
Gubno	- Andeng/ - Madeng	Gubno		left due to lack of water & land, fights with the Tangale
Gubno	-Burumi	Gubno		left due to lack of water & land, fights with the Tangale
Pewurang-Anlewa / Péwúràng-Alewa		Foloxbe	Kwaya via Benye river	Kwaya and river Benye are north of Kushi; left due to fights with the Jukun. Have the <i>Pòmúngàré</i> idol
Pewurang-Fogere		Foloxbe	Dadiya	founder Pinde, from the Dadiya-Looteni; left due to fightings between the Dadiya & Bangwinji. Have the <i>Pòmúngàré</i> idol
Tagongro		Gubno	Korash Hill	left due to lack of water & land
Yange		Gubno	Yange Hill	Yange is located NW of Kushi; left due to an infestation of elephants. Are priests of the <i>Jùm</i> idol, they were assigned this office by the Fojorak

Kinship terminology

The kinship terminology of the Kushi defies easy classification.

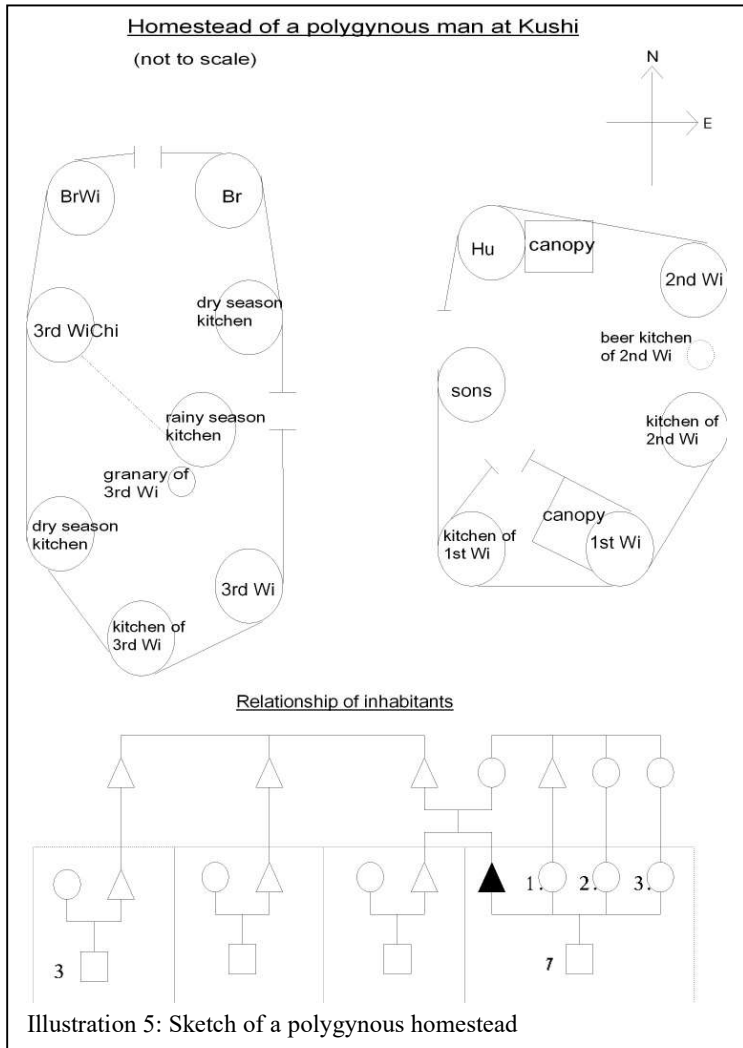
The terminology would qualify as a Hawaii system, where cousins are called by the same term as



siblings, only differentiated by gender, but because of the exceptions on the matrilateral side it does not completely fit this category.

In the first ascending generation it could be classified as a generational system (Fa=FaBr=MoBr, Mo=MoSi=FaSi), however, because the MoBr is termed differently, it is a bifurcate merging system on the matrilateral side.

Family



A core family consists of a man with his wives and children. In a polygynous household, the first wife is in charge of the supplies and distributes what is needed to the other wives. Each of the wives has her own kitchen, where she cooks for herself, her children and the husband every day. Each brings the meal for the husband to a place in the homestead where he sits. He has to eat from each of the meals, otherwise a wife will feel insulted. Each of the wives, as well as the husband, has her own granaries. None of the wives will enter another's house if she is not present in the dwelling. Traditionally, each wife had her own homestead, combining the houses into one homestead is rather recent and influenced by the Hausa way. Traditionally, women had no farms

of their own. When a couple married, the husband's father assigned a field for them to cultivate jointly. Separate fields for women are a new phenomenon. If women cultivate their own crops, they do this either on the land of their husband or on land given to them by their parents. Usufruct rights pass through the male line. Wives have to assist their husband on the farm. A husband must provide his wife/wives with basic foodstuffs such as millet, maize or peanuts; sauce ingredients and meat are the responsibility of the wives. A husband also has to provide the clothes, shoes and medicine for his wives and children. He must ensure that he treats his wives equally: if he buys clothes, he must buy the same amount, colour and quality for each of them. In the situation where both parents die, a paternal relative, often a brother of the father, will take care of the orphans. When a man dies, only his sons have an inheritance; if there are no sons, then his inheritance goes to his brothers. A woman has no property.

Marriage



Photo 3: Interior of a Kushi homestead, with resting place

Clan exogamy is practiced, the residence rule is viri-patrilocal. A matrilineal relative is only eligible for marriage if she is a 'cousin once removed', i.e. a descendant of the mother's parents' siblings. While there are said to be no marriage preferences, several instances of a marriage with a matrilineal relative were recorded. Marriage in general is called *dīyò* and there are different categories:

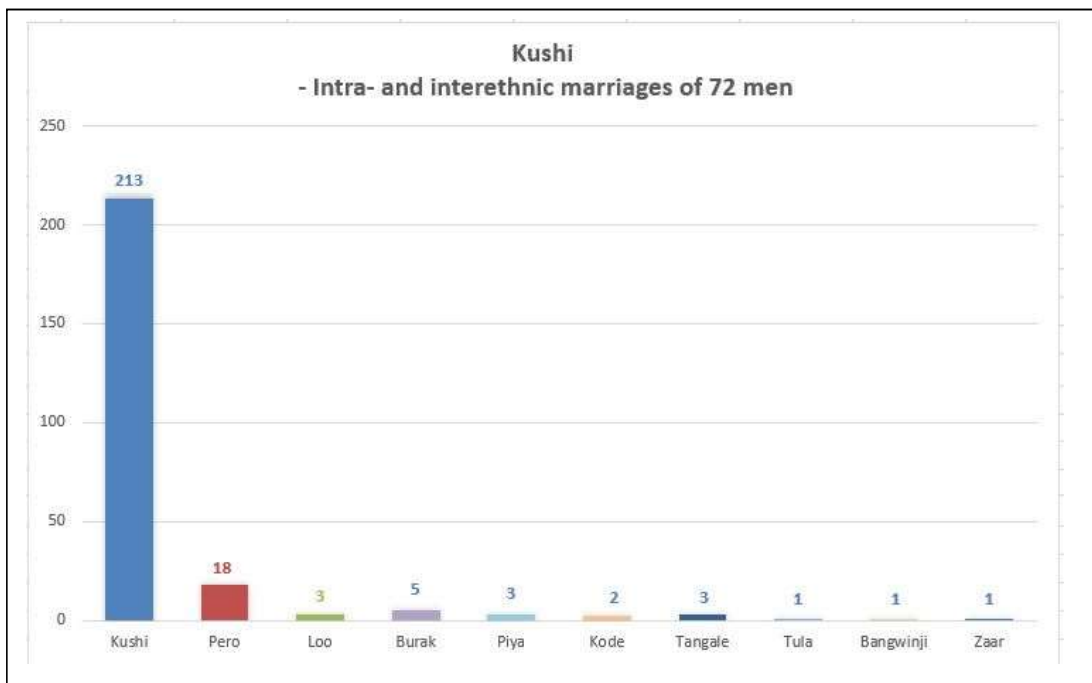
- *néwé dīyò*: man or woman marry for the first time; if a man marries a second (or any further) wife who has never married before, this is also called *néwé dīyò*.
- *péré dīyò*: one of the partners has already been divorced. When marrying a divorced woman, only about one third of the usual bride-price has to be paid. If she no longer has parents, the bride-price is paid to her paternal uncle (FaBr) or, if there is none, to any other patrilineal male relative. A full marriage ceremony may be conducted if the husband so wishes.
- *ríí tàminà*: levirate, a man 'inherits' the wife of his deceased brother, who may also be a classificatory brother, i.e. he is from the same clan. Usually, a senior brother marries the widow and adopts her children whom he regards like his own children. For such a marriage, there is no bride-price, only a chicken or a cock is tethered to the bed of the widow and then sacrificed to the clan idol (*kinnima*) of the deceased.
- *dīyò bàng*: marriage by elopement or abduction: a suitor runs away with a girl whose marriage to another man has already been arranged by her parents. If a bride-price had already been paid, then it is lost and the "kidnapper" is prepared to pay any penalty.

When a boy intends to marry a girl, he visits her father on his farm, explains himself to the father and helps him with his farm work. If the father accepts the help, he has also accepted the proposal. Then, in the dry season, the suitor must give his future father-in-law a share of the bag of his hunts and in the rainy season he will work on his farm. He will give the girl's father four bundles of guinea corn, two large calabashes of black sesame and two large calabashes of white sesame from his harvest. This can go on for three years. It is a precondition that both fathers, of the boy and the girl, agree to the marriage. Finally, the bride-price, which traditionally consisted of four chickens, is handed over to the girl's parents. On the very day of the marriage ceremony, the brothers of the husband go to the bride and carry her to the homestead of her husband. She holds a decorated walking stick (*shúgó*), which she has received from her friends, and pretends to protest. At the homestead, she spends the night at her husband's mother or sister's house. There is no period of seclusion and fasting for the couple as practised among neighbouring ethnic

groups. After the ceremony, the bride returns to her parent's compound for the duration of about one year. She will visit her husband for the night and bring him food. During this time, when she is at the homestead of her husband, she will not eat or drink in the presence of her parents-in-law. For the husband there is no such avoidance to observe, only millet porridge he may not eat in the presence of the wife's father, but he may consume meat or beer. During the time the bride still stays at her parent's homestead, she gathers items for her future household such as various pots, calabashes, baskets, etc., as well as a supply of guinea corn, groundnut and beniseed; in this task she is assisted in this task by her relatives (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92). After one year, when she finally moves into the compound of her husband with all her belongings, avoidance does not have to be taken into account any longer. It is said that in the past, the bride-price only consisted of four chickens, then 100 pieces of traditional money (*búmlùm*) and four goats (two male, two female) were added.

Some statistics

In a sample of 72 married Kushi men, there were a total of 250 wives, of which 213 were from the Kushi, and 37 were from other ethnic groups.



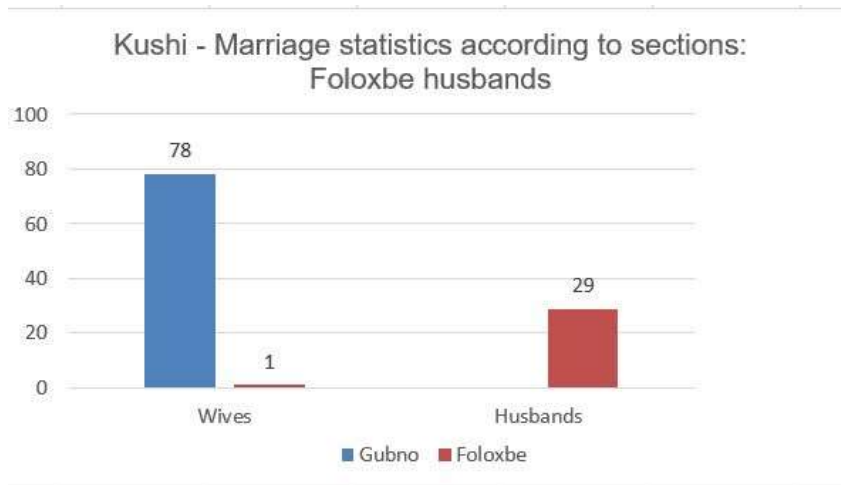
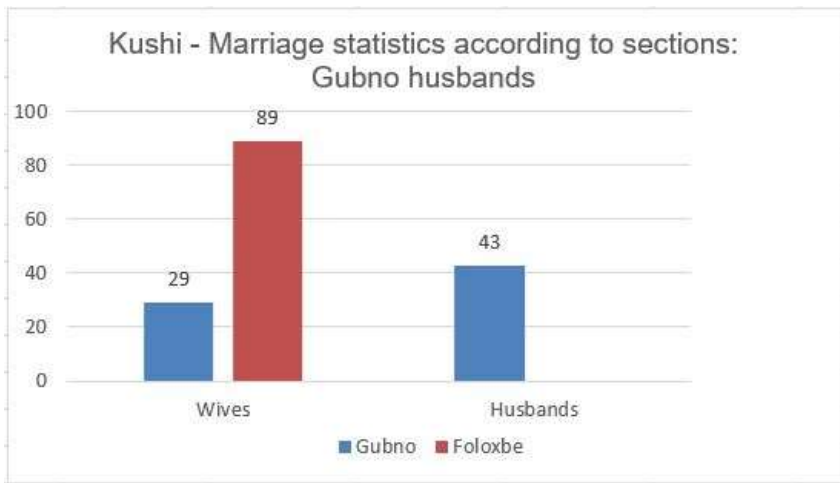
The overall polygamy rate was 3.5, the polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e., wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 2.1.

On the basis that the Kushi are divided into the two sections of Gubno and Foloxbe, marriages with partners from a different section are prevalent.

Marriage within the same section: 15.2%

Marriage with a wife from a different section: 84.8%

Marriage outside the ethnic group: 14.8%.



Granaries

Granaries (*kan*) are usually standing outside the homestead. A reason mentioned is that the foundation of a granary may attract snakes to make it their home-(ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

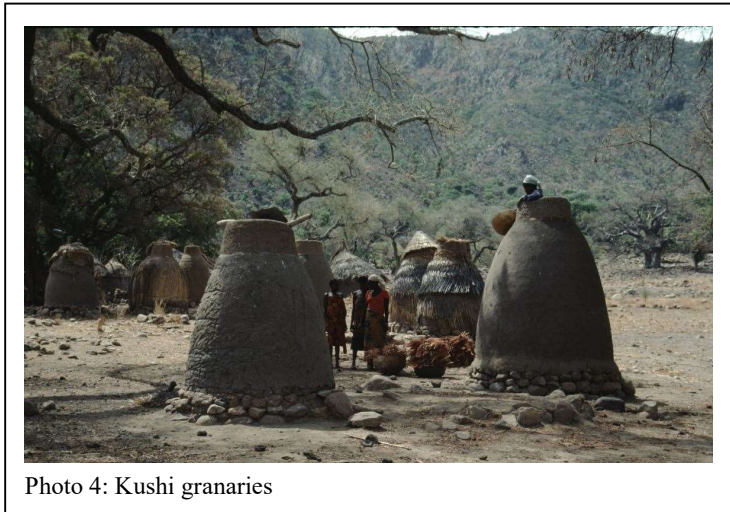


Photo 4: Kushi granaries

Granaries are built by men in the dry season, irrespective whether they are a man's or a woman's granary. Staple crops like guinea corn, groundnuts, millet, maize, rice, beans, yams or pumpkins are stored in granaries. Before produce is put into a granary, a small amount of millet beer is spread into it. The granaries are replenished by men, but removing

the contents is done by women, with the exception of the first batch. A sealed granary is opened by a male who takes out the first bundle of guinea corn for his wife to prepare beer as an offering to the corn spirits (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

In a polygynous household, the husband, as well as each of his wives, has their own granaries.

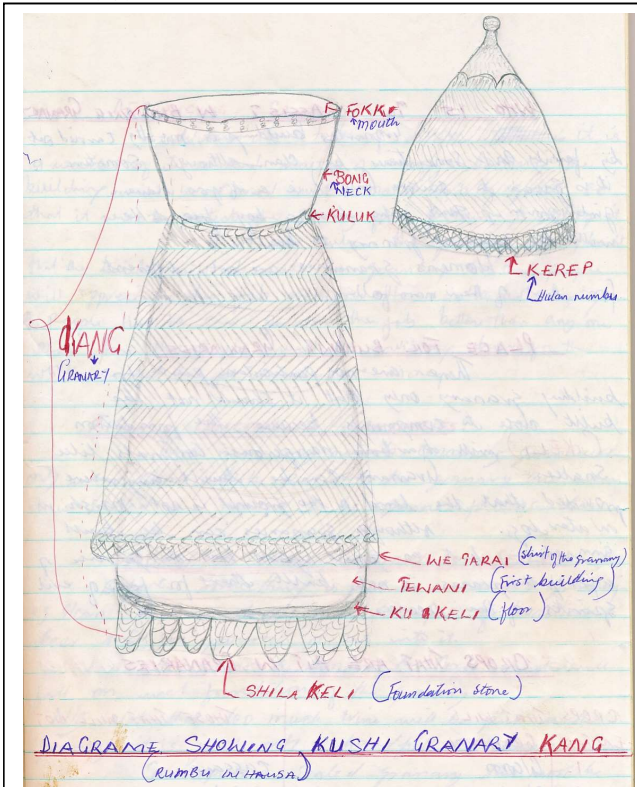


Illustration 6: Sketch of granary construction by Dauda Modi

The husband may have several granaries, where the different crops are stored, depending on his success in farming; the number of granaries is independent of the number of wives a man has. When cooking, the first woman takes the grain from the first granary of her husband and shares it with the other wives. If the first granary is empty, then it is the second wife's turn to take the grain from the next granary and distribute it. When this one is empty, and the husband has still another granary, then it is the third wife's turn and so on. The grain is fetched from the husband's granary once or twice a week. If the supplies from the husband's granaries have been used up, the wives will take from their own supplies. The share taken

from the husband's granary is the same for every wife, regardless of how many children she has.

Birth

A birth takes place in the mother's house located in the compound of her husband. The umbilical cord is wedged into a split guinea corn stalk, wrapped with a cord and fixed to the ceiling of the mother's room, where it remains until it decays of its own accord. The afterbirth is buried in the bathroom of the mother in a potsherd, and a stone is placed on top of it. The mother washes herself during the postpartum haemorrhage whilst standing on that stone. Once this haemorrhage is over, the stone may be removed.

Three months after the birth has taken place, a ritual expert will visit the homestead of the parents of the baby to perform an oracle: a chicken is tied with its leg to a hoe and covered with a broken calabash overnight. The next day the calabash is uncovered and when the chicken is alive, everything is well, but when the chicken is dead, the father has to start enquiries by consulting his ancestors. The ritual expert will be rewarded with millet beer brewed by the mother after the oracle. When the child starts walking after two or three years, another ritual called *berku* is performed whereby local beer and two chickens are given as offerings to the clan idol asking for a long and prosperous life for the child. Children receive their names by the father or grandfather at the age between three months to one year, often they are named after an ancestor whom they resemble (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

There is no avoidance regarding names or calling of names.

Traditionally, there is no circumcision.

In the case of the birth of twins or a breech birth, a pair of wooden *gunul* is procured from a traditional healer (*angunul*) who will carve humanoid statues representing the child(ren). In order to protect the children and keep them healthy, offerings of chickens and millet beer are made annually to these idols in connection with *dabang* and *beegon* celebrations (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

Burial

Babies up to three months old are buried within the compound (this place is called *gunganglang*)



Photo 5: A Kushi grave

to allow the soul to return to the womb of the mother; children up to the age of 12 years are buried in the backyard (*tubbo*) of the compound. Married men and women have their own burial ground, according to gender: *kuduwo suji* for males, *duwo sherep* for females (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

Each clan has its own graveyard, where the deceased adults of that clan are buried. The graves are marked by stone configurations or small stone pyramids. Several

people lie in each grave: a new corpse is usually placed in the oldest grave, as the bodies have already decomposed here. The bones are taken out and then the body and the old bones are put back into the grave. Men are buried lying on the left-hand side, with their heads to the east and the faces to the south; women are buried lying on the right-hand side with their heads to the west and the faces to the south.

When burying a child, the leaves of a fig tree (*Ficus thonningii*) are put in the grave; when burying an adult, the leaves of the heart-leaved fig tree (*Ficus polita*) are used.

Dauda Modi in his manuscript gives the following details regarding the burial of married adults: the corpse is washed and a small calabash containing leaves from the locust bean tree and grains of guinea corn is placed in its middle; the calabash is for the deceased to drink on his way to the ancestors, the grains to grow food and the leaves to cover his genitals. The body is wrapped in black cloth, his sandals are put on, and it is carried by men of its clan from his homestead to the grave, led by a clan elder holding a small pot with mahogany oil. The ground of the grave is covered with leaves of the heart-leaved fig tree (*durumii* H.) for the body to rest on. The procession will circle the grave, the repetitions depend on the clan membership of the deceased: the Foloxbe will do three rounds, the Gubno two. The elder will spill the oil into the grave, for the Foloxbe three times, for the Gubno twice, then the corpse is lowered into the grave. The grave is closed by the same persons who dug it (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

The traditional leather sandals (*táà* or *fògóji*) are put on the feet of the corpse and removed before it is buried.

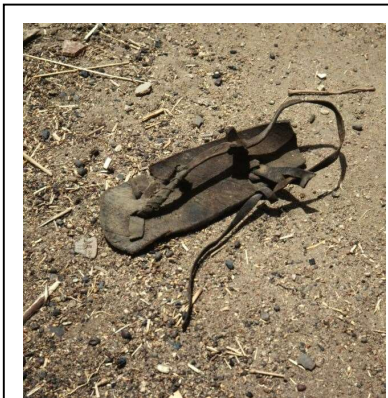


Photo 6: Traditional leather sandal
taa laxad

The men will gather at their resting place under a shade, kill a dog and consume it. The women start cooking beer which is ready after seven days when the relatives, friends and age mates gather at the compound of the deceased. A brother of the deceased and two of his age-mates climb onto the roof of his house and stick three spears in different directions near the top of the roof. The brother enters the homestead of the deceased, takes out a chicken and gives it to the two age-mates who are already holding one chicken each. They slaughter the animals by smashing their heads. Then they eat the dog without using salt, roast the chickens and consume them. The widow, who is still in the homestead, is taken out by her dead husband's female relatives and bathed in their company. Then the widow is led by the dead man's sisters backwards into the homestead, all the while wearing the deceased's sandals. She is laid on her husband's bedstead. Guinea corn flour is mixed with cold water and given to her to drink, followed by some millet porridge. She is fed by the deceased's sister without touching the food with her teeth. She

will now fast for three days, as long as the memorial ceremony lasts, without eating or drinking.

After this period, she drinks millet beer and eats millet porridge.

A similar procedure is observed when a married woman dies, but without a dog and chickens being slaughtered and consumed.

A widow or widower is marked by a white thread on the forehead and neck for a period of two years. If necessary, the thread is renewed and the old one is kept in a safe place. On the fourth day a priest and elders visit the shrine of *Jum* with millet beer and chickens to consult the idol about the cause of death, which is then announced to the mourners. The widow/widower should not remove the thread on the neck, sleep on another's bed, wear white clothes, nor touch cotton or touch clay that is used for building for a period of two years. A widow is allowed to marry a new husband during this time, the bride-price is one chicken only. After two years a ritual called *suro duwo* is performed in the context of the annual *viyo* celebration: the priest of the clan will visit the grave, clean it, put some sesame on it and pray that the deceased should not return as a ghost to haunt his family and relatives. Now the white thread marking the widow/widower can be removed. (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

Village

In a census conducted among 30 compounds at Kushi's Kommo ward, a total of 599 inhabitants were counted, of which 280 were males and 319 females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 19.9, with slightly more females (10.6) than males (9.3).

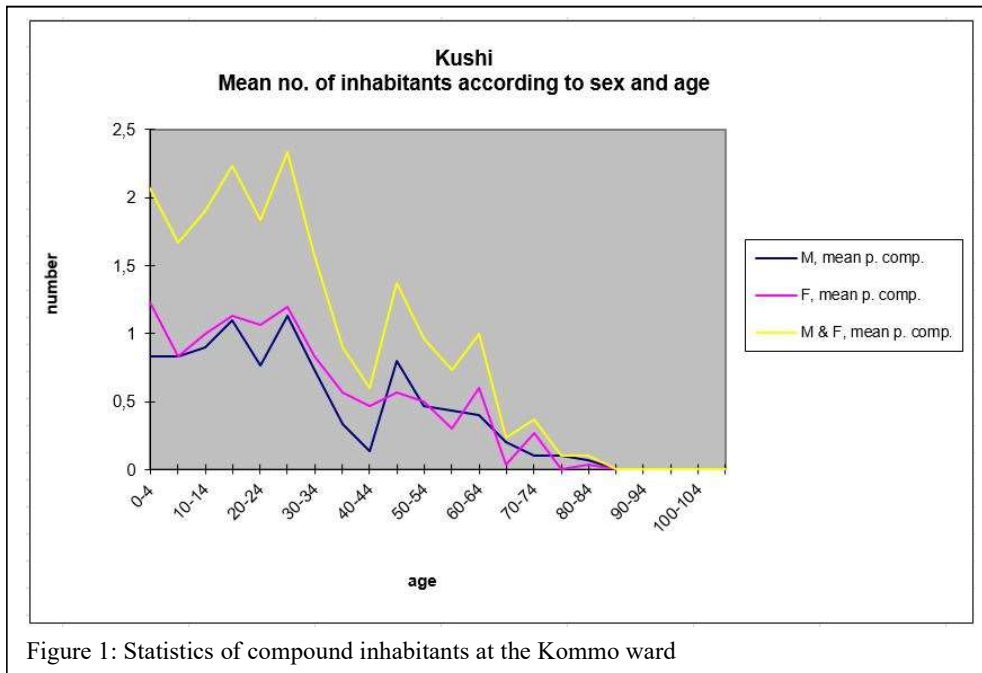


Figure 1: Statistics of compound inhabitants at the Kommo ward

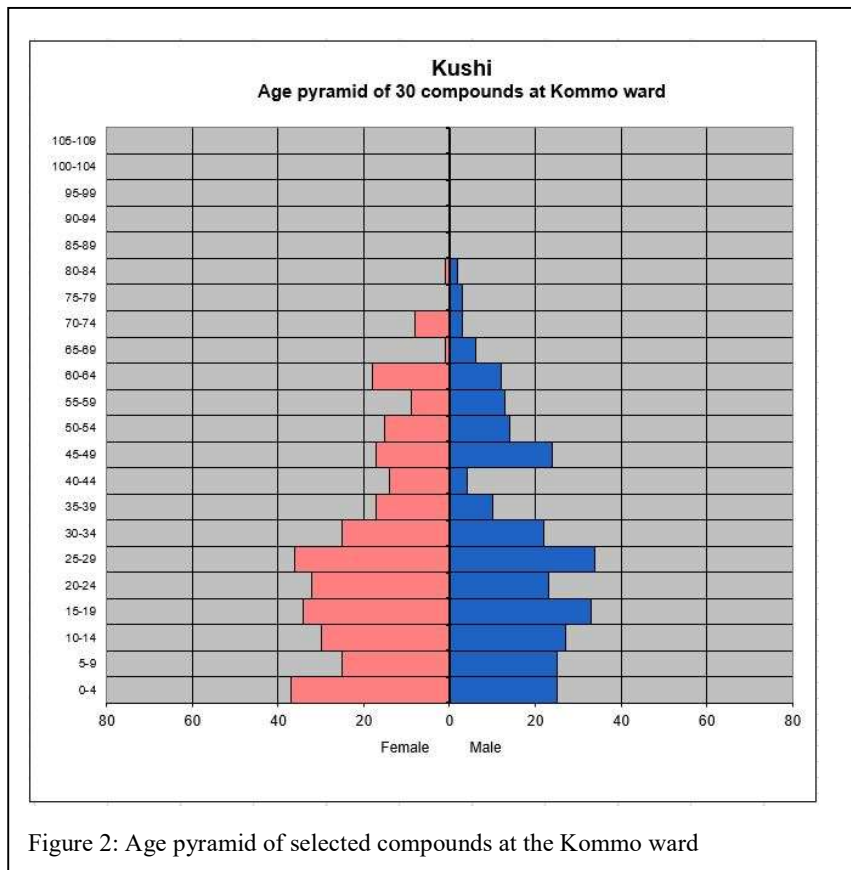


Figure 2: Age pyramid of selected compounds at the Kommo ward

In the hamlets, different clans live together (see Appendix). Groups that arrived later had to be content with poorer land, therefore at Gomle there are many groups with allogeneic origin. At Tamatinyak, a settlement belonging to the Gomle, people from the the Hausa, Loo, Bangwinji, Pero and Shongom-Tangale are living, but no Kushi; it is a recently established hamlet on land belonging to Kushi clans, including the Gubno. The land was granted to the new settlers without compensation; if the land were needed, it would be possible to demand a compensation.

Useful plants which are indicators of a (former) settlement site are:

- *bìró óódà*: horse bean (*Canavalia ensiformis*)
- *bìró jùlé*: fig tree (*Ficus thonningii*)
- *bìró báxál*: heart-leaved fig (*Ficus polita*)
- *bìró diráng*: locust tree (*Parkia biglobosa*)
- *bìró bénni*: Baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) and
- *Newbouldia laevis* (*aduruuku* H.) used for fencing.

There are five main water sources or wells serving the Kushi with water:

1. *dóo àmbàllà* (the name means "water for those who know how to read and write, i.e. Christians"), the well contains whitish water, it was dug by a pastor named Yelma.
2. *dóo gùdùm* ("place where people gather"), contains dirty water which is only good for animals. Here the warriors washed themselves after a battle.
3. *dóo lànggán* (name of a person), Langgang was a traditional priest, son of the head of all traditional priests. His descendants must authorise the use of the water.
4. *dóo fòjóxólò* ("well of the Fojoxolo clan"), a newt lives in the pool. It is the worshipping place of the Fojoxolo clan, and they also use the water in their rites. The source was first discovered by the Fojoxolo clan.
5. *dóo fòshíí*, turtles live in the water; this pool never dries out.

There is another water source called *doo buluk* which was discovered by a hunter from the Foloxbe clan.

Everyone is allowed to fetch water from these water sources, regardless whether a particular clan is in charge of it or not. Whoever digs a well or waterhole is also responsible for it.



Photo 7: Water source at Kushi

Age groups

Age groups (*ánjèrè kùkírà shay*, or short: *ánjèrè*) are rather informal groupings uniting boys and girls who were born within a three-month period in a year, calculated according to the traditional lunar calendar. *ánjèrè* means 'friend' and is also used as a short form for age-group. During communal hunts or collective agricultural activities, they play a role, as these may be organised according to age grades. Age-mates will support each other in many ways. Traditionally, a marriage union between age-mates was not allowed. Adherents of the traditional religion practise an initiation ritual; at the age of five a child becomes a member of an age-group; the father tells the child who his age-mates are and he will provide a chicken for collective consumption. Dauda Modi in his ms relates the somewhat divergent information that at the age of two years children are presented to the *kennima* (clan idol) in a ritual called *berku*, involving the sacrifice of a chicken and leaving some of the child's hair in the shrine hut. These children who are initiated together form an age-group (Dauda Modi 1991-92).

In August a festivity called *mèn viyó* takes place which involves the age-groups. The celebration lasts four days and during this time the crops of guinea corn, maize, beans, pumpkins and kenaf must not be touched, meaning that everyone can stay at home and celebrate with their friends/age-mates and not work on the farms. There is another festivity, called *men foshib*, which takes place in January and lasts for two to three days: age-mates meet and celebrate together, but no prohibitions on touching certain crops have to be observed.

Political organisation

Village Head

In pre-colonial times, the chief of the Kushi in secular matters was the *gùb mínná* and was provided by the Gubno clan. He was responsible for settling disputes over land or conflicts between family groups. The title of Village Head was introduced by the British colonial administration. The Village Head at the time of research was Ishauku Yarima, from the Gubno clan. The Village Head administers the various settlements with the assistance of ward heads or *jawro*. There are five *jawro* for the settlement unit of Gomle: one each for the wards of Tatamatinyak, Dangbani, Fogbwem, Tatarar and Tagerek I.

In the ms "Brief History of Kushi People", a list of 10 chiefs up to the time of research is given:

1. Jamtula (from the Tagongro clan; he was buried alive at the end of his leadership)
2. Madi (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan; he became blind early on in his career)
3. Bale (from the Tagongro clan; he was a brave warrior)
4. BandaKa (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan; he also was struck with blindness)
5. Tumbang (from the Pewurang clan; he was SiSo of Jamtula, and ruled at the arrival of the British; he was hot tempered and eventually gave up the title as he felt not to be adequate)
6. Laandui (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan; he was installed by the British, eventually caught leprosy and appointed Nungen as his successor)

7. Nungen (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan; during his reign there was an outbreak of small-pox, therefore he was imprisoned together with his father by the chief of Kaltungo)
8. Gariyang (from the Dongo clan; was SiSo of Madi, he was a corrupt and conniving chief and is said to have schemed with the chief of Kaltungo against the interests of his own people)
9. Abubakar (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan, ruled for 36 years until his death)
10. Ishaku Yarima (from Gubno-Shonglo clan; So of Nungen, is the present Village Head holding that post for 13 years).

Dauda Modi in his manuscript (1991-92) gives slightly different information about the chiefs:

1. Bandaka (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan of the Dirang ward, ruled for 37 years)
2. Jantula (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan, Br of Bandaka, ruled for 27 years)
3. Biyang (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan, Br of Bandaka, ruled for 14 years)
4. Landut (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan of Kauri ward, ruled for 2 years)
5. Nungen (was eventually removed)
6. Garyang (from the Dongo clan of the Gomle ward, was eventually removed)
7. Bami (Abubakar) (from the Gubno-Shonglo clan, So of Jantula [sic], ruled from 1941 until his death in 1975; he expanded the territory of the Kushi in the west up to Yarwana near Filiya, in the south up to Bwule in Taraba State, in the east up to Kwanankuka and Loyi, and in the north up to Latatar and Amkolon; he established the first primary school in 1960)
8. Ishaku Yerima (So of Nungen, became chief in 1976).

Economic activities

A market is held at Kauri on Fridays. Important markets in the vicinity are held at Filiya and Burak.

Division of labour

Table 4: Gender specific division of labour among the Kushi (m: male, f: female)

Activity	Gender
clearing	m
sowing	m & f
weeding	m
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	-
threshing	f
prepare threshing ground	f
winnowing	f
build house walls	m
build house roof	m
prepare house floor	m
cut wooden poles	m
cut firewood	f
collect firewood	f
build well	m
build terraces	m
build fence	m
weave food cover	m & f
weave mats	m
weave baskets	m
make ropes	m
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	f (& m in the past)
weaving cotton	-
spinning	f
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	m

Agriculture

The Kushi are cultivating guinea corn (red and white varieties), millet, maize, sesame (four varieties), beans (three varieties), groundnuts, Bambara nuts, yams, okra, peppers, roselle, melons and false sesame and a host of other crops. When clearing a field, the following useful trees are not cut down:



Photo 8: An agricultural work-party

Baobab, locust tree, black plum tree, tamarind and desert date. The locust tree and the Baobab may only be harvested by the owners of the land on which they are growing. (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

Threshing is done by the women of a family.

Terraces with dry-stone walls are built on sloping fields to prevent soil erosion. The terraces are erected by men.



Photo 9: Stone ridges in a guinea corn field at Fodoro Hill



Photo 10: Stone ridges on a harvested field

More demanding agricultural activities like sowing, weeding and harvesting are usually performed by work-parties. Such work-parties are organised either on the basis of clan membership or on the basis of age groups. The participants of work-parties assist each other on their farms; additionally, the owner of the field provides local beer as provision for the workers. As a sign of gratitude to the deities, before starting with the harvest, each farmer will tie two heads of guinea corn together and hang them in his farm. After the harvest has been completed, these two heads from each farmer are collected, brewed into beer and sacrificed to the gods; this practice is called *foteku gub*. Land belongs to the clans, usufruct rights over land pass through the male line.

Ethnic Group: **Kushi**

Table: **Annual Agricultural Cycle**

Crop	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Comments
guinea corn (late) <i>gbálaám, mèená</i>						1.		2.		3.			loamy & clay soils
guinea corn <i>tagsha, dangguntu</i>						1.	2.						sandy & loamy soils, 2nd weeding optional
millet <i>moddo</i>													sandy & loamy soils
rice <i>gáppá</i>							1.		2.				loamy & fadama soil
maize <i>kóomò</i>						1.	2.						loamy soils
beans (<i>kanannado</i> H.) <i>àgbáìò</i>													
beans (<i>waakee</i> H.) <i>jèbúgújí</i>													all soils, intercropped w. g/corn, groundnuts, cotton, okra
okra <i>àbùrùl jéné, àbùrùl viiyo</i>													clay & loamy soils, mixed w. cotton, maize, beans
cotton <i>lèlléu</i>								1.	2.	3.			clay & loamy soils, inter- cropped w. beans & okra
groundnuts <i>duakhono</i>							1.	2.					sandy & loamy soils, inter- cropped w. millet, beans
Bambara nut <i>dùróo</i>													sandy & loamy soils
roselle <i>yokhanshwan</i>													sandy & loamy soils, with groundnuts & beans
sesame <i>kewu, vána, làdúk</i>													all soils, is a pioneer plant
tobacco <i>táawà</i>						nursing		transplanting					sandy & loamy soils
millet (<i>maiwaa</i> H.) <i>murum</i>						1.		2.		3.			sandy & loamy soils
pumpkin <i>vòn</i>													all soils, intercropped w. g/corn, millet, beans, cotton
yam <i>canye</i>			(1 year later)										loamy soils
cassava <i>roogo</i>								(1 year later)					sandy & loamy soils
melon <i>twáalò</i>													sandy & loamy soils, with groundnuts, beans, millet etc.
pepper (hot) <i>ànjindáu</i>					nursing		transplanting	1.	2.				loamy & sandy soils
garden egg <i>kúurò</i>							nursing	transplanting					clay & loamy soils

planting: _____
 weeding: - - - - -
 harvesting: _____

Animal husbandry

The Kushi keep cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens, ducks, donkeys and dogs as domestic animals. Some Kushi entrust their cattle to a Fulani herder. Traditionally, the Kushi just had white, black and red dwarf goats (*wii*), sheep (*dinye*), donkeys (*giribi*), dogs (*bai*) and chickens (*fεε*).

Table 5: Domestic animals and their uses (m: male, f: female)

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, milk, leather, horns	women do the milking
dwarf cattle	-	-	-
horse	m	Riding, horsehair used for decoration during dances	used by title holders
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	riding, beast of burden	
goat	m & f	meat, leather	
sheep	m & f	meat, leather, wool used for decoration during dances	dance decoration worn on arms or as a fake beard
pig	m & f	meat, leather	
dog	m & f	meat, guardian, assisting in hunting	only men consume the meat
chicken	m & f	meat, eggs, feathers	in the past, women did not eat chicken or eggs
duck	m & f	eggs, meat, feathers	consumed by men and women
guinea fowl	m & f	eggs, meat, feathers	consumed by men and women
pigeon	m & f	meat	consumed by men and women
cat	m & f	meat, fur used for trousers by men, protection against rats	women do not eat cat meat

In a census of 25 households at Kushi, the following numbers of domestic animals were determined:

Table 6: Kushi - Domestic animals kept by 25 households

	Cattle	Donkeys	Goats	Sheep	Pigs	Dogs	Chickens	Ducks	Guinea Fowls	Catss
total	112	13	246	177	57	44	419	112	6	3
mean no.	4.5	0.5	9.8	7.1	2.3	1.8	16.8	4.5	0.2	0.1
median no.	3	1	6	4	2	2	15	3	3	1.5



Photo 11: Wooden trough for watering livestock

Hunting¹⁸

Hunting is either done individually or collectively. Before the hunting season lasting from February to June opens, the spear festival *peekash* must be organised in October.

Before hunting may commence, the hunting leader will put a calabash with corn flour into a tree overnight. If the flour is untouched by ants, rats or other animals by the following morning, the hunt can resume, and the hunters gather early in the morning on one of the following days. Any furbearer/mammal killed during a communal hunt is shared between three people: the first person to meet the successful hunter gets the fur and one of the shanks, the second person gets a front shank and the successful hunter keeps the rest. If, during the hunt, one of the hunters or a dog is

accidentally injured, the hunt will be cancelled. (ms Dauda Modi 1991.92).



Photo 12: Kushi spears *kásh*, quiver *bòxòrà fíik*

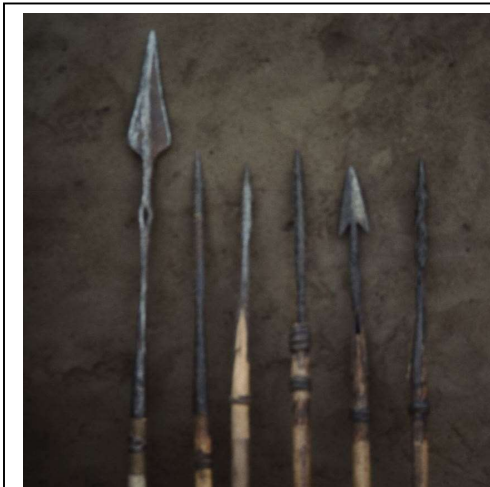


Photo 13: Kushi spear types (left to right): *kásh léwé*, *kásh shíbálálàṅ* (2x), *kásh gbádávòomo*, *kásh àtáràl*, *kásh bwéù*.

Weapons used: *bárántàm*: battle-axe, *jédè*: shield, *kásh*: spear (general), spear types: *kásh léwé*:



Photo 14: Shield *jédè* and battle axe *bárántàm*

sharp bladed tip, *kásh shíbálálàṅ*: jagged tip, *kásh gbádávòomo*: another jagged tip spear, *kásh àtáràl*: broad tipped spear, *kásh bwéù*: barbed tip spear. *fíik*: arrow, *bàkà*: bow, *bòxòrà fíik*: quiver

¹⁸ On hunting among the Kushi, see also the study by Batic (2019a).

Material culture

bárántàm: a ritual object resembling a sickle that is used when a warrior has killed an enemy in



Photo 15: *bárántàm*
(photo taken among
the Kwonci)

battle, then the object is taken out and the victorious warrior is carrying it during the dance performed in his honour. Every clan owns one. Unlike among other ethnic groups such as the Kwonci or Piya, it is not in use in connection with the marriage process.

jáuwit: razor blade, not only used for shaving but also in ritual contexts: when a baby is introduced to the clan *dodo* at the shrine house, some hair from its forehead is shaved off; the blade also comes into use at the end of the life cycle when some hair from the forehead of a deceased person is shaved with it. *fódámli*: a sickle used for cutting grass or rice. *búmlùm*: traditional iron money: 10-20 pieces were equivalent to a goat, the usual bride-price reached in marriage negotiations were 200 pieces, prisoners of war from inter-tribal fights with the Loo or Burak could be freed by paying a ransom of 50 *bumlum* plus 50 iron hoes, otherwise they became slaves.

tábàng: axe with a broader blade, used for soft wood and small trees; *gbàamé*: axe with a small



Photo 16: Kushi implements: *tabang*, *gbaame*, *diina*, *dikum*, *dummo* (left to right)



Photo 17: A Kushi adze
(*june*)

blade, used for hard wood; *diinà*: hoe with broad blade, used for sandy soil; *dí-kùm*: hoe with a narrow blade, used for hard and stony ground; *dúmmò*: small hoe, used for planting and

weeding; *jùné*: adze, used for wood working.



Photo 18: A *jara* basket

gáṅa: narrow woven basket, *járà*: wide woven basket.



Photo 19: Woven food cover, drinking calabash *bwate*, stool *juk*

ànpàdà: snuff box; *jùk*: wooden stool with four legs, *bwàté*: gourd bottle; *ànjúà*: iron rattle worn at the ankle, *jòòd*: sieve for preparing *pito* beer, *táà* or *fògójì*: leather sandal made from buffalo hide; *pálangé*: bedstead made of wood, *ínjí*: bedstead made of palm frond stems.



Photo 20: Kushi bedsteads: *inji* (foreground), *palange* (background)

The Kushi use a variety of clay pots: *gbàlá*, *túrí pèlòù* and *túrí tàd* are pots used for fetching water and for keeping the local millet beer known as *burkutu* (H.) or *pito* (H.), while the pot used especially for keeping *pito* is called *paralala*. *Burkutu* is brewed in the *díyè yágwàñ* pot; *tálàn* is a pot used for cooking gruel; and water is stored in pots named *dígirè bònjdòk* or *dígirè bòn pèlòù*.

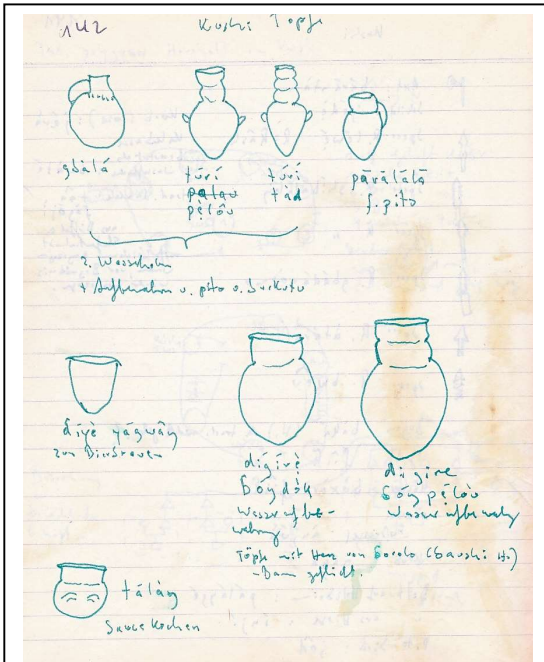


Illustration 7: Some pot types



Photo 21: Kushi beer pots: *gbala*, *turi pelou*, *paralala* (left to right)



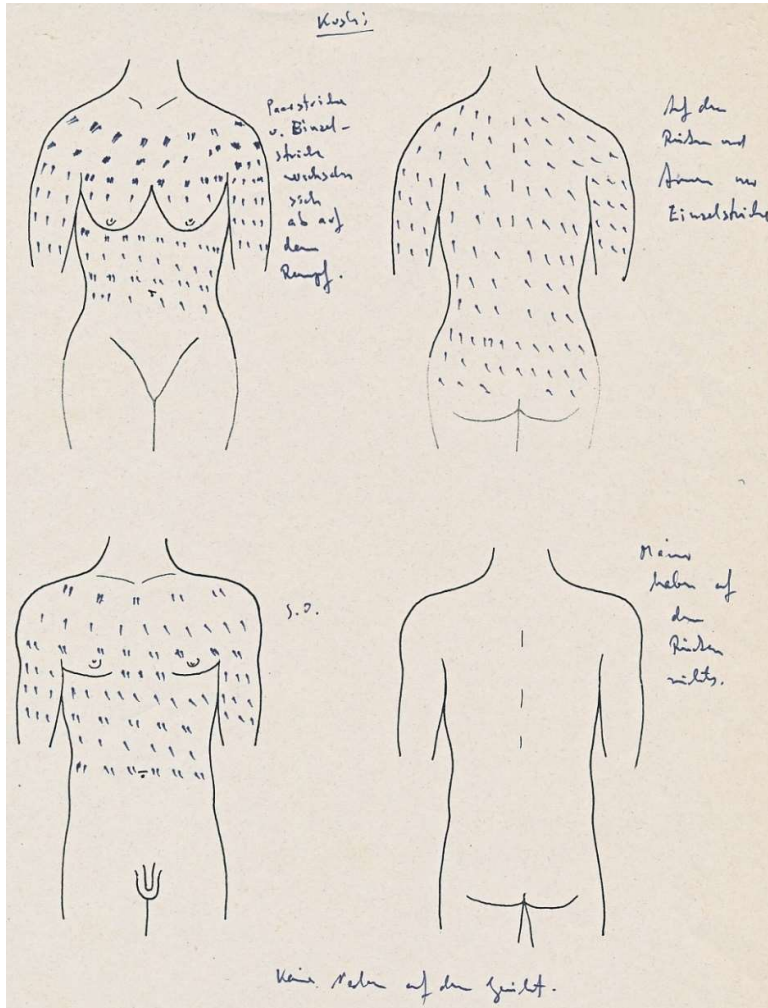
Photo 22: Pots for brewing beer *díyè yágwàṅ*



Photo 23: Kushi pots: *túrí pèlòù*, *dígírè bóṅ pèlòù* and *dígírè bóṅdòk*

Scarification/cicatrization, bodily ornamentation

The Kushi have no facial scarification. Double and single lines of scarifications alternate on the front torso of both sexes, females have single lines on the back and upper arms, while males



have single lines on the front of the upper arms, and no patterns on the back. Scarification patterns of the body were a sign of bravery and no man could marry without having acquired these patterns. They also assisted in the identification of a body killed in a battle, (or under similar circumstances), namely whether this person was a Kushi or not, because the head was usually severed. They were applied to men from the age of 15, and to women from the age of 18. For women, it was mainly for decorative purposes, although some of them also went onto the battlefield and women's heads were also taken. Women also chiselled their upper incisors to a point,

which was considered to be beautiful and necessary for marriage.



Photo 24: A Kushi woman with adornments.

Rituals and religion

Spirits and associated rituals¹⁹

While in the traditional religious belief *yamma* is the creator god, *yamma* is too far removed from the sphere of humans and other spirits/deities have a more active role. *Kénnimà* represent the collective ancestors of a clan and in some cases, the clan-specific *kennima* or idol has a proper name identical with an associated ritual.

The idol of the Fojorak clan is considered to be the most powerful and is called *Jùm*, it is venerated by all clans, but the priests come from the Yange clan, who were assigned this office by the Fojorak and they act on behalf of the Fojorak and the Gubno. The idol of the Gubno is called *Bé-égòn*, before members of the clan are allowed to consume new crops like guinea corn, millet, maize or groundnuts, an offering to *Beegon* has to be made. *Táu Fódìyù* is another cult which is observed by the Gubno; it marks the transition from the harvest season to the dry season. Stalks of guinea corn are collected and taken to a high place on the mountain where they are burnt early in the morning, signalling that the new grain can be sold from now on. That same morning, the women collect fruits of the Baobab tree to make soup from the seeds. The Gubno share these idols with the Gbare clan.

The Fojoxolo have an idol called *árpéshò*, it gives permission for food to be cooked from new corn after *tau fodiya* has taken place. Another cult of the Fojoxolo is called *tirshau*; its priest has to plant or sow a sample of any crop before anyone else is allowed to do so. The Dongo provide the priests for the cult of *dábáng* which has to be performed before *tirshau* may take place. *Dabang* is said to consist of a male and a female, the spirits are represented by stones and small pots.

If there is a lack of rain, the priests from the clans of the Gubno and Foloxbe will meet and consult *dabang* at its shrine to find out the reason. If the reason is due to the misconduct of certain persons, the elder of their clan will be asked to pay a fine consisting of a billy goat, chickens and millet beer, of which an offering is made to *dabang* to alleviate the situation and rain will fall (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

The idol of the Foloxbe is called *Pékash*. The Pewurang have an idol named *Pòmúngàré*, it protects the property of the clan members from theft and punishes any thief.

While the various cults have priests of their own, a title-holder called *gub* (chief) is the overseer of all cults, he sees to it that the celebrations are held at the right time and that the rituals are performed according to custom; the role of the respective priest is to actively lead the ceremonies. The numerous rituals in the annual cycle form a system of interdependent actions and ideas binding together the constituent elements of Kushi society.

¹⁹ See also CAPRO 1995: 147-51 for some information on rituals and traditional beliefs among the Kushi.

Table 7: Religious concepts and their material expression

Kushi		
Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>yamma</i>	creator god
ancestors	<i>kennima</i>	
water spirit	<i>bweyu</i>	is a snake providing the water in a spring
bush spirit	<i>ansharduo</i>	<i>ansharduo</i> are evil, live in the bush
protecting spirit	<i>gunul</i>	
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol)	<i>gunul, dabang</i>	help against illness and malaise, made of wood, come in pairs of male and female
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>kennima</i>	
clay pot	<i>nina pirak, tɛɛwa</i>	<i>nina pirak</i> helps uncovering the truth, also against illness <i>tɛɛwa</i> is a double pot made for twins

Water sources

It is believed that spirits live in several springs or water sources, especially in the springs Doo Fojoxolo and Doo Buluk. One may only fetch water there by using calabashes, never with a container made of plastic or metal.

A special custom honouring the discoverer of the source has to be observed when fetching water at Doo Buluk: the first woman in a day to fetch water from Doo Buluk spring has to fill a pot with water for an old woman named Panaja, from the clan Gubno-Burumi, who is married to a man from Foloxbe clan. Doo Buluk was discovered by a hunter from Foloxbe clan, so the tribute must be given to the wife of the hunter's descendant, a pot of water every day, otherwise the spring will dry up. Panaja herself only fetches water when the water given to her has been used up. If a Kushi person sees her going to the spring, one has to take her pot and fetch water for her.

The Doo Fojoxolo spring belongs to the Fojoxolo clan because they first discovered it. The spring is the home of a snake with horns, which ensures the flow of water. Turtles are also living there and nobody may harm or kill the animals. The Fojoxolo perform an annual ritual at the spring called Laalinga. For that purpose, water is taken from the spring for brewing millet beer at the homestead of the clan's priest Banggal, then the spring is covered with a thorn bush to show people that it is temporarily off-limits. After seven days the beer is ready and the Laalinga ritual is performed, on the same day the spring is uncovered. Laalinga gives permission to eat pumpkins, beer is consumed collectively and people stay at home for two days, during this time no crop in the fields is touched.

If turtles and frogs are seen on land outside of the pools, it is a sign that sufficient rain is about to come.

A menstruating woman may not fetch water, either from a spring nor from a stream, for seven days; if a woman has given birth to a child, she must wait for three months until she may start fetching water again, otherwise the water of the source will dry up. A menstruating woman does

not cook for her husband, for otherwise he will become weak, he may become the first victim in a fight or he may be injured while hunting.

Ritual calendar

The following annual rituals/celebrations with a link to agricultural activities were elicited, but further research is necessary.

In January, *tau fodiyu* takes place, marking the beginning of the dry season and the hunting season. There are no dances or offerings to the clan idols, only communal consumption of millet beer in connection with this ritual which is proclaimed by the Gubno clan. After *tau fodiyu*, with the celebration of *niye kudushak* (which belongs to the Fojoxolo clan) at the end of January, it is permitted for women to harvest the fruits of Baobab trees and that crops from the new harvest like guinea corn may be sold on markets outside of Kushi land (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92). Also, a special food *arpesho* may be prepared, which consists of guinea corn flour boiled with water. In February-March, *saurá ménfòshib* or *poshiip* is celebrated, where a part of the harvest of last season is jointly consumed in the form of food and beer with friends and relatives, and dances are held. Announced by the Fokori clan, it is a kind of thanksgiving for a bumper harvest and a good season, and people pray for a good next season and bring offerings. The important festivity of *dabang* takes place In April, signalling the start of the farming season, with three days of commu-

Kushi Annual festivities												
Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>tau fodiyu</i>	—											
<i>niye kudushak</i>	—											
<i>saura menfoshib</i>			—									
<i>dabang</i>				—				—				
<i>shabuk</i>				—								
<i>forshau</i>							—					
<i>beegon</i>									—			
<i>min viyo</i>										—		
<i>laalingga</i>											—	
<i>kaawi</i>											—	
<i>peekash</i>												—

nal dances and beer drinking. It is proclaimed by the Dongo clan and allows all clans, with the exception of the Fojoxolo, to start sowing of guinea corn. The Fojoxolo have to wait until their *shábùk* ritual (or *tirshau*) has been performed which is done also in April. *shábùk* is a ritual owned

by the Fojoxolo clan, in which the eldest of the clan soaks grass in water, prepares a cover for a granary and covers his granary with the finished product. Then he sows some guinea corn, thereby indicating that people of his clan may now commence with sowing or planting their crops. Recently introduced crops, such as millet or rice, are excluded from the prohibitions in connection with the rituals. *Forshau* is done in June/July and allows the thinning out of the guinea corn plants: the priest from the Fojoxolo clan will start thinning on his farm for three days, on the fourth day other people may commence with the thinning (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92). Further, sealed granaries may now be opened.

A second *dabang* is celebrated in August, after the second weeding has been done on the farms, and is again called out by the Dongo clan. This time it indicates the end of the sowing season for guinea corn as well as that the second weeding should now be completed, otherwise the harvest may not be sufficient and reminding those who have not yet completed this task that they are late. Dances are held. Three days later, *béégòn* takes place, also proclaimed by the Gubno clan, without dancing, just beer is devoured. It indicates that now maize, peanuts and Bambara nuts from the new harvest may be consumed. One or two weeks later, in September, and announced by the Fokori clan, *min viyó* is celebrated.²⁰ The festivity signifies the end of the rainy season, expressing thanks for the good growth of the crops and asserting that it is now too late to make up for bad farming. There are communal dances and beer drinking for three days. During this time, no guinea corn may be touched in the fields, and no one goes to the farms. Whoever violates this rule must pay a fine consisting of a chicken. Three days later, *lààlìngà* takes place, proclaimed by the Fojoxolo clan. After this event it is permitted to harvest pumpkins, beans and roselle. A further three days later, *kááwì* takes place which is proclaimed by the Pewurang clan and also marks the end of the rainy season; weapons can be taken out of the house and be sharpened as they are now no longer subject to rust. After *kááwì*, the Foloxbe clan will announce *péekàsh* which will take place when there is a full moon; the actual date of the celebration is reckoned by a countdown: the priest prepares a bundle of 30 sticks and each day one stick is removed, when seven sticks remain, people commence with the brewing of beer for the occasion. On the very day of



Photo 25: Building a house roof.

peekash, one pot of beer is brought by each clan to the places of worship on the mountain and men will carry their spears to the shrines for blessing by the priest. During the 30 days of the countdown, no one is allowed to cut down grass, trees or any living plant, lest misfortune or disease befall the offender. This marks the beginning of the hunting season and the end of the annual cycle of cele-

²⁰ According to Dauda Modi (ms 1991-92) the Fojoxolo clan is in charge of the *vio* celebrations.

brations. People may now cut grasses for the house roofing and repair fences (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

Around the end of December and the beginning of January, the Fojoxolo perform a ritual at the *dofojoxolo* waterhole, whereby the waterhole is covered and no one is allowed to fetch water on that day. The ritual is called *arpesho* and is a kind of thanksgiving ritual.

Healing

Case study: Audu Mairei Jerama is a herbalist/traditional healer (*ángùnùl*) who diagnoses and



Photo 26: Healer demonstrating his device for divination.

treats sick people. For diagnosing a patient, but also for detecting a lie, he uses a divinatory device or oracle (*jùl níngò píràk*) consisting of an iron rod, two wooden sticks and a small clay pot. The pot is put on top of the rod and the sticks placed on the rim of the pot so that they are forming a 'V' (see photo). Then water is poured into the pot with a calabash while the herbalist asks questions about the cause of the illness or about possible lies, de-

pending on what should be found out in the session. If a person is telling the truth, the pot remains standing, if he is lying, or if the person has committed an offence, the pot falls down. In case of an illness, the oracle will tell if it is caused by the patient's soul having been taken into the bush by a witch.

In this case, the healer takes the fur of a ground squirrel (*pérè*) together with an egg in his hand,



Photo 27: Paraphernalia of a herbalist.

these will lead him to where the soul has been hidden, for example in a hole, under a stone or tree. He places the egg on this spot and takes the soul back with him in a small, water-filled pot (*ládùndi*) which will be covered with the skin. This water is then poured onto the sick person, while the healer proclaims that if the illness was indeed caused by the absence of his soul, he is now reunited and free from the spell. The Gule and Dabang idols are invoked during his rituals.

Among the paraphernalia of the healer is a small calabash (*làbwàté*) used to administer herbal medicine to the sick person, the woven round lid is used to fan the patient with air. At the beginning of the session, a rooster had been sacrificed and one of its feathers is placed in the lid. For such a session, two chickens or roosters are usually given by the client to the healer, one of which he keeps for himself. He will not sell on any

of the animals he receives for his services, but he will consume them together with other clan members. At the time of the annual *dabang* festival, the oracle is sacrificed with a rooster to maintain its power. Apart from the poultry, a client asking for his services has to bring on arrival a calabash of guinea corn on top of which is placed a hoe (*dúmmódèb*) without handle. After the patient has been successfully cured, he will additionally give the healer a piece of traditional iron money (*búmlùm*). Medicinal plants used by the herbalist include: *dédèn* (bitterleaf), from its root a concoction is prepared against stomach and intestinal problems; *wúrìn bwéyù* (?), from plant and root a solution for bathing is prepared against fever and ailments of children; *wúrìn fùrshík* (?), remedy against any kind of swelling caused by witchcraft.

A gifted healer can detect a witch through his dreams. If the suspect denies the accusation, he

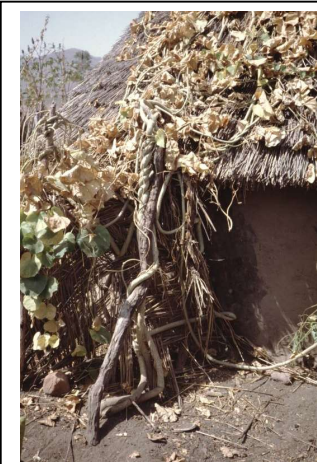


Photo 28: *wéjjeilá* plant growing on the house of a herbalist.

will be given a potion to drink. The potion is prepared from the plant *wéjjeilá* (see photo) by grounding its root and stem and mixing the dried mash with water. This plant grows between stones on the mountain. If the person refuses to take the potion, the suspicion is almost proven. Then he is forced to take it, becomes sick and vomits if he is guilty. But if he or she is innocent, nothing will happen. A witch is unable to enter the homestead of an *angunul*. Witches (*ánshò*) are believed to take away the soul of a human. There is also another kind of witch called *àngwóló* who, when touching a person, can cause swellings or ulcers which can be fatal. Witches used to be killed in the past, but not anymore because people are afraid of the legal consequences of such acts. Eggshells are lined up on a stalk on the roof of the herbalist's



Photo 29: Egg shells lined up on the roof.

house. Eggshells are not discarded, but are always added to the stalk, in this way ensuring that the hen continues to lay eggs.



Photo 30: A place for sacrifice.

Miscellanea

The Kushi share a belief also found among other ethno-linguistic groups in the wider region, that cockerels lay eggs;²¹ these eggs are small and, if a hen has laid more than five eggs, the cockerel will add one to the clutch.

It is believed that whirlwinds (*wana-wana*) carry polio, and if a whirlwind passes through a house it is a sign that the inhabitant is a miser. There is a belief that some people can turn into animals like hyenas, snakes or birds. Menstruating women are not allowed to fetch water, cook for her husband or use a calabash in the compound. After her period, her bed will be washed. A man coming into contact with menstruating woman runs the risk of being killed in combat or bitten by a snake during farmwork (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92)

Taboos

Lions (*kámmà*) as well as an animal called *àngúnátéélò* (*sapale* in Hausa, it was described as a canine animal) may not be killed or eaten by the Kushi, because they are considered as close relatives, and, in turn, these animals would not harm or kill a Kushi person and even leave a part of their spoils if they are asked for. It is said that the lion also weeps for the dead, especially from the Fokori clan, on their grave.

Vultures (*shéllé*) and a bird called *adewe kennima* may also not be killed: vultures because they live on carrion, including human carrion; *adewe kennima* is regarded as belonging to the powerful spirit *Jùm*.

The puff-adder (*ankarkacau*) is not to be killed as it is considered to be a being from the same mountain and will not bite a Kushi person. The same applies to another snake called *kure kass* because it lives in the shrines of idols, it also does not bite a Kushi person and prevents rats and other vermin from doing damage (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92). Some informants maintained that no Kushi would kill a hyena, others were of the opinion that this taboo is only valid for the Yange clan. Hyenas are considered to embody evil spirits, thus, killing one will attract misfortune (ms Dauda Modi 1991-92).

The tree named *tangrang* (?) must not be cut down by any Kushi, otherwise the person will die. While these animals are taboo for all Kushi, there are also clan specific avoidances regarding animals or plants.

The Gubno and Gbare clans have a taboo referring to red monkeys (*jambiri* H.): the Gubno are allowed to hunt and kill red monkey, but then will give the spoil to the Gbare, who are allowed to eat it. The Gubno may not use the wood of fig trees (*Ficus thonningii*) for firewood. The Fojorak may not kill ground squirrels.

²¹ Zeitlyn (1991) reports on this belief among the Mambila.

Further there are gender specific avoidances: women are not allowed to eat the following animals: spotted gazelle (*gaame*), gazelle (*bəna*), wild cat (*arje*), black monkey (*shal*), red monkey (*jiro*), sp. wild cat (*tawi*), as well as dogs and chickens.

Dauda Modi in his manuscript (1991-92) gives a list of clan-specific plants and trees of which the use is restricted, because they are either valued for their medicinal use or because their wood is used to carve idols/sacred objects. Unfortunately, several of the plants or trees could not be identified.

Table 8: Clan-specific restrictions of plant use according to Dauda Modi

Clan	Kushi	Hausa	English	scientific name
Dongo	<i>bii</i>	<i>gwaskaa</i>	sasswood	<i>Erythrophleum guineense</i>
Dongo	<i>galang</i>	<i>duhuwa</i>	sp. plant	?
Dongo	<i>gawur</i>	<i>gaawoo</i>	whitethorn tree	<i>Faidherbia albida</i>
Dongo	<i>tali</i>	<i>golumbe</i>	sp. plant	?
Fogulung	<i>tali</i>	<i>golumbe</i>	sp. plant	?
Foloxbe	<i>fuu</i>	<i>jinin kafiri</i>	blood plum tree	<i>Haematostaphis barteri</i>
Foloxbe	<i>cewro</i>	<i>karya gaatari</i>	sp. tree	<i>Burkea africana</i>
Foloxbe	<i>dirang</i>	<i>doorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>
Foloxbe	<i>gawur</i>	<i>gaawoo</i>	whitethorn tree	<i>Faidherbia albida</i>
Foloxbe	<i>jire</i>	?	sp. plant	?
Fokori	<i>bii</i>	<i>gwaskaa</i>	sasswood	<i>Erythrophleum guineense</i>
Fokori	<i>galang</i>	<i>duhuwa</i>	sp. plant	?
Gbare	<i>fuu</i>	<i>jinin kafiri</i>	blood plum tree	<i>Haematostaphis barteri</i>
Gbare	<i>gana-gana</i>	?	sp. plant	?
Gubno-Andeng	<i>jire</i>	?	sp. plant	?
Pewurang	<i>garmi</i>	<i>gamma fada</i>	sp. tree	<i>Cassia arereh</i>
Pewurang	<i>jen</i>	<i>harshen giwa</i>	sp. tree	<i>Lonchocarpus laxiflorus</i> ?
Pewurang	<i>pawulo</i>	<i>papara</i>	sp. tree	?
Pewurang	<i>tali</i>	<i>golumbe</i>	sp. plant	?
Pewurang	<i>wiri</i>	<i>tzaamiiyaa</i>	tamarind	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>

Glossary²²

Kushi	gloss	comment
<i>adabul</i>	orange (colour)	colour
<i>aduruka (H.)</i>	sp. small tree (<i>Newbouldia laevis</i>)	
<i>adewe kenmima</i>	sp. bird	
<i>ámit</i>	small millstone	
<i>ànpàdá</i>	snuff box	
<i>ange</i>	wild cat	
<i>àngúnátéélò</i>	doglike animal	<i>sapale (H.)</i>
<i>àngùnùl</i>	trad. healer, herbalist	
<i>ànwóló</i>	witch (can cause bulges)	
<i>ánjèrè</i>	friend, also age-group	
<i>ànjúà</i>	iron rattle worn on the ankle	
<i>ankarkacau</i>	puff-adder	<i>kassa (H.)</i>
<i>anluru</i>	herbalist who uses a fur for diagnosis	
<i>ánshò</i>	witch (taking souls)	
<i>anto</i>	bush-fowl	<i>fakaraa (H.)</i>
<i>antoomgei</i>	war leader	there are two: one from Gubno-Shonglo, one from Foloxbe-Dara
<i>arpesho</i>	sp. food prepared from guinea corn flour cooked with water	
<i>bai</i>	dog	
<i>banghal</i>	rain priest, leads <i>laalinga</i> celebration, from Fojoxolo clan	
<i>báká</i>	bow	<i>baka (H.)</i>
<i>bárántàm</i>	hatchet or battle axe	
<i>bárkáulà</i>	bottle gourd used for sowing	
<i>béégòn</i>	ritual in August, after 2 nd <i>dabang</i> , signifies that maize, groundnuts and Bambara nuts from the new harvest may be consumed	
<i>bena</i>	gazelle	
<i>beng</i>	"edge"	
<i>berku</i>	initiation ritual for young children/toddlers	
<i>bòxòrà fiiik</i>	quiver	
<i>búmlùm</i>	trad. iron money	
<i>bwàté</i>	gourd bottle	
<i>dàbáng</i>	celebration in April, marks beginning of farming season, and in August, marking completion of 2 nd weeding	

²² H. = Hausa term. No attempt has been made to harmonise my transcription of Kushi terms with the orthography applied by Batic (2017c) in his wordlist.

Kushi	gloss	comment
<i>dáng gùnùl</i>	ritual hut of trad. healer/herbalist	
<i>dīinà</i>	hoe with broad blade, used for sandy soil	
<i>díkùm</i>	hoe with a narrow blade, used for hard and stony ground	
<i>dinye</i>	sheep	
<i>dīyò</i>	marriage	
<i>dīyò bàng</i>	marriage category - marriage by elopement	
<i>do alaw</i>	green	
<i>do dirañ</i>	yellow	
<i>dúmmò</i>	small hoe, used for planting and weeding	
<i>dúmmódèb</i>	sp. hoe	see above
<i>em</i>	bracelet	
<i>fεε</i>	chicken	
<i>fīik</i>	arrow	
<i>fódámli</i>	sickle	
<i>fògójì</i>	leather sandal made from buffalo hide	see also <i>táà làxàd</i>
<i>fòpérè</i>	clan	
<i>fonaniŋo</i>	graveyard	
<i>foteku gub</i>	kind of thanksgiving	
<i>gakal</i>	red	
<i>gaame</i>	spotted gazelle	
<i>gángà, júŋrònŋ</i>	narrow woven basket	
<i>gbàamé</i>	axe with a small blade, used for hard wood	
<i>giribi</i>	donkey	
<i>gub minna</i>	chief of people	
<i>gunganglang</i>	burial site for babies	
<i>gunul</i>	wooden humanoid statue for ritual purposes	
<i>inji</i>	bedstead made of bamboo sticks	
<i>jangwaari</i>	shelter or shed made of grass	<i>rumfa</i> H.
<i>járà</i>	wide woven basket	
<i>jáuwit</i>	razor blade	
<i>jédè</i>	shield	
<i>jjí</i>	elder or chief of a clan	
<i>jiro</i>	red monkey	
<i>jòòd</i>	sieve for preparing millet beer <i>pito</i>	
<i>jùk</i>	wooden stool with four legs	
<i>jùl níngò píràk</i>	oracle	
<i>jùné</i>	adze, used for wood working	
<i>káj</i>	granary	

Kushi	gloss	comment
<i>kámmà</i>	lion	<i>zaki</i> (H.)
<i>kásh</i>	spear	
<i>kááwi</i>	celebration indicating end of rainy season, 3 days after <i>laalingga</i>	
<i>kénnímà</i>	collective ancestral spirits, idol	<i>dodo</i> (H.)
<i>koduo</i>	grave	
<i>kóngró</i>	wooden trough for watering domestic animals	
<i>kùkírà shây</i>	age-group	
<i>kúmùn</i>	woven food cover	
<i>làálinggà</i>	celebration allowing harvest of pumpkins and curved beans, 3 days after <i>viyo</i>	
<i>làbwàté</i>	small gourd bottle	
<i>ládùndì</i>	sp. small clay pot for rituals	
<i>miyá kójídàk</i>	celebration in January allowing the preparation of <i>arpesho</i> food	
<i>nyayam</i>	rainbow	<i>baakang gizo</i> (H.)
<i>néwé dīyò</i>	category of marriage - marriage for the first time	
<i>pálanggé</i>	bedstead made of wood	
<i>péré dīyò</i>	category of marriage - marriage of a divorced person	
<i>péré</i>	ground squirrel	
<i>péxàsh</i>	last celebration in the annual cycle, at full moon after <i>kááwi</i> , indicates start of hunting season	
<i>ríí tàminà</i>	category of marriage - levirate	
<i>sáurá ménfòshíb</i>	celebration in March	
<i>shábùk</i>	ritual in April, allows sowing of crops	
<i>shal</i>	black monkey	
<i>shéllé</i>	vulture	<i>ungulu</i> (H.)
<i>shouli</i>	wooden pole with notches, used as a ladder	
<i>shúgó</i>	walking stick	
<i>shwínyí</i>	cooking stick	
<i>suni</i>	blue	
<i>táà làxàd</i>	leather sandal made from buffalo hide	see also <i>fogoji</i>
<i>tábàng</i>	axe with a broader blade, used for soft wood and small trees	
<i>táu fódíyù</i>	celebration in January, marking end of farming season and beginning of dry season	
<i>tawi</i>	sp. wild cat	
<i>tékù, tékhù</i>	terrace	
<i>tewosh</i>	sp. harmless snake, like a blindworm	
<i>tírsháu</i>	sowing ritual, the dodo-priest has to sow crops before anyone else is allowed to do so	

Kushi	gloss	comment
<i>tubbo</i>	backyard of a homestead	
<i>vín</i>	grinding stone	
<i>vìyó</i>	celebration in September, 2-3 weeks after <i>béégòn</i> , indicating end of rainy season	
<i>wana-wana</i>	whirlwind	<i>guuguuwa</i> (H.)
<i>wii</i>	dwarf goat	
<i>yakradín</i>	ash-coloured	
<i>yamma</i>	high god, creator	
<i>yángè</i>	mountain	

Plants:

Kushi	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>ábùrùl viyo, ábùrùl jénè</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>
<i>áďáa</i>	<i>agushii</i>	egusi	<i>Colocynthis citrullus</i>
<i>àgbálò, agbeelo</i>	<i>kananade</i>	beans	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
<i>ajongrang</i>	<i>kubeewaa</i>	okra	<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i>
<i>aniro</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
<i>ànjìndáú</i>	<i>barkoonoo</i>	pepper	<i>Capsicum sp.</i>
<i>árùm</i>	<i>albasaa</i>	onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>
<i>ashima</i>	<i>tumuku</i>	tumuku	<i>Solenostemon rotundifolius</i>
<i>bagoro</i>	<i>farin ginya</i>	?	?
<i>báxál, bíró báxál</i>	<i>durumii</i>	heart-leaved fig tree	<i>Ficus polita</i>
<i>berer, lábérèr</i>	<i>kanya</i>	West African ebony	<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>
<i>ĕeshwe, laduk</i>	<i>karkashii</i>	false sesame leaves	<i>Ceratotheca sesamoides</i>
<i>bii</i>	<i>gwaskaa</i>	sasswood	<i>Erythrophleum guineense</i>
<i>ĕorolo</i>	<i>baujii</i>	red acacia	<i>Acacia seyal</i>
<i>canye</i>	<i>dooya</i>	yam	<i>Dioscorea spp.</i>
<i>caw</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>cewro</i>	<i>karya gaatari</i>	sp. tree	<i>Burkea africana</i>
<i>ďang</i>	?	sp. herb	?
<i>ďangale</i>	<i>dankalii</i>	sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batatas</i>
<i>danguntu</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>ďédèn</i>	<i>shiwaakaa</i>	bitterleaf	<i>Vernonia amygdalina; V. colorata</i>
<i>dilang</i>	<i>amora</i>	Polynesian arrowroot	<i>Tacca leontopetaloides</i>
<i>diráng, bíró diráng</i>	<i>doorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>
<i>duakhono, dwaguno</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>
<i>dùróo</i>	<i>gujiyaa</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>
<i>erumin pe</i>	<i>tafarnuuwaa</i>	garlic	<i>Allium sativum</i>
<i>fulum</i>	<i>audugaa</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>

Kushi	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>fuu, biro fuu</i>	<i>jinin kafiri</i>	blood plum tree	<i>Haematostaphis barteri</i>
<i>galang</i>	<i>duhuwa</i>	sp. plant	?
<i>gamji</i>	<i>giginya</i>	deleb palm	<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>
<i>gana-gana</i>	?	sp. plant	?
<i>gangrong</i>		cactus	<i>Euphorbia spp.</i>
<i>gao</i>	<i>gurjiyyaa</i>	red-flowered silk-cotton tree	<i>Bombax buonopozense</i>
<i>gáppà</i>	<i>shinkaafar</i>	rice	<i>Oryza sp.</i>
<i>garmi</i>	<i>gamma fada</i>	sp. tree	<i>Cassia arereh</i>
<i>gbálàm, balam</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>jale</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger-nut	<i>Cyperus esculentus</i>
<i>jèbúgùjì, jèè</i>	<i>waakee</i>	beans, cow pea	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>
<i>jen</i>	<i>harshen giwa</i>	sp. tree	<i>Lonchocarpus laxiflorus ?</i>
<i>jido</i>	<i>noonon giwaa</i>	sausage tree	<i>Kigelia africana</i>
<i>jire</i>	?	sp. plant	?
<i>jùlé, biró jùlé</i>	<i>ceediyaa</i>	fig tree	<i>Ficus thonningii</i>
<i>kewu, kèwu</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
<i>kulou</i>	<i>dínyaa</i>	black plum tree	<i>Vitex doniana</i>
<i>kúurò</i>	<i>gautaa</i>	garden-egg	<i>Solanum incanum</i>
<i>làdúk</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
<i>lagbani, (biró) bènni</i>	<i>kuuka</i>	Baobab	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>
<i>lèlléu</i>	<i>audugaa</i>	cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>
<i>mèená</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>moddo</i>	<i>geeroo</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>
<i>murum, munum</i>	<i>maiwaa</i>	pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>
<i>óódà, biró óódà</i>	<i>barangkacii</i>	horse bean	<i>Canavalia ensiformis</i>
<i>pawulo</i>	<i>papara</i>	sp. plant	?
<i>péwúràng</i>	?	sp. grass	?
<i>roogo</i>	<i>roogoo</i>	cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>
<i>táawà</i>	<i>taabaa</i>	tobacco	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>
<i>tagawur, gawur</i>	<i>gaawoo</i>	whitethorn tree	<i>Faidherbia albida</i>
<i>tagsha</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	guinea-corn	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>
<i>tajir</i>	<i>gamba</i>	gamba grass	<i>Andropogon gayanus</i>
<i>tali</i>	<i>golumbe</i>	sp. plant	?
<i>tangrang</i>	?	sp. tree	?
<i>tatarar</i>	?	sp. herb	?
<i>tinyak</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>
<i>tinyak</i>	<i>acca</i>	fonio	<i>Digitaria exilis</i>
<i>twáalò</i>	<i>guna</i>	melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>

Kushi	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>vánà</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
<i>vòn</i>	<i>kabeewaa</i>	pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>
<i>wéjjeilá</i>	?	sp. plant	?
<i>wiri</i>	<i>tzaamiiyaa</i>	tamarind	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>
<i>(wúrin) bwéyù</i>	?	sp. plant	?
<i>(wúrin) fùrshík</i>	?	sp. plant	?
<i>yokhanshwan</i>	<i>yaakuuwaa</i>	roselle	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>
<i>yúaxánshàng</i>	<i>ramaa</i>	kenaf	<i>Hibiscus cannabinus</i>

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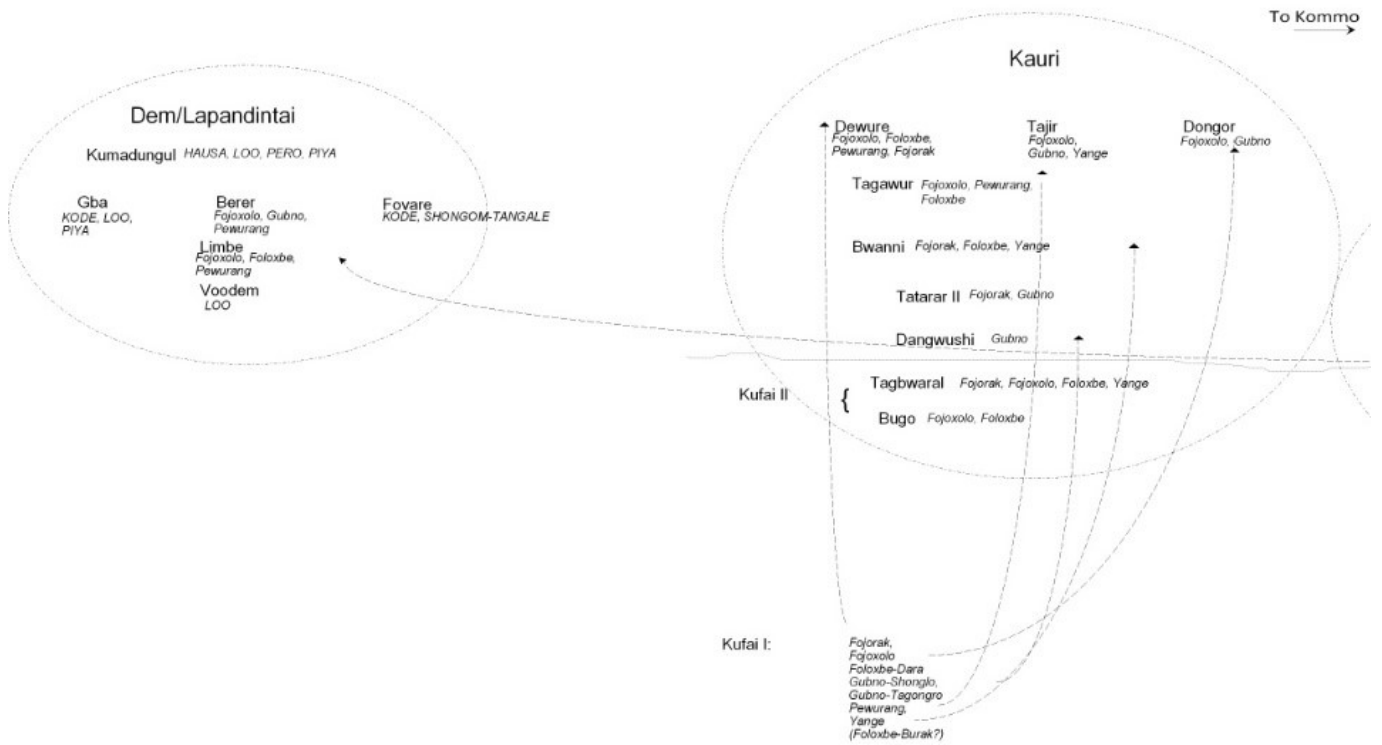
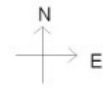
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Appendix

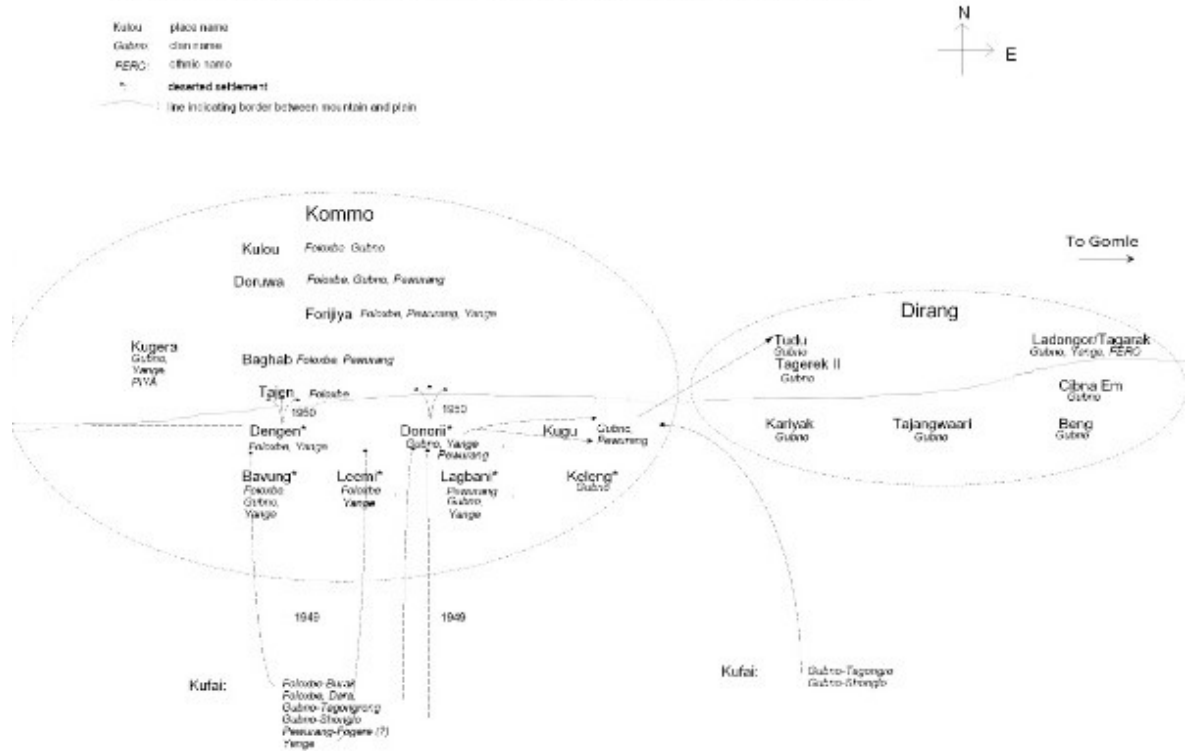
Schematic Maps of Kushi showing wards and clan movements

Schematic map of Kushi, showing hamlets and wards, distribution and partly movements of clans (1)

Kulou: place name
 Gubno: clan name
 PERO: ethnic name
 *: deserted settlement
 ---: line indicating border between mountain and plain



Schematic map of Kushi, showing hamlets and wards, distribution and partly movements of clans (2)



Schematic map of Kushi, showing hamlets and wards, distribution and partly movements of clans (3)

