

## IM80nayim Umar an Nayim

80.1 Brief biography of Nayim, his work as a cattle trader in Chad and Nigeria, 0-9:20

80.2 Nayim describes how he transported cattle to southern Nigeria from Maiduguri, 26:40-35:50

80.1 Brief biography of Nayim, his work as a cattle trader in Chad and Nigeria, 0-9:20

<I> ismak mine

‘What’s your name?’

<N> mohammad amar

‘Mohammad Amar’

<I> wuldook ween

‘Where were you born?’

<N> wəldooni, mauluut<sup>1</sup> fi gambarú ngala,

‘I was born, I was born in Gambaru Ngala.’

<I> inta arabi sei

‘Are you Arab?’

<N> arabi,

‘Arab’

<I> arabi nafar yatu

‘What clan?’

<N> arabi, iisa, wulad abu ise,

‘Arab Iisa, Wulad Abu Ise’

<I> min ammak wa abuuk kullum (0:24)

‘Both your mother and father?’ (0:24)

<N> la, min abuyi wulad abu isa, wa min am̄mi mahaariph, arab mahaariph,

‘No. My father is Abi Isa, and my mother in Mahaarib.’

<I> kubúr ween

‘Where did you grow up?’

<N> ana kibir,<sup>2</sup> fi tašaad, kibír fi tašaad, aywa

‘I grew up, in Chad.<sup>3</sup> I grew up in Chad.’

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<sup>1</sup> While “maluud ween” would be a standard way of asking where one was born in most dialects, in NA the standard question is *wild-oo-k* ween lit. ‘they gave birth to you where?’, as <I> phrases the question. N’s switch to *mawluud* is probably indicative of his Chadian upbringing.

<sup>2</sup> Note the front-back vowel alternation in *kubur* ~ *kibir*, a variation endemic to short high vowels in NA (see Owens 1998: 39-42).

<sup>3</sup> *Tašaad*, alternative pronunciation for čaad or čad. This form I believe refers only to the country, not the lake.

<I> ween fi caad  
‘Where in Chad?’

<N> tašaad, fi njammeena juwa,  
‘Chad, Inside Ndjamena.’

<I> mata jiit hineen le maduguri  
‘When did you come to Maiduguri?’

<N> aiya jiit maiduguri, fi nayntiin seventi nayn, fi sanit alf hau,  
‘Ya, I came to Maiduguri in 1979, in the year...’

<D> aha, alkallam arab<sup>4</sup>  
‘Aha, speak Arabic.’

<N> sanit alf hau tis?a miya hau, alf hau sanit alf hau, saba?in, wa tisa, jiit fi maiduguri,  
‘The year one thousand and nine hundred and, one thousand and the year one thousand, seventy and nine I came to Maiduguri.’

<I> jiit le r raff da  
‘Did you come to this neighborhood?’

<N> la, jiit bas saakin hina, min jiit saakin hina ma řajeet taani, aiwa, (1:12)  
‘No, I just came to live here a while. Since I came I haven’t returned again.’ (1:12)

<I> xidimtak řunu  
‘What’s your profession?’

<N> amalí, bi l awwal, ámal bagar, aiwa, wa l leela<sup>5</sup> kan xalaas, d’aalib fi s suuk, dukkaan, al leela faati dukkaan, aiwa,  
‘My work, basically, work with cattle. But today I’ve finished from it. I am a trader, I’ve opened a shop in the market.’

<I> al xidime be l bagar ween  
‘Where was the cattle trading?’

<N> al bágar, niřtáru bagar mi caad, niřuubuuhum fi najeriya hine, wa na?abbuuhum fi l gád’ar, yamřan legos nuřurfuuhin gabul narjaw hina, (1:41)  
‘The cattle. We’d buy cattle from Chad, bring them to Nigeria here and load them onto a rail car and they’d go to Lagos and we’d sell them, then return here.’ (1:41)

<I> temiř legos qaadi  
‘You’d go as far as Lagos?’

<N> aiwa némři legos, aiwa,  
‘Ya I’d go to Lagos.’

<I> keef

<sup>4</sup> See n. 2 in Text 9. D wants Nayim to give the year in Arabic, which is difficult for him.

<sup>5</sup> This speaker has the unusual practice of using *al leela* lit. “the night” for “today”. *alyoom* or *aloom* is the common usage.

‘Explain.’

<N> bágar nijuubuuhum min caad, min suudaan,  
‘The cattle we’d bring from Chad, from the Sudan.’

<I> caad walla as suudaan, mi baʔiide  
‘Chad or the Sudan? Isn’t it far away?’

<N> aiwa baʔiide kulla nijibuuhin, nijuubuuhin, ništáru min caad, fiya maraat ništáru min  
sudaan, wa min hinaak yošilan fi najeria,  
‘Yes, even if it’s far we bring them. We bring them and buy them from Chad. Sometimes from  
the Sudan, and from there they get to Nigeria.’

<I> keef tjiibuuhin (2:06)  
‘How do you bring them?’ (2:06)

<N> nijuubuuhin hina da, min hina kan šilna al guruuš, nibadduluuha, kan baddalna al guruuš,  
nimšu fook ac caad, kan mašeena caad,  
‘We bring them, from here we go with money and exchange it. Once we’ve exchanged the  
money we go via Chad. When we’ve gotten there ...’

<I> ween fi njammeena  
‘Where, in Ndjamená?’

<N> aiwa fi anjammeena, fi anjammeena juwa, baad mašeena fi anjammeena juwa, narkabo  
d’aira le abasha, min abasha kan xalaas nufuutu be sayyaara, namšu ništáru hinaak, fi huduuth,  
sudaan maa caad, ištareena xalaas, nusuuguuhin be r rijil, natabbuʔuuhin be r rijil, (2:37)  
‘Ya, in Ndjamená. In the middle of Ndjamená. After we’ve gone to Ndjamená, we board an  
airplane for Abbeche and from Abbeche we take a far and go and buy there, at the border  
between Sudan and Chad. Once we’ve bought them, we drive them on foot. We follow them on  
foot.’ (2:37)

<I> min huduud ma s suudaan  
‘From the border with the Sudan?’

<N> aiwa, be r rijil, yájan fi abasha, fi xamsa wa arəbaiin yoom, wa min abasha, min suudan  
le maiduguri da kula yájan fi tałaata šáhar wa xamsa yoom,  
‘Yes, on foot. To Abbeche they take forty five days. And from Abbeche, from the Sudan up to  
Maiduguri, they take three months and five days.’

<I> misil tišir kam  
‘Like how many do you buy?’

<N> misil ništári, awal zaman, al badiri, wáqid al bagar ať táman minaasib šiya, ništáru misil  
miya, miya wa xamsiin, wa al gurs az zamaan ništéru fooga miya wa xamsiin da, al leela ma  
ifuut xamsiin bágar,  
‘Like I’d buy, before, earlier, when the price was a little reasonable, we’d buy like one hundred,  
one hundred and fifty. But for the same amount of money today we don’t get more.’

<I> xamsiin (3:12)

than fifty cattle.<sup>6</sup>  
‘fifty’ (3:12)

<N> al miya wa xamsiin da, at táman zaman fi miya wa xamsiin da al leela ma ifuut xamsiin bagara, al bágar at taman d’ála ziyaada, aiwa  
‘The one hundred and fifty, the former price at one one hundred and fifty today doesn’t surpass fifty head of cattle. The price of cattle has risen more, yep.’

<I> mala tamšu qadi le daar as suudaan  
‘Why do you go so far as the Sudan?’

<N> sudaan, šaan doorinna, at tamani da, la, bágar fi, laakin aqwaali<sup>7</sup> ziyaada, al bagar fi laakin at táman ʔaali ziyaada, fi s sudaan at táman minaasib, aiwa, fi sudan at taman mōnaasiib šuwiya, (3:44)  
‘The Sudan? Because the price, no, there are cattle (nearer) but more expensive. There are cattle but the price is higher. In the Sudan the price is reasonable, ya, in the Sudan the price is more reasonable.’ (3:44)

<I> keef al bagar axeer walla keef  
‘Are the cattle better or how?’

<N> aa hinaak munaasibaat šuwiya, hinaak at táman kwees, aiwa,  
‘There it is more reasonable, there the price is okay.’

<I> tijuubuuhin le mayduguri  
‘You bring them to Maiduguri?’

<N> aywa nujuubuuhin le maiduguri, nūşurfuuhin fi maiduguri, maraat nuşurfuuhin fi maiduguri, wa maraat kan as suuk ma kwees, kan niʔaggubuuhin giddaam, aw leegos, aw bendel aw, anámbara, aw imo, kullu nawadduuhin, kan kalbar kullu, d’awaali bas nemšu, aiwa, (4:23)  
‘Yes, we bring them to Maiduguri. We sell them in Maiduguri. Sometimes we sell them in Maiduguri and sometimes if there is no market, we send them on ahead, either Lagos or Bendel or Anambara or Imo, all those we might send them to, even Calabar. We just head off and go.’ (4:23)

<I> keef tawadduuhum  
‘How do you transport them?’

<N> aj junuub, min hina kan wusulan fi maiduguri da, naʔabbuuhin fi sayyaara, kan abbeenaam sayyaara, as sayyaara taaxud tałaata ayyaam, tałaata ayyaam tooşul fi legos, aiwa, kan wassalat legos, yanzilan, kan nazalan yatumman yoomeen, yoom at taalit, yárjaʔan fi s suuk, kan rajaʔan as suuk, kan nidussuuhin nišiifu, aiwa, (4:51)  
‘The south, from here once they’ve gotten to Maiduguri, we load<sup>8</sup> them onto a truck<sup>9</sup>. Once we’ve loaded them on, the lorry takes three days, three days to reach Lagos. Once it’s reached

<sup>6</sup> Graphic evidence for the devaluation of the Nigerian Naira.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps = *aqla* ‘more expensive’.

<sup>8</sup> *nuşurfuuhin* fi maiduguri ‘we load them in Maiduguri’, *şaraf* here is Chadian, corresponding to *dalla*, *bidalli* in NA; see also n. 21 below.

<sup>9</sup> *Sayyaara*, a generic term for motorized vehicle with more than two wheels, but in the context clearly a large lorry.

Lagos, they get off and once they've gotten off they spend two days and the third, they go to the market. When they're in the market we put them in the market and see how things go.' (4:51)

<I> kam marra fi sana temšu qaadi le caad  
'How many times in a year do you go to Chad?'

<N> fi s sana, fi najeriya, fi s sána, kan katiir marrateen, aw talaata, aiwa, (5:09)  
'In a year, in Nigeria, in a year at most two times, or three, ya.' (5:09)

<I> intu maa rufugaanak axaayaanak induku šarika  
'You and your friends, brothers, do you have a company?'

<N> la la ma indina šaraka, ille ma uxuwaaní, wa šuhuubaaní xalaas, aiwa,  
'No, we don't have a company. Only with my brothers and my friends. That's all.'

<I> misil intu kam  
'Like how many are you?'

<N> misil da alle al hisaab bas, lau xamsa, lo sitta, lo talaata, lo sabʔa, lo ʔašara kullu, alle hisaab al alam al maašye bas,  
'Like accordingly. Maybe five or six or three or seven or ten. According to how circumstances are.'

<I> kullu arab  
'All Arabs?'

<N> aiwa, kullu ʔarab, aiwa, (5:38)  
'Yes, all Arabs.' (5:38)

<I> šunu at taʔab mašaakil ad darb  
'What are the problems on the road?'

<N> ad darb inda mašaakil, taʔab marra wahid, mašaakila da, min hina ke, ma inda mašaakil, min najeriya le kamaɾuun ma inda mašaakil, laakin daxál fi tašaad, min anjammeena, kan gul tarkab sayyaara, temši tištári bágar, hinaak fi giréeɗa da, šaʔab, šunu, yaani mašaakil aš šaʔab, haaza aš šoora doola humma bas aš šaʔab, kan lúgo zool, fi s sayyaara, ihaddudu al arabiya, wa yaaxudu guruuš az zool, aiwa istam guruuš xalaas ixallu an naadum illa hawa iyadda, (6:18) iguul leek arija taani, ma aarfiin, da bas, kan naas min hina mášo, le l gurs di yaʔamalu la ʔariiɓ, iqallubuuha wáarak, ilbasuuha fi r rágaba, xalaas, lau lammasó da wáarak saakit, lo fi šúlbat kula xalaas tigallib al guruuš, ikuun wáarak, mašeet hina xalaas tiftug<sup>10</sup> l wáarak da, kan fartaga guruušaak tidissa fi jeebak tištári fooga fi s súuk, aiwa, (6:46)

'The road has a lot of problems. A lot. It's tiring. The problems, from here like, there are no problems, from Nigeria to Cameroon isn't a problem. But once you've entered Chad, from Njamena, if you get in a car and go to buy cattle, there there is a place called Gireedá.<sup>11</sup> It's difficult, there are problems, difficult. These militants<sup>12</sup> are what is difficult. If they find

<sup>10</sup> *fatag* "fold"

<sup>11</sup> This reference not clear. Greedá is said to be a cattle center in Chad, perhaps referring to the town NE of Abbeche near to the Sudanese border.

<sup>12</sup> *šoora*, apparently, < θawra 'revolution', though in this context probably those in rebellion against the government.

someone in a car, they stop it and take the person's money. They take the money<sup>13</sup> and leave the person empty-handed.<sup>14</sup> (6:18) They tell you to turn back. That's just it. If people go from here, they prepare the money for the road. They double over the money in a good luck talisman and wear it on the neck. So when they frisk him they only feel paper. Or they fold it over on the waist; it's a charm. So when you reach the destination you open the talisman and take the money and put it in your pocket and use it to buy (cattle).'

<I> inta fi waqt al harb mašeet  
'Did you go during the war?'

<N> mašeet, fi l harb mašeet,  
'I went, during the war.'

<I> ma xif min as sooja  
'You weren't afraid of the soldiers?'

<N> fi wáqit al harb da, mašeena, min hina, mašeena be s sayyaara, lahaddi durbaali,<sup>15</sup> min durbaali, mašeena búso min buso al faḍḍal tammam tammamna mašeena be r rijil, aiwa ille be l xeel bas, ille be l xeel (7:12)

'During the war, we travelled from here, we went by car up to Durbali, from Durbali we went to Buso<sup>16</sup> from Buso the rest of the way we completed it on foot. Except on horseback, only on horseback.' (7:12)

<I> induku xeel hine walla  
'Do you have horses here?'

<N> la la, mašeena hinaak, daxalna fi lubb as suuk, naadum ištári la jawaad, saahibí kula ištári ana kula ništári al axir kula yištari xalaas, nišuddúuhin misil naas al bálad, wa xalaas narkabo, wa nišuulu as sáhara, xalaas nemšu, (7:29)

'No, no. We went there, entered the market and a person buys himself a horse. My friend buys I buy the others buy as well. We provision them like the locals<sup>17</sup> and ride off and [...] and we go.' (7:29)

<I> intu induku banaadig wa  
'Did you have guns?'

<N> la la ma indina banaadik, ille sakkiin bas aaxir siláa ma indina, aiwa, ma indina banaadik  
'No, no we didn't have guns. Just knives, the only weapons we had. Ya, we didn't have guns.'

<I> inta našáq be bagar,  
'Have you herded nomadically?'

<N> našáq, (7:44)  
'I did.' (7:44)

<I> ween

<sup>13</sup> *Istam guruuŝ* was interpreted as *istamal guruuŝ*, in turn, 'steal money'. Not an NA usage, in any case.

<sup>14</sup> *illa hu yadda*. Interpretation, *illa hu wa iida*, 'only him and his hand' though the usage is not NA.

<sup>15</sup> SE of Njammena.

<sup>16</sup> Buso is SE of Durbali, perhaps 200 kilometers SE of Njammena.

<sup>17</sup> *nišuddúuhin misil naas al bálad* 'We tie them (the goods on the horses) like the locals'.

‘Where’

<N> min hine da, awwal wilaaya, waqit az zaman, min hina ma náxalu<sup>18</sup> fi tašaad da, waqid al ana waldooni fi gambaru ngala, wáqid da abuyi zaata inda bágar, al leela zaata abuyi inda bágar, haliyan al leela da kula, ha waqid al bágar hina, gabul ma irhalu fi tašaad, min hina, nudúxulu daaxil lubb ac caad da, hana wúlgo da, daaxil, nindassu be l bahaayim, kan al wád’a, astaxaana jaat, báʔad al xariif kan narjo, kar rajaana, náju min hina, nufuutu, be gubio, nimšu foog gaajiganna, gubio, nəfuutu abba, nimšu borno yeeso, nemšú mafáʔ, nemšu ajiwaango, al mahal da namšu naxudu leena fooga gariib, tagriiban (8:30), talaata šáhar ke da, taani narjoʔo, aiwa, wáqt al xariif kwees, inda quwa, al leela kan al xariif ma inda quwa, as siiniin al maadiyaat deel al xariif ma inda quwa, aiwa, ha da kan bágar hassa, waqidna da xalaas al bahaayim kulla rajaan, (8:44) ha min hina da al leela illa yamšan iduxulan fi al yaare daaxil, al yaare da yaani, xalaas, daxalan fi huduud, tiraab kamaruun daaxil, aʔaadi kamaruun daaxil, la kan mašan fi araadi kamaruun da, iyaaxudan, misil talaata šáhar, u sabatašar yoom lo talaata šar xaməstašar yoom fi l mahal da, yárjaʔan taani, yarjaʔan, kan rájaan da, aaxar yárjan fi najériya, kan jin fi najeriya da misil iyaaxudan, taqriiban, saba šáhar, wa ayyaam ke da, xalaas al xariif bintahi, yárjaʔan aaxar, aiwa (9:20)

‘From here, the state, previously, before we went to Chad, when I was born in Gambaru Ngala, at that time my father<sup>19</sup> had cattle. Even today my father has cattle. Presently, now, and when the cattle are here, before he moved to Chad, from here we’d enter into the middle of the Lake Chad area, like Wulgo, inside. We’d enter with the cattle when the weather got hot, then after the rainy season we would return again. When we returned we would come here<sup>20</sup> and go on to Gubio, we’d go to Gajiganna, Gubio and pass by Abba, Borno Yeeso, we’d go to Mafa, then Ajiwango. These places we’d take approximately three months then return. That was when the rains were good, strong, but now when they aren’t, these past few years the rains are weak, so the cattle now, all the cattle have returned, (8:44) and from here today they go and stay in Yare. They entered at the border, inside Cameroon, Cameroonian lands, then they spend like three months there and seventeen days or three months and fifteen days there, then they return. When they return they come to Nigeria and once they’ve come they spend like seven months, and a few days. Then the rains end and they return again.’ (9:20)

80.2 Nayim describes how he transported cattle to southern Nigeria from Maiduguri, (26:40-35:50)

<I> indak ahal fi njammeena  
‘Do you have relatives in Ndjamena?’ (26:40)

<N> ha, aiwa indi ahal fi anjammeena,  
‘Yes, I’ve got relatives in Ndjamena.’

<I> hine fi yerwa kula  
‘And here in Maiduguri as well?’

<N> fi yerwa kula  
‘In Maiduguri as well.’

<sup>18</sup> Probably for *daxalu*, before „they“ = his parents went to Njammena.

<sup>19</sup> Lawan Dar, one of the speakers in GR139

<sup>20</sup> Most likely ‘here’ is not Maiduguri where the interview is taking place but ‘here’ Gambaru-Ngala where the speaker is from and where he is orientating his cattle herding.

<I> wa fi ngala kula  
‘And in Ngala?’

<N> fi ngala kula, (26:52)  
‘In Ngala as well.’ (26.52)

<I> ahalak gaadiin maak hine walla  
‘Are your relatives living with you here?’

<N> fi mayduguri hina, doola bas ahalí, doola, əxəwaaní, hu da, abú, abú al wilda, ahaaj allamiin da, am̩ma, am̩ma le l haaj al lamiin, wa am̩ma la abuyí ana, ummuhum wahade, wa abuuhum wahid, (27:24)  
‘Here in Maiduguri, these are just my relatives, these, my brothers, this one,<sup>21</sup> his father, his father who sired him, Haj Allamin, his mother, his mother of Haj Allamin, and the mother to my own father, their mothers were the same and their fathers were the same.’ (27.24)

<D> wa indina axayaan kula fi gwonge,  
‘And we have relatives in Gwange.’

<I> mine dool,  
‘Who are these?’

<D> fi raff hana, fi raff hana emmí, emmí al haaj emma da, da sai be axayaanna,  
‘In the neighborhood of my paternal uncle, my uncle Haj Emma. He’s just our brother.’

<N> beet hana šariif ibrahim saleh dool sei,  
‘In the house of Sharif Ibrahim, right?’

<D> aʔa fi beet hana emmí al haaj danna, hau al haaj dawuud,  
‘No in the house of my paternal uncle Haj Danna, and Haj Daud.’

<N> aa fi,  
‘okay, these.’

<D> dool caat naasna sei, (27:43)  
‘These happen to be our relatives.’ (27:43)

<N> wa aniina min badiri da, hillinna ké, gáʔar al bakaan, hana aj juduud da, min aj juduud min zámán da, fi kəʔranaawa hina, aniina maargiin min kəʔronaawa, wa kəʔronaawa, hi zaatha, min gagraawa ba kəʔroonaawa, da bakaanna, abbahaanna da bakaan wuldó abbaahaanna, wa kúburo, wa tijowwazo, wa wáɖoʔo, kula hína, saakiniin ma al bahaayim, (28:13)  
‘And us, from earlier, our village, the origin of the place, of our grandfathers, our ancestors from before, was in Kirenawa. We left Kirenawa, and Kirenawa itself, from Gagraawa and Kirenawa, this was our place. Our grandfathers, they were born in the place and grew up there and married and gave birth, all here (in Kirenawa), living with their cattle.’ (28.13)

<D> suuk al bahaayim bas waddaahum fi anjaameena,  
‘The cattle market, they sent them to Ndjamena.’

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<sup>21</sup> Referring to Danna, who is also speaking in the interview. Nayim traces back his relation to Danna via a common ancestor. In this case, the paternal grandmother of Nayim and the paternal grandmother to Danna were the daughters of a common grandfather and great grandmother.



<N> al leela, aiwa, ma al bahaayim bas, wa naššaaqa taani aaxir, fi najeriye binšaqa, wa fi caad binšaqa,

‘Today, yes, just with cattle. And others are herdsmen, herding nomadically in Nigeria, as well as Chad.’

<N> azbaab al bahaayim bas, xalaas yaani al bágar, al arab benšaqa da, xalaas, wáqid daak záman,

‘Because of the cattle. The cattle, Arabs would herd nomadically at that time.’

<I> wa ahalak qaadi fi njammeena kula bixadim fi suug al bahaayim

‘And your relatives there in Nndjamena also work with cattle?’

<N> mm, wa al leela uxuwaaní waadiin sakaniin fi gangola, aiwa, fi l bahaayim bas, gangola fi tiraab adamaawa, fi ardiye hiil adamaawa,

‘And today my brothers, some of them live in Gongola, with the cattle, Gongola in Adamawa State.’

<D> waadiin fi daar an nyamiri (28:43)

‘Others are in Adamawa state.’ (28:43)

<I> binšaqa qaadi

‘He herds there?’

<N> la safar, safariya, ištáru wa yemšu wa isúrflu giddaam, laakin indina bahaayim fi gangoola kula, aiwa, binšaqaan kula indina bagar fi gongola al leela kula, aywa, (29:12)

‘No, trading. He buys and goes on and sells them. But we also have cattle in Gongola. They herd, we have cattle in Gongola as well now.’ (29:12)

<D> ha dugut kan naadum šára bágar min hine,

‘So now if someone buys cattle here,’

<N> mm

‘mm

<D> haw waddaahin fi, fi daar hiil, ibo da,

‘And transports them to, to the Ibo area.’

<N> fi januub

‘In the south’

<D> yawa fi aj junuub keef, biseyyi, kan šareettin min hine sei tímiš tušubbuhin,

‘Right in the south. How does he do it, if you bought them from here, do you go and load them up?’

<N> aywa (29:33)

‘Yes’ (29:33)

<D> ma t tidissihin fi s suuk d’awaali sei, taxalliihin binšan biyaakulan,

‘You don’t take them to the market right away, right. You let them go and eat.’

<N> kan šareethin min hina, kan al yoom, al yoom as sabit da,  
‘If you buy them here, if today is say Saturday,’<sup>22</sup>

<D> mm  
‘mm’

<N> bahaayim bġjan fi s suuk,  
‘The cattle come to the market.’

<D> mm  
‘mm’

<N> al leela šiil guruušaġ, hau mašeet as suuk,  
‘Today take your money and go to the market.’

<D> mm  
‘mm’

<N> ligiit bahaayim, šiiftihim minaasibaat maa kweesaat,  
‘You found cattle and the price was good for you,’<sup>23</sup>

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> tištariihin, titfa<sup>24</sup> al guruušaġ, (29:50)  
‘You buy them, and pay the money.’ (29:50)

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> wa xalaas, tirakkiġhin al leela bas,  
‘and then you load them on the same day.’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> ha temši tišiif leek as sayyaara, ligiil leek sayyaara, tatfa guruušaġ as sayyaara,  
‘and you go find yourself a lorry; once you’ve found a lorry, you pay for its hire,’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> kan rakkabtihin al leela da,  
‘Once you’ve loaded them up,’

<sup>22</sup> Nayim is beginning the description from the beginning of the trip, whereas Danna’s previous remark pertained to the arrival in the south.

<sup>23</sup> *šiiftihim minaasibaat maak kweesaat* ; ‘You find them appropriate for you’. Literally this could be understood as *maa-k* ‘not-you, not appropriate for you’. However, the context speaks against it. NA consultants understood *maa-k* ‘with you’ synonymous with NA *lee-k* ‘for you’.

<sup>24</sup> Probably < tidfa < \*tidfaṣ ‘you pay’, though in this particular context perhaps ‘you spend’.

<D> mm  
‘mm’

<N> xalaas bisaafəran,  
‘they just set off.’<sup>25</sup>

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> ma indihin tariiq ke yaani hana raaha ke maafi,  
‘They don’t have any opportunity to rest.’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> al leela kan bisaafiran d’awwaali,  
‘Today they travel throughout.’

<D> bisaafiran, kan saafaran mašan fi  
‘They travel and when they’ve traveled and arrived in’

<N> leegos  
‘Lagos’

<D> manzalin da,  
‘their terminus’

<N> aywa (30:13)  
‘okay’ (30:13)

<D> kan nazzaltihin šaba fi aukaw walla fi onitša,  
‘once you’ve offloaded them in Awka or Onitsha’

<N> okay  
‘away’

<D> walla owerri da,  
‘or Owerri’

<N> aa  
‘aa’

<D> yauwa  
‘okay’

<N> ha kan mašēet min hina  
‘and you left from here’

<D> tidishshin fi s suuk d’awaali,

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<sup>25</sup> *Bisaafəran*, lit. the cattle travel.

'You take them to the market directly?'

<N> kan şabbeetin guļ nuşuubbihin lee amma?aafiye,  
'If you shipped them let's say to Umafia,'

<D> mm  
'mm'

<N> min hine kan şabbeetihin al leela min hina da,  
'From here if you ship them today from here.'

<D> mm (30:22)  
'mm' (30:22)

<N> ama?aafiye di,  
'So Umafia'

<D> mm  
'mm'

<N> hi yaani fi imo state,  
'It's like in Imo State.'

<D> mmm  
'mm'

<N> sabbeethin le ama?aafiye misil al yoom as sebit,  
'You transported them to Umafia like on Saturday,'

<D> mm  
'mm'

<N> kan şabbeethin da,  
'If you loaded them on Saturday'

<D> mm  
'mm'

<N> al yoom as sebit, şabbeetihin,  
'Today is Saturday and you loaded them on (the truck).'

<D> ay  
'ya'

<N> maaşaat, ambaakər alahad maaşaat,  
'they'll travel; The next day is Sunday, they'll travel.'

<D> mhm  
'mhm'

<N> at talaat,

‘Tuesday’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> at talaata da, misil sa?a xamsa, lo sa ?araba haw nuu? da,  
‘Then on Tuesday, like at five o’clock, or four thirty.’

<D> mm  
‘mm’

<N> bidallan, kan aafe da,  
‘They offload, if things are okay.’

<D> mm (30:45)  
‘mm’ (30:45)

<N> hana al u?ur  
‘in the late afternoon’

<D> wai  
‘ya’

<N> saa xamsa hau nu? hana al u?ur,  
‘five thirty in the late afternoon’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> bidallan,  
‘They get off’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> haw xamsa lau arba?a hau nu? da, kan aafe da biddallan fi ammaafiya, (30:54) [side  
change]  
‘and five or four thirty, if everything is ok, they’ll get off in Umafia.’ (30:54)

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> kan dallan saa ?araba wa nu??, fi s suug juwa, wa as suuk kwees, xalaas, alme kula ma  
bi?arban,  
‘If they get off at four thirty, in the middle of the market, and the market is good, then they  
don’t drink.’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> xalaas tə?əru?hin, kan as suuk ma kwees, xalaas bixarman ba?ra,

<N> So you just sell them.<sup>26</sup> If the market isn't good, so they just go outside the town for a bit.  
'If the market isn't good, they just go outside the town.'

<D> xaraman barra  
'They go outside.'

<N> kan xaraman barra,  
'Once they've gone outside,'

<D> mhm  
'mm'

<N> tišiil leek ulaad, min hine an naas al mášo maaəm da itineen (31:29)  
'You take some boys, from here the guys you went with,<sup>27</sup> two of them.' (31:29)

<D> mm  
'mm'

<N> humma axado gariib tałaata yoom fi d darb, fi t tałaata yoom da, ma induhum noom, walla nahaar walla leel, noom ke ma induhum,  
'They'll have taken like three days on the road and on the third day, without any sleep, neither night nor day, no sleep at all.'

<D> mhm  
'mhm'

<N> faraga hiil niʔaas da, walá xamsa dagaiga ma induhum, tałaata leelaat  
'A break for sleep, they don't even get five minutes, the three days.'

<D> [catt biyaak ?]  
'all' [?]

<N> wa tałaata] nahaaraat, la ʔarabiye jaariye bas,  
'and three] days. The truck is moving,'

<D> jaariye aha  
'Moving okay'

<N> jaariye bas, wa al bágar zatta ma indihin margat,  
'Simply moving, and the cattle themselves have no sleep.'

<N> fi tałaata yoom da, ayyid bahiime da,  
'In the three days, any cattle...'

<D> mm  
'mm'

<N> waafke le d'uulha bas, margat ke mafi (31:57)  
'standing up straight; there's no place for them to sleep.' (31:57)

<sup>26</sup> *xalaas taşarufhin* 'You just sell them'

<sup>27</sup> Boys who had been hired to accompany the cattle in the truck.

<D> tubga kaslaana,  
‘If one gets lazy ...’

<N> kan kasilaana bas, kan sawwat<sup>28</sup> ke wagat kula tidalli leeha, tikassir danabha tugumm, kan ma gammat,  
‘If it’s lazy, if it does like this and slumps down, you pinch<sup>29</sup> its tale and it stands up. If it doesn’t stand,’

<D> bifajjiqanha  
‘They’ll (the other cows) trample it.’

<N> kan ma gammat bifajjiqanha, baʔad da, kan bifajjiqanha, hi al bahiime kan šiftaha bigi ziyaada ma tugum,  
‘If it doesn’t get up, they’ll trample it. After that, they might trample on it, so if you see it still won’t get up,’

<D> mhm  
‘mhm’

<N> tifattiš leek hábil,  
‘You get yourself a rope.’

<D> hau turbud’ raasha  
‘And you tie its head.’

<N> hau turbud’ muxxúrha, mat tinnaffas, (32:17)  
‘And you tie its nose so it can’t breathe.’ (32:17)

<D> wəi dada [Y1] təgumm  
‘Then finally it gets up.’

<N> le [Y2] muxurha be qašimha da, kan naffas ke dakka<sup>30</sup> da, tugumm, kan gammat tifartila,  
‘from its nose and mouth, if breathes but can’t, it gets up and once it’s up you untie it.’

<D> mm  
‘mm’

<N> xalaas taaniya kullu kan ragadat turbúṭha misil da,  
‘Or alternatively if it sleeps you tie it like this,  
,

<N> xalaas tugum, laakin faraga ke [Y1] hiil margat lehin ke,  
‘So it gets up, but a break for sleep.’

<D> hau al watiir maašye [Y2] bas,  
‘and the lorry is just moving]’

<N> al watiir maašye bas, ma təwaggiif watiir,

<sup>28</sup> 3FSG of *sawwa* “if it does like this” = *antaka* ‘lean over, fall over’.

<sup>29</sup> *Kassar*, lit. ‘break many’.

<sup>30</sup> *dakka* = ‘reach limit’.

'The truck doesn't stop, it doesn't stop.'

<D> mhmm

'mhm'

<N> watiir maašye bas, da fi tałaata yoom, tałaata leelaat hau talaata nahaaraat da, ar raaʔi ma inda manaam, wa al bagara ma indaha manaam, ille kan mášat addallat hinaak, (32:44)  
'The truck is just moving, for three days. Three nights and three days. The herdsman doesn't get any sleep and the cattle don't have any sleep, until it goes and gets off there.' (32:44)

<I> keef taširhin, tišir kull al bagar min taajir waahid walla tamiš le naas gedegede  
'How do you buy them? Do you buy all the cattle from one trader or do you go to different people?'

<N> aiwa, min hina kan mašeet fi s suug da, tištári, šift al bahaayim, tišiif ʔašara, sawa, wa xamsa sawa, wa išəriin sawa, wa talaatiin kula sawa, wa xamsiin kula buxud'd'uuhum sawa, laakin mitafarrigiin misil waahid wa tineen wa talaata, kullu fi, ha bas kan tidawwur, tištári da, kan šif tištéri misil bahaayim ášara, tišteriiəm min taajir wáhid, kan išəriin kula tišteriiəm min taajir wáhid, kan xamsiin kula kan tištariihum kan šiftihum ajabook wa tištariiiəm min taajir wayid bas, humma al xamsiin da kan ištereethum min tajir waayid, xamsiin da tukúbbuhum fi arabiiteen, aiwa, (34:07)

'Right, from here if you go to the market, you buy them, you've seen the cattle, you look at ten together and five together and twenty together and thirty together and even fifty you put them together. But sometimes separate like one and two and three as well. And if you want, you buy this and you might buy ten cattle, you buy them from one trader or even twenty from one trader or even fifty you buy so long as you like them and you buy them from one trader. The fifty that you've bought from one trader, you load them onto two trucks, ya.' (34:07)

<I> išəriin hau xamsa fi kull watiir

'Twenty five in one truck?'

<N> išəriin hau xamsa fi watiir, wa išəriin hau xamsa kula fi watiir, aiwa, misil da, da kan bagar dugaag, kan bágar abboore kubaar, tušubbuhum išəriin, aywa, kan abboore išəriin išəriin,  
'Twenty five in a truck and twenty five in another truck, ya. It's like that. That is if the cattle are small. If they are big Abboore cattle, you load twenty. Ya, if Abboore twenty twenty.'

<I> taatum kaš

'You pay cash?'

<N> aywa le al guruuš, tanda loəm kaš,

'Ya as far as money you give them cash.'

<D> ma ʔínduhum diyaan

'There isn't any credit (debts).'

<N> la, misil kan naadum misil at ʔaman, kan ligiit at táman da, yaani al bagar al biguulu leek di fi, ʔarəba wa išəriin, wa di, fi tamaane w ʔišəriin, at tamaane wa išəriin, bi d diyaana, tamaane wa išəriin da yaaduuk, diyaana, da tigaddim min al guruš, guruuš da tigaddim min al guruuš, guruuš da tigaddim minna, tiqaddim wa al fađđal ille kan mašeet rajeet, da iguulu leek misil yaani ʔaman fi ʔamaane wa iširiin, (35:10)



‘No. Like like if a person, the price, if you found the price, like they tell you there are twenty four cattle, and these are twenty eight, the twenty eight are on credit. The twenty eight they give you on credit. This is an advance. This money is an advance on the money, the money is an advance on the money,<sup>31</sup> an advance and the rest when you’ve gone and come back. This they’ll tell you the price is in twenty eight.’ (35:10)

<I> akbar suug al bagar fi najeriya ween  
 ‘Where’s the biggest market in Nigeria?’

<N> ákbar suuk al bagar fi najeriya, ákbar suuk al bagar fi najériya, awwal ši fi maiduguri, akbar suuk fi najeriya, fi maiduguri, fi balad al islaam ba, fi najeriya yoo, fi najeriya, ákbar suuk al bágar, be l aali, fi maiduguri, wa at taani, fi gangoola  
 ‘The biggest cattle market in Nigeria. The biggest cattle market in Nigeria. First of all is Maiduguri. The biggest market is in Maiduguri. In the Islamic part, right?<sup>32</sup> Okay in all of Nigeria. The biggest cattle market by a wide margin is in Maiduguri, and the next is Gongola.’ (35:50)

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<sup>31</sup> I.e. on the money which will be paid after the cattle are sold.

<sup>32</sup> *fi balad al islaam ba* ‘In the Islamic lands’, referring to Nigeria, not the Islamic world as a whole, i.e. to northern Nigeria.