

TV70a-Gulumba-ajaa

side , ajaa = A, I = owens

Note: the first part of the tape was inaudible.

<languages >

<A> ... juduudna abbaanna cat jamii, haw ana kula kan gəraat az zamaan kula kan gareetha , fi fišaan da bas dada baarif kalaam boɾno da, kalaam hawsa bas ma šiya kula allemte šiya hine bas, finšaan mašeet geet fi mayduguri, salaasa saná, dada finšaan da kalaam hana hawsa kula allellemta, finšaan da bas (0:31)

„... my ancestors, fathers all, and me, I also studied in the school, and because of this I know Kanuri, Hawsa. I just learned them a little because I went and stayed in Maiduguri, three years. Because of that I learned Hawsa.”

<work>

<A> ana ajá, ana ajá hana gulumbá, tawwa ajá fi kaala, candooni, jaabooni kan le gulumbá, wai, ana kula ajá hana gulumbá dugut,
„I am the district head, the district head of Gulumba. Formerly I was the district head of Kaala, they changed me and brought me to Gulumba, yep, so I'm the district head of Gulumba now.”

<I> wildook ween

„Where were you born?”

<A> ana wuldooni fi kundiye, fi kundiye, fi kundiye kaala bałge, di bas hille hiil jiddí hiil abuyí, fi kundiye di, wuldooni fiya bas

„I was born in Kundiye, in Kundiye. In Kundiye in Balge. That is just my ancestral village of my father, in Kundiye.”

<I> mata jiiit

„When did you come [here]?”

<A> šabá jiiit da, candooni min kaala, jiil le gulumbá da šabá al yoom, aloom d'amaane saná ke, niseyy d'amaane saná, hedér min gulumbá candooni jaabooni le kaala da, a?a, le min kaala jaabooni le gulumbá, aloom d'amaane saná (1:15)

„Like when I came, they changed me from Kaala and I came to Gulumba, like, from today, it was eight years ago, it adds up to eights years, since they transferred me from Kaala.”

<I> sei al arab katiiriin

„Are Arabs the majority here?”

<A> aɾaɓ bas katiiriin fi gulumbá, humma bas aktár, humma bas al katiiriin , hellaal aɾaɓ katiiraat fi, hellaal aɾaɓ katiiraat fi təraab gulumbá da, (1:32)

„The Arabs are the majority in Gulumba. They are more, the majority. There are a lot of Arab villages in the Gulumba area.”

<what do arabs do>

<A> gaadiin fi l hellaal fi l kawiyē baṛra, humma cat gaadiin barra induhum bagár, induhum míze, induhum rəzúx, humma ma induhum sanyaa, sanyaat humma ille l hiraata, finšaan da, humma aniina al arab barra, kan gaalo iyaalku caalu¹ agəru da, iyaalhum ma budussuuəm fə gərá zeen, finšaan da bas humma gaadiin barra fi l hellaal baṛra, šuqulhum bagár miize, haw šuqúl bihertu hiraata, (2:00) da bas, amma al yoom ke da garó kula katiiriin fi l magarantiye, finšaan da bas

“They have cattle, goats, they have wealth, They don’t have a profession, except for farming. Because of this, we, the Arabs in rural areas, if they say, ‘your children, come and study’, they don’t enroll them in studies, because they just stay in the countryside. Their’s is cattle, goats, something to farm. However, now there are a lot who study in the school.”

<I> šunu asmaa hellaal al arab

“What are the names of Arab villages?”

<A> yo asmaa hellaal al árab da, mineen² da, ana aj jiiit deef ma biyerfan zeen kula, al beʔeriffan ke da fi, yoo al gariib le gulumbá da, (2:18) minneen, raafaaʔ, gade kula raafaaʔ talaata , minnen fəlatari, mineen gəde, bulabuliin kula gariibe, allammó di gariibe, guldubá kula gariibe, dagilí kula gariibe, koorí, kula gariibe, jillí, dalehe, gəde kula delehe, talaata , da cat guraab le gulumbá, ha šabá moogoo, moogo, moogo kula talaata , aš šalaasa , gəde, anciqo, kula gariibe le gulumbá, xasaara kula gariibe le gulumbá, dagəlí kula gariibe, andonlí kula gariibe, digəra kula gariibe, digəra kula tałaata , kula hinna cat guraab le gulumbá, naʔam , talaata da, hellaal tałaata šumṁmahan dagəlí dagəlí da tałaata , hinna cat hellaal aṛabna da, finšaan hinna talaata usumhan wahit , hinna dagəlí, dagəli tałaata , cat hellaal bas, dagəlí sum hana hille, mi ušum aaxər, šabá minneen, bulabuliin, kula gariibe, gəde d’uggiye kula gariibe, deela kula gariibaat le gulumbá, cat da bas suukhum , cat gulumbá bas suukhum , hellaal hine al arab dool da, cat gulumbá bas suukhan ,

“Okay, names of Arab villages. From here, I came as an outsider who doesn’t know them well. What I know of them, the ones near to Gulumba, from here, Rafa, and again Rafa, three [named ‘Rafa’], from here there’s Fulatari, then again Bulabuliin is near as well, Jilli, Dalehe, and another Dalehe, three [of them], all near to Gulumba. And like Moogo, Moogo, Moogo, three of them, then Anciqo, also near to Gulumba, Xasaara also is close to Gulumba, Dagili is close, Andonli is close, Digera also is close, three of them, they are all close to Gulumba, yes, three, three with the same name, their name is one, Dageli, Dageli are three, Dageli is a village name, they are also near to Gulumba. All of these, Gulumba is their main market, these Arab villages. All of them Gulumba is their market.”

<I> as suug da keef (4:56)

¹ = taʔaal imperative form of “come”; typical lexeme of Bagirmi Arabic.

² < min hineen “from here”.

“When is the market?”

<A> as suuk da, suuk hana gulumbá da be l larabaa, min ad doora le d doora dugoo, da suukha be l larbaa, finšaan, aniina hineen t̄raab hana gulumbá hineen da, hu gulumbá bas b̄rniina, da bas as suuk, finšaan da bas be l larbaa da kulu bujú le s suuk hineen, da bas suukkum ,

“The market, the Gulumba market is Wednesday. From one week to the next, its market day is Wednesday. Because, we in the Gulumba area, Gulumba is our main town, that’s just the market, for this reason they come to the market on Wednesday. This is their market.”

<I> bijuubu šunu

“What do they bring?”

<A> bijú da, bijú da bibiiu ɾaɓa bibiiu qalla, bibiiu jidaad, bibiiu bagár, bibiiu miize, cat bibiiu fi gulumbá hineen bas, da cat bijuubu min baɾra le gulumbá hineen (4:23)

“They come and sell curdled milk they sell grain, they sell chickens they sell cattle, they sell goats they sell everything, here in Gulumba. That’s what they bring from outside to Gulumba here.”

<I> šunu xidimitku

“What’s your work?”

<A> aniina l aɾáb hineen da, nihaarit niheerit ḡade, naas busuuru be l bagár kula fi, naaz induhum bagár, binšaɓo kula fi, da cat aniina hineen n̄seyyii, di bas sanyanna hineen da,

“We the Arabs here, we farm, we farm and in addition people pasture their cattle. There are people with cattle. That is all what we do here, that’s just our occupation.”

<I> tinšaqu min gulumbá (4:52)

“Do you nomadize from Gulumba.”

<A> min daar gulumbá hineen bas, dada ke kan al xariif ja, hineen finšaan ɗubaan katiir, dada finšaan da al bagár dada binšaɓan, amma gaadiin aniina hineen kula fi, kan naadim inda ruzúx kooma šabá bagár miteen talaata ke da, bagár ar̄biin xamsiin bigarahin bišarab labán, alfaɗɗalan kan, binšan minšaax, kee be naar al xariif³ faat kan biruddan biján, wai da bas (5:14)

“From the Gulumba area here, when the rains come, because there are a lot of flies, because of this they nomadize. But some just stay here [with their cattle]. If a person has a lot of wealth, like 200 or 300 head or so, he’ll keep 40 or 50 here and drink their milk, while the rest are sent⁴ for nomadism. Once the rains are over they come back. Yep, like that.”

<I> where herd

³ < *nahaar* “daytime”, but used here as general “time of”. Equally one could have *waqut*, *sanat*.

⁴ The subject in fact is 3FPL, i.e. the cattle.

<A> binšaḡo be l báḡar fi, šabá kan naaəm inda rəzúx fi baḡár katiiraat da,
 “They nomadize, like if a person has a lot of cattle.”

<I> inta inta nafsak (5:20)
 “You yourself?”

<A> aʔa ana ma ninšaḡ, ana da, ana xaddaami hana l hakuuma, amma ana kula
 beheerit , hiraata da beheerit , haw dada baxadim fi xudumt al hakuuma, finšaan da bas
 dada ma banšax

„No I don’t nomadize. Me, I’m a government employee. I farm, I farm and work for the
 government. Because of that I don’t nomadize.”

<how long in Maiduguri>

<A> tałaata sána da, tałaata saná da, ana tawwa, ajá hana kaala, jaabooni candooni
 jaabooni hineen, (5:41)

“Three years, three years. Before I was district head of Kaala then they brought me and
 transferred me here.”

<Stay in maiduguri>

<A> fi mayduguri geʔéd fi gwonge, sána waade , jiiit geed fi, ngomari cikii,⁵ kula siniin
 tineen tineen, dugo gabbál jiiit hineen (5:53)

“In Maiduguri I stayed in Gwange, one year, I went and stayed in Ngomari Inside, each
 two years, then I returned here.”

<compare city village life>

<A> aʔa da ambeenaathum beʔiid seiʔ, magad hana al birni da, hu bas, dugut attallaf al
 amúr cat hu bas, finšaan magad hana al birni da wahaalta šiya, amma kula aloom gariib
 ke ka, al kaawye bas bigát ahalá min al bərní, finšaan kan naadim barra fi l kaawiye
 biheerit, al akíl kula buutu, amma fi l birni maget gaasi, maget hana, bašiif mageedí hana
 hineen bas axeer min hana yerwa da, mageedí fi gulumbá bas axeer, mageedí hana
 gulumbá da, axeer min hana yarwa, hu bas basəmé helú bas, finšaan gaayt fi lub
 axaayaaní, haw beheerit baakul, haw xidimit aš şuld’aan kula baxadamha da, šifta axeer
 magadí hana yařwa, (7:43)

“No, there’s a big difference between them. City life. Now everything’s gone bad,
 because city life had fewer problems, but now the country has become better than the city
 because a person in the countryside farm, food is cheap, but in the city it’s expensive. So
 I see my life here as better than that in Maiduguri. My life in Gulumba is better than
 Maiduguri. I feel it is better, because I stay among my relatives and I can farm and eat,
 as well as the government work, so I see it better than Maiduguri.”

<many people migrate to city>

⁵ An area behind the University of Maiduguri teaching hospital.

<A> aloom siniina deela da, kádar d’amaane sana ke da, xariif maafi, al xariif bigí šiya alme maafi, alme mafi iyaal cat mašó le leegos, waadiin mašó le caad, waadiin mašó, lee mayduguri, amma l yoom kádár hool wahid ke da, ligiina alme, aj ju kula bigí mafi al mašó kula, cat gabbalo jo, finšan xariif ja da, cat gabbalo jo, (7:17)

“Today, these last years, eight years ago or so, there weren’t rains and there wasn’t water, so the younger ones all went to Lagos, others went to (Lake) Chad⁶ others to Maiduguri. But since a year now or so we’ve gotten water, hunger has dissipated and everyone’s come back. Because the rains came, people returned.”

<best dialect>

<A> an nađiife da, an nađiife nusumaaha luqunna di bas aṅ nađiife, finšaan al birni da, kan inta mašeet inta aṛaḃi kula, naas bijú bukaan hejəra , bijú min ac caad min ke kula fi, al luqa finšaan gade gade da, dugut aniina fi d daar di luqudna hiil al aṛáb waade baṣ, kan naadim bilkallam kalaam al aṛaḃ da cat kalaam waahid bas, finšaan dada aniina cat gaaydiin áṛaḃ ke da, amma luqqa hiil al birni ka, finšaan naas bijú min jaay bilxalbad’o katiiriin da, al lúqa cat gade gade, hiil al aṛaḃ kula gade gade, fi l birni da, mhm finšaan da kan luqunna hineen ba ana bašiifha afdál , hiilna hiil biladeega hiil juduudna, hiil abbaadna, di bas nišiifa afdál lei bas (8:03)

“The best language, we think ours is the best. Because in the city, if you go even if you find Arabs he comes from somewhere else, they come from Chad and the like, so the language is different. We here in this place our Arabic language is uniform. If a person speaks Arabic there’s just the one Arabic. Because of this we just stay together as Arabs. But the language in the city, because people come from different places they mix it up a lot. The language is different. So I see our language as better, that of our country area of our ancestors, our fathers, I see it as the best.”

<lg of market>

<A> arab katiir fi s suuk, fi hineen da, fi suuk ke da, aṛaḃ kula bilkallamo fih, borno kula fih, angamargu fih, fallaata kula fih, finšaan daarna fiiha , qabiile katiire , nafár ke da bəsoʷ arəba xamsa kula fih, dada finšaan ahal as suuk gade kan, mine kula bijí, kan aṛaḃi bijí burnaay bijí angamargu bijí fallaata bijí, dool cat billammo dada cath, mine kula bilkallam be l luqqa hiila, kan inta ma, ma busámo finšan ana aṛaḃi, kula bagdar balkallam le axuyí al burnaay be kalaam boṛno, kan šabá fallaati ke ja kula bagdar fallaata ma biyerfa amma al hawsa bagdar balkallam le, dadda, finšan dadda, dadda inseyy as suuk finšaan da bas (8:47),

“There are a lot of Arabs in the market here, in the market. The Arabs speak in it. There is also Kanuri, Malgwa,⁷ Fulfulde, because in our area there are a lot of tribes, four or five different ones, so since the market people are differentiated, anyone can come, whether Arab, Kanuri, Malgwa, Fulani, these all gather together and each speaks his own

⁶ “Chad” is ambiguous between the country (as definitely in the next excerpt), and the area of the lake. As the lake has receded, it has drawn farmers from all over. The area is simply referred to as “čaad”.

⁷ Gamargu is an exonym; see Löhr 2002.

language. If you don't,⁸ if they don't understand because I'm Arab, I can still speak to my Kanuri brother in Kanuri, and if a Fulani likewise, if I don't know Fulfulde I can still speak to him in Hawsa. In this way the market operates."

<fi xudumtak>
 "In your work?"

<A> fi xudumtí balkallam be l árab bas katiir, finšan dada arab katiiriin, dadda balkallam be l aráb bas aktár, min luqa aaxar (8:58)
 "In my work I speak Arabic mostly, because Arabs are the majority, so I speak more Arabic than any other language"

<your duties>

<A> xudumtí, xudumtí ana ajá, xudumtí ajá , ajá hana gulumbá, finšaan da bas xudumtí
 "My work, My work I'm the district head, the district head of Gulumba; that's my work."

<I> xudumt al ajaa

<A> xudumt al ajá da, xudumt hiil al hakuuma baş, hi hiil hakuuma baş, kan gaalo ajá da, hu xaddaami hana al hakuuma, finšaan ajá da, masal, dada ana fi gafá aš šeex, da kan al ajá da kan aš šeex, al waziiri dada fi gafá al ajaa, dadda minna ka dadda, dadda giddaama ka ille al gumnati gede maafi, (9:36)
 "The duties of a district head, is just the work of the government, of the government. If they say 'Aja', he's a government employee, because the district head, like, I'm after the Emir, the district head is after the Emir, the minister is after the district head, so before him in the government there's no one else."

<I> šunu bisawwi al ajá
 "What does the district head do?"

<A> al ajá da, dugut ana gaait fi d daar da, ad daar cat fi iidí ana bas, kan šuqúl ibga zeen, yibga fasíl, al hakuuma t̄sama minní ana bas,
 "The district head, now I stay in the land; the region is just in my hands. If something goes well, goes bad, the government just listens to me."

<I> šunu aš šuqul tisay (9.51)
 "What do you do?"

<A> šuqúl ke baxad̄ma da, gaayd da kan, kan šabá mageedna da, kan šuqúl bigí fi d daar fi, walla saraariik joo, šaalo bagár híne an naas, kuwa nigdar indi faliis fi, indi sooja fi, dada nukallimhum imšu ikařrubuuhum ijuubuuəm , šabá?, al haraaji hana aš şuld'aan, haraaji jangal, kula indí lawaan ašara wahid fi, indi xaddamiin fi, dagooli fi, kula emta al waqút liigat da, al hakuuma tijiib lei, aloom al xudume sa?itha liigat, da

⁸ False start with a second person singular subject.

nugum nuktub al bagár al lawaanaat buktubu, buktubu haraaji cat bišiiluuhum bijjibuum lei, da fi daarí ligiit bagár ke, gadír da ke, ligiit naas gadír da ke, bašiila barsila le bəkaan al hakuuma, al hakuuma šaafta, kan taad'iini izín kan tugulub kan al maal aš šuqúl al katabta aaxuda ajiiba leena, ha kan hay al lawaanaat aš šuqúl waqta liik , amšu aaxudu al maal jibú, kan dadda bijjibú

“What I do, like in our situation, if something happens in our area, if thieves steal people’s cattle, we have police ready, I have soldiers, I order them, to go and catch and bring them.⁹ Or like the Sultan’s tax, the cattle tax, I have twelve sub-chiefs under me, I have junior employees (dagooli) all of them when the time comes, the government brings me, today works starts. So I start registering cattle the sub-chiefs record the tax, they collect [the information] and bring it to me. Here in my area I got so many cattle, so many, so many people. I take it and send it to the government office. The government looks at it. If it gives me permission it, they send back to me [saying], the money that I recorded, take it and bring it to us, and if the sub-chiefs when the time comes, go and collect the money, bring it, so then they bring it.”

<A> wallahi balumma kan bašiila baweddí le l hakuuma, da bas, šabá mageedna fi d daar ke, ad daar bilheen , šuqúl da maafi, walla alme mafi, walla saraariik maafi, walla ke ha baguul le l hakuuma dawa daarí di al yoom da, saraariik daamooni fiha bilheen , nuktub nuwaddi lohum refot, (10:55) ha kan bijjibu kan, aš šuqúl al midaamiin le d daar ka bəsowwú, kan šabá waqít al hiraata di liik , al hiraata liik, kula kan al hakuuma bikaan wahid a waqút liik , haw an naaz iittəm yaabse, bədoor leəm deen hana hiraata, walla juubu sorokta, ha kula biersulu sorokta kan, le al masaakiin ka dada, finšaan da bas kan šuqúl wigíf fi d daar ke, daar gulumbá, al waade di, kan šuqúl bigí da al hakuuma tisəma minni ana bas, mm finšaan da bas, di bas xədəmtí , indí naas bisaaduuni fii, indí naas bisaaduuni da, maad'iini xaddaamiin buguulu loəm dogooli fi, indi lawaanaat kula fi, haw indí faliis kula fi, indí šariya kula fi, (11:36)

“So I collect it and take it and send it to the government. That’s it. Like our situation in the region, this area, there’s not a lot [to do]. ‘There’s [no]¹⁰ water’, ‘There are no thieves, that’s what I tell the government here in my region today. [If] thieves bothered us a lot, I write and send them [government] a report, and they bring something [against the thieves], and if there’s something troubling the area, like if when its time to farm, the government sometimes, the time [for farming] has come and people have nothing [their hands are dry] so they want a loan for farming, or they should bring tractors, so they send a tractor to the poor people. Like that if something stops in the area, Gulumba, if anything happens, the government just hears from me. That’s just my work. I have people who help me, they’ve given me employees called ‘dogooli’, I have my sub-chiefs and I have police and courts.”

<I> inta masʔuul an gulumbá wa al hellaal

“You just the one responsible for Gulumba and the villages”

⁹ Note use of subjunctive, marked by lack of *b-* on the dependent verb.

¹⁰ Probably the speaker set off a chain of negative, *maafi*. The inclusion of “water” makes sense only if the clause is non-negative.

<A> ana masʔuul minhan da, hellaal isowwan talaata miye ke isowwan masul minhan da, aw arəba miya kula isawwan kulu bamši leehan , (11:49)
 “I’m responsible for them. The villages add up to 400 that I’m responsible for or even I go to.”

<I> inta kula temiš le hellaal deela
 “Do you also go to these villages?”

<A> kula bemši leehan, al hellaal deel da kan xudume jaat da, kan xudume axíd hana maal, šuqúl ke bigí fi d daar ke, kula kulu benši bašiifhan cat, (12:01) bamši leehan cat, kan šabá šuqúl fi d daar baguul le l hakuuma¹¹ dawa aloom šuqúl šabá da fi daari bigí, nuktub¹² loəm katkad baxaram batum yamaat ašara yoomaat išəriin, da naxaram bikaan šuqúl bigí fiya da kula nišiifa dugo nigabbil nijí, fišaan da bas, da bas aš šuqúl al ana masʔuul minna da,
 “I also go to them. These villages, if something comes up, work for collecting money, something happens in the area, so I just go and see them, I go to all of them. Like if there’s something I tell the government ‘look here today something, like this happened in the region, I write a letter to them and I go and spend 10 or 20 days. I go to the place something happened in, I see it then I return. That’s what I’m responsible for.”

<I> as sana di al xariif kwees
 “This year is are the rains good?”

<A> as sána di al xariif kwees, aloom fi tamaane saná da, bileen wahaala katiire amma min anamol le s saná da, al xariif kwees, an naas behertu , bihertu , anamol lugó, lugó al qalla, as saná di kula bihertu , daayir gulumbá fi ke, bikaan alme mafi da mafi, ille hellaal alme mafi da, hellaal isowwan,¹³ fi beenaat hellaal tałaata miye arbaʔa miya da, hellaal isowwan, išəriin talatiin ke da alme mafi, alme mafi,
 “This year the rains are good. Today, eight years ago there was a great deal of trouble but since last year and this, the rains are good. People farm. Last year they got grain and they are farming all over Gulumba. There isn’t anywhere where there’s no water, among the three or four hundred villages, the ones without water are maybe twenty or thirty.”

<I> talaata aw išəriin (12:55)
 “thirty or twenty.”

¹¹ Direct speech is marked by the presentative *dawa* “here it is”, but not marked by a complementizer.

¹² nu-ktub here with n- = “I”. Usually in this text n- = “we” and the imperfect 1SG “I” is *ba-*, as in the beginning of turn. There is no clear condition for the variation. In Owens, 1998, the n- 1SG forms are interpreted in Maiduguri Arabic as due to influence Chadian Arabic immigrants, who in their majority have n- for the 1SG imperfect verb (as in parts of Upper Egypt and in North Africa in general (see Owens 2003). The fact that the 1SG n- is quite common in rural texts, however, may give one pause to revisit this interpretation.

¹³ Note that of indicative b- prefix. The indicative cannot occur in certain well-defined contexts, for instance in wishes in which God is the agent (alla ibaarikak/*bibaarikak), after *yaa* “don’t, shouldn’t”, and after an indirect command, “tell X not to”. In this instance the context is a semantic/pragmatic one, establishing an estimate or hypothetic situation, with no morpheme to delineate the context (note that after the conditional *kan* “if”, the indicative is used).

<A> talaata aw išəriin fiha alme mafi, amma alfaɗɗal da alhamdila cat ligiina al xariif, alme fi,

“Thirty or twenty have no water, but the rest thank God have it”

<I> ”what do they do with the grain”

<A> an naas hine kan lugó al qalla da, bijiibuua hine bas, bijiibuua le gulumbá, da naas hine mayduguri, naas hine diikwa, naas bikaan qalla mafi da bujú bišiilu mineen kan binšu biyaakulu, bišáru mineen bas, ana ke naasí ke qalla ke ma bəšuruuha bijiibuuha , ille naadim hejira bas ijí išəri qalla min minheen, finšaan daarí inda rəzúx, hiraata fi bagár fi, šunu kula fi, indaha ruzúx fi, daar gulumbá di

“If the people get grain, then just bring it here. They bring it to Gulumba. Then people from Maiduguri, from Dikwa, people from places where there’s no grain come and carry it from here and go and eat it. They buy it from here. Me, my people don’t buy grain and bring it, only people from outside might some and buy grain from here. All in all there’s a harvest, cattle, because my town has wealth, this Gulumba.”