

GR21aejx: Nomads

J = Jidda, E = Emma, A = Adam

<J> ad diiraan da misil, manaat ad diiraan, yaani misil kan al xariif, al xariif názal, wa awwal xariif gád'a, xariif kan gád'a, al alme kammal fi bakaan an naas al gaadiin fiya da baadeen bisuuru, binši¹ le l biyaar, aw fi bakaan waahid kan, tamád, buguulu leya tamát walla kan buwaad' kubaar, binšu bişayyifu fooga baadeen kan al xariif názal, kan busuuru bugabbilu le hillitəm gedé, (0:28) haw gabuļ ma, awwal kula an naaz da, kan bádo le s səyuura da bədaļļuļ loəm tiiraan, walla kan bədaļļu le jumaal layaayid waadiin al xeel, kulla bədaļļuuan, le bərkabo fookhan, aj jumaala be l tiiraan da bədaļļuuan nšaan bišiilu fookkan, (0:41)

'The cattle camps, their meaning, so once it rains, once the rains end, when the rains have ended and water finished at the place where the people were staying, then they travel and travel to wells, or to one type/place that might be a small well, called a "tamát", or maybe to large pools of water. They travel and spend the hot season by them, then when it rains, they continue on and return to their village again. And first the people, when they begin their perigrinations, they tame bulls, or maybe camels or even horses. They tame all of them to they can ride them, the camels and the bulls so that they can carry (their belongings) on them.'

<A> ha bədaļļuuan da keef

'How do they domesticate them?'

<J> al bədaļļuuan da bid'əbzuuan, at toor min awwal ke bas yani bəd'əbzú bidussu leya uud, fi məxura bəxallu bugood le be doora, laqayyid waadiin da šáhar, waadiin kan uwarta bərid budussu leya hebíl, hebíl kula buřubud'ú le fə raasa kee kula bəxallú bugood le ayyaam, xalaas, (1.00) bubdu bəşuddu leya šaduuda, buxud'd'u leya foog šaduuda buruux beya ke, šaan bəwaalif aš šaduuda, aš šaduuda da min awwal dahaaba ke, bišidduua leya da, bənakviz beya ke laqayyid badeen ambaakər² kan šaafó, sábad, hu da šaduuda kula?, bənakviz ma bənakviz beya xalaas sábad yaa

¹ Expected is plural *bi-nš-u*. Such unexpected "errors" are attested elsewhere and deserve special attention.

² Here in sense of 'eventually', not necessarily literally 'tomorrow'.

bubdo bərkabo fooga, yam bədałlılıú, kan baadeen ambaakər as sayyoora kan jaat kula bəsiiru beya waadiin kan laqayyit³ bədabbu fookha le l bagár ke, fə ş şeef, (1:25)

‘The ones who tame them they pierce them. The bull at first, they pierce it by putting a stick on it, in its nose and they let it stay for a week, some of them up to a month. Others once the wound has healed they put a rope in it. A rope they tie on its head like this and let it stay a few days, then they fasten on a saddle/back pack. They put a back pack and let it wander around with it, so that it gets used to the back pack; The back pack at first, they fasten it on it, and it kicks around with it with it until they see after a few days the back pack, it doesn’t kick around with it any more. It’s stayed a long time, so they can begin to ride it. Then eventually when the next stage begins they travel with it, until in the hot season. Alternatively they carry water on it for the cattle in the hot season.’

(1:25)

<E> zeen minta fi kalaamak bas ma gul tamád, tamád di,⁴ ana gaḅul baariffa hasa dugut nisiita, šunú tamád da,

‘Right. A little bit ago in what you said didn’t you say “tamat”. This “tamad” I used to know it but now I’ve forgotten it, What is a “tamad”?’

<J> at tamád da hu kulla min al biyaar bas, hu kula qísim min al biyaar bas, šaan hu gişayyir, ma bufuut raajil, waahid raajil haw nuşş, waadiin raajileen, laqayyid rijaal tałaata dool bas buguul tamád alme geriib, ma be?iid ša al biir, da bas bas buguul le tamád, (1:46)

‘A “tamad” is a type of well, just a category of wells. It is very shallow, not deeper than a man, one and a half men, some two men, up to three.⁵ These are just what it called a “tamad”, water near (the surface), not far like a well. This is what they call a “tamad”. (1:46)

<E> zeen al biyaar yaani rijaal d’uwaala, wa xamsa walla ašara walla ke walla šunú,

‘Okay, wells are like tall men, five or ten (men) or so or what?’

³ Viewed by consultants as idiosyncratic. In this context *kan* alone would suffice. *Laqayyit* is probably a register-raising Sudanism.

⁴ That Emma is playing the role of an innocent questioner is betrayed here by his assigning *tamad* to feminine (*di*). The inference is that *tamad* is a type of *biir* ‘well’ and the hypernym *biir* is F, and inference he could have only if knew what a *biir* is. In NA hypernyms assign their gender to hyponyms (*pijo* F. ‘peugeot’ is a type of *watiir* F. ‘car’). What is not clear is why Jidda assigns *tamad* to M.

⁵ Measuring the depth of a well according to how many persons are necessary to get into it to bring up the water.

<J> al biyaar da laqayyid waadaat atənaaşər, ɬaɬaɬaaşər raajil walla kan ašara, waadaat tisʔe, amma kan min al xamsa wa tiit walla arəba da, xalaas buguulu le tamáth,

‘Wells are some of them up to twelve, thirteen men, or some ten or nine, but if it is five or less, like four, these they call “tamad”.

<I> maʔruuf al biyaar deela

‘Are these wells known?’

<J> naʔam (2:07)

<J> yes

<J> aywa ma aarif bakaan al bakaan ke tamád yaani, hu, ʔawwal ke kula maaruuf, bakaana misil aš šadar bugumm fiyya katiir, haw təraaba da kula, šik min at təraab hana l goos, da bas al bakaana di biyarfú hu da kádar t támad bakaan hana támat, (2.19) amma l biyaar da, awwal kula bakaan da bakaan hana nága, walla l bakaan da goos, gaɬuɬ da, bakaan bakuun biir, amma t támad, almé šiyya ma bikfi, misil an naas kan bešerbo fooga, walla qánam, amma támad ma bigdar bizgi l bagara, kan al bágara di ille bəfaru loəm biir bas, ma bigdar at támad ille an naas bišerbo fooga walla l qánam bas, ma bizgi al bágar, (2:33)

‘Ya it’s not known, the place of the “tamad”. It was first known, a place like a lot of trees grow at it, and its soil it different from the sandy soil.⁶ That is just where it is. This they know it the “tamad” is the place of the “tamad”, but wells, first of all it is a place of a large field or the sandy soil. But the “tamad”, its water is little. It doesn’t suffice, like people might drink from it or sheep, but a “tamad” can’t water cattle. If cattle they have to dig them a well. The “tamad” is insufficient, except for people to drink from it or goats and sheep, but not cattle.’ (2:33)

<E> zeen ha alkallema gulna nilkallam foog ad diiraan, ad diiraan da, hasa gulna bisiiru, wa bugummu binšu, bugoodu qaadi fi bakaan alme fiya fi da, haw bimšu qaadi befakkuru be qanám wa ke, ha bimšu qaadi l humma mašó, ma gaadiin yaadi marra waahid, xallo hillitəum, al gaadiin fiya

⁶ Probably J did not understand my question completely, which was to ask whether the exact locations of the *tamads* are known to the herdsmen (so they would know where they could get water). His answer is that they know where to look for the *tamads* according to various landmarks.

marra waahid, hinaak da mašó, loum le wáqet bas bəgabbulu bijú, ha bugoodu keef, binaamo keef (3:01)

‘Good. We spoke and were talking about the cattle camps. The cattle camps, now we said they would travel and get up and go and stay there in a place where there’s water, and go there and care for their sheep and the like, and they’d go there, they went and didn’t stay permanently there. They left their village where they stay, and they went. Do they have a time they return and come back. And how do they stay, and sleep?’ (3:01)

<J> min awwal kula humma ad diiraan da humma naas daar barra siyaad al bagár da, awwal kula aalaatuəm catt fi, awwal kula waaid min ambaahiin, kan bas bəgad’d’u leya šiʔabb, hine seriir, bəgad’d’u leya maradiis, (3.13) bəgad’d’u leya ʂabbaab, xumaama gaayid haasiḷ awwal, awwal kula humma mudallīiḷiin loum tiiraan, ambaakir waadiin indum jumaal, an naas aj jumaal kula naas al bágar aḷ ɗuʔaaf da al waaid ma bigdar bišəri jámal, amma an naas al ayniya siyaad al maal al katiir da al waahid bišəri leya jamal tineen walla taʔaata šaan le s sayuura, bišiil fooga šedara da, (3:33) haw bušiilu fooga, aš šakaate, ambaakur ka kan mašcet fi l wáqut bas yaani humma mən xumaamum haasil da, fi l wáqut bas, ar rijaal waadiin bisowwo leeum illiyye, le l magiil, al uzbaan kula al waahid kan ʔinda gudura matteet⁷ fi l bakaana di bas, waadiin humma binšu bəšuufu bakaan ad door, ambaakar aniina kan gammeena ninšu nusuuru le l bakaan al fulaani, (3.49) yaani xalaas humma kadár bisuuru da bas waadiin bihaššilu binšu búgd’o loəm gaš, waadiin bugd’o loəm maraadiis, an naas al me indum xumaam al busuulu⁸ beya da, xalaas waahid kadár le busuuru da bas buxud’d’u šadar da catt haasiḷ ambaakír an naas jo bas, misil al ezáb bibəni leya illiyye, an naadúm ke da hu be ɗifaana bijú le, kula bibəni leya illiyye, amma an nuswaan hine kan be šakaatiihan, al waade kan jaat bas xalaas fi l bakaan bas, bas be šederha awwal kula saayre bee, tiqiz seriirhe, haw túqiz šuqulaaya, anjukké bəsoowoha dí, xalaas binaamo, da bas (4:17)

‘From the first, those ones, those people of the wilderness the cattle herders, first of all their instruments⁹ are all there. First of all, in advance,¹⁰ they just cut off a lot of thin branches, for the bed (feet). They cut off large central poles, they cut off TYPE of WOOD. His belongings are there already prepared and before they’ve already tamed bulls. Eventually some of them might have

⁷ Unidentified in this context.

⁸ The context demands *bu-suur-u* ‘they travel’, so it is probable that this is a motivated error, with /l/ for /r/.

⁹ *aalaat-uəm* = *xumaam-hum* ‘their goods, utensils’

¹⁰ The sense here of *ambahiin*.

camels, the camel owners are ones, cattle people are poorer. He can't afford a camel. But rich ones, people with a lot of money, he'll buy himself two or three for traveling and carry the wood (frames) on it, and they put large white mats on it. When they eventually go (to their destination) their belongings are already packed and ready to go¹¹ (be unpacked). Some men make themselves a small sun shade, for spending the afternoon in. The batchelors, if one has the means in the place, and others go and look for a place for the camp. "In the next few days when we leave we go and travel to such and such a place". (3.49) So those ones as soon as they travel, some of them get things ready and go and cut grass, others cut larger branches. For people who don't have (prepared) loads to carry, once they get moving, they prepare (materials from) wood so that things are ready for the stage.¹² People come. The batchelor builds himself a small shade, So a person and his friend they come and he builds himself a shade. But the women here have their large mats, when they arrive in the place, she travels with her wooden supports, sticks her bed (in the ground) and fastens the thing (what needs to be fastened), the they erect hut and they sleep. That's all.' (4:17).

<E> zeen, ha, bijú da, bugoodu fi l waadi da, bugoodu lohum jam hille, walla ille bijú fi l waadi kan mísil da bugoodu fi šedər fi lib al waade, xalaas ma bəxaafu humma, (4:29)

'Good, so they come and stay in the bush, they stay next to a village, or is it that they only come to the bush and stay among trees in the middle of the bush. So aren't they afraid?' (4:29)

<J> humma da al mihím lohum, kan jam hille, kan fi l waade kulla humma al mihím loum al bakaan da ?inda alme kaafi, wa ?inde gaš bagarum biyaakulan, kan jam hille, fi waade kula humma ma bihimmuhum, humma budooru bušiiifu l bakaan da ?inda gaš, be geyitəm loum, šahár au tałaata šahár, (4.45) haw alme da kulla bə geyiitəm, bígdar bizgu lohum šahár, walla šahareen, haw humma ke, bakaanəm da min bugoodo fiya bas yaani humma waadiin, al bakaan da geedo, tammo leum fia aš šahár, šaafu alaamta hiil al ma?iise di, tibga door tibga da?iife xalaas waadiin binšu aw kula burkabo al xeel, humma naas waadiin da xaşş kan xaad'd'iinuəm bəfattišu leúm

¹¹ *fi l wáqut bas* i.e. at the time they arrive at their destination.

¹² An interpretation of *waahid kadár le busuuru da bas buxud'd'u šadar da*. Here he says they didn't come with the camp necessities prepared, so (one can conclude) they do so once they get to the new campsite.

bakaan le l meʔiiše le l bágar bas, misil al bakaan da humma min goodo¹³ fiya da kadár le humma busubtu xalaas waadiin mašo šaafo loun bakaan aaxar, buguulu ya jama ad door da kan gammeena minna da nimši le l bakaan al fəlaani (5:15)

‘What is important to them, whether they are near a village or in the bush, what’s important to them is that the place has enough water and grass for their cattle to eat. Whether they’re in the bush or near a village, they don’t care. They want to see a place with grass, for their stay, a month or three months, (4.45) and water for the stay, that they can water them for a month or two months. And those ones, their place where they’re staying, those others, the place they’re staying in, when they’ve finished a month, they see signs that the subsistence, the camp is becoming, it is becoming depleted (weak). So some of them go and mount horses. These are specialized, having been assigned to look out for a place where cattle can thrive. Like the place where they are at, before they confirm (moving on), some of them go and look for another place. They say, “Okay guys this camp when we leave it we’re going to such and such a place.’ (5:15)

<E> inda gaš wa alme

‘It has grass and water.’

<J> inda gaš wa alme kulu kifaaya, ambaakər kan da kula geede fiya kula tammo loun šahár da xalaas humma naasum waadiin, siyaad al xeel binšu le l bakaan al fulaani bufattišu, ad door da kan gammeena minna da, ninšu le d door al fulaani,

‘It has enough grass and water. The next day then if they’ve finished month, then some of them, those with horses, go to such and such a place and look. This camp when we’ve left it we’ll go to such and such a camp.’

<A> ha humma n naas da be şumúm binaaduəm fi walla mafi, şum ke xaad’d’inna loun ke (5:33)

‘And these ones, do they have a special name they are called by or not, a name they are called by?’

¹³ *good-o*, the same as *geed-o* above, both ‘they stayed’. *Geed-o* is the eastern (Bagirmi) dialect *geed* < *geʔed* < **geʔed* < **gaʔad* ‘stay’. Further reductions, e.g. to *gyed* are attested. The question is whether the *good-o* form is via vowel harmony with the suffix –o, such vowel harmony being attested in the eastern area, or whether the speaker is searching for a compromise with the western form, which would be *gaʔad-o* or *gaad-o*. One of many variationist quandries in the texts.

<J> le şum kan xaad'd'inna¹⁴ loum ke da mafi humma naas as sayyaara sayyaarit d diiraan waadiin al arab humma kan, taarif kalaam al arab katiiriin, waadiin buguulu loohum, waadiin buguulu leehum, şuma şunú ya, ałła awudai, al waddayiin, misil an naas as sayyaara misil al arab hine şşaba buguulu leum waddayiin, waadiin kan buguulu loum siyaad ad diiraan bas, walla úşum loum axar ke ana biyérfa ke mafi, haw kula ankuun fi, uşúm fi, taarif al arab kalaam al arab katiir, (5:58) 'A name that is given to them, no. They are nomads, nomads of the camps. Some of them the Arabs, you know Arabic is large. Some of them say for them, some say for them, What's its name. Waddai. Some might just call them inhabitants of the camps, like the Arabs from the east call them Waddai¹⁵ and others just call them inhabitants of the camps. Another name I don't know. Maybe there is, there's a name. You know Arabic is large.' (5:58)

<I> fi daar waahid naas kam
 'How many are in the camp?'

<J> ad door da, ma gudurt an naadim bas, an naadim waid an naadim kan qani da, hu be yaala kula tamma diiraan, an naadum kan qáni ?inda bagár katiraat ?inde, misil ɗaʔán, ɗuʔuun arəba, walla ɗuʔuun ašara da hu zaata kan tamma door kan be yaala da, (6:15) ha n naas aɗ ɗuʔaaf al min as siid al bagara al xamsiin min al bagara al miye, al bagara tałatiin al bagara l arəbaʔiin da, waadiin, humma ke, maʔ itifaqiitəm humma bas, humma məttaffiqiin bas an naas al hille di, fi l hille an naas la jamá, amma, bəšiiru le d diiraan buşuuru, binšu šikšik, doola kan bəttáfaço aniina misil, emma da, inta be misil be emma be aadəm da, haw be jamayittum be axayaana, aniina ambaakər kan gammeena da ninšu maqiib, (6.38) ninšu le d door al maqiib, gadé kula, šulle ke kula təguul aa aniina da, ambaakər kan mašeena le l bakaan da, šaan humma xaayfiin şunú, kan catt siyaad al hille, ke bas saaro, maşó sawwo door waaid da, al meʔiše hiil bagar tubgo loəm gaasiye, da bas bəngasəmo, waadiin bəxarmo şaba l hille, waadiin maqiib, waadiin ánum, ke bas bilgassəmo, haw humma be tafiiqu min awwal kula, (6.57) an naadim siid as siyaad al bagara siid al bagara, siid al bagara al katiiraat da, hu weheeda be yaala kulla hu bugdaro binšu bəsowu door, an naas aš šiya,

¹⁴ < xaad'd'-iin-a (AP), with doubling of /nn/ and shortening of the long vowel, a process attested in many dialects for the sound MPL –iin suffix.

¹⁵ Somewhat odd association. Waddaay is an area in eastern Chad centered in Abbeche, an important power in the nineteenth century. One would have to explore on what basis J associates the name with scouts who go to look for a new campsite.

aḍ ḍuʔaaf šiya kan maaləm šiya kan bijtamo mən arəba mən xamsa wa ašara ma loəm had, bakaan ke humma šaafo kan aniina da bagarna da, al bakaan da kula biʔiišan, (7:13)

‘The camp, isn’t it just (according to) the ability of the person. One man if he’s rich, he and his children make up camps. A person if he’s wealthy and has a lot of cattle, he has like a herd of one hundred, four herds (one hundred each) or ten herds. He might make up a single camp with his children (6:15). And the poor (weak) people who have fifty cattle, one hundred cattle, thirty cattle, forty cattle, some of them according to what they agree to. They agree with the people of this village, in the village, but they go and deliberate with the camp. Should they go different ways? These if they agree, like us, Emma, you with like with Emma with Adam and with all your brothers, tomorrow when we break out we’ll go west. (6.38) We’ll go towards the west. Or alternatively, you might say, no, tomorrow when we go off to the place, what are they afraid of? If all the inhabitants of the village, travel away, they go and form one camp, The living conditions of the cattle have become difficult. Here they divide up. Some of them go to the east of the village, others to the west, others north. That’s how they divide up. And they agree first. (6.57) A person owning, the owners of the cattle, the owner of the cattle, the owner of a lot of cattle, he himself and his children, they can form a camp. The people, the people who are a little less well off, if their cattle are fewer they might meet, comprising four or five or ten, there’s no limit, a place that they see our cattle, the place they just live in it.’ (7:13)

<I> be nuswaanhum yaalhum

‘With their wives and children?’

<J> a bee n nusəwaanəm be yaaləm kula, humma n naas al binšu le d door ke xaşş da, amma kan gunna eziib, yaani l eziib da misil al bakaan yaani al faraga bəgát beʔiide, al bakaan al binši leya da beʔiid ziyaada min, xamsiin kilo, walla ziyaada min miye kulométər, aw ke da, bišuufu humma be yaaləm catt kan bugummu binšu leya da gaasi, xalaas bəxallu nuswaana be l ʔyaal be naas be rijaal aš šiyaaba bugoodo fi l hille, al ʔyaal aš şubyaan, humma kula bala nəswaan bas binšu bilezzabo buguul le eziib (7:42),

‘With their wives and children as well. They are the just the ones who go to the camp, but if we say “eziib”, that is isolation,¹⁶ like if the place, the separation is far, the place they’re going to is far more than fifty kilometers, or more than one hundred kilometers, or so, they decide it would be difficult for them to go to with their children, so they leave their wives and children and elderly in the village and the young men without women they go off by themselves. They call it “isolation” (celibacy herding).’ (7:42)

<I> al eziib

<I> Celibacy herding?

<J> al eziib da yaani manaata humma úzbaan ma leəm nuswaan, (7.49) an naas al binšu bila nuswaan da, humma be yaal gaadiin uzbaan, xalaas humma gaadiin ke ákil kula biyaakulú mafi, ille bişerbo l láben bas, waadiin kan, mən awwal ke bas bəkamfutu leəm duxún, al qalla di bikamfutuua, burbəd’uua leəm fi, fi jakká, walla kan burəbd’uua leəm fi šuwaal binši bey, ha kan misil gərmo le l ákil kula xalaas hi di bas, bəfowwəruuha bəşuḅḅú le foog al lebén ha bişerbo. (8:13)

‘Celibacy herding, its meaning is that single men without wives, (7.49) the people who go without women. They and the youth stay isolated. So they stay like that, there isn’t solid food for them to eat, they just drink milk. Others maybe they prepared them cleaned millet. They purify the grain and tie it up for them in a plastic sack or they tie it up for them in a sack and they go with it. So if they have a longing for food this one they boil it and pour it on the milk and drink it.’ (8:13)

<I> malaa

‘Why?’

<J> le l eziib, la l eziib da misil al hille al bakaan humma gaadiin fiya da, al bakaan ma biʔiiş al bágar, walla alme bigi mafi, walla al gaş biga šiya, (8.25) ma bigdar biʔakkil al bagár, xalaas da bas busiiru be l bágar bimši biyaakulu ambaakər kan al xariif, názal, sumo yaani humma kan mən qaadi kula dayman ke, an naas al humma gaadiin fi hille da, buwaddu loəm al axbaar bas, al bakaan al yoom al xariif şaḅḅa, alme fi, siiru taal, walla kan buguulu al bakaan kan misil humma

¹⁶ *Eziib* ‘isolation’, here translated as celibacy herding’, since it is only men who participate in it.

saaro min adam al gaš, buguul aa xalaas al gaš gamma, gabbulu taalu, da bas yaani manaat al eziibe (8:48)

‘For the celibacy herding? For the celibacy herding, is like the village¹⁷ where they stay, cattle can’t live in it, or water dried up, or the grass became scarce (8.25) and couldn’t feed the cattle. So because of this they travel with the cattle and go and eat the next day when rain, falls, and they heard, that is those who are in isolation, the people who are still in the village, they send them the news that the rains have begun, that there’s water, come. Or maybe the place they went to lacks grass, and they say, grass has sprouted, return this way. This is the meaning of celibacy herding.’ (8:48)

<E> zeen ha basmaak minta fi kalaamak gul, humma doola biyaakulu, ille bišerbo al lebán bas, ma indum akíl aaxar busowwu haw gul, bakaan waahid kan lugó fallaata, qanaməm gaššarat walla ke, bišáru minhum biyaakulú, ha humma be bagarəm maašiin be bagarəm, maašiin kula ašan bisáru be l bagár, malá mən bagarəm dool ma bəḍbo biyaakulu bišaru min hine fallaata da malá (9:10)

‘Good. So I understood you a little bit ago in what you said, you said, these ones don’t eat, they only drink milk. They don’t have any other food they make, and you said, at times¹⁸ they found Fulani,¹⁹ whose sheep²⁰ got weak or the like and they sell some of them and eat them. And those (Arabs) moving with their cattle, going with their cattle so they can herd their cattle. From their cattle why don’t they slaughter and eat and sell (so they can buy from those Fulani).’²¹ (9:10)

<J> yaani al bágár da al bágara taarif al bagara maala katiir, bagara ke bas aḍaḅuua aakiluuu ma bisawwú, haw al qánam deel humma al qánam al fallaata booən/bibuúuan leəm da ruxaaš marra waahid al qanam humma kulla l fallaata kula saayiriin maašiin, wa al qanamá təgaššir, ma tigdar timši, humma kula bišru t tığaššər, qanamá našiyye ke, ma bugdar bišəruua, walla waade fi s sayuura ke rijílhe nkasarat, ma tigdar tinši, xalaas buboa loəm be arxas táman, humma kula kan ya biyaakəluua, (9:32)

¹⁷ According to this description, the *eziib* sets out from a village (*hille*), not from a cattle camp (*door*).

¹⁸ *Bakaan waahid* ‘sometimes’, not use of *bakaan* in sense of ‘when’, not a place.

¹⁹ The Fulani are known to herd with cattle and sheep/goats mixed together, Arabs on the other hand, only with cattle. For this reason it is the Fulani who are cited as the ones who would have a goat or sheep to sell.

²⁰ *qanam* = ‘sheep’ or ‘goat’, though the Fulani are known more to herd sheep.

²¹ Interpretation. A little unclear why Fulani are mentioned again at end.

‘So the cattle, the cattle you know are worth a lot. A cow like slaughter it and eat it, they don’t do that.²² And these sheep and goats, these ones Fulani sell to them cheap the Fulani are traveling, going, and goats and sheep come up short (lame) and can’t travel further. They buy the ones that have come up short. A healthy goat, they wouldn’t set it. Or one during a trip its leg breaks and it can’t move, so they sell it to them for a cheap price. And then they eat it.’ (9:32)

<E> zeen ha humma naas al eziib buguulu dawa irifne bišerbo l lebán, wa biyaakuulu l lehém, di bas meʔiisítəm, ma daam ma indəm nuswaan ma bəşuud’u eeš, wa ma busowwu šunú kula, ha n naas al ad diraan, humma be nuswaanəm, be ʔiyaaləm humma kan, humma kula bešerbo lebán bas walla, humma buşood’u loəm eeš ma daamit be nəswaanəm be yaaləm da, (9:54)

‘Okay so those celibate herders, now²³ we know they drink milk and eat meat, that is their whole life, since they don’t have women to cook meal, and they don’t do anything. And the people of the camp, they and their wives and their children, do they just drink milk or, those ones (in the camp), do they cook them solid food since they are with their wives and children?’ (9:54)

<J> humma naas naas ad diiraan da, humma biyaakulu eeš kula ma mísil al eeš al inte eenak leya hanaana hana hine da, fajír isowwo eeš, haw gayle kulla isowwi eeš, al leel kula isowwi eeš da laʔ mafí, humma fájir bišerbo lebenəm bufd’uru foog al láben, baadeen kan bigiina gayle, an naadum al gaadir biseyyi lei madiide, an naadum al ma gaadər kan aʔ ɾaaba di kula bišerab bas, an naadim al gaadər fi l leel bisowi ákil, an naadim al ma gaadər fi l leel ma bigdar biseyy ákil, da bas yaani manaat humma ke bas faragúttəm ke xafiife bas, (10:23) yaani humma xaaşş, siyaad al bágar da, áktar akuləm šaraab al ləben da bas, ille naadəm al gaadir, al gaadir fiəm misil al aqniya da waadiin ar riss bišerú, amma waadiin da butummu siniin tineen tałaata kula ar riss kula illa, kan jaarak rakkaba dugó tušum éfanata(10:38)

‘Those residents of the camp, they eat solid food, though not like you’re thinking of, like ours here. Early in the morning they make meal and in the afternoon as well they do and at night as well they do. No, not at all. Those one drink milk early in the morning and eat breakfast on milk. Then when afternoon rolls around, a person with means makes himself porridge and a person who can’t just

²² *bagara ke bas ađab-uu-a aakil-uu-a ma bi-saww-ú* Note the use of the imperative to describe a hypothetical situation, *ađab-uu-a* ‘slaughter.IMPERATIVE-PL-it’ [cf. *aktub-uu-a* ‘write-PL-it’, affal being the form I imperative], *aakil-uu-a* ‘eat.IMPERATIVE-PL-it’ (see n. 4, 10 in TV 44c for further examples of this construction).

²³ *Dawa* ‘here it is’ here refers to those taking part in the conversation.

drinks yoghurt. A person with means eats food (meat) at night and a person who doesn't can't eat meat at night. That is just how it is with their small difference. So they the owners of cattle, their food is mostly drinking milk. Only a person with means, a person among them of means the wealthy, some of them buy rice. But the others can spend two or three years and the only whiff of rice they smell is if your neighbor cooked it.'

<E> zeen ha humma kan saaro jo le d dīfaan le d diiraan da bugoodu šahareen tałaata ʔarəba, ha hiilitəm qaadi, da indum buyuut wa indum šunú buyuutəm mabannaat²⁴ haw gammo xalloohin wa jo hiné da, ma bəxaafə le buyuutəm dool da busərguuhān walla ke wa an naas bəjú, bišiilu biyuutəm wa, (10:53)

'Good, and if guests traveled and came to them in the camps and stayed for two, three or four months, and their (home) village there, they have houses and whatever built and they get up and leave them and came here (to the camp), aren't they afraid these houses of theirs they'll rob them and people will come and steal their houses?' (10:53)

<J> humma ke šuqúl ke, awwal ke, bəxallú ke bəxallú ke bənfā mafi, haw šuqúl ke humma ke naadim kan misil sarraag ke, amiš šiila mən had'abhum al bə gaššuhum al bəxallú da ke, bišiila ke binši biibiia le naadim bišiila kula bišəri minna ke mafi, šaan da bas humma ke šuqúl ke bənfā ke humma bəxallú maafi, illa l qalla al qalla kula bədəfənú beʔiid, (11.12) hau hiil al qaala di inta siita zaata, dafanta haw kula kan ma, xad'd'eet leek leeha da alaama di, inta kula ma tilga xallí as sarraag ke bijí bisirikhe kula

'Those one, this thing, first of all, they leave them but they leave what doesn't have value, and like if a person like a thief should go and take from their wood their grass that they left behind, he takes it and goes and sells it to a person, (who) takes it and buys from him, that doesn't exist.²⁵ Because those ones, they don't leave anything valuable behind. Only the grain, the grain that they bury deep, (11.12) and of this grain, only you its owner who buried it, if you didn't put a mark for it, even you won't find it, let alone a thief who comes to steal it.'

²⁴ Sg. *mabəni*, *mabanna*- used as the base of plurals.

²⁵ The idea here seems to be that it wouldn't be worthwhile to sell what goods are left behind, not that custom forbids the theft.

<E> qalla, bədəfənuua fə t təraab da malá al qalla ke da, al qalla ye biyaakəluua, bədəfənuua fə təraab ma titələfa, təraab da kan dafanooa beya seyí, al qalla təbzər, haw titələf, walla bəsowwú keef, (11:30)

‘Grain, they bury it in the earth, why this grain. This grain, they eat it. If they bury it in the ground doesn’t it spoil? The earth, if they buried it in it the grain will sprout and spoil, or how do they do?’ (11:30)

<J> al qalla di min ambaaiin ke bas awwal nugura kan faharoooha da baadeen buşubbu le hettaab, hu l hettaab da ma bətallif al qalla kan hu ke şabbó fi n nugra walá arða taakula, şuqúl ke bitallifa mafi, baadeen buşubbu foog al qalla, al qalla baadeen kan şabbó buşubbu foog hettaab, gadé kula bifku leya fooga birş, al hettaab alme kula ma bigidde, şan şuqúl ke bitallife mafi şan, hiil al qalla ke, šiiluuu siiru beya ke tagiile lohum, da bas al maana bədəfənuua fiya?, (11:52)

‘This grain from the first, first, a hole if they’ve dug it then they pour in chafe, and the chafe doesn’t spoil the grain once it’s been poured into the hole nor do termites eat it. There’s nothing to spoil it. Then they pour in the grain and then once they’ve poured in it they pour chafe on it and then they cover it with a mat. The chafe even water doesn’t penetrate it, because there’s nothing to spoil it, for the grain. If they should take it and travel with it,²⁶ it would be too heavy for them. That’s why they bury it.’ (11:52)

...

<I> fi d diraan şunu xidimt an nuswaan

‘What work do women do in the camp?’

<J> an nuswaan da hinna bas buxadəman, (16.15) fi d diiraan da xaşşatan naas ad diiraan da nuswaan buxadəman ar rijaal me indum xudime, an nuswaan al waade²⁷ hi bas tiheelb al bagara, badeen al láben təsaxxəna fájur tədugga, haw tişiila tinşi beya fi l múdun tibiiye, hi haw hi bas

²⁶ *šiil-uu-a siir-u*, the same hypothetical imperative as described in n. 20 above, this time in a context supporting a conditional clause translation.

²⁷ *Nuswaan* plural, *waad-e* singular. While *nuswaan* is in a topic position, there is no pause after it allowing for the unexpected shift to a singular subject. *Al-waade* is a hyponym to *nuswaan* here.

tifza le l hed'áb, təʃuud' eeʃ, al xidime kula foog al mára ba, an nuswaan indum bas buxadaman, ar rijaal ma bəxádəmu²⁸

'Women they're just the ones who work. (16.15) Especially in the camps, the people of the camps, the women work and the men don't have any work. The women are the ones who milks the cattle, then the milk she warms it up ? and churns it and takes it and goes with it to a town and sells it, and she is the one who looks for firewood, cooks meal. The work is all up to the woman. Women just work. The men don't work.'

<I> how do they go

<J> naʔam (16:35)

<J>binšan le s suug ay, bišiilan ar raaba, bišiilan al laban, binšan be ríjil, amma, al hille kan misil inde, watiir timši le bərkaban l wataayir, kan al hille ke, ma indehe watiir, binšan be rijíl, amma aktar ke da, binšan be rijílan bas, ma bərkaban watiir,

'They go to the market. They carry their yoghurt. They carry the warm milk and go on foot. But a village, if it like has a car, she goes and rides the cars, and if it doesn't have a car, they go on foot. But mostly, they just go on foot. They don't ride a car.'

<E> ar rijaal xidimita šunu ille gaadiin saakit ke bas an nuswaan bas bosowwan šunú kula, alla humma bəsuuru be l bagár bas, (16:55)

'The men, what's their work, the ones who sit around doing nothing, just the women doing everything. Or do they just herd cattle? (16:55)

<J> ar rijaal da, al bəsáru be l bágar kula fi, taarif seerit al bagár ke ma tətárəm al xidime seyi, al waayid kan an naas ke, bəgarəm šiyaat lammooən, ɗaʔán walla ɗaaneen, taarif bəsəru nkaaba, (17.06) inta alyoom tisəraʔ, ambaakir fulaan da bisəra, d'aaka ambaakər bisəra laqayyid, ammən naas kan indum maal katiir seyi al aqniya al waahid bišiil leya raaʔi fellaati marra waahid kan bisəru leya be bagara, amma ɗ ɗuʔaaf da, humma bas bilkaabo, yo alkaaba di walá titarəm al xudime, šan da bas humma ke, al xidime ke ma d'abiitəm, humma ke naas gaadiin bas, bifakkuru fi bagarhum, waayid kan bagarta marɗaana, hu kula bišiifa wajaaha waahid kan bagarta xamfarat

²⁸ The ending -u is not clear in the audio.

biguṣṣ xumfaarha, di bas xidimittəm waahid kan geét ke, al wad'á bigát usúr walla maša, jaab leya gaš le jawaada, xalaas di bas xudumittəm me indəm ayy xədime (17:40),

‘There are men who herd cattle. You know pasturing cattle doesn’t stop them from work. First, if the people, the owners collect the cattle, one hundred or two hundred, you know they pasture them in turns. (17.06) Today you pasture them, the next day so and so pastures them, that one the next day to the point that, if people if they have a lot of cattle the wealthy ones, the individual will hire a Fulani hardsman and they pasture cattle for him. But the less well off ones, they just take turns. So taking turns doesn’t prevent them from working. It’s just that work isn’t their custom. They just sit around, looking after their cattle. If one of them has a sick cow, he’ll look at its wound. Another one if his cow’s hoof has grown he just trims its hoof. This is just their work. If one of them just stay and evening is coming, he’ll go and bring grass for his horse. That’s it that’s just their work; they don’t have any.’ (17:40)