

Main speaker= H

Text 12

Ngoshe, Ayga, Bursar's house, Feb 25, 2009

Interviewer, Dabawa = D

Additional participant, T

3923 words

interlinear gloss, pp.

1-6

39-51

D duyw-á baaba waar d'ágá-γa
 Daughter-PSSD mother who name-your
 Sister (daughter of mother) what is your name

H xáw d'ágá-r
 Hawa name-my
 My name is Hawa

D xáwá waara
 Hawa who?
 Hawa who?

H xáwá ġon
 Hawa John
 Hawa John

D xáwá ġon
 Hawa John
 Hawa John

H əŋ

D á má =ksa-r-i
 You in village-Q-Q
 You are of which village

H €n ba má gwaš
 I dm in Ngoshe
 I am just from Ngoshe

D ŋweñ xiyá-γ d'aa
 How many year-your Q
 How old are you?

H xiyá-ra, kəla tár vaslambad'a
Year-my, 10 and 9
My age is, 19

D kəla tár baslambad'a
10 and 9
19

H m

D aw lər á βágá n€ŋ də βág-í
What work you do SbjP-you d-do-Q
What do you do?

H máy, əm ba čuxur-ga **kawaya**,
Not, I dm stay-G only
I just stay

€ŋ t-á kafa €ŋ çád'-á vaká-xa,
I cook-PSSDST food I sweep-PSSDST place-PL
I cook food, I sweep places

€ŋ bar-án-á, €ŋ čuxur-án
I wash.SQT-I-EXT, I stay.SQT-EXT
I bathe, I sit

(12)

D kwár kwára-x
Such such-PL
Such things

H a

D too, βág-γ-a-βág kán, k€-makarant ni βág-γ-á-y xii
Okay, do-you-EXT-R objPS, OBJ-school Q do-you-EXT-NEG ALTQ
Okay, did you attend, school or not

H βag-an-á bi, ba pramari **kaway**, yŋ-an-ná bi (0.35)
Do-I-EXT, dm primary only, finish-I-EXT not
I didn't, only primary, but I didn't finish it

D ba bág-γ-a-bág dəna, báy-γá prámáři **ko**
Dm do-you-EXT-R dm, do-you primary Q
You did then, you attended primary school

H ee
yes

D ýiŋ-γ-a-ýiŋ kɛ-práimári
Finish-you-EXT-R OBJ-primary
Did you finish primary school?

H ýiŋ-an-á bi
Finish-I-EXT not
I didn't

D ýiŋ-γ-ná bi
Finish-you-EXT not
You didn't

H ee

(18)

D ts-a-ká-v-á n-áw-í
beat-3-you-EXT-EXT NOM-what-Q
What impeded you (what beat you)

H máy, **kawiya** vala-k-ɛndá dá b-an βá-a dɛ-á-x **kaway** má zar-x,
Not, only sell-us.EX dm-I do-PSSDST game-PL only among child-PL
Nothing, just, (we were deceived) I just played with children

ba kɛn d-ət xiinana,
dm we.EX go-EXT today
we would go up [to school] today

kɛm l'ádúr kɛn luw-án,
we.EX tomorrow we.EX refuse
the next day we refused

ndza kɛn βág ba ŋ-áx (0.52)
was we.EX do dm like-this
we were acting like this

D iyo, βag-am band kwáx
Oh, do-you.PL like that
Okay, you just did that

H əŋ

D **to** šágər, **to**,

okay thanks, okay
good

aw ləra á βág-ɛŋ də βág ɕi təxála kwáx kwán
what work you do-you d-do dm after that now
what work do you do besides that?

H mai, ɛŋ ba t-á káf ɛŋ z-ú ɛn ɕuxur-án
No, I dm cook-PSSDST food I eat I stay.SQT-EXT
Nothing. I cook food, I eat and stay

D á méy mbəd'-á dəv yáa
You not exchange-PSSDST hand dm
You don't do business?

H máy, máy mbəd'-á dəv-i
No, no exchange-PSSDST hand-NEG
No, I don't

D **to** máy lər-á γay-á dəv-i á sɛŋgá-ŋ kwányá
Okay not work-PSSD mouth-PSSD hand-NEG you know-you now
Okay, there isn't any technical work you know
(γaya dəv tip of hand)

(25)

H máy ndza-n tság-á ba **d'inki kaway**
No was-I learn-PSSDST dm sewing only
No, I was learning sewing only

D ai mɛŋg **kiinay**
Dm exist
There is something

H ax, awa ba mɛŋ d'aa
Ax, what dm exist Q
What is the something?

D tsá-γ-u-tság ni tsá-γ-ú xa kɛd'ɪŋki ni
Learn-you-EXT-R Q learn-you-EXT FcQ OBJ-sew Q
You've learned it, or you haven't learned sewing

H tsag-an-u-tság kɛβág-áana
Learn-I-EXT-R OBJ-do-GAN
I learned how to do it

- D á láp-gáan k~~ϕ~~, k~~ϕ~~-səd'áv kwán
 You sew-GAN objPS, OBJ-clothes now
 You sew, clothes now
- H ee, ~~ϕ~~n láp-gáan
 Yes, I sew-GAN
 Yes, I sew
- D **to** ai m~~ϕ~~g lər t~~ϕ~~-vúuká-γ **kenay**
 Okay ai exist work on-front-you dm
 Okay, you have a trade (there is work in front of you)
- H əŋ láp-gáan (1.22)
 I sew-GAN
 I sew
- D **to**, má-γa láp-gáan~~ϕ~~n tsá á láp-gáan ba dəgá-γ ni,
 okay, if-you sew-GAN-SPC dm you sew-GAN dm thing-your-SPC
 okay, if you sew, do you sew your {own} thing
- dig-á v~~ϕ~~-g xí
 thing-PSSD sell-G AltQ
 or also things to sell
- H amáa ba digá-ra m má m~~ϕ~~ li **iri** dig-á kúd~~ϕ~~á-xá-ra,
 But dm thing-my in exist who type thing-PSSD junior-PL-my
 My own things, and also there is for those like things of my junior siblings
- xəd'íik~~ϕ~~ xəd'íik~~ϕ~~n ~~ϕ~~n láp-t~~ϕ~~-láp~~ϕ~~g
 little little I sew-them-R
 a little bit I sew for them
- D aa, šágəra, **to** úusə-gə-m á méy βág-áan-iyá
 Aa, thanks, okay, farm-G-Q you not do-GAN-NEG
 Good, what about farming you don't do it
- H ~~ϕ~~n d-íi d-úus~~ϕ~~g
 I do-down to-farm-G
 I go down and just farm
- D á d-ii d-úus~~ϕ~~g
 You go-down to-farm-G
 You go down and farm
- H oo

D á váŋg ba bírníf
 You spend day dm Birnif
 You spend a whole day completely Bir

H oo, ba kwán də-xi ŋ-áy l'akádúrá **sáy** €ŋ sáa d-uɣwáas
 O, dm now do-EXT SbjP-I morning until I come with-evening
 Now if I go down in the early morning I don't come back until evening

(38)

D **sei** á sáa d-uxwáas€ŋ
 Until you come back with-evening-you
 You come back in the evening

H əŋ

D **to** txálá kwáx-ín , á βág ndar€ŋ,
 Dm after that, you do how-you
 Besides that, how do you do?

fə-v-arž ndar úus-g-ín má gəlvayd d'aa
 put-PSV-EXT how farm-G-SPC among Glavda Q
 how is farming started among the Glavda?

H úusə-gə-n
 Farm-G-SPC
 farming

D əŋ, əfə-v-arž,
 It is begun

βag-á-v ndandar ndandar n-ín táakíyá d-úus€g n-úud€na (1.55)
 do-.SQT-PSV how how SbjP-it that with-farm-G SBJ-person
 how is it done, like, people will farm

H aa, má ba də-xí l'a tsá
 A, if dm go-EXT dm dm
 A, once you've gone down

D aana
 yes

H á t-á kafa áyá dáayá, áyá fá-ná,
 you cook.SQT-EXT food you go down, you put.SQT-EXT
 you cook food then you go down, you put it {food} down

áyá f-arž-án úus€g á ηγər-án káa áyá úus€ga
 you put.SQT-EXT-EXT farm-G you bend.SQT-EXT then you farm-G
 you begin farming, you bend down then you farm

D áy úus€g
 You farm

H əη

D awa βágə-η má-γα usə-g ni
 What do you do when you farm

H áyá čá-a kažakwáx ságál má digita-xa,
 you pick the weeds out of the things [crops])

áyá βal'i-gáan ba maraw,
 you prepare {the field} well

aa d-ar-a-y xay k€xi xay k€badzg-al-badzə-g k-íini
 you shouldn't let sand cover the guinea corn so that it (doesn't) spoil it

D á méy təd'-á xii yaa
 You don't uproot the guinea corn

H áyá təd'ə-gáan
 You don't uproot it
 [at this stage the guinea corn seedlings are not thinned out]

D **to** má yīη-aa-yīηg n-úus€gə-m txálá kwáx awa βag-á-v
 Okay when the hoeing is finished, after that what is done

(9)

H káa áyá dágál dá us-á kažakw =íindara,
 then you go and weed the weeds of the groundnuts

áyá xwatsi-gáan kažakw =iindar ságál áyá laηg-áan dágál,
 you remove the weeds from the groundnuts out [from farm] and carry them away

má y-u-yīηg n-uus =íindar má,
 when the groundnut farming is finished

ká-γα dágáw dá xakawura, áyá lal-gáan k€laab s-ii =t-xi (2.33)
 you go for the second weeding, you prune the leaves down from the guinea corn

D á ɫal-gáan kɛɫaab tə-xiya
You prune the leaves from the guinea corn

H ɲ

D txálá máɲ, má ɫal-ɣ-a-ɫalg kə ɫaabə-n-ə-m,
Then, when you've pruned the leaves

awa bagə-ɲ txálá kwáx
what do you do then?

H káa d'uu-v-arsa,
You leave it

má βag-aa-βág sárt-á,
when the time of

á č-á- =agra, káa č-á =agər (56) káa dáa,
picking beans comes, you pick beans then

sárt-á ɣud-á xiyə-n káa ɣud-á-v káa wurd'á-v sáas dá xiñex
the time of harvesting guinea corn comes and it is harvested then it's head is cut off and brought to the house

káa d'əg-á-v,
and it is threshed

káa čá =agər k-úud
then beans are picked

D oke, wurd'ə-v-ana,
Okay it is cut off

káa sáasá xiñex, **to** má d'əg-á-va-d'əgə-m
you bring it home, then when it is threshed?

H má d'ig-a-va-d'əga,
When it is threshed

káa sagu-v-á yaa buxa-xa má,
then sacks are bought

káa d'ii-və-m əm vakáy káa d'iga=va, d'ii-v-á má gud (3.00)
it is packed inside them, they are stored (poured), poured into the room

D d'iy-á-v m-aw n-ín ni má d'iy-á-v-i

What are they poured in, what are they poured in?

H d'iy-á-v m-abuxwa
They are poured in bags

D má máy n-abuxwi-m
If there is no bag

H d'ii-və-m má kuvur
They are poured into a granary

(62)

D txá lá kuvurə-m máy digit-i d'iy-á-v xi əm vakáy f'aya
Besides the granary, isn't there something else the guinea corn is poured into as well?

H máy ma-ba d'iy-á-və-m,
No, once they are poured

m[⊕] wa d'iy-á-v má kuvura, máŋ, máŋ má =fka
there is the one case, the one poured into a granary, into a hole

D má =fka, á kwa má ġ-uu-ğĕ-g k-íina
In a hole, that which exceeds it [an amount more than the granary and bags]

H ee, má ġ-uu-ğə-g k[⊕] kə kuvur má d'ii-v-ə m má fk
Yes, if it is too much for a granary, it is poured into a hole

D to, iindarə-m
Okay, and groundnuts?

H iindar kuma, d'iy-á-v ba má kuvur-íina
Groundnuts, they are just poured into the granary

D d'iy-á-v ba má kuvura
They are just poured into a granary

H ee
yes

(68)

D too, méy d'iy-á-v má xay n-íini (3.29)
Okay, they are not poured into the ground?

H máy d'iy-á-v má xay-i
They are not poured into the ground

D too, šagra, **to** aw kal'aṅá-ṅ,
Okay good, what utensils for

á dæg d'ali áγá wsə-g nɛṅ-i,
types of soup do you farm
[i.e. what leaf crops do you plant for making soup]

dašika áγá dæg xərə- kwána
as you are a female

H mm

D aw kal'aṅá-ṅ á dig d'ali á wsə-g d-uusəg-i,
What sort of leaves for soup do you farm?

txála xii-na ard fíndarə-n
after guinea corn and gorundnuts

H ya =akwfuxa-xa, yaa, azəγa,
Akufux, okra

/arǵəṅ/, ard ya azəγ-á xaya-x m-ár ságál də səg kena,
and sand okra if it just sprouts up [in the wild]

čag-a-va-x kɛṅ sáa dá tə-gáan
it is picked and we bring it home and cook it

D t-á-v
It is cooked

(77)

H oo

D áγá tə-gáan
You cook it

H m

D **to**, txála kwáx čii tsá, ndzə-GANá-γə-n máṅ,
Okay besides that, your living

tsá-γ ba má gwašiyə-ṅ kə teel-na,

did you learn tailoring in Ngoshe

ku kuwa də-γ-al dá vakavak-i lərn xi
or did you go to a different place?

H d-an-al ndz-an tsag sáas əvj-á muud (4.07)
I went, I was learning here in Amuda
[Village immediately to south of Ngoshe]

H ee
ee

D tsaga teelə-n
Learning tailoring

H oo

(81)

D **to** ndar γay-á gəlvayda-x əvj-á amúudá ard kwa vaakwán máŋ,
Okay, how is Glavdá in Amudá and the way (the one) here

má ləg γrá-γ tsá
if you think about it (push your head)

H əm

D ba kalkal ni, mƏg maxažáa-n xi
Is it the same, or does it have a difference?

H aa kíyám šaxšax d-ítƏ,
We.IN are different from them

dijw íitƏ piw-á-ŋ á yaare wa vakáa-tƏ,
because they , the purity of language is with them

kimíyám sə-da-y ndə digáa-tƏ
we don't speak like them (like their things)

D iyo, n-ítƏa
Okay, they

H oo

D a máy,
no

ár tá-a γaya kəs kəsa-r n-íit-ϕ m-ár tág-áan-i,
When they talk, which language do they speak (the mouth of which village)

ár tá-a tá-a γayá-η á gəlvayda-x ni
Aren't they speaking Glavda

H γay-á gəlvayda-x-íina ama,
The Glavdá language , but

mϕ nə **bambánčiya** míyám xəd'iiknan d-íit-ϕ
there is a little difference {with} ours, from them

D aw bambančiya,
What is the difference

á tag-w-a-da-tág kə bambančijan xəd'iiknana (4.36)
can you tell me the small difference?

H m

D má taatak-á γaya a yaa muudə-na,
Between the language of Amudá people

γay-á taga yaa muud,
the language the Amudá speak

glavdə-n tág ya =amuudəna,
The Glavdá the Amudá people speak

ard glavdə-n tág gwašay vaakwanϕn tsá (89)
and the Glavdá the Ngoshe people here speak

H m

D á tag-uw-a-tág kə bambančijan pállá
Can you tell me one difference

H amá tsá,
but

íit-ϕ ár tag-ka-da-tág kə digit ba maraw,
Them, they speak in a good way (something good)

áyá čingə-y kán, **kuskuri** ko xəd'iikən má yaare yáa-tϕ-i
don't you understand, even a little in their language

D máy xaws má yaare yaatər-i
There is no Hausa in their language

H máy yaare,
No local language [correct to ..]

máy xaws ko xədiikən má digá-míyámi,
no Hausa even a little in ours

to k-imíyám **sei** viya-mdə-m víig k€xaws əm vakáy
so ours we have to put (catch) Hausa inside it

D kuram gwašax kena (5.01)
You the Ngoshe people

H m

D ám də xaws xawsa-x
You have Hausa [in the area]

H ee

D daaliłərn ndakwani turanči
Sometimes English

H ee

D aa m€ŋg wáxa, **to**, txálá kwáx či kwán tsá
That exists; so after that

H mm

D méy tsaywa-xá-γ tə-βalaβal-i lər-niya, ba mán,
don't you have friends outside Ngoshe (in another field)

ba mán má xud'a gwaš xa tsaywa-xá-γ-i (5.13)
or are your friends only in Ngoshe?

H amá ba má gwaš tsaywa-xá-r
My friends are just in Ngoshe

D bad'd€m
All of them

H ee

D méy **ku** ndə-ŋ,
not even like-

βakwa ɛ̃n má kərawa,
βokwo, Kirawa

ndə vəja aagapalawa, attagara,
like Agapalawa, Attagara

kwár-kwára-xáa-niya
and such places

H aa máy, máy
No, no

D tsag-am də-yaar
With whom did you learn

n-uur kɛ̃tel-ni
the tailoring

X
H máy ba gwaša,
no. Just Ngoshe

ard ya =amuud tsayw má duɣwa-xa ya =amuud, (101)
and in Amudá friends among the Amudá girls

D má duɣwa-xa yaa muud
Among the Amudá girls

H ee

D too šagər, ár sgaw či n-ítɛ̃ san,
Okay, good, do they come

sa vaká-γə-n kwáná, daali lərna,
to your place now, occasionally

ku a dgaw ba nəŋ dá vakáa-tɛ̃ xi
or do you just go to them

H ár saxa ságál kɛ̃n zəlám d-ítɛ̃
They continue coming and we spend time conversing with them

D ndə daala kasukwa-xa kwárkwára-x

Like on market days and the like

H ee (5.37)

D to šagəra, to txálá kwáx-iin či kwán tsá,
good. After that

/má-ɣa/, dig-i má kɛn-dá náa-g n-ɛmd či kwán tsá,
now if you [/], the thing we.EX want now

má-ɣa βəl-kɛndá k-argwandzá-ŋ, á bərg (107) ndana,
if you could tell us a narrative folktale now

txálá kwáx l'áβa,
after that as well

á dá βəl-kɛndá k-argwandzá-ŋ, á z-á =ks,
you could (will) tell us riddles

ee, má ba xəɖ'iikən tsá
just a few

H axa

D máy ba dzə-gáan bi
Whatever you know (there is nothing spoiled in it)

H axe, argwandza
A folktale

D suuta, diga bərg ni digá-ŋ
Bring it, a narrative

H diga z-á =ksa (6.04)
A riddle

D diga z-a =ksa, aančiya
A riddle then

H ám nɛdiga bərg d'aŋa,
I say a narrative

ám nə dig-á z-á =ks d'aŋa, axe
I think (say) a riddle

D ba kwa dzam-ná-ŋ pállá

Whatever you can think of, one

H ɕ dzam-na-dzamg č̣i kwa maraw
Let me think of a good one

(115)

D viy-a-k-a-víiga
You've forgotten

H axə, vii-γ-wa-víig
I have forgotten

D **to**, txálá kwáx viy-a-ka-víig naŋ
Okay, since you've forgotten

H vii-γ-wa-víig l'a n-argwandza
I have forgotten the folk tale

D txálá kwáx-íin č̣i tsá, **to** á máy č̣i tsá
After that, okay don't you

H əŋ

D á sərga-sərg kɕ-t-á wala
Know how to cook oil

H tá wala
Cooking oil

D tá, wal =íindar
Cooking, groundnut oil

H wal =íindara (6.42)
Groundnut oil

D aa

H ee ɕ sərga-sərg
Yes, I know

(121)

D βag-á-v ndar ndar n-íin, tág ndana, baz fa-žaar-na **xar** dá n-al kɕwal
How it is done, tell now, also from the starting point to when it becomes oil

H má baça, maa ba baç-an-a-baçəg k-íindar rsa,
Peeling, if I've peeled the groundnuts

€n ságáw €n səl-ant, má səl-γ-ant-səlg má,
I come and I fry {them}, once you've fried them

ka €n vərʻan, má vərʻana-vərʻeg,
you take off the husks, once you've taken off the husks

káa €n k€βač-arža k€kay kə baŋw =íindarə-n,
then I winnow them the germinating point

káa €n d'ii-dá kəskay dayuvə-n má káa €n dágáw €n dágáw €n xaya k€kay kwáx m-
íinči,
then I pour [the chafe] away alone then I go and I grind it in a grinding machine

má xaya-na-xayg má, (7.07)
once they've been ground

káa €n sə-d-an (128) €n γw-ant kə yiwa kaar,
then I take them out and I boil hot water

káa €n ba cəđ-ar-áa ba xəd'iikən-n,
then I pour a little liquid [into them]

€n b-uuši-gáan €n b-uuši-gáan,
and I just stir and stir them

əm ba cəđ-ar-áan , əm b-uuši-gáan,
I pour a little liquid and I stir

xar sa-γ-a wal ba ġar əm vakáy,
until the oil comes out of it

€n d'im-arža kəskay, €n d'iy-am máŋ,
then I pour the liquid , I pour it in

má takw-takwa d'ii-gáan, (7.24)
in a small gourd I pour it [oil] in

káa €n ságáw k€kaya,
then I come

káa €n γudi-gáan k€kay k€guváa-n-ən,
then I cut its dregs from it

Ɔn tángús **kena**, káa Ɔn míil-gáan míil-gáan kƆ-kay,
thick groundnut paste, I roll {it} out and roll {it} out

Ɔn d'ii-gáan tə-kaar káa n-al k-ín kə **kulikuli**,
I pour it on a fire then it becomes kulikuli (groundnut cake)

káa Ɔn ságáw,
then I come

káa Ɔn rabtƆ-rabig ke-zar-x kƆn zə-gáan d-ítƆ
and I distribute it to children and we eat it with them

(136)

D kƆ **kulikuli** nii tángus xi
Is it groundnut cake or “tangus”

H kƆ **kulikuli day**
Groundnut cake

D ai má ġ-uu-ġegə-m βag-á-v ndara
If some remains, what is done {with it}

H má ġ-uu-ġəg kən **kulikuli kuma**,
if some groundnut cake remains

irin mƆ wa t-á-v d-aši
there is a type cooked with a sour soup

D aanči má t-á-v **kulikuli**yə-n má ba d'ek tsá
So if a lot of groundnut cake is cooked

H aa

D má ġ-uu-ġəg kə zə-g-á-ruə-n **kena**,
if some remains after eating it (your eating)

ám βág ndar **kulikuli**yi-na
what do you do with the groundnut cake

H káa rabg-ar-rabəg k-úuda-xa,
They are distributed

məng z-ar-x má lal má káa kaz-ftƆ-u ár zə-gáan
there are children in the neighborhood, you give them away to them one by one and they eat them

(141)

D mei vəl-á-v-i
They aren't sold

H mái vəl-av-vɛg-i, amá mɛŋ wa vəl-á-va,
They aren't sold, but there are those which are sold

to dig-á xiñex máy vəl-á-v də-vɛg-i (8.08)
the home product is not just sold

D **to**, šagər, **to** wal=índar náa,
Okay, good, groundnut oil

káa βág d-aw kəsu-kur-i
then what do you do with it

H káa má, mɛŋ nɛd'ala /nǵəŋ/ **iri** kwa marawa,
There is soup, a nice type

kɛm čii /t/ káa kɛn t-uu də-vakáya **ko** má máy kɛn t-u k-alel də-vakáy **ko kosay**
then we then we cook with it [the oil], or if not we cook alel bean cake with it or bean
cake
[alel cake cooked in water; kosay is fried]

(146)

D nəŋ, lər-á wal =índaraə-n **kəna**
So, the function of groundnut oil is [that]

H a

D **to**, txálá kwáx čii tsá
Okayh, after that

H əŋ

D aa wal =índarə-n tsá,
The groundnut oil

pirts-á-v ndukwáx n-íin, má pərtsa-v k-íina ba
it is squeezed like that; once it is squeezed

H əŋ

D **to** wal =íindaraə-n či kwán tsá,
The groundnut oil

á vᵐ-gáan ni, á máy xa vᵐ-gáan-i (8.34)
do you sell it or not?

H aa, máy vəl-á-v-i
No, it is not sold

D máy vəl-á-v wal =íindar-i
Groundnut oil is not sold

H áyá máy vᵐ-gáan-i
You don't sell it

(150)

D **to**, á máy či tsá, aa, xiyá-γ kwáná kəl awa tár á mᵐᵐ
So, then, your age is ten and above you say

H əᵐ, tár təxs
18

D makaranta duy-ant máᵐ,
You left school during

máᵐ má praimari á mᵐᵐ kwán,
during primary you said

to awo digit-i á náa-g nᵐᵐ má **raayuwá-γa** ,
so what is it you want in your life

k-əndzə-GANá-γ kwán band kwanᵐᵐ
in your existence like now

H kᵐ-kaya
Me?

D əᵐ, aw dig-i á náa-gə-ᵐ ba vevey,
What do you really want to do

kwa tá-a kəsg-ant-kəseg ᵐ-áy kwa-na mana náa-gáan ᵐ-áya ba vayvay má rayuwá-γ
to say, I like it (can carry it) that which I like a great deal in life

H aa kay **kam**, ᵐ náa ba dá má žígəl ᵐ-áy ba d-ərivəd' pəl
As for me, I like God with one heart

D kəsə-γ-ant-kəsəg pál
You only like that

H aa (9.11)

D **to**, kwár k€čoč wá-γα digə-η-i
Okay, which church is it you go to?

H €n má i way en čoč
I am in the EYN church

D i way en čoč, **to** ,
EYN church

βága-βág ηweñ čoča-x vaakwán kwán
how many churches are there here now

H čoča-xa
churches

D əη
yes

(160)

H m€ηg koč-íina,
There is the church

m€ηg vanğalik, m€η nu riidiim, m€η kokiina,
the Evangelical, there is the New Redeemer, there is COCIN
[Church of Christ in Nigeria]

m€η diipa layf, γaala kwán sərga η-áy
there is deeper life, beyond that I don't know any

D áγá má i way en n€η **kena**
You are in EYN

H ee en má i way en
Yes, I am in EYN

D áγá má **kuŋgi** ni
You are in an activity

H in máy má **kuŋgi**

I am not in an activity group

D á máy má kuŋgiyi,
You are not in an activity group

kumá tap-γ- η-áy dágál dá vaka lər-ni,
Have you ever traveled anywhere?

ko ndə gwaaza kwárkwára-x-i
like Gwoza and such places

(165)

H aa ndz-an daxa dágál
I have been traveling

D á daxa dágál dá βa-awə-η kwáx-ín
What were you doing

H daxa dágál dá vəj-á yiga-xá-r
I went to my relatives

D yiga-xá-γ
Your relatives

H oo

D **to** lag-á-v ni γay-á gəlvayd vaakwáx-ína,
did you find the Glavdá language there

méy xa tag-á-v, n€γay-á yaa gəlvayda-x vaakwáx-ín-i
or wasn't Glavdá spoken there?

H aa méy tag-á-v-i, ba xawsa ard turanči **kaway**
No, it is not spoken, only Hausa and English alone

D ba xawsa ard turanči
Just Hausa and English

H aoo

(169)

D **to, ga ši** ár čínga-y k€γay-á gəlvayda-x-i,
Okay, they don't understand Glavda?

kumá áyá duɣw-á gəlvayda-xə-ŋ l'áβ
now you are a Glavdá girl

H əm (10.00)

D **to** ám tág d-aw n-úurám kɛŋ,
What do you.PL speak to them in

kɛɣay-á xar ám čiŋ-gán kɛŋ, kə **ǵuuná-ruə-n**
a language so that you understand, each other (ǵuuna each other)

H ba di-yaa-md-ín ɛn dágaw ŋ-áy dá vakáa-tɛ na,
I travel with our.EX people to their place

ŋal ka kɛm tág-áan kɛɣaya-md **dai** kɛm dá čiŋga-čiŋg n-ɛnd
then we.EX speak our language and we.EX understand

(172)

D gəlvayda-x-ín
The Glavda

H əm, amá íitɛri-n ár čiŋga-ya,
But they [people in the place] do not understand

ár žar-kɛnd ba də-žarg n-ítɛ, ár čiŋga-y
they just look at us, and don't understand

D **to** li má łalənɛm
And those in the neighborhood?

H li má łal,
In the neighborhood

kɛn gwiy-ant l'a n-ɛnd kɛ**muriya**-md kɛm d'uw-ars kɛgəlvayda-xa,
we.EX change our voice [language] and we leave Glavda

kɛn, tág-tər xaws
we speak to them in Hausa

kɛ-kɛnd
we

X

D k-ítɛ, iyo, xaws digit-i **xad'a**-kur d-ítɛ
To them, right, Hausa is the main language (thing) that joins you.PL with them

H ee xaws
Yes Hausa

D **xar** ám sɛraa-ka kə digit-i tága n-úurám
So that you.PL (?) what you are saying

(176)

h oo

D **to**, txálá kwáx, xər kasukwa kəsə-n-i
Okay after that, when are the markets of the village

H dáalá licinan
Monday

D daala licinan (10.37)
Monday

H aa

D **to**, mɛŋg wa lərn kasukw ni máy xi
Okay , are there other markets ornot?

H mɛŋg kasukwa βaraw
There is the βarawa market

D aandzu kwa má ksə-n w-an tág ŋ-áy
Even the one is the village (Ngoshe) is what I am saying

H iyo

D ba daala licnan **kawaya**
Is there only the Monday one

(180)

H ba licnan páll
Only Monday

D **to**, aw arda-w wa val-á-v mánj má kasukwa licani-na
Okay, what all is sold in the Monday market

H yaa dənkaaliya-x-a, yaa gwaaza-xa,
Things like potatoes, (like) sweet potatoes

petetowa-xa, mɛŋ yáa wala-xa,
potatoes, there are oils

manǵa-xa, yaa =sd'ava-xa, kwárkwár , (11.00)
palm oil, clothes, and the like

mɛŋ káa ságáw n-úuda-x k-íindar **kena** ba ɕa-v káa dágál dá val-á-v má kasukw,
people bring groundnuts, husked and they go and are sold in the market

baz yaa zarva-xa baz ya =agəra-x-a ,
also sesamee beans

bad'd'ɛm wanaxáa-n ba dágál dá val-ár, má kasukw
al of these thing are (going to be) sold in the market

(186)

D má kasukw
In the market

H əŋ

D **to** txálá kwanɛn tsá, yaara yaara,
So after then then, who all

yaara li sa z-á kasukw licnanɛn-i
who comes to trade (eat) in the Monday market

H ko kwár kɛksa čiiǵə-t tə gwaaza, (11.22)
Any city at all starting from Gwoza

lii d-ii ta-kwán šigasiya-xa, kwára ár sáas bad'd'ɛm ,
the ones coming from down here Ashgasiya, whatever they all come here

dá má kasukw, baz calmá li má yaru káa alaǵiya-x,
to the market, also some the Alhaji's from Maiduguri
[alhaji = people with money]

má ár ságál, dá má gwaš, baz bam
they come, to Ngoshe, and Bama

(190)

D ay či kwán tsá,
so

gaši kasukw kwáná kasukwa gwaš,
this is the market, the Ngoshe market

kumá ár taa yareya gəlvaɣd gəlvaɣd ndakwan
they speak Glavdá now

H ə

D ay má-ɣa náa sugw-á digit či n-ɛŋ vak li k-ɛli sáa má yarwa-x-íina,
If you want to buy something from one who has come from Maiduguri

mandra-xa, kwár kwár tsá,
Mandara, and the like

ár-dá sugw ndar či k-ɛ-digit vakáa-t-ɛr či íit-ɛr ndakway
how will they buy the goods from them [Glavdá people] and they in turn

ár číŋga-y ɣay-á gəlvaɣda-x ár číŋga-y ɣay-á kwán-i (11.48)
they don't understand Glavdá they don't know understand it

(19)

H mm

D to k-ɛ-ɣ l'áβa á číŋga-y gayáa-t-ɛr ŋi
So you don't understand their language?

H mm

D ám dá sugw ndar k-ɛ-digit vakáa-t-ɛr-i
How do you.PL buy goods from them?

H áyá gwi-y-ant ɣəravá-ɣa,
you switch your own [language]

á d'uw-ars k-ɛ-gəlvaɣda-x-íina áyá dágáw dá ta,
yo stop [speaking] Glavdá you go and speak

áyá tág-tər xawsa
you speak to them in Hausa

D á kwa m-ár číŋga-y n-íit-ɛr k-ɛŋ, k-ɛ- xaws biyə-m
What if they don't understand, Hausa?

H pilwe-y dadá kwa číŋga-číŋg k-ɛ-xaws m-íit-ɛr-i-ya-y
There must be someone who understands Hausa among them

(197)

D **to** gwayt~~ŋ~~-gwayg kena
So you interpret for them

H ee, káa gwayt~~ŋ~~-gwayg má /ár ts/
Yes, you interpret (so) they

ár sɔrga-sɔrg taaki kɛm náa-g tɔ-kwáx kɛdɔgá-ɣ náa-n (12.09)
they know that we.EX want your goods at that rate

D **to**, aw wa laŋ-tɔr sáasá máŋ,
Okay what brings them to

má xud'a kasukwa gwaš-ni
the Ngoshe market

H ár laŋga,
They bring

amá digit-i ár laŋ-kɛnd n-íit~~ŋ~~ kɛ-kɛnd de,
but the thing they bring for us

dɛnkáaliy-íina ard yaa á **iri** šaxa, **dooya**,
potatoes and different types, of yam

an ard yaa sɔd'a-va-x kena ár laŋ-kɛnd kɛ-kɛnd
and clothes, they bring us

D íitɛr l'áβa ár sagw-aw n-íit~~ŋ~~ vaká-ru-ni
They in turn what do they buy from you.PL

(202)

H ár ts =íindar n-íit~~ŋ~~ vak-amd
They measure groundnuts from us (ts iindar = measure)

D iindar, b-íindar pállá
Just groundnuts

H ard yaa zarva-xa, xiya,
And beni seed, guinea corn

bad'dɛm ár ba tsɔ-gáan vaka-md
they measure out everything from us

[grains]

ard agəráa-n
and beans

X

D **to, to**, yīŋ-a-yīŋga čǐ wáxa,
Okay, that's finished

txálá kwáx čǐ tsá, **gašiya** kəγ-a,
then after that, look you

n€γ-al-nəg kə duγw jaγal, **to**, máŋ, (12.43)
you have become a mature lady

má gəlvayda-x tsá
among the Glavda

H əŋ

D ár βág ndar n-íit€ máŋ,
How do they

ma-na sa náa duγw γwalva, (207)
if a man likes a lady ?

βág ndar n-ín má ságáw,
how does he do if he comes

zuŋw má sáasá vəjá-ruə-n,
first he comes to your.PL house

xar taakiya ám dá n-al kə žiilá-r d-uusə-na
until, like you.PL become husband and wife

H axxx, káa ságáw k-ín,
He comes

irin má n€γ-a-kak-nəγg **kəna** γwalv **kəna** t-βal áγá gweyavá-γ,
like, if a man has seen you, outside as you are strolling about

irin ko ám gweyav **kəna** ám də duγwa-xa-x,
or like you.PL are strolling about with girls

má nəγ-a-kak-nəγg gweyav maa,
he sees you strolling about

áyá n€ɣa m€ŋ tsaywáa-n má łal-íina,
you see, he has a friend in the neighborhood

tág-áan taaki, aɣg, duɣwá-r wannáan, (13.11)
he says, see, whose daughter is this!

tág-áan n€ɣwəlvə-n wannáan,
this man says

tág-áan n€ɣwalvə-n taaki aa duɣ-á łalá-ráa-n ən,
the man says that she is the daughter of my neighbor

ma-na náa-gáan ŋ-áy k€duɣw-íina, (213)
If I I like the girl

əŋ náa-gáan kə d'uula dáa dá vəj-áa-təráa-n,
I want a way to go to their house

kena, káa tág-áana, /biidak/,
then you say, [/]

biidak áyá ŋaa-y l'áβiya, má-ɣa náa-gáan bak čər,
maybe you don't love her, if you love her truly

ts€n tag-w-i tág-áan,
you tell me [her friend]

káa tag-ar-a-tág **kena** n€ɣwalvə-n,
then the man tells her

taaki ŋ-axáa-n
like this

D k-úudá łalá-ruwə-n
To a person of your.PL neighborhood

H ee, **to**, káa áyá lə-k-na k-ín k€d'uula dáa dá xiñexa,
Okay, you find a way to go to {her} house

ám ba ndzə-gán ám ba ndzə-gán,
you.PL stay and stay [with her]

ám ba ndzə-ga d-ín, anga dá ságáw βág-ka k-ín k€kal'əŋ,
you.PL just stay with her then he comes and buys you some goods (make goods)

káa dá ságáw dá d'iya k-ín ka-ła, (219)

then he comes to pay a cow [to the father]

káa ságáw maa,
he comes

áyá val-u ka-l-íina áyá dágáw áyá sagwa k€digaá-ŋ,
you sell the cow, you go and you buy goods [with the cow]

á bá-a ləra-x-á-γ duγw kena, á dágáw má,
for doing your [household] work, you go

káa, má čii-t-čiiŋ detiya f-ga n-úurámá káa áyá dáa dá vəjá-ŋ,
once the date you put [for the marriage] approaches, you [girl] go the house

á γwalv-íina ám ám n-al k€yaa žiilá-r d-uus
of the man, and you become husband and wife

D **to** txálá laŋ ka'əŋ l'a tsá,
 Okay, after bringing the goods

mee digit βág n-íin lakuti,
isn't there something you do before

aa k€βáa wuree-n kwán ya
you marry now

H ax **to** ax
 okay

D ba dá laŋ-dá ka'əŋáa-n **kawaya**,
 You just carry away his goods

f-á sárt n-úud bandkwáx-ni,
a date is put like that

m€ŋ digita-x šaxšax βág n-íin ni méy xi
are there different things, or not you do

(225)

H laŋga, laŋ-a-k-laŋg k€-čapaniya ay (14.18)
 He brings you, small items [food, cosmetics]

D yawa
 yawa

H laŋg-áan kə čapaniya-x
He brings small goods

D mmm

H ko kwár k€saati laŋ-a-k-laŋg k€čapaniya-x,
Every week he brings you small items

kumá sagwa-k-sagw k€yaa digita-x-i áyá náa-g n€ŋa yaa sabuula-xa,
he buys you things you like, soaps

waláa-n sagwa-k-sagw
he buys you cream

D máy usə-g-i
No farming

H n€ɣwalv-íina, usə-g mana
The man, he farms of course

(229)

D əvjá-ruwá, kuma,
Your.PL house

vəjá-ruwa máy d-uusəg yaa
he doesn't farm in your house?

H aa k€ŋ usə-g
No, we farm

D máy us =íindariya
He doesn't farm groundnuts?

H k€ŋ usə-g
We farm

D usə-g **baa**
farming

H ee

D máy d'oog-i
There isn't any collective work help

H máy, máy l'ei n-úud βá-a dawg, ndakwani

No, a person no longer engages in collective work, now [during courtship]

D **to**, awa βag-á-v má me má kuwa doogi-n ndakwani
So what is done instead of the collective work now?

H máy ku aw **xanan**-və-na-haŋg (14.49)
It has been stopped

(232)

D iyo **xan**-γ-an-xanγ n-adiniyá-ŋ
Oh, religion has stopped it

H a kristan
Christianity
[work for the bride-to-be's family was deemed exploitative by missionaries and stopped]

D **to** txálá kwáx çi tsá, ee dá-γa tu-kwáxa,
Okay, so after that, it has finished

m-an mana ma-na patəg γwalv-ín€m, βág ndar
if the man elopes, how is it done?

H man-á patiga, saxa ságáwa, **iri**,
If he wants to elope, he used to come

má ságáw kwán-ín, tag-ka taaki ay kay,
if this one comes, he tells you that you, I

€n tag-k-tág ts€n, €n gədza k€-γ biya,
I am telling you, I am not afraid of you

á kwa ma-na ságáw k€dig-ín ay ts€n,
if he wants to come

ma-na m€ŋg xa ságáw xa ɽa sa vəjá-ruw á wáráma,
if ... ? I would not have come to your.PL house he says

á kwa má-γa náak-wa-náag ts€n (238) kay ts€n, (15.20)
if you love me,, I

dəvá-r máy kəskaya,
I don't have means (my hand does not exist)

á kwa má-γa náa-k-wa-náag ts€n,

if you love me

ǵi dágála, kí ndz-an áwárám, amáa-n kena,
let's go away, we.2 live, he says, he says

má yardə-γ-ant=yardəg n€duγw má,
if you the lady agree

áyá nəγa b-ár dágál, ár ndzanáa-t€,
you see they will go away, and they will stay [together]

v€-g-ar-v€lg k-íin kə **daad'i** k-uus-íin kena,
he gives her presents/pleasures to the wife

ám m€j calm má ks-uu-kəsəg **kumá máy** v€-g-ár **daad'iy-i**,
there are others if they marry {you} they won't give you nice things

v€-g-ár ba **wulaakanči** (15.41)
he gives you suffering

D ay či patəgə-n kwán či tsá, ba də-γay band kwáx ni ,
So, this eloping, is it just like that

m€j xa dig-i d'ii-g γwalvə-n xi
or is there something {else} the man gives

H m€j calm v€-g-ar-v€lg kwaβa amáa m€j calm máy kwaβa-y
There are those who give her money, but there are also those who don't

(245)

D βága-βág ηweñ ηweñ
How much [money] does it make

H aw, βága-βág k€**dəbu gomá ša gomá ša šida**-xáa-na,
It máy make 10,000 plus, like 16,000

ko iširiin, ár čoo-gáan
or 20,000, they receive

D to kwáx-íin či má,
Okay that one

á dá βág d-aw n€η kwaβ-íin má čaw-γ-a-čawg əη udan-i
what will you do {with} the money if someone has received it

H á dá saw-u də-taasa-xá-γa, má sagu-γ-wa-sagw də-taas má,
You go to buy bowls, if you've bought a bowl

kiya dá puγ-w-a k€γ dágál dá vəj-á žiil-ín **kena** (16.11)
for moving away (escorting) to your husband

D **to**, e,

á kwa má d'iyád'iyān n-alman má k€γ band kwa tágə-η zuηwə-n
if a dowry is paid for you, as you've said above

(249)

H mm

D **to**, aw dig-i, βág n€η dadá-γ ksə-γ l'áβa,
What will your father do for you

vəj-á žiilá-γ-íni
in the house of your husband

H má vəl-ú-v€g ká-ła
If he has sold a cow

D mm

H sugwə-ka k€piin-á γəηganá-γa,
he buys you a bed for sleeping

ard kuš-na, ard də səd'ava xud'á guda,
and cushions, and curtain for the inner room

ard əη yaa b-akwatiya-xa,
and buckets

yaa šaka-xa, kwár má káa,
pots, when

dá laη-ka dáas n-úud dá vəj-á žiil-ín kiya dá mul-k-u-məlg k€-βaa lər
they take you away to the house of your husband, in order to help you to do the work

D **to** yīη-aa-yīηg wáx, (255)
Okay, once that is done

maa ġ-uu b-argwandzaə-n či, ba njikwáx tsá,
if a folktale remains, just a small one

má diga bərga, má dig-á zá-ksa (16.50)

H argwandzə-n č̣i wa-n sərga-y
The folktale, is what I don't know

D má ba xəđ'iikən, aa, á tag-dán, má ġ-uu ba wáx
Even a small one, you tell us, if that one is left

H amá ʘ sərga-y ŋ-áy k-argwandzə-n-i
But I don't know a folktale

D dig-á zá- ksə-m
A riddle then?

H argwandza
Argwandza

D suuta
say it

H xxx, vii-γ-w-a-víig, argwandza suuta, bəra-bərga
I've forgotten the folktale

D bərga-n
Say it (arrange it)

(263)

ʘ ságáw ʘ yaxa kʘzar-xá-r bad'dəma,
I come and I give birth to all my children

ár ságáw, bad'dəmáa-tʘ ba də-guupa má γər, vəl-wa ksa
they come, all of them with a spear in the head; give me a village

D vəl-am-a-vʘg kə kəs č̣i zaráa-n,
you.PL give her a village, brothers

ʘ yaxa kʘzar-xá-r tsəmá ár ba də guup má γər am, agər-ni, agəra
I give birth to my children all with a speak in their head; is beans? Beans

H a'a
no

T nģu-i ni
Is it flies

- H nǵu-i bi
It's not flies
- D z-uu-zəg kǐ-yaa ndum
Eat the people of shit
[i.e. take the village of Ndum, the village of “shit”; the speaker should refuse the offer]
- X nǵuura
A palm tree
- D aa
- (269)
- X nǵuura-y
It is not a palm
- H nǵuur bi
Not a palm
- D ai z-uu-zəg kə yaa nduuma
Okay, eat the people of Shit
- H z-an-uu-zəg k-iyaa nduum,
I've taken the village of Ndum
- /Ǥ zu-t/, Ǥ zətǣr-u tsá, axxx, (18.03)
[/] I ate them
- zar-xá-r bad'əmm ár ba dəg-i,
all my children with
- də-guupə-n a ma-y tsá, ardza
spears, I said, scorpion
- D aa kwandá kwani, kalkalaan
- H ardza
scorpion
- D **to**, šagra, **yawa**, mǤ čǐ wáx pállá
Dm thanks. Yawa. There is that one
- H argwandza

Argw

D suuta
Bring it

(273)

H puuñ βaa, Ɛn yaxa kƐ-zarxá-r tsá, ηη,
Riddle! I give birth to my children

Ɛn dágál dá gwiav tsá,
I go strolling

xwaas ama-y kƐη kə yaa ləxá-ra wacayá-r tsá,
I say good evening to my neighbors (my neighbors, my households)

l'əyá-ra zar-x zuηw tə-xər kƐ-ya, kə baabáa-n, xiñex
the children are greeted first and then the mother (the children receive the greeting first then mother)

D γay-á wacay ni, apáyapéy xi aa
Is it the door of a house, or leaves of a palm tree

H aa
no

T aríyaríya
Type of tree

H ee
yes

D ariyariya
Ariyariya tree

H aana, argwandza
Yes, Argw.

D suuta (18.46)
Bring it

H tsalal dá fey
Tsal completely free road to heaven

T d'uul-á zəlyə
The road of an anthill

[the hole of a termite's nest is very deep]

(279)

H aa, yin-u-yin čí maa l'ei wán sɛrga-sɛrg ŋ-áy-i
That's all; there are no more I know

D yin-u-yinga
Its over?

H aana
yes

D **to** tɔ́má ba digá-ŋ á zá ksa, má anɔ́ ba,
Okay, the remaining riddles, even

digá-ŋ á laabari, kukuwa dig-á bɛrg, má ba xɛd'iikɛn tsá
the narrative folktale (thing), or a narrative, even if it is a small one

H xxx ɛ̃n sɛrga-y
I don't know {one}

D aa

H ɛ̃n sɛrga-y biya
I don't know

D máy, máy nɛŋ labari čin-ɣá-ŋ ku ba xɛd'iikɛn ya ,
No folktale that you've heard even a small one

kumán, karat-ɣa má má baybla (19.12)
or, you read it in the Bible

(283)

D ku kuwa ba mán, má má taarixi bandkwáx ba jajan tsá
Or in history or the like

H m

D ba **sei** lale argwandza kɛsá-mí biya-y, (19.19)
Not necessarily our own folktale

/a na/ ba taakiya ba tag-va dɛ gɛlvayda-x kway má ba laabari čin-ɣ-ŋ ndukwáxa,
[/you want], like it should be spoken in Glavda, even any story you heard just like that

á tág-áan bi tsɛn,
you tell it

pil-wa-y labariya **ku** má beibəla,
stories are not few even in the Bible

ku m-aw n-íina, má karant-ɣa mánj má takardá xawsa-xa,
no matter in what, if you've read it in a Hausa book

má digá-ŋ á turančiya, á tag-kɛndá xəd'iik-nan il'aya (19.34)
in an English book (thing), you tell us a little one

H xxx, ɛ dzam-gáan ndandana,
I am thinking now

mbatak mən wán sərga-ka ŋ-áy
maybe there is one I know

(289)

D dzamg yá-ɣ ba də-ɣəŋk**ala**, dzamg yá-ɣ ba də-ɣənk**ala**
You think it over carefully , think it over carefully

H argwandza
story
Argwandza

D suuta (20.00)
Bring it
Bring it

H púu nɛvɛč ardə-ŋ, d-áyayáyaya,
Once upon a time NOM-spider and-PS, with-squirrel
Once upon a time a spider and a squirrel

ár dágál dá vəj-á duɣw **kena**,
they go to area-PSSD girl dm
went to the house of a girl

ár dágál dá vəj-á duɣw má, **sei** ám vɛč **kena**,
they go to house-PSSD girl dm, only say spider dm
they went to the house of girl, the spider said

ğ-ii dágál dá vəj-á duɣw áamá, k-áyayáyaya,
et's.2 go go to house-PSSD girl said, to-Squirrel
let's go to the house of the girl, he said, to Squirrel

ay ġíy áwárám n-áyayáyayə-n k-íin, ay, (20.17)
 dm let's.2 go said NOM-Squirrel-SPC to-him, dm
 let's go said Squirrel to him í

dəlvə-n tsaywá-r tsɛn kí dá vɛdzíga-vɛdzíg xa kɛdəlvə-n dágál dá vəj-á duywə-náa-n,
 lake-SPC friend-my dm we.2 FT jump-R FcQ k-lake-SPC go to house-PSSD girl-her-
 SPC
 the lake my friend, are we going to jump over the lake, on the way to the girl's house?

aa ɛn dá =vdzígá-vɛdzígá, a kí kí vɛdzígáana,
 aa I FT jump-R, we.2 we.2 jump-GAN
 I will jump over {it}, we'll jump over it

ɛn βɛgá-βɛg kɛzáwá-rə-n tsɛn,
 I throw-R OBJ-rope-my-SPC dm
 I throw put my web (rope)

kí dágál tə-vakáy áwárám,
 we.2 go on-it said
 and we'll go over it he said

káa ságó má, káa íyy áwárám,
 then come dm, then okay said
 then he (Squirrel) came, and said yes ó

káa ságó káa βəl-á nɛn,
 then come then throw.SQT-EXT nomPS
 he came and threw his web

nɛvɛççɛ-n kɛzáwáa-n **kena** dágál,
 NOM-spider-SPC OBJ-rope-his dm away
 the spider his thread out and away

káa fác ár dágál tə-vakáy,
 then Fác they go on-it
 and Fác they went on it

d-al-ár ba n-íitɛn dá vəj-á duywə-n tsá, (20.47)
 go-EXT-they dm SbjP-they do house-PSSD girl-SPC dm
 they went on to the girl's house

sallam ám-íitɛn, ay **yawa**, **kami** ár dáas tsá,
 Hello say-they, dm **yawa**, before they went dm
 Salaam they said, ay, before they went

čaw-a-čáwg n€duɣw, (302) k-áyayáyay **kena**,
 receive-R NOM-girl, OBJ-squirrel dm
 the girl received, the squirrel

aa dá =ks-aw ɣwálv€náa-n,
 PER go bring-what man-SPC (?)
 what has brought the man [girl ask Sq, what has brought spider]

duɣw-á waar wa dá gát€g vəča áwár ámúud,
 girl-PSSD who TP FT look-G spider said said
 whose girl is spider looking for she said

káa d'aa-v-ar-v-á v€ **kena**,
 then insult-PSV-EXT-EXT spider dm
 then spider was insulted

káa fáč n€v€ ts-á-tsəg n€rvíd' má xud' má
 then Fáč NOM-spider hit-3-R NOM-heart in stomach dm
 then Fáč, spider was annoyed (his heart in stomach hit)

D mm

H káa mlá ságál-áan k-íin **kena** d'uw-árs k€tsaywáa-n€n,
 Then come out come-GAN InP-3 dm left-EXT OBJ-friend-his-SPC
 Then he came out [of girl's house] and he left his friend

sáas k-íin ba tavád'-gáan k-íin k€záwáa-n€n
 come back InP-3 dm winding-GAN InP-3 OBJ-rope-his-SPC
 he came back winding up his thread

βəl-a n-íin dágál tə-ɣər-á =yuwə-n bad'd'əm,
 throw-3 (LL) SbjP-3 across on-head-PSSD water-SPC all
 he had thrown across the water, all of it

(306) tavád'-ánt k-íin bad'd'əm má,
 wound.SQT-EXT InP-3 all dm
 he wound up all [the thread]

káa fáč káa sə-dá k-íin,
 then Fáč then come-EXT InP-3
 then Fáč brought it back

káa sáa tsaywáa-n€n tsá, (21.19)
 then come frined-his-SPC dm
 then his friend [squirrel] came

sallam ám tsaywáa-n-€n,
 Greeting said friend-his-SPC
 Greeting his friend said

káa fác k-íin mlá sáas **kena** d-an-ayaná-r áwáramáa-n,
 then Fác InP-3 left coming dm go-I-EXT-my said-his
 then Fác he left [the girl's house] I am going home he said
 [last three lines a refrain of what has already been done]

káa fác mlá sáasáa-n k-íina,
 then Fác left come-his InP-3
 then Fác he left and went back,

ka ságó, n-€vəc, n-áyayáyay má,
 then come, NOM-spider, NOM-squirrel dm
 Spider went back. As for Squirrel

čfi-t ba n-íin kə mla sáas tsá kiyavá-γ ndzə-ga áwáramáa-n,
 get up-EXT dm SbjP-3 k-leave come back dm for-your stay-G said-his
 he got up to leave and come back home, 'I'm going' he said
 [formal greeting for leave-taking]

káa k-€duyw **kena**
 then to-girl dm
 to the girl

D **yawa**

H káa íyyá áwáram n-€duyw k-íin, (311)
 Then okay said NOM-girl to-him
 The girl said 'okay' to him

káa fác n-íin mla sáas tsá,
 then Fác SbjP-3 left come dm
 then Fác he went out [of her house]

yandzu €n dá βág ndar η-áy kwáná,
 now I FT do how SbjP-I now
 now, what am I going to do now
 [i.e. Spider had taken up the web bridge]

ámáa-n, áyyá βá-a **maamaki yandi** dá v-€dz-€ga-v-€dz-€g n-íin kí-yuə-n,
 said-his, wow do-PSSDST surprise how FT cross-R SbjP-3 OBJ-water-SPC
 he said, wow, he was surprised (he makes surprise) how he would cross over the water

káa ár mla sáa ár məla sáas má,

then they leave come they leave come dm
they had come out

káa ba kud'ín-gáan tsá,
then dm glance-GAN dm
he glanced around

dzúkw ámáa tsá da-xíi dá má dəlvə-n **kena**,
Dzikw said dm go-down to in lake dm
he went Dzikw [into water] down into the water

s-íi, fáčí baa lərd'a,
come-down, Fác mother teeth
he was going down, good afternoon aunt
[greeting other people/animals in the water]

aa váná ndar baa lərd' á ba lápí xa áwárámáa-n, (22.05)
aa spend day how mother teeth you dm well FcQ said-his
'Good afternoon' aunt, 'Are you well' she said

áy ba lápí zəra zəráabá-ra, ús áwárám (316) n-úusə-n,
dm dm well child children-my, hello said NOM-woman-SPC
"Are you well child of my brother" (nephew), the woman said

káa má má , á βul-k-wá baabá-r tsɛ̃n,
then dm dm, PER send-OBJ-me mother-my dm
my mother sent me [Squirrel says]

dɛ̃g d-íi xəc-ar-ná-xəcəg kɛ̃-zar-xa baa lərd'á-γ-n áwárámáa-n,
go-G go-down care-EXT-EXT-R OBJ-children-PL mother teeth-your-SPC said-her
go down and take care of the children of your aunt he said
[Squirrel says he has been sent to take care of her children; in order to get her to help him
out of the water; the animal turns out to be a crocodile]

káa íyá k-áy ndakwa ndza-na dágál dá kəs-á-kɛ̃γ tsɛ̃n,
then okay InP-I dm was-I go to carry-PSSDST-InP-you dm
okay, I was about to take (carry) you

úsíyá-γ ba d'ekd'ek zər-á zráabá-r áwárámáa-n,
thank-your dm much child-PSSD children-my said-her
thank you very much, my nephew she said

káa ságó má, káa ár ba ndzə-gán,
then come dm, then they dm stay-GAN
they came out, and they stayed

d-íi n-úusə-n dá má təyal úus€g, βá-a kwár má,
 go-down NOM-woman-SPC to in bush farm-G, do-PSSDST what dm
 the woman went down to farm in the bush, doing things

káa áy zar-xá-rə-n ts€n, (22.33)
 then dm child-PL-my-SPC dm
 then my children

fuw-ar-ú-fəg čí k€çímiya €n d-i dá má təyal áwárám n-úus€n, (321)
 put-EXT-EXT-R dm OBJ-ear I go-down to in bush said NOM-woman-SPC
 take care of {them} I am going down to the bush the woman said

má sáá-γ-án **kena kalkala** táymí sáas,
 if come (?) dm exact time come back
 if she, the exact time she's coming back

n-íin, n-úusə-n tsá, ba s-ar-dá kwáx€n k€zər, yaxa,
 SbjP-3, NOM-woman-SPC dm, dm come-EXT-EXT that-SPC OBJ-child, giving birth
 she, the woman, she brought that child, giving birth

kəla tár xkərd' n-íin k€zər,
 10 and 3 SbjP-3 k-child
 to thirteen children
 [she had thirteen children who Squirrel had to take care of]

ba s-ar-d k-íin kwáx ba s-ar-dá k-íin kwáx,
 dm come-EXT-EXT InP-3 dm come-EXT-EXT InP-3 that
 he brought her out that one [child], he brought her out the next one

ba dáas xəŋ-ná k-íin kwáx,
 dm went sleep-EXT InP-3 that
 then he put another one to sleep

βaga ba n-íin ŋ-ax má,
 do dm SbjP-3 like-that dm
 that is how he was doing
 [Squirrel would bring the woman her children one by one]

kaa aše ba zə-gáan ba zə-gáan k-íin k€zər =úusə-n má, (22.59)
 with knowing dm eat-GAN dm eat-GAN InP-3 OB-child-PSSD woman-SPC dm
 without knowing that he was eating the children of the woman

sei təma-t€ng ba pál **kena**, káa,
 unless remain-R dm one dm, then
 until only one remained

βag-á ba n-íin,
do.SQT-EXT dm SbjP-3
then he did

z-uu-z_ε maa ndza náa dáas n_εkírw_εn dá (326) má gudə-n,
eat-EXT-R when was want go down NOM-crocodile-SPC to in house-SPC
he [the last one] when the crocodile went down to the room [where children are]

áy áyá dá mərə, baa-lərd' **kay** ts_εn,
dm you go where, mother teeth dm dm
So, where are you going, auntie [Squirrel asks]

mba-k-wa-mbəg n_εkuz k_ε-k-áy ba watswatsa,
sicken-OBJ-me-R NOM-disease EmP-I dm suddenly
A disease has struck me suddenly

ám baabá-r ts_εn má ba daali dzə-γ-aar-dzəg n_εkuzə-n tə-k_εγ ts_εn,
say mother-my dm if dm whenever happen-3-EXT-R NOM-disease-SPC on-InP-you dm
my mother said, whenever the sickness happens to you

ko uuβ ts_εn aa f-ar-i n_εbaa lərd'á-γə-n k_εzar-xáa-n-iyá,
or breast dm PER put-EXT-NEG NOM-mother-teeth-your-SPC OBJ-child-PL-her-NEG
your auntie should not even breast feed her children [should not go near her children]

áa m_ε-g ságál də-k_εγ ba watswats áwárám,
? leave-G come out with-InP-you dm quickly said
she should carry you out (go out with you) quickly he said

káa íyyá áwárám baa lərd'ə-n, (23.28)
then yes said mother-teeth-SPC
then the auntie said “yes”

má-na fəg-ar-ú ba úβ k_εzar-xá-r tályáana áwárám,
if-I put-EXT-EXT dm breast OBJ-child-PL please said
I would like to breast feed [put breast for] my children first please she said

sei áamá má máy áwárám,
only said dm no said
then he said “no” he said

káa fác **kena**, káa ár mələ dágát,
then Fác dm, then they leave went out
then Fác, they came out

ár mələ dágát, mələ dágát, máa, ba kwán xa n_εvjá-rw-íina,
they leave come out, leave come out, dm, dm this FcQ NOM-house-your.PL-SPC

they came out, they came out, is this one your.PL house?

ba kwán biy ám, ba kwán xa n€vəjá-rw-íina, ba kwán biy ám,
dm this not said, dm this FcQ NOM-house-your.PL-SPC, dm this not said
not this one [Squirrel says], is this one your house?, not this one

ár mələ dágát, ár mələ dágát,
they leave come out, they leave come out
they came out, they came out

gata ba n-íin k€maandal-á zəlyáa-n **kena**, (23.50)
look dm SbjP-3 OBJ-big-PSSD anthill-his dm
he was looking for a big anthill

káa ay kwán n€vəjá-md€n ám,
then dm this NOM-house-our.EX-SPC said
then aha this is our.EX house he said

kwán xa n€vəjá-ruu-na, iyaa, ám n-úusə-n,
this FcQ NOM-house-our.PL-SPC, yes said NOM-woman-SPC
is your.PL house this one, he, said the woman

fác káa mlá diy-áan k-íin **kena**,
Fác then went out go down.SQT-EXT InP-3
Fác then he went down into the anthill

sei amá má gwémbél gwémbél d-úuβ-ná z-an-ú-yə xa k€-zar-xa diga-xá-γ-íin áwárám,
only said big-breasted with-breast-SPC eat-I-EXT-NEG FcQ OBJ-child-PL thing-PL-
your said
then he says, big-breasted one, haven't I eaten your children, your possessions he said

xxxx, **sei**, ka **kaya** áwárám n-uusə-n,
xxx, only, oh! Said NOM-woman-SPC
the woman said „what!“

aana áwárám, fác n-úusə-n mələ dayáa-na,
yes said, Fác NOM-woman-SPC leave go down-her
yes he said, Fác the woman goes down

γwad-á dəv lərdʔ,
cutting-PSSDST hand teeth
cutting {her} hand {with her} teeth [distressed]

biindak á tagu-wa ba diva-dəv vaváa-n €n dáa dá má gudi-n áwárám, (24.17)
maybe you told-me dm have-PSSD have dm I go to in room-SPC said
maybe you told me intentionally I will go to the room [where children were] she said

fác dáa dá má gudə-n dá zar-xáa-n tsá,
 Fax went to in room-SPC to child-PL-her dm
 Fác she went into the room with her children

tím-á ba pál n€zərə-n x€ŋ-gán,
 remain-PSSDST dm one NOM-child-SPC sleep-GAN
 one child only remained sleeping

sei fác k-íin dágál dá vak máláx =úus-íin má láláa-t€, (340)
 dm Fác InP-3 went to place elder woman-SPC in neighborhood-their
 then she went to an old woman in their neighborhood

sei áy bayiǵa,
 dm dm grandmother
 So grandmother!

aw wá-n dá βág-ar-a-βág ŋ-áy k-áyayayay zrá-r áa zug-w€ n-íin ts€n,
 what TP FT do-EXT-EXT-R SbjP-I OBJ-squirrel child-my PER eat-EXT SbjP-3 dm
 what should I do to squirrel he ate my children

aw wá-n dá βág-ar-a-βág ayə-m,
 what TP-I do-EXT-EXT-R (?)
 what should I do to him

ai sáw čí, yaa wárám n-úusə-n **kena**,
 dm come dm, dm said NOM-woman-SPC dm
 come here, the woman says

βág-wi-βág k€ləra-x ŋ-áx ts€n,
 do-for me-R OBJ-work like-that dm
 do work like this for me

yandi áyá dágát n€ŋ dá tsakwád'-á =yayayay-na, (24.42)
 how you go out InP-you to ambush-PSSDST Squirrel-SPC
 how you will go and ambush the Squirrel

s€-ant-s€íǵ k-íindara masará-γ amáa-n,
 fry-EXT-R OBJ-groundnuts-you said-her
 you fry groundnuts she said

ard zarvá-γ áyá **xad'**-ánt ám, á d'iyə-m m-ábúxw ám,
 and sesamee-your you mix-EXT said, you pour-in (LL) in-bag said
 and sesamee seeds, you mix them she said, and pour them in a bag she said

áyá f-ar-ú čí n€ŋ k€d'úul-á z€ŋ€n ts€n,

you put.SQT-EXT-EXT InP-you OBJ-way-PSSD anthill-SPC dm
 you put them in the passage of the anthill [where Squirrel lives]

wá dá ságát n-íin áwárám, (345)
 TP FT come out SbjP-3 said,
 then he will come out she said,

sei ard si-díi n-úusi-na má,
 only and come down NOM-woman-SPC dm
 then the woman (Kilwa) brought them [food]

səl-ánt kwáná-xáa-n ba watswats,
 fry.SQT-EXT this-PL-SPC dm quick
 she fried these quickly

ám fác laŋ-dət (LL) k-íin,
 said Fác carry-up.SQT-EXT InP-3
 like Fác she carried [the food] up

tal-dəm k-íin k€suux ámb€ dá má z€γ-am, káa ságó má, (25.06)
 put-into.SQT-EXT (LL) InP-3 OBJ-bottom pocket to in anthill, then come dm
 she put the bottom of the sack (pocket) into the anthill and then

tálá-dí ba n-íin, káa ságát n-áyayáyayə-n,
 put-EXT dm SbjP-3, then come out NOM-squirrel-SPC
 she put it down, then Squirrel came out

ságát k-íin ləl-na k-íin k€d'uul =ámbl€-n **kena**,
 come out InP-3 find-EXT InP-3 OBJ-way-PSSD pocket-SPC dm
 he came out and found the entrance to the bag

fác dáa dá m-ámbl€n má,
 Fác go to in-pocket-SPC dm
 then he went into the bag

d-áy-á ba n-íin tsá, z€gáan,
 go-3-EXT dm SbjP-3, eat-GAN
 when he went in, he {began} eating

z€gáan z€gáan z€gáan k-íin timá ba xəd'ík€ n-íindarə-n ,
 eat-GAN eat-GAN eat-GAN InP-3 remained dm few NOM-groundnuts-SPC
 and eating and eating, {until} just a few groundnuts remained

káa dágó n€kírúə-n tsá,
 then went out NOM-crocodile-SPC dm
 then the crocodile came

dɛɪ káa viy-é k-ín **kena**, ba má xad' ámbɛɪ k-ín,
 D then caught.SQT-EXT InP-3 dm, dm in (?) pocket InP-3
 Derɪ whoosh she caught {him} together with the sack,

waa-we d'uw-ánt kɛviyá-ŋ á suux =ámɛ tsá,
 look! Leave-EXT k-catch-PSPSSD PSSR bottom pocket dm
 look ! instead of (leaving) catching the bottom of the sack

viya xəc-á γər-á γayáa-n , (25.33)
 caught hold-PSSDST head-PSSD mouth-its
 you have caught the top of it

á máa ndakwa əŋ mɛ-ŋ ŋ-áy əm vakáy ní val-aŋ-ká-dá-y xa áwárámáa-n,
 said dm PS say-you SbjP-I in it Q deceive-I-you-EXT-NEG FcQ said-his
 you were thinking (saying) I was inside it ?, Haven't I deceived you he said

aše bə-m vakáya, fác d'uw-árs n-úusə-na,
 while dm-in it, Fác let-EXT NOM-woman-SPC
 while he was inside, Fác the woman let it [the bag] go
 [Squirrel made K think he was not inside]

fác n-ín mla diyáa-n kɛzɛγ,
 Fác SbjP-3 leave go down-his OBJ-anthill
 Fác he went back down into the anthill

káa gwiya ɛn dá βága-βág ndar l'áβ ám,
 then again I FT do-R how also said
 then how can I do it again she said

gwiya βága-βága-m ám bayiğə-n,
 again do-R said grandmother-SPC
 you do it again the old lady said

gwiya ságát kɛbuuba ŋ-áx-ín **kena**,
 return come out (?) like-that-SPC dm
 he came out again in the same way

káa **sei** ám, (355) káa fác k-ín mələ ságát sá m-ámblɛn,
 then dm said, then Fax InP-3 leave come out to in pocket-SPC
 he said, then Fác he went up into the bag

mdər-á dágáw n-úusə-n,
 run.SQT-EXT away NOM-woman-SPC
 the woman ran towards it

káa viyə-t k-íin, viyə-t ba n-íin tsá,
 then catch.SQT-EXT (LL) InP-3, catch.SQT-EXT dm SbjP-3 dm
 she grabbed it, she grabbed it

viyə-t ba n-íin tsá, káa fác, káa a máa máa,
 catch.SQT-EXT dm Sbj-P-3 dm, then Fác, then said
 she grabbed it, then Fác, he said

kay xiinan-ɛn tsɛn **sei, sei** má ts-aŋ-ká-tsəga áwárám,
 wow today-SPC dm dm, dm, when hit-I-you-R said
 wow today this time, until I have killed you she said

ám círw-ɛn k-áyayáyayə-n, ay k-áy tsɛn,
 said crocodile-SPC to-Squirrel, dm InP-I dm
 the Kir said to the Squirrel, so I

digit-i ɛn ɣala, ɛn ɣal-á ba kɛɣ tsɛn, (26.18)
 thing I plead, I plead dm to-you dm
 the thing I am pleading, I am asking of you

lán-k-wá-dá-y ba də-lí vaavák-á mbəɣá-ŋ, á xəl'-iyaa,
 carry-OBJ-me-EXT-NEG to-those place-PSSD sealing-PSPSSD, PSSR smithing-NEG
 don't carry me towards those sealing [knives] of blacksmiths

lán-k-wá-y ba ta-kwáx ɛn ɣál-á ba (360) kɛɣ baa lərd'á-r ámáa-n **kena**,
 carry-OBJ-me-not dm towards-that I plead dm to-you mother teeth-my said-his dm
 don't carry me towards those I am pleading with you my aunt he said

ai k-áy tsɛn má ba laŋ-aŋ-ká-dáy ŋ-áy də-vaavák-á li mbəɣ-á ɣwás-ni tsɛn,
 dm InP-I dm if dm carry-I-you-EXT to-place-PSSR who seal-PSSD knife-SPC dm
 Ay for me, I will carry you down towards those who seal knives

ɛn máy áwárám n-úusə-n,
 I not said NOM-woman-SPC
 I will not the woman said

k-íin, káa a má tsá,
 to-him, then said dm
 to him, she said

kay,
 Oh!

b-uusə-n ndza náa táakí waar wá n-áyayáyaya mbəɣ-á ɣwáso áwár tsá, (26.40)
 dm-woman-SPC was want that who TP NOM-squirrel seal-PSSD knife said dm
 When the woman was about to say, who wants the Squirrel for sealing a knife she said

məla-mɛŋ n-íin tág-áan,
 leave/begin-R SbjP-3 say-GAN
 he had already said it

waar wa náa kírwá-á mbəy-á =waso áwárám,
 who TP want crocodile-PSSD sealing-PSSD knife said
 who wants a crocodile for sealing a knife he said

ay k-áya k-áy ám lí bá-a xəʔ ámáa,
 dm InP-I InP-I said who make-PSSDST smith said
 Me me!, said those doing the knife sealing

ár tx-ú, ár tax-ú tax-ú k-úusə-n áamá (364) fác n-íin əmdəra dágál-áan,
 they cut.PL.SQT-EXT, cut.PL.SQT-EXT cut.SQT-EXT OBJ-woman-SPC said Fác SbjP-
 3 run go away-GAN
 they cut they cut the woman up, Fác he [Squirrel] ran away

ÿiŋ-u-ÿíŋy n-árgwandz
 finish-EXT-R NOM-story
 the story is over

D ubəŋ n-árgwandz
 End NOM-story
 End of the story

H ee

M n-árgwandz **kena**
 NOM-story dm