HY

Tapes 19, 19-1

Ngoshe, Bursar's house,

M = mohammad

H = H

5600 words

This speaker was recorded on two occasions at the same location, the first time on 3/5/2009, the second on 4/25/2009. The two recording sessions are labeled Part I and Part II. Each part has its own time stamp. ár

Interlinear glosses:

1-19

24-29

Part I á

M duγw-á dada

daughter-PSSD father Daughter of father!

H aw ám€ŋ-í

What say-you-Q

What are you saying?

M waar d'áagá-γá

Who name-your

What is your name?

H hiséná moxamdu yáarówá

Husena Mohammadu Yaro

Husena Mohamadu Yaarow

M hiséná maxmadu yáaró ďáagá-γa

Husena Mohammadu Yaro name-your

Your name is Husena Mohamadu Yaarow

H aaná

Yes

M y-a-ká má ksa-r núudá

Born-3-you in village-Q person

What village were you born in?

H y-a-k-wí ba má y-a-k-wí, duγw-á gwaša-x baabá-ra,

Born-3-OBJ-me dm in born-3OBJ-me, daughter-PSSD Ngoshe mother-my

I was born in, my mother is an Ngoshe girl

amáa y-a-k-wí má p€€ núudá, má sbiitíyá (0.17) but born-3-OBJ me in Pulka person, in hospital but I was born in Pulka, in a hospital

M ŋweñ xíiyá-γá
How many year-your
How old are you?

H kəla tár l'əβa (0.21) 10 and 5 15

(10)

M kəla tár l'əß xí-γa Ten and five year-your You are 15?

M aaná Yes

M γubár-γ má =ksa-ra Grew-you in village-Q What village did you grow up in?

H γubar-án ba má =ksə-na, Grew-I dm in village-SPC I grew up in this village

amá ndza-n dáxá dágál dá-vəj-á zár-x-á zəráabá-rá, má yárúwá but was-I go go to house-PSSD children-PL brothers-my in Maiduguri However, I have been going to my children's brothers' houses in Maiduguri [plural houses implied]

M iyoo, táp-γə-na-táp€g k€ndzə-ga x€ŋa k€ndzə-ga ndzə-ga vaakwáx-íi ní Dm taste-you-EXT-R OBJ-stay-G ? OBJ-stay-G stay-G there-SPC Q So you have experienced staying there?

H má yárú **ba**, In Maiduguri dm íin In Maiduguri?

ndə-n dáxá dágál či ŋ-áy tapə-na-táp€g ndzə-ga vaakwáx əvəj-á zár-x-á zəráabá-ra was-I go go dm SbjP-I taste-EXT-R stay-G there house-PSSD children-PL-PSSD siblings-my I have been going so I have lived there in my sibling's children's houses [ndən = ndza]

M iyoo, aa, áγá makaranta (0.48) DM, you school Are you in school?

H €n má makarant, €n máa, I in school, I in Yes I am.

góvmánt dey ğúnyó sékóndárí skúula, Government Day Junior Secondary School in Government Day Secondary School

€n máa, ği es es l€ríyá I am in JSS3 I am in JSS 3

€n má ğúnyó sékóndárí skúul ği es es thəríyá I Junior Secondary School JSS 3 I am in junior secondary school, JSS 3.

- M aa úsá, víigá-γ ŋweñe-r má vakáy ďaa Greetings, year-your how many-Q in them Q Thanks, how many years have you been in it?
- H víigá-r ŋweñ bəz kwa má práymárí ní, Year-my how many with what in primary Q How many years including in primary

kú ba máa, ba kwá má sákándárí, skúul xaa or dm if, dm which in secondary school Q or just, those in secondary school?

- M βάγ-γα mər k€práymáriá-γ-í
 Do-you where OBJ-primary-your-SPC
 Where did you attend your primary?
- H Bag-án ba má gwaša Did-I dm in Ngoshe I did it in Ngoshe

(26)

M sákándárí-€m Secondary-Q And secondary? H ßag-án, ßag-án ba vaakwán, Did-I, did-I dm here I just did it here

M to, k€γ kwán m⊕j zaráabá-xá-γ-í l€rní máy xá d'aa (1.18) Dm, InP-you exist siblings-PL-your-SPC other not Q Q So, do you now have other siblings or not?

H m€ŋ zaráabá-xá-ra, ár ba ğár vaváan Exist siblings-PL-my, they dm many dm I have them; they are many

M iyó, ár ba ğár Dm they dm many So they are many?

H m

M ár m⊕ŋ ŋweñe
They exist how many
How many are they?

H li əvjá-md ní, Who house-our.EX Q Those who are in our house?

bas zár-xa zár-xa zaráabá baabá-r ard daadá-r ní kó ba lí əvjá-md xa also children-PL children-PL siblings mother-my and father-my Q or dm who house-our.EX FcQ as well as children of the siblings of my mother and father or {only} those in our house?

(33)

M li əvjá-rúwa Who house-your.PL The ones in your house

- H li əvjá-md kwán k€n m€ŋ kul bu tár l'əß vaváan k€m ba ğárá Who house-our.EX now we.ED exist 10 2 and 5 dm we dm many The ones in our house, we are 25 or so, we are many
- M to k€γ kwáná-m, kwár k€yáaré wá tag-áv əvjá-rúw-í
 Dm InP-you now-Q, which k-language TP speak-PSV house-your.PL-Q
 So you now, which language are spoken at home?
- H k€n tág-áan, báz gwáš gwašáa, báz xawsáa, We.EX speak-GAN, both Glavda and Hausa We speak, both Glavda and Hawsa

má m⊕ [kəs/] n€-dig-í k⊕n s⊕ga-s⊕g má turančí k⊕n ba k⊕n ba duγwa-x-á yáa makaranta, if exist [/] NOM-thing-SPC we.EX know-R in English we.ED dm we.EX dm girl-PL people school

if there is something we know in English, we the girls in school

k€m ba tág-áan má taataká-mda (1.49) we.EX dm speak-GAN among between-us.EX we speak it among ourselves

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M iyó, yaá-rúwú-m Dm, people-your.PL-Q Okay, your people

H yaá-mda, ár tá-a ba xaws n-íit€a People-your.EX, they speak-PSSDST dm Hausa SbjP-they Our people, they just speak Hausa

M ám, ŋweñ n€-ŋγwasa-x k€daadá-γ-í Mm, how many NOM-wives-PL for-father-your-Q How many wives does your father have?

H ár xkərd'a
They 3
They are three

M ár ba duγwa-x-á gwaša-x bad'd'€má They dm girl-PL-PSSD Ngoshe-PL all Are they all Ngoshe girls?

H a,a, pál duγw-á yáa gavá,
 No, one girl-PSSD people-PSSD Gava
 No, one is from Gava

usáadá-r duγw-á yáa, duγw-á, co-wife-my daughter-PSSD people, daughter-PSSD my co-mother is a girl of, of

duγw-á yáa ßoko sánáwá, daughter-PSSD people βoko Sanawa a girl of Boko Sanaw [βoko, Glavda-speaking village north of Ngoshe]

baabá-r duγw-á yáa γiď-á zuukw mother-my girl-PSSD people Ghiďa Zukw my mother is a girl of Ghid'a Zuukw

M yoo, méy, méy duγw-á gwaša-x əm-vakáy-í Dm, not, not girl-PSSD Ngoshe-PL among-in it-Q Okay, there are no Ngoshe girls among them?

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- H méy duγw-á gwaša-x **kó** páll-í Not daughter-PSSD Ngoshe-PL even one-Q No Ngoshe girls at all
- M e, yawa, áγá, k€γa áγá má déy sékóndárí skúul gwaš ní ám€ŋa (2.30)
 Yes, okay, you[/] InP-you you in Day Secondary School Ngoshe Q say-you
 Yawa, you, you are in Day Secondary School Ngoshe you said
- H aaná Yes
- M to, má sə-γ-áa-səg makarant máa, Dm, if come-you-EXT-R school dm If you come home from school

awa βágə-ŋ kəs-γ-ánt nəŋ d'aa, what do-you pick-you-EXT PS Q what do you do, pick

awa Bágə-ŋ máa, x€ñéx d'aa what do-you dm, house Q what do you do at home

H má s-an-á-γa mákaranta, If come-I-EXT school If I come home from school

m⊕j łəra, m⊕j łəra-xá-md, exist work, exist work-PL-our.EX if there is work, chores

má máy łər-iyaa ba-n kəs-ánt k€ták€dá-r €n ßá-a **karaatúwá** if not work-NEG dm-I pick.SQT-EXT OBJ-book-my I do-PSSDST reading if there is no work, I pick up my books and I study

M xúlfá kwár k€lər-í, Type which k-work-Q Which sort of work? ağa kwár k€lər wán áγá tág€ŋ má m€ŋg€-n type which k-work this you say-you in exist-SPC which type of work is this you say if there is?

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H baabá łərá-xe, dáalí ł€rna, Much work-PL, day other Much work, sometimes

€n sə-dá kí-ywa, dáalí ł€rna, I come-EXT OBJ-water, day other I bring water, sometimes

€n ßágá k€wáncé wáncéya, I do-G OBJ-dish dish sometimes I wash dishes

€n çad'-dá k€vaka, €n t-á káfa, I sweep-EXT OBJ-place, I cook-PSSDST food I sweep the area, I cook food

má m⊕ γuβ-á səd'av-á baabá-ra, ⊕ γuβ-gáaná, if exist washing-PSSDST clothes-PSSD mother-my, I wash-GAN if my mother has clothes to wash, I wash them

ard dig-á kúd⊕á-xá-rá (2.57) and thing-PSSD young sib-PL-my and those of my younger siblings

M ÿiŋ-aa-ÿíŋg l€rá-γ Finish-EXT-R work-your That finishes your work?

H aaná Yes

M ám łə-k-ná mər kí-yu You.PL get-EXT-EXT where OBJ-water Where do you get water?

H k⊕n gə-g ba má, We.EX fetch-G dm from We fetch is from

k€n gə-g ba má m-úuva we.EX fetch-G dm from from-well just from a well

M bad'd'€mmá-rú g-á yu ní sugw-sugw xa daadá-ru kí-yu d'áa All-you.PL fetch-PSSDST water FcQ buy-R father-your.PL OBJ-water Q Do all of you fetch water or does your father buy water?

H ár máy, /gə- ár máy gə, / They no, [/] they not fetch [/] They no, they don't fetch

gə-gáan n-úŋywásá-x-á daadá-r-i k€n gə-g ba k-€md duywa-xa fetch-GAN NOM-wives-PL-PSSD father-my-Q we fetch-G dm we.EX daughter-PL the wives of my father don't fetch it; we the daughters just fetch it

M aw dig-á gát-á **kwáβ**-í á βág€η What thing-PSSD search-PSSDST money-Q you do-you What do you do to earn money?

H €n xə-gáan k€dzákwá, I saw-GAN OBJ-cap I sew caps

€n tə-gáan kwaséyá I cook-GAN bean cakes I cook bean cakes

M árda-w And-what And what else?

H máa l'ei ba kwáx, If no longer dm that Nothing else beyond that

ba kwáx k€gát-á **kwáß** wán βág η-áya (3.25) dm that for-search-PSSDST money this do-G SbjP-I that is what you do to earn money

M x-áv ndar dzákú-ní Sew-PSV how cap-Q How are caps sewns?

H x-á dzákwá Saw-PSSDST cap Sewing caps? M m

(69)

H bá-γá kəs-ánt k€ŋ, Dm-you pick.SQT-EXT objPS You get (pick)

bákt amúudá, /a/ nérá **d'ari** áyá sugw-áná má su-γwá-sugwa, bakt said, [you/] naira 100 you buy-EXT if buy-you-R Bakt as it is called, at 100 naira you buy it, once you've bought it

m⊕j **xotów**⊕ŋ, exist picture-SPC there is the pattern

sugw-áv sáa má yáru, buy-PSV come in Maiduguri it was bought from Maiduguri

kul xkərd' kul xəkərd'a, 10 3 10 3 30 each

bá-γá **záan**€gáan áγá xə-gáan, bá-γá **záan**€gáan áγá xə-gáan, dm-you trace-GAN you sew-GAN, dm-you trace-GAN you sew-GAN you trace out {a pattern} you sew; you trace out a pattern and you sew

máy, má ÿíŋ-γa-yíŋg əx-gáana, a, a, not, if finish-you-R sew-GAN once you've finished sewing it

áγá vəl-ú l'áß, m⊕ n€dig-á **dəbú** buwa, you sell-R also, exist NOM-thing-PSSD 1000 2 you go and sell it, there is one for two thousand

dəbú xəkərd'a, dəbú də-d'árí biyara, 1000 3, 1000 with 100 5 three thousand, one thousand five hundred

m⊕j karamí-n kál m⊕j baabá-n kál ľáßá (3.52) exist small-SPC color exist big color as well there is small color and there is a big color [cheap color dye and expensive color dye]

M má yáa dzákwá-xíin Among types cap-PL-SPC In the types of caps

H m

M vəl-áv mər dzákw k€-dzákw-í Sell-PSV where cap OBJ-cap-Q Where are they sold?

H ár sáxá ságál zár-x, líi **sáarí** amúudá, They come come children-PL, who dealer said Children come, those who are dealers as they are called

cálm ndakwa ár láng dá má yárúwa some dm they take to in Maiduguri some also take them to Maiduguri

M ts-á-γ-ú mərə-ŋ xa dzákw€-n-í Learn-you-EXT where-you FcQ cap-PL-Q Where did you learn sewing caps?

H tsag-an-ú ba vaakwána, áa tsag-u-wád maalá-ra Learn-I-EXT dm here, PER teach-me elder-my I learned it here; my elder sister taught me

M tsag-a-kú maalá-γ Teach-3-you elder-your Your elder taught you?

H aaná Yes

M a, xə-ga xə-g xə-g k€dzákw ŋweñ €n má víig Sew-G sew-G oBJ-cap how many in year How many caps do you sew in a year?

(80)

H má víigá In year In a year?

M m M

H €n xə-gáan **kó** l'əßa, kó uŋkwaxáa-n I sew-GAN either 5 or 6-SPC I sew, either 5 or 6 M á d'íi-g mər kwáß-áan ám€ŋ-í (4.19) You pour-G where money-SPC say-you-Q How much money do you save you said?

H kwáβ-áaná bá-ŋ, bá-ŋ vəl-á k€baabá-ra, Money-SPC dm-PS, dm-PS give.SQT-EXT OBJ-mother-my The money, I give to my mother

má m⊕j daadá-r xíñéxa ba-n vəl-aná, if exist father-my home dm-I give.SQT-EXT if my father is at home I give it to him

k€m sugw-áan k€dig-í dá mul-k-€md-u-m€g tu-vúukwa we.EX buy-GAN OBJ-thing-SPC FT help-OBJ-us.EX-EXT-R on-front we buy buy something that will help us in the future

M áza-w And what And what else?

(85)

H €n z-á káfá I eat-PSSDST food I eat food

[aza-w "and what" = arda-w can be parsed as a za-w "what do you eat, which is how H understood the question]

M aza-w wán-íin áγá ságw€ŋ-na, And-what this-SPC you buy.PL-you-SPC What is it you buy

dig-íin sagw-áv-ná, dig-íi nda-w thing-SPC buy.PL-PSV-PC, thing-SPC like-what the things that are bought, things like what

H dig-í nda-w Thing-SPC like-what Like what?

M eŋ

H má máyá, If not If not má máy káľáŋ-á ďál-íya ba k€n sugw-áana, if not goods-PSSD soup-NEG dm we.EX buy-GAN if there is nothing to cook soup, do you just buy them?

áğá taakí má təm-á ba fəčakw xi, like if remain-PSSDST dm little guinea corn like say, if the guinea corn remains in a small amount

xí ÿíŋ-g-na, ba k€m súgw-áan k€xíyá, g.c. finish-G-SPC, dm we.EX buy-GAN OBJ-grain guinea corn is finished, we just buy guinea corn

ba k€n ßág-áan k€n sugw-áan baz saabúlúwa, dm we.EX do-GAN we.EX buy-GAN also soap we do we also buy soap

wal-á más-gá (89) baďď€m, milk-PSSD rub-G all lotion, all

az káľáŋá-x-á vəγá-md k€m sugw-áan (4.47) and clothes-PL-PSSD body-our.EX we.EX buy-GAN and clothes for our body we buy them

M də-kwáßá-rw-íin With money-your.PL-SPC With your money

H aaná Yes

M ay axa, ba t-á **kwáséy**-na t-áv ám€ŋə-n, So you, dm cook-PSSDST cook bean cakes-SPC cook-PSV say-you-SPC Cooking bean cakes that you say

t-ávə-n, t-áv ndandar n-íin cook-PSV-SPC, cook-PSV how SbjP-it that are cooked, how are they cooked?

H má-γá dá t-á kwásáyá,
 If-you FT cook-PSSDST bean cakes
 If you want to cook bean cakes

áγá d-al dá má kasúkw, áγá sugw-á k-ágəra, you go-EXT to in market, you buy.SQT-EXT OBJ-beans you go to the market, you buy beans [dal = L]

má su-γwá-sugw k-ágər =á sugw-á k-átárgúwa, if buy-you-R OBJ-beans, you buy.SQT-EXT OBJ hot pepper once you've bought beans, you buy hot pepper

ard íiža, **máagíya**, bad'd'€m /má ságw-a-ságwa/, má ságw-γ-wa-ságwa, (95) and salt, magi cubes, all [/] if buy-you-EXT-R and salt, magi, you buy all, [/] once you've bought them

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bá-γá sáas áγá páx-á k-ág €-íiná, dm-you come home you crush.SQT-EXT OBJ-bean-SPC you come and crush the beans coarsely [in mortar]

áγá gwíyá tsuxw-aaká má dz€a, you again grind-.SQT-EXT in mortar you again grind them with a little water in a mortar

áγá kəßačak-áná, má kəßác-γa-kəbáčga, you winnnow.SQT-EXT, if winnow-you-R you winnow it, once it has been winnowed

áγá d'iyə-m má-yu, má =rm-aa-r€nga, you pour.SQT-EXT in-water, if soak-EXT-R you pour them in water, when they have soaked [d'iyə-m = LL]

áγá bár-gáan, má bár-γa-ka-bárgá, you wash-GAN, if wash-you-EXT-R you wash them; once you've washed them

áγá tsəβ-aa-káná, áγá rax-dá k€xay má m vakáyá, (5.18) you remove.SQT-EXT, you separate.SQT-EXT OBJ-soil from in it you remove them from water, you separate the dirt from them í

áγá d'iyə-m má táasá, áγá fə-m k-íiža, **máagíya**, you pour.SQT-EXT in dish, you put.SQT-EXT OBJ-salt, magi you pour them in a dish, you put salt, magi in it [d'iyəm LL, fə-m LL]

az atárgúwá-xá baďď€m áγá ďiyə-m má vakáy, and hot peppers-PL all you pour.SQT-EXT in it and the hot peppers, all, you pour them in it

á xəd'-ar-d-ú, áγá gə-t kí-yu,

you cover.SQT-EXT-EXT you fetch.SQT-EXT OBJ-water you cover it you fetch for water [ga-t=L]

áγá fə-t tə-diga tə-dig-á xəd'i-gáan, you put.SQT-EXT on-thing on-thing-PSSD cover-GAN you put it {water} on its cover [you put water on top of the cover of the beans you are carrying on your head, and you will use the water for grinding] [fət L]

áγá kəs-ánt (100) k€nér kəlaw áγá dágál dá xáy-gáan, you carry.SQT-EXT OBJ-naira 10 you go for grind-GAN you take 10 naira and you go and grind it

má sə-γa-γ-án ľáβá, if come-you-EXT then after you come back then

á fə-t kú-wal á çad'-dá k€vaavák-á t-á kwasayá-γá á fə-t kú-wal tə-káará, you put.SQT-EXT OBJ-oil you sweep.SQT-EXT OBJ area-PSSR cook-PSSDST bean cake-your you put.SQT-EXT.OBJ-oil on-fire you put oil you sweep the area for cooking the bean cake you put oil on the fire

má fə-γə-t-fəg kú-wal tə-káará á d'iyə-m k-árbásán má wal-íiná, if put-you-EXT-R OBJ-oil on-fire you pour.SQT-EXTOBJ-onion in oil-SPC when you've put the oil on the fire, you pour in onions in the oil

má γú-t-γúg =wala, áγá tsəβ-dá k-árbásán-íiná, if boil-EXT-R oil, you take out.SQT-EXT OBJ-onion-SPC when the oil boils, you take out the onions

má tsəβə-γ-dá-tsəßga, if take out-you-EXT-R once you've taken them out

ba šíikéna ba-γá fə-g-aržá-fəg k€γud-á **kwáséy**, dm that's it dm-you put-G-EXT-R OBJ-cut-PSSDST bean cakes then, you begin forming the bean cakes

má m⊕ lii ságáw dá sugw-áan bá-γá vəl-t⊕-u-v⊕g (5.45) if exist who come to buy-GAN dm-you sell-them-EXT-R if there are those who come to buy, you just sell to them

(105)

M á vál-g tə-ŋweñə-ŋ k€-kwásáyá-γ-í
 You sell.PL-G on-how much OBJ-bean cake-your-SPC

How much do you sell your bean cake at?

H €n vál-g tə-bu nér l'əß n-áy I sell-PL-G on-2 naira 5 SbjP-I I sell them at two for five naira

M á vál-g-u-válg, á tə-á-təg, á vál-g-u-válg,

You sell.PL-G-EXT-R, you cook-G-R, you sell-G-EXT-R You sell them, you cook, you sell them

kwásáyá ŋweñ əŋ kwán má váŋ bean cake how many now in day how many bean cakes do you sell in a day?

H má váŋ, váŋ ba bírníf ní, In day, day dm ID Q In a day; in a whole day?

ľakádúr xa wá-γá tág n€ŋa, morning FcQ TP-you say-G SbjP-you in the morning you say?

k€n tə-g ba l'akádúr l'akádúr číi n€mda we.EX cook-G morning morning dm SbjP-we.EX we cook early in the morning

(109)

M iyó ám méy tə-g, ám méy váŋ-á tə-gáan-i So you.PL not cook-G, you.PL not spend day-PSSDST cook-GAN-Q So don't cook, you don't spend a whole day cooking them

H m

M ay l'adúr-íin€m, l'akádúr-íin€m Dm morning-SPC-Q, morning-SPC-Q So in the morning, the morning

H l'akádúr-íiná, k€n łə-k-ná-y vavá-md kwáßá, Morning-SPC, we get-EXT-EXT-NEG dm money In the morning, we don't get maybe like

kwáßá ğírğír vaváa-n má **kwásáy**-íini, money lot dm from bean-cakes-SPC a lot money from the bean cakes

k€m tə-gáan, káwáy dəŋ,

we.EX cook-GAN, only we cook, only because

/ár łə-k-ná/ ár z-ú kúd⊕á-xá-mda, má, máy mbac, [they get-EXT-EXT/] they eat-EXT siblings-PL-your.EX if not because they get [/] some our younger siblings eat them; if not because

má máy mbac kwáx-í ts€n má k€nda máy vavá-md tə-gáan n-€nd **kwáséy**-íini (6.19) if not because that-SPC dm if we-EX not dm cook-GAN SbjP-we.EX bean cake-SPC if not because of that, we would not even cook the bean cakes

M á táakí máy **ríib** m-vakáy **kena** You say not profit in it dm You say there is no profit in it?

H máy ríib má kwáséy, ba d'içid'iç vaváa-n-i
 No profit in bean cake, dm ID dm
 No profit in bean cakes, at all

M aa šág€, **yanzú** k€γ kwána, a t-á **kwásáyá** má čí-γə-t-číig makaranta, Thanks, now InP-you now, you cook-PSSDST bean cakes if get up-you-EXT-R school Thanks, now, you now, you cut bean cakes, when you come home from school

á x-á dzákwa you sew-PSSDST caps you sew caps

H m

M á βá-a łər-á xíñéx xíñéx kwa tág-áan n⊕j **ba** you do- work-PSSD house house which say-GAN dm You work at home, what you said right?

H aaná Yes

M pál ba-ŋ əvjá-ru ní ám baďďek m€ŋ xa ľá duγwa-x-á dá-γáa bi duγwa-x-á abá-γ xi One dm-PS house-your.PL you.PL many exist FcQ also girl-PL-PSSD father-your dm girl-PL-PSSD mother-your AltQ

Only you in your house or are you.PL many as well, the girls of your father and mother $[= daada-\gamma, baabá-\gamma]$

H m€ŋ duγwa-x-á daadá-ra, Exist girl-PL-PSSD father-my There are my half sisters m⊕j duγwa-x-á baabar-á exist girl-PL-PSSD mother-my and my sisters

(119)

M ám βág ndar k€lər-íin mtaď You.PL how OBJ-work-SPC together How do you work together?

H má m⊕ ləra-xá-md band kwána tág-ák ŋ-áya ağa wánké wánçéyá á çád'-á vak-á, If exist word-PL-our.EX like now say-you Sbj-P-I like clothes clothes you sweep.SQT-EXT place-PSSD If we have our work as I told you, like washing dishes, sweeping the area

aw wáx-íin n-áa tág-ák ŋ-áy, ba ğár yáa what that-SPC I-PER tell-you SbjP-I, dm much what is that I told you, there is a lot

M m

H kwáx βá-a wánçe wánçéyá kwáx çaď-á vaka,
 That do-PSSDST clothes clothes that sweep.SQT-EXT place
 That washing, sweeping

kwáx t-á káfá baďď€m k-€nd, k-€nd ba ßág-áan čí n-€ndá, (6.53) that cook-PSSDST food all InP-we.EX InP-we.EX dm do-GAN dm SbjP-we.EX cooking food all that we do, we just do it

má m⊕g g-á yw =áagwa-x bad'd'€m k⊕n ba ßág-áana, (123) if exist fetch-PSSDST water goat-PL all we.EX dm do-GAN if water needs to be fetched (if there is fetching water) for goats, we all do it

má ÿiŋ-ámda-ÿíŋg ßa-a kwáxa, if finish-we.EX-R do-PSSDST that when we've finished that

k€m kəs-ánt k€tákárd k€n ßag-ánt k€zər karaatú fəčakwán digit áa tsag-k-€md-tság núud má makaranta,

we.EX pick.SQT-EXT OBJ-book we do.SQT-EXT OBJ-small read dm thing PER teach-OBJ-us.EX person in school

we study a little, we take our book, what they have taught us in school

má ÿiŋá-mda-ÿíŋg ßá-a kwáx k€n xə-gáan k€dzákw-ámd-íin nçikwáx nçikwáx-xáan if finish-we-R do-PSSDST that we sew-GAN OBJ-cap-our.EX-SPC little little-aan when we've done that we sew our caps a little bit

M aa šág€, **to yanzú** k€γ kwáná, má ÿíŋg-γ-a-ÿíŋg makarantá-γ kwán áγá dá βá-w n€ŋ,

Thanks, dm dm InP-you now, if finish-you-EXT-R school-your now you FT. do-what SbjP-you Thanks, now you now, once you've finished your school now what will you do?

H €n dágál dá má makaranta, I go do in school

I will go to school

- M aa šagər, **to yanzú** k€γ kwána, má ÿiŋg-γ-a-ÿiŋg makaranta-γ kwán áγá dá βá-w nə-ŋ, Thanks, now you now, once you've finished your school now what will you do?
- H €n dágál dá má makaranta, I will go to school

(128)

M kwa łərn

Which other

Another one?

H ee, €n dágál dá máa, **ğíğí** yáruwa
 Yes, I go do in, GG Maiduguri
 Yes, I will go to GG in Maiduguri [Government Girls' Secondary]

- M má ÿíŋ-γ-a-ÿíŋg vaakwáx€mIf finish-you-EXT-R there-QOnce you've finished there?
- H €n dágál dá má skúul av náas I go do in School of Nursing I will go to the school of nursing
- M aaná dá βá-a náas n-€ŋa (7.26) FT. do-PSSDST nurse SbjP-you Yes you will do nursing?
- H aaná, €náa kwáxa Yes, I like that Yes, I like that
- M d'iy-a-k-á waar k**€sawariy**-á βá-a náas Pour-3-you-EXT who OBJ-advice-PSSD do-PSSDST nurse Who advised you about being a nurse?
- H sawariy-á βá-a náasa, Advice-PSSD do-PSSDST nurse Advice for nursing

máyá k€n ba ßág-áan n-€nd k€ŋ karaatúwa

not we.EX dm do-GAN SbjP-we objPS read no one, we just study

k€n ba nəγ-gá-nəγg n-€nd k€digit dágál tə-náasá, we.EX dm see-R SbjP-we.EX OBJ-thing going on-nurse we just see things leading to nursing

dig-í baďď€má-x-áan, thing all-PL-SPC all of the things

k€n ba nəγ-gá-nəγg n-€nd k€sábğékt sábğékt (134) bad'd'€m má ksə-ámda=ksəg pállá, we.EX dm see-R SbjP-we.EX OBJ-subject subject all in pick-we.EX-R one we see all the different subjects if we choose one

k€m ba nəγ-ga-nəγg n-€md k€sabğekt sabğekt (134) bad'd'€m má ksə-amda=ksəg palla, we see all the different subjects if we choose one NN as distributive

ba kwá náa-gánt γərá-md dm which want-G-EXT head-our.EX that is what we want

- M aa, šág€, m€ŋ n-álmán əvjá-rú ní Thanks, are there domestic animals at your house?
- H ár m€ŋgá There are
- M ár z-á-w What do they eat?
- H ár z-á másá, amá ár máy ságál dá jəmál-i, They eat grass, but they don't go outside

ár ndzə-ga ba má guda-xáa-t€a (7.54) they just stay in their rooms

- M awa-r d-aw What and what?
- H ár zə-g n-íit€ra, awa-r d-aw They eat, what and what"
- M [aw k€tá-a dig-í/], almaná-rw-íin ár zá-w n-íit€a awa-x-íiná What do your animals eat, what all?

(139)

H k€n vəl-tər mas =íindara, más-á xiya, We give them groundnut leaves, guinea corn leaves

k€n v€-tər **dúus** =ágər má bara-mda-barg k-ágəra-md-íiná, we give them the chafe of beans once we've washed our beans

ar duus-á xiya, ard dig =ágər bad'd'€má, and the chafe of guinea corn and of beans; all of that

bəz yuwa xəß-ga má ÿiŋ-ar-a-ÿiŋg zə-gáan k€n vəl-tər (8.14) and water to drink if they have finished eating them, we give them

- M la ní Are there cattle?
- H ba aagwa-x máy a-ł má vakáyá
 Only goats, there are no cattle among them
 [a-ł = na-ł]
- M ár xulf-á kwár k-áagwa-x-i What type of goats are they?
- H m€n n-áagwa-xa guğa-xa, ard tuγa-xa There are hairy goats and sheep
- M diga-xa waar má k-uram Whose are they among you.PL?

(146)

H máy ba diga-xa daada-xá-ra, No they are just my father's

ard diga-xa baabá-r bad'd'€m **dee ko** waar ba má m€ŋ kwaßáa-ná ba sugw-án ba ßil-án and my mother's, all of them, whoever has his money will buy them and keep them

- M aa šagər, **yanzú** ŋweñer kudra-xa-γ kəsə-γ-i Thanks, now how many are your siblings?
- H kudəra, kudəra-xá-ra, kudəra-xá-r ár, ár ud'ifa Sibling, my siblings, my junior siblings are four
- M ár tá-a kwár k€γay kudəra-xa-γ-íin d'aa Which language do your junior siblings speak?

H yaare-n ár tag n-it € ní, The local language they speak?

ko ba γay ár tag n-it ⊕ xa (8.53) or the lingua franca they speak?

M aaná

Yes

H yaare-ya

Local language?

(152)

M aa

Yes

H ár tá-a ba xaws n-it€ kudəra-x-ár-íin ár sərga bi k€gwašgwaš-iya tsag-k-əmd ba n-əz baabá-xá-mda [ár čing/],

They just speak Hausa my junior siblings don't know Glavda; our mothers teach us

ár ciig k€n ciig ndakwán n-əmd zár-x-ə-n they grow up and we grow up just like that we the children [without learning Glavda]

- M **yanzú** áγá sərga-sərgə-ŋ k€tá-a gwašgwaš ba ñexñex ğə-γ-t€-aa-ra-ğəg n-əŋ kwán Now you know how to speak Glavda clearly you surpass them now
- H ğ-an-t€-uu-ğəg číi n€ŋa-y k€kudəra-xá-ra , I have surpassed them my junior siblings

k-áy ndakwa m⊕g lii ğ-ar-kúr-ú-ğəg kəs-kaya me also, there are those who surpass me [ğ-ar-kur-u-ğəg should be ğ-ar-kw-aara-ğig]

(156)

M iyaa, šagər, á-dá á-dá ləga ada kəse-gáan k€žiil ní á-dá máy xi Thanks, you will get, will you marry a husband or not?

H má ÿiŋ-an-na-ÿiŋg k€makarant **kam** €n-dá kəs-gáana, When I've finished schoo, I will marry

€n dá ndzə-ga ba vəj-á daada, €n-dá =ksə-gáana (9.23) will I stay in my father's house? I will marry

M á-dá =ksə-gáan k€žiil You will marry a husband? H m

M yaar wá má γra-γ k€žiil-i, yaar, Who are you thinking of? (who are the husbands in your head?)

á-naa yaarə-ŋ kwán you want who now?

H a'a, máy žiil ndan ndan ndakwán-ní No, there is no husband just now

(161)

M aaná yaara, łał-gáan má γərá-γá Yes who, thinking hard

H lii má gwaš-íiná, ən-naa yaar má m-iiter ám€ŋa Those in Ngoshe, who among them I like you say?

M €n naa **waató**, ó I like that is

kwár k€yaare wá dá =ksá-k-kəsəg á-dá =ksə-g mərə-ŋ k€žiila which language [tribe] will marry you; where will you marry a husband

H ba vaavak-i ßəl-kwá daad-á má žigila Wherever God sends me

M méy má γra-γ taakiya k-áy tsəm **mana** n-áa miitsáa-n-iya You don't think to yourself, I want there?

H a máyá, ama €n naa bi ŋ-áy má **kawiy**-iya (9.45) No, but I don't want a village

(164)

M aaná ndə má =ksa-r-i Yes like in which city?

H €n naaga ağa **ko** má yaruwa-xaan naa **ko** ağaŋ, I want like either Maiduguri or I want like

bad'd'€m má siiti siiti **de** €n naa-gáan ama €n naa bi ŋ-áy má kawiya, all in one city or another I like, but I don't want a village

ağ ašəga šiya, βaladig-áγulza, amúudá bad'd'€m de €n naa bi kwáxa-xaa-ts-i like Ashgashiya, βaladigaGhulza, as it is said, I don't like those

M maa ba má bərn-iya siitiyə-ŋ

And if not in a city a city

H aaná Yes

M us duγw-á təγala, kwán ndakwa ba šagəra Well done tough lady, this is good

(168)

M **yanzú** aw kwán, aw **sawariy**-i d'íy-á-k baabá-γ k€γ kwán má gud má gud-i Now what is the advice your mother gives you in a room?

H baabá-r də sawar-i ßagu-wá n-íin ugud uguda, My mother the advice she gives me in a room

xáxə-g k€dzákwa, [xaxə-g/] ßág k€ŋ, kasuwa-n čiya, sew caps, sew, do business (market)

bá-γá βág-áan, bá-γá βág-áan **karaatuwa**, you should study, you should study

má-γa βág-áan kasuwan-či tsəm, (10.19) you should do business

məl-kar-uu-məlg aanğu ba **kwáß**-á, makarant-íiná, it will help you with school fees

aanğu ba kwáßá a skuul fiisa, sug-á takarada bayro tsəm, (173) any money for school fees, buying books, pens

mul-kur-uu-məlga, b-al-xə-mdə-la-y ßág-am-ßágá, it will help you, with AlHamdulillah you will do it

Bag-am bi k-áwreyə-nya, Bag-am-Bág ba k€makaranta, don't marry; do schooling [Bagam LL]

ám baabá-r kəs-káy, kəs-kəmda my mother told me, told us

M maro **sawariy-**íin =ksə-γa Her advice it good

H maro číi **sawariya** baabá-r, baabá-r kəs-kaya My mother's advice is good M á s€ga-s€g k€t-á ďál-á ñğaγuva You know-R OBJ-cook-PSSDST soup-PSSD njaghuva Do you know how to cook Njaghuva soup

H d'ál-á ñğaγuva Soup-PSSD njaghuva Njaghuva soup?

M əŋ (10.43) M

(177)

H €n s€ga bi číi ŋ-áy k€t-á ďál-á ñğaγuv-i,
 I know not dm SbjP-I OBJ-cook-PSSDST cook-PSSD njaghuva-NEG
 I don't know how to cook Njaghuva soup

ndza mər d'ál-á nğaγuv k€s-káy where was the Njaghuva soup for me? [where should I know Njaghuva soup]

M á s€gá ba t-á d'ala-w€ŋ You know dm cook-PSSDST soup-what-you What soup do you know how to cook?

H bad'd'€m d'álá-x de €n s€rga-s€rg, All soup-PL dm I know-R All of the soups I know

amá €n s€ga-y ŋ-áy k€t-á ďál-á ñjaγuvə-n-i but I know not SbjP-I OBJ-cook-PSSDST soup-PSSD njaghuva but I don't know how to cook Njaghuva soup

M d'álá wá s€ga-ŋ k€tə-gáan ba nášnáš Soup TP know-you OBJ-cook-GAN dm tasty What soup do you know how to cook tasty?

kú ba kwár k€ďál wá-γá tág-wá n€ŋ, má gwaš,
 Any dm which k-soup TP-you say-me SbjP-you, in Ngoshe
 Any sort of soup you tell me in Ngoshe

€n s€ga-s€g k€tə-gáan ba d'ál-á ñğaγuv-íin wá-n s€ga-y ŋ-áy k€tə-gáan-i I know-R OBJ-cook-GAN dm soup-PSSD njaghuv-SPC TP-I know-not SbjP-I OBJ-cook-GAN-NEG I know how to cook it; just the Njaghuv soup I don't know how to cook

M tág čí, tág čí ndan ndan kwá s€gá-ŋa (11.02) Say dm, say dm now now what know-you Say now, say what you know

- H áγá naa kwár ndanda n€ŋ-íYou want which now SbjP-you-QWhich do you want now?
- M má kwár, ba kwá s€ga n€ŋ ba kwá mtakak, If which, dm which know SbjP-you dm which sweet Any, just so you know one that is tasty

á s€ga n€ŋ k€tə-gáan you know SbjP-you OBJ-cook-GAN you know how to cook

H má-γa náa, ďál-á taavá, If-you want, soup-PSSD tava If you want Taava soup

bá-γá, ça-dá k€kúdígá, áγ sə-dá k€dákárá, dm-you,sweep.SQT-EXT OBJ-kitchen, you come.SQT-EXT OBJ-firewood you just sweep the kitchen, you bring in firewood

ard **ašáan** ard γúuvá, and matches and corn stocks and matches and dried corn stalks

áγá čuw-ánt k€káará, (185) áγá fə-t kí-yuw-á káar tə-káará, you kindle.SQT-EXT Obj-fire, you put.SQT-EXT OBJ-water-PSSD fire on-fire you kindle a fire you put hot water on the fire

áγá d'iy-əm k-áagər áγá bar-da k-ágəra, you pour.SQT-EXT OBJ-bean you wash.SQT-EXT OBJ-bean you pour beans you wash beans [note bar-da = LL]

á d'iy-əm má vakáy, má d'íi-γə-m-d'íig m-vakáyá, you pour.SQT-EXT in it, if pour-you-EXT-R in-it you pour them into it; once you've poured them in

bá tə-ga, bá tə-ga bá tə-ga, má t-ál-təga, á γud-árs k-átárgúwá, dm cook-G, dm cook-G dm cook-G, if cook-EXT-R, you add.SQT-EXT OBJ-hot pepper you cook and cook and cook, once they are cooked, you add in hot pepper

má γud-γ-árs-γudəg k-átárgúwá, (11.28) if add-you-R OBJ-pepper once you've added in hot pepper

áγá ßal'-ná k€d'ál-íin ba marawa, you prepare OBJ-soup-SPC dm well you prepare the soup well [pick out the impurities]

andzə-g máy n€dig-í kəŋ **kú** łáłáa-n€n m-vakáy **kúu** nçikwáx-iya, remain-G not NOM-thing objPS even leaf-its-SPC in it even small-NEG there shouldn't remain a leaf stem in it not even a little one

áγá d'iy-ársá, áγá d'iy-árs k-iiž axuta bá tə-ga bá tə-ga bá tə-g má t-ál-təga, you pour.SQT-EXT, you .SQT-EXT OBJ-potash dm cook-G dm cook-G dm if cook-EXT-R you pour them [leaves] in, you add in potash, and you cook and cook, when it is finished

áγá kəď-ánt k-íindara, (190) you knead.SQT-EXT OBJ-nuts you knead in groundnuts

áγá d'iy-árs, má d'ií-γ-ars-d'íiga, you pour.SQT-EXT, if pour-you-EXT-R you pour them in; once you've poured them in

anak k**€máagíya**, ardi, iiža mala-xa, áγá d'iy-árs bring magi, and, salt, and add them in

- M ÿiŋ-aa-ÿíŋg t-á d'ál Finish-EXT-R cook-PSSDST soup Cooking the soup has finished
- H ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋg čí d'ál-á taavá Finish-EXT-R dm soup-PSSD tava Taava soup is finished
- M amá yákár **kam** á s€ga-y-ŋ k€tə-gáan-i But porridge dm you know-not-you OBJ-cook-GAN-NEG But porridge you don't know how to cook it
- H €n s€ga-s€ga I know-G I know
- M á t€g ndar-í You cook-G how-Q How do you cook it?
- H k-áy m-án dá t-á yákárá, I if-I FT cook-PSSDST porridge

Me if I cook porridge

yákár =áxúpí ní yákár-á šankáf xa wá-γá ta-g-n€ŋ-í porridge-PSSD g.c. powder FcQ porridge-PSSD rice Q TP-you cook-G-SbjP-you-Q Are you cooking porridge of ground guinea corn or rice porridge (195)

- M kiya-w l'á dig-á xúpí d'áa (12.02) Because-what also thing-PSSD Q Why then guinea corn powder?
- H əm M
- M dig-á **šaŋkáf**Thing-PSSD rice
 Of rice
- H áγá náa dig-á šankáfá
 You want thing-PSSD rice
 You want that of rice?
- M m
- H má-γá dá tə-gáan dig-á šankáfá,
 If-you FT cook-GAN thing-PSSD rice
 If you want to cook that of rice

áγá fə-t k€yuw-á káará-γá, má fə-γ€-t-fəg k€yuw-á káará, you put.SQT-EXT OBJ-water-PSSD fire-your, if put-you-EXT-R OBJ-water-PSSD fire you put on hot water; when you've put hot water L

áγá cəd'-árs, áγá d'iy-árs k-áwər inčikwáxá-n, you add.SQT-EXT, you put in.SQT-EXT OBJ-tamarind little-SPC you add a little, you put in a little tamarind lh, lh

yuw-á káar€n áγá xəd'-ar-d-ú k-áw€-na, water-PSSD hot-SPC you cover.SQT-EXT OBJ-tamarind-SPC the hot water cover, you cover the tamarind llh

máa á sə-dá k€šaŋkáfá-γ áγá βaľ-ní k€šankáfá, (198) if you come.SQT-EXT OBJ-rice-your you prepare.SQT-EXT OBJ-rice

once you get your rice, you prepare it

áγá diyə-m m€vakáyá, you pour.SQT-EXT in it you pour it in LL

bá tə-ga, bá tə-ga, bá tə-ga, bá tə-ga, dm cook-G dm cook-G, dm cook-G you cook and cook and cook it

bá tə-g má t-ál-təga má t-ál-təga, dm cook-G if cook-EXT-R if cook-EXT-R once it is cooked

áγá d'iy-árs k€yiu =íindara, you pour.SQT-EXT OBJ-water-PSSD groundnuts you put in groundnut water

ba kwad'áx€-g ba kwad'áx€-g, dm boil.PL-G dm boil.PL-G you boil and boil it

má kuď-ál-kuď g ba kwaď áx-gá, (12.28) if boil-EXT-R dm boil.PL-G once it has boiled a long time (tired boiling)

áyá sə-dá k€ŋ k€fláawá, áyá kut-árs má kutə-γ-árs-kutəg k€fláawá, you .SQT-EXT OBJ-flour, you sprinkle.SQT-EXT if sprinkle-you-EXT-R OBJ-flour you get flour, you sprinkle it {in} once you've sprinkled in the flour

t-ál-təg ñğukwáx-áana, cook-EXT-R little when it is a little cooked

áγá d'iy-árs k€skura, má d'ii-γ-ars-d'íig k€skura, you pour.SQT-EXT OBJ-sugar, if pour-you-EXT-R OBJ-sugar you pour in sugar; once you've poured in sugar

áγá d'iy-árs k-áwura, áγá sə-díi tə-káar ÿiŋ-aa-ÿíŋga you pour.SQT-EXT OBJ-tamarind, you bring.SQT-EXT on-fire finish-EXT-R you pour in tamarind; you take it off the fire and it is finished

M ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋg t-á-ŋ, á yákár-á **šaŋkáf**Finish-EXT-R cooking-PSSDST-PSPSSD PSSR porridge-PSSD rice
Cooking rice porridge is finished

(204) H

 \mathbf{m} \mathbf{M}

M aa áγá duγwa, á s€ga-s€g mbats k€tə-gáan, You are a girl; you indeed know how to cook it

amáa ba t-á činčin wá s€ga-s€g, á s€ga-s€g baz t-á činčin ay but cooking cakes do you know; do you also know how to bake a cake?

- H awulg €n s€g-s€g, baz, t-á sasáf €n s€ga-s€g bad'd'€má Why I know; also ?? I know everything
- M t-áv ndar sasaf či How is guinea corn cake cooked
- H má-γa t-á sasafa, If you cook guinea corn cake

áγá xay-á kəŋ, k-áxupi k€ŋ, you grind, guinea corn

k€xiya-γ masakwa m€ŋa, aγ sap-a-ká də-láariya láwší ba likd'id'd'-ána, (208) guinea corn sorghum you say, you sieve it with a very fine sieve

má sáp-γ-aa-ka-sápga, (13.07) once you've sieved it,

áγá, sə-dá m€j kwa lərn k€digitíin táakí, you get something else

l'aləm duγw ám-it€a, ?? they call it

də-xaws ndakwi də-xaws **dargaz** ám-it€a, in Hausa, like they call it 'dargaz'

má x⊕j má yuwa, áγá, kəď-ánt k-áxupiyə-n tsa, if it spends the night in water, you {then} knead the guinea corn powder

áγá d'iy-árs ñğukwáx-án, dá n€γa ba kulxúd'xaγúd' n-íiná, you pour in a little, you will see it very slippery

áγá d'íyə-m k€skura, má d'i-γə-m-d'íig k€sukurə-n, you pour in sugar; once you've poured in the sugar

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ŋərd'ə-t-ŋ€rd'€g ñjukwáxana á cəd'-árs ki-yua áγá sə-dí dá má kwalərn k€šaka, when it is a little burned you pour in water and you put it in another pot

áγá fə-t k€lang fəčakw lang fəčakwa-na (13.32) you put a small metal dish, small metal dish {on the fire}

áγá d'iyə-m k€wala, m€ŋ caambúd' á βág-áana you pour oil in it; there is a gourd spoon for doing it (of doing it)

bá-γá d'iyə-m k€sasaf-íin, áγá gağa-gáan áγá gağa-gáan, you pour it in the guinea corn cake, you shake it (stir) you stir it

áγá gwuy-ántá, má t-ál-təga, you turn it, when it is cooked

áγá sə-díyá áγá fə-m má səkur-na, you get it off {the fire} and you pour it in sugar lhh, l

má fə-γ€m-fəg má səkur-na, once you've poured it in the sugar

šikena bá-γá ča-gáan dá má kwałərn k€taas áγá xəd'-ar-d-ú šikena ÿiŋ-a-ÿiŋg (13.47) you put it into another dish and you cover it that's it (219)

- M t-á sasaf Cooking guinea corn cake cake
- H mm
- M t-áv [bad/], máy dig-í t-áv dəŋ sasaf-i lərni say ba masakwa It is cooked, Sasaf isn't cooked with anything except masakwa
- H m€jga, **ko** xiy-á babəra, **ko** flaw bad'd'€m də ba kwá-γá xay-gant n€ŋ udan b-avaan There is; either maize flour, or flour both; the one (which) you a person likes
- M ba t-áv də-vakáy It is cooked with it
- H aaná Yes
- M aa šagər, **yanzú** k€γ kwána,

Thanks; now you now

á s∉ga-s∉g n€ŋ, you know

€n žar-g ŋ-áy-na á s€ga-s€gə-ŋ k€t-á digit bad'd'€m As I observe, you know how to cook everything

H €n s€rga-s€rg či n-áy bad'd'€m I know everything indeed

M sáa ndar kaf γaal', kaf γaal' amuud-ní, awa βág-áan-i How does undercooked food happen?, undercooked as it is called, when makes it? (223)

H kaf γaal'ə-n tsa Undercooked food

M m

H liy ár s€ga bi k€tə-gáan-i,
There are those who don't know how to cook

ko ko kuwa, li ár m⊕j ár ba xiñexa, or, those who are just at home

duywa-x jayala-x jayala-xa, ár tə-gáan babaa-təra, unmarried women; their mothers cook {for them}

ár d'uw-árs k€babaa-tər tə-gana, they let their mothers cook

babaa-tər ndakwar máy taá-γá-y yo, their mother doesn't advise (tell them to cook)

aw lambá-ra, ár dá ßág-í xa n-it€ əvja-xaa-tər ám baba-xaa-təra, what is it to me {the mother says}, won't they will just do it in their houses {when they marry} their mothers say

má-r tə-gáan tsa (14.32) if they cook

M m

H ár fə-t ki-yu tə-káará, (227) They put water on a fire ár dágál dá gwayávaa-təra, and they go about

má s-ar-á-γa gwayavaa-təra, once they've come from strolling

mbats ndakwa ár s€ga bi n-it€-i ba kwad'áxə-g yuwa ba kwad'áxə-g yuwa, maybe they don't know that the water is boiling and boiling

ba kwad'axə-g yuwa, ár s€ga bi n-it€-i, and boiling; they don't know

ár d'iyə-m k-áxupi fəčakwána ár ušaa-kan tsa, they pour in a little guinea corn and they stir it

ár xəl'-á dágálaa-tər l'aß dá ßá-a, nəgáa-tər jəmal, and they go away, and do their childish behavior outside

má s-ará-γaná, n€l-nəg, mamə-t-maməg kaf tə-káará, (14.53) if they come back, it becomes; the food on the fire has become dumb

dá maal'ey βá-a mtaki má d'ii-γ-ars-d'íig k-áxupi, it will no longer be tasty (make tasty); once you add the guinea corn

ŋçikwáxan uušə-γ-án-ušəg tsa, (232) a little, you've stirred it

pərsəksək kaf mtak bi, ba n-digi aa xaay vavaan má γay raw tasting, not tasty food, just like sand in a mouth

M iin kaf γaal'ə-n keena That is undercooked food

H m

M aa šagər, tap-γə-na-tapəg t-á kaf γaała Thanks; you have once {cooked} undercooked food

H kaya tap-an-á bi číi ŋ-áy t-á kaf γaał-i Me, I have never done it

M t-á ba kwa méy γaałə-ŋ You cook that which is not undercooked

H m

Part II (times stamp starts at 0.00)

M dzugud duγwə-n Good morning the lady

H yawa

M viya-kaa bi **ko** You haven't forgotten?

H vii-γ-wá- bi I haven't

M ndza γač-iy-á ta-w ďaa What did we.2 stop on?

H əlbəg-íin ndza k€n tag n-əmdə-na What we were talking about

M mm

H γači-γa táakí, ám€ŋ tá-a kəs-kaya,You stopped, you said to me

t-áv ndandar kaf, [kəmda/] γači-γa tə-kwáx d'aŋ how is food cooked; you stopped on that

M taγ-γ-a-tag, k€tá kaf-íiná You said, cooking the food

H tag-an-a-tag, tag-an-á bi d'əmmiya, I said, I didn't say all of it

M ndza təm-á n-áw-i What was remaining?

(15)

H tag-an-a-tag k€digita tax-áv də-vakáyá təmaa, (0.32) I said the thing that is cooked with it remaining

t-áv ndandar ám€ŋ taa kəs-kaya, tagá-mdá bi l'aβ-i how it is cooked you said to me, and we didn't discuss it (say it)

M ay, tag-wá-tag číi xiinan má t-áv ndandara So, tell me then today, how it is cooked

- H má t-áva, ní ďál-á lu ní ďál-á, á çimy-á digita-x ba jajaan-xa When soup, meat soup is cooked soup, of leaves like that
- M d'ál-á tsuwa Soup of the atsuwa tree
- H d'ál-á tsuwa, má t-á-vá, fə-v€t n-áag€ tə-káará, Soup of the tsuwa tree; if it is cooked, beans are put on a fire

ßal'-v-an-í, n€d'ál-íiná ba marawa-n, the soup is prepared well

má ßaľ-v-an-i-ßaľga, once it is prepared

ba tə-ga ba tə-ga ga ba tə-g n-áagər d'iv-árs n-iiž axuta, (1.00) the beans cook and cook and cook and an ash liquiid is put in

má d'íya-v-ars-d'íig n-iiž =áxuta, t-ál-təga, once the ash liquid is put in, and it is cooked

d'ii-v-árs nəŋ, n-átsuw-íiná, máy n-uud uš-gáan-i, the Atsuw leaf is added; no one stirs it

ba kub-ga ba kub-ga ba kub-ga maa, máy uš uš-ga núud-i, it foams and foams and foams; it is not stirred

ba ndzə-gan ba ndzə-gan má t-ál-təga, it stays and stays and when it is cooked

áγá kəď-árs k-íindar áγá ďiy-árs, you knead the groundnuts and you pour them in them

áγá sə-d€n kəŋ, iiža, máağíya, čačakúráma, you put in salt, magi, small hot pepper

áγá d'iyə-m má vakáy **lakuti**, you put them in before

kaa ba ndzə-gán, má ta t-ál-təg ñğukwáxána, it stays {on fire}; once it is cooked a little

áγá sə-dí ÿiŋ-aa-ÿíŋga, káa áγá fə-t k€šaka, you take it off ; it is done; you put it in a pot

k€šak-á kaf, má-γa dá wš-á kaf ľaβa, (35) (1.31)

a food pot, if you want to stir food

ba ndzə-ga ba ndzə-g má kubú-t-kubug səlaakwa, it stays and stays; once a pot boils up

áγá d'iyə-m k-áxupi ñğukwáx-an, you put a little g.c. powder in it

má ts-áa-tsəg ákúłákúła, once it has finished the bubbling noise

áγá d'iyə-m k-áxupii-n, áγá ušaa-kán, you put in the g.c. powder and you stir it

lakuti sə-v-dán ám zə-gáan before it is taken off and you eat it

- M iyó, tə-γ-á-təg d'ala tsu ardə kafa-ə-ŋ **kena** You have cooked Tsuwa soup and food like that
- H m
- M ay d'ala tsuwə-n má, łə-v-k€ná mər níin-i So the Tsuwa leaves, where are they found
- H m€ŋ má təγala, **kúu** ba má xuďá ks vavaan, They are in the bush; even in the middle of the village

pilwá- bi m€ŋ, çimiy =aďukwa (1.57) they are not scarce; there are aďukwa leaves [aďukw is seed of tsuwa tree]

- M iyó çimiy =aďukw Okay, aďukw leaves
- H k'
- M á diyə-ŋ dá ča-gáana Do you go to pick them?
- H kaya, tap-an-ná bi k€n sagw ba də-sagw má kasukwa Me, I have never done it; we just buy them from the market
- M iyó val-áv má kasukw **ko** So they are sold in the market?

H vəl-á-v They are sold

M ndandar ndandar n€mtakər-áan k€d'ala tsu-ní How is the tastiness of the Tsuw soup?

H ndandara, tap-γə-na bi n€ŋ k€zə-gáan-iya, How; Haven't you ever tried eating it?

mtak či níin ba yaryara it is very tasty

(50)

M ba yaryar d'ál-á tsuw-íiná Very tasty the Tsuwa soup

H m

M á s€ga ba t-á d'ál-á tsuwə-ŋ-i You only know how to cook Tsuwa soup?

H a'a **kú** ba kwár k€d'ál €n s€ga-s€g k€tə-gáan No, any sort of soup I know how to cook

M d'ál-á γwačik€m What about chicken soup?

H €n s€rga-s€rg k€tə-gáana I know how to cook it

M tag-uwa-tag ndana Tell me then

H áγá naa səl-g-səlg ní áγá naa tə-g tə-g xa n€ŋaDo you want to fry it, or boil (cook) it?

M d'aláa-n (2.37) Its soup

H d'aláa-ná (56), má xər-á-v-á-xərg γwačik-íiná, Its soup; once the chicken has been slaughtered

áγá γw-ánt ki-yuw-á káar áγá d'iy-ar-€ tə-vakáy áγá pač-dá pač-dá **kú**-guğá-xáa-n€n bad'd'€má, you boil how water, you pour it on it, then you remove all its feathers

má pač-γa-pačiga, áγá xəraa-ká k€xud'áa-na,

once you've plucked it, slit its stomach

aγ sə-dá k€lalíin ard digiti áγá máy zə-gáan-i bad'd'€n, you take out the dirt and things that you don't eat

áγá d'ii-dán má **bayangid**, you pour it away in the toilet

kwáx áγá bar-a-kán ba maraw, that one you wash very well

má bár-γ-a-ka-bárga, áγá d'iyə-m má šak, (2.59) once you've washed it, you pour it in a pot

bá kub-ga bá kub-g, it boils and boils

má kub-al-kubəg buwáa-n tsa, once it has boiled twice [boil it first, then leave it to boil a second time]

áγá d'iy-aa-ká dá má kwałərn k€taas (63) á d'iyə-m kú-wala, you pour it into another dish and you pour in oil

má γút-γ-gw wala á d'iyə-m k-álbasara, once you've heated the oil, you put in onions

má səl-ál-səlg n-árbasa-n áγá d'iy-árs k€luw-íiná, áγá səlaa-kán, a once the onions have fried you pour in the meat, you fry it

má s€-γ-aa-ka-s€ga, ánák k€tataasiya, once you've fried it, bring sweet pepper

ardən, ard təmaatər á d'iy-árs, áγá uš-aa-kán, and, and tomatoes you pour {them} in and stir them

áγá d'iyə-m ki-yuwi-n cəd'akwán , you pour in a little water

bá tə-ga bá təga bá tə-ga , áγá fə-dəm k-iiž ard máağíya, (3.27) it cooks and cooks and cooks, you put in salt and magi

áγá fə-dəm má fə-γ€-m-fəga, zəlm-á tə-káar nçəkwáxán, t-ál-təga you put it in, once you've added it, it takes a little more time on the fire and it is cooked

M tága

Say

(72)

H t-ál-təga

It has cooked

M šikena ďala-γ s-a-xíi-səg

That's it, your soup comes off {the fire}

H m

M íin€m, z-áv dá-w n-íini And it, what is eaten with?

H ba kwá-γá naa-gant n€ŋa, Whatever you like

má-γa naa də-**brediya** bá-γá zə-gáan, má-γa naa-g ba də-kafa bá-γá zə-gáan if you like with bread you just eat it; if you like with meal you eat it

M iyó, **stiuw** wáx **kena** ta-gə-ŋ€-n mbatsá Okay, that is stew you cook it seems

H aaná Yes

M méy-i γwačək t-áv dəŋ, çəmiy-á dig d'ál **ko** Chicken is not cooked with, leaves of the soup?

H m€ŋ t-áv dəŋ, m€ŋ t-á-v-dá, də azəγa, **ko** kokwa (3.57) There is that cooked, cooked with okra, or baobab

(80)

M γwačək€n The chicken

H m

M **yanzú** ám zə-gáan k€γwačək əvjá-ru ní ám máy xa n-uuram-i Now do you eat chicken in your.PL house or not?

H m⊕n evəj máy, z-áv neγwačək-iya
 Is there a house, where chicken is not eaten?
 [máy brackets with following clause]

M m€ŋ cálm =úuda-x ár máy z-á γwačək-iy ay
There are some people that don't eat chicken of course

H **ko** ndandar **kam** tap-ar-na-tapəg k€zə-gáan ay Somehow they must have eaten it once

(84)

M iyó, šagər, **yanzú** k€γa, Okay, thanks now, you

áγá tugw-an-a-tugw k€digiya, can you enumerate things

ßag-áv **lakuti** áγá dá us =íindara, that is done before you will farm groundnuts

áγá us-gáan n€ŋ kíindar ama-y you farm groundnuts, I said

H €n usə-gáana I farm them

M ßag-áv ndandar ndandar níin-i How is it done?

H fəg-arž-á βág-áana,Its beginning(beginning of doing it)

[má-γa/] maa dig dágál áγá žar-ná k€guxwá-γá, if you go away {from the village} you look at your farm

má žarə-γ-ní-žarga, áγá čaďa-káná, once you've observed it, you sweep it

áγá x-árs k€káar k€táktáka, bá-γá dzə-gáan k€ragwa, you set fire to the thorns, and you pick up manure

bá-γá dzə-gáana bá-γá dzə-gáana (92) bá-γá dzə-gáan bá-γá d'íi-gáan, (4.48) you carry and carry it and then you pour it on {the field}

má ÿiŋ-γa-ÿiŋg k€dzə-gáana, once you've finished carrying it

má ba çíy-a-v-a-çíig yuwa žigila, once it has rained

bá-γá riy-á k€digit tə-vakáy də mbeβ-á ríyává,

you plant something on it, with a planting stick

má rii-γ-a-riig-i s-ál-səg njukwáx njukwáxan áγá gwiy-á dágál dá unáy-gáan amúud, once you've planted it, it sprouts a very little, you return and replant it as they say [plant to replace what has not sprouted]

má s-ál, má s-ál-səga, once it has sprouted

aγ kwá-γá unáyga n€ŋ naa, what you have replanted

áγá riy-árs k€zarv manjəl, you plant sesamee under it

má rii-γ-ars-riig k€zarva, once you've planted sesamee,

ndz-án, βag-aa-βág bá-γ ságál dá kwáďi-gáan, it stays; it grows, you come and dig it out

áγá sáxá sago áγá sáxá ságo dá žar-gáana (5.14) you keep on coming to observe it

(98)

M βag-am-a-βág k€más =íindar You have worked with groundnut leaves

H m

M iya šagəra, k€γ kwána, Thanks, you now

ndav-an-kawa-ndavəg k€lbəga kəs-á žiil má xəŋga-xaa-ts **ko** I have asked you about marrying a husband that day, right? [-ts = day of previous interview]

H aaná Yes

M ndza wá m€ŋ číi d'aa What was it you said?

H ama-y tá-a ksə-γ, aanğu €n-dá kəsə-gáan k€žiilíin **dei**, I said to you, even if I will marry the husband €n má makarant ndandan sei má ÿiŋ-ana-ÿiŋg k€makarant ama-ya I ám in school now, only once I've finished school I said

(104)

M iyó, á ba t-vakáy **kena** tə-ÿiŋ-á makaranta-γ Okay, you are still with that, finishing your school

H mm Yes

M á dá ÿiŋg xər ám€ŋ či kwa ta-γ-tag d'aa When will you finish you said, what you said?

H k€n dá ÿiŋg má cəl-á ud'ifa We will finish in July

M má ÿiŋ-γ-na-ÿiŋg maa, má m€ŋ žiil áγá daa dá vəj-á žiila-γ
 Once you've finished, if there is a husband you will go to your husband's house

H a'a, €n dá má kwałərn k€makarant, žiila-w-i I will go to another school; a husband of what?

M á dágál dá má kwa tə-vuukw You are going ahead (to what is in front)

(109)

H m, €n dágál dá má kwa tə-vuukwa M, I am going ahead

M awa má γra-γ k€dágál dá má kwa tə-vuukwə-ní What are thinking that you are going ahead"

H máyá-ŋ, maa əmtak ba n€ndzə-ga ŋ-ána, No, is staying like this sweet?

má ndzə-γ-á-ndzəg ŋ-wañ βag-γ-a-βág k-áwre aw ləráa-n-i, (6.02) if you've stayed like this, and you married (did marriage), what is its purpose (its work)?

kú yaŋbi k€zərzə-r vavaan má s-a-daa-səg žíil k**€maagani**, even if a young boy is sick, if a husbands brings medicine

sei áγá d'áx-gáan k-uud dá žár-gáan€n, you call people to examine it {medicine}

maro bi wáx-i, ηulm áγá žar-g ba də-γra-γ áγá dágála dá sugw-áan "that is not good", it is better you look yourself and go and buy it

(114)

M waató dzam-γə-na-dzamg táakí dá mul-k-u-mulg n€ŋ, That is, you think that school will help you

makarant má βáγ-γa-βág-áan keena once you've finished it

- H əŋ, dá məl-gáan, ba d'ekd'ek Yes, it will help, a lot
- M aa šagər, maraw n€ŋ, dzam-á γəra-γ, Thanks, that's good, your thinking

aw **sawari** áγá d'íi-t⊕a-d'íig kəŋ, k€zár-á duγwa-x ban k€γ kwán what is the advice you give to young girls now

- H tsaγwa-xá-r nii li əvjá-md-xa Friends, or those in our house
- M **kú** ba kwár, baz tsaγwa-xá-γá, baz li vəjá-rúwa (6.32) Whoever; both your friends and those in your house

(120)

H tsaγwa-xá-r, My friends

m⊕ cálm ár má makaranta, there are some in school

m⊕ cálm ár máy má makarant-i, there are some not in school

k-uram ama-y makaranti-n ama-y k-it€a, you I say not in school, I say to them

ğ-iyam dá má makaranta, ğ-iyam dá má makaranta, let's go to school, let's go to school

ğ-iyam dá má makarant ám-it €a ár máy n-íit € dá má makarant-i, let's go to school, they say they will not go to school

to ndz-am-a-ndzəg číi, kwár má makaranta, okay you stay, the one in school

k€m ba βá-a **sawariya**, k€m má klás pál d-íit€r,

we do advise that, we in the same class with them

k€n ba βá-a **sawariya** táakí "we advise that

k€m dágál dá má kwáx k€makaranta, we go to that school

k€n dágál dá má yaruwa (126) k€n ba tág-áan bandikwáx, we go to Maiduguri, we converse like that

má máy lərá-md-i ba k€m kəs-ánt k€takardá-md ba k€n ßá-a **karaatu** (7.01) if there is no work, we pick up our books and we study

M kwáx **sawariya**-γ That is your advice

H m

M ndza-n t-á kwasay η-áya ám€η číi biya I was cooking bean cakes you said

H m, ndza-n ndza-n təg-áana I was doing that

M ard-áw ard-áw wá βágə-ŋ k€gát-á **kwáß** ndav-an-kawa-ndavig What all do you do, do earn money I have asked you

H ard xa dzákwa And sewing caps

M ard-awa l'aß
And what else

H maa l'eya Nothing else

(131)

M á ba ndzə-gan You just stay

H k'

M aγ uus =íindara, x-á dzákwa t-á **kwáséy** You farm groundnuts, sew caps and cook bean cakes

Н	m
M	ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋg d'uul-á gát-á kwáßá-γ kəsə-γ Your means of earning your money is finished with that
Н	ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋg That's it
M	yanzú val-áv səd'av má łalá-ru nəγ-ana ŋ-áy ba Now clothes are sold in your neighborhood I have seen
Н	vəl-ava yaakubu kumb wá vəl-gáana They are sold; Yakubu Kumba sells them
M	yanzú baďď€má-ru ám sagw ba miits k€səďav (7.35) Now all of you buy clothes there
(100)	
(136) H	k€m sagw-áan k€səd'ava, ama kú ba mər ba k€m sugw-áan n-əmd We buy clothes, but we buy them everywhere
M	duγw-á yaar baabá-γ d'aa Your mother is the daughter of who?
Н	duγw-á yáa γiid' A daughter of Ghid'a people
20222	
????? H	duγw-á yáa γiid'
Н	$\begin{array}{c} mm \\ M \end{array}$
M	tap-γə-na-y tág-ák argwandz-iyaa She never told you a folktale?
Н	baabá-ra My mother?
M	m
Н	tág-áana She told them

tag-k-əm-dá-tag nda palla Tell us one one now

M

H amáa-n tsa She said

(141)

M aaná, á dzə-gant k€γay Yes, you raise your voice

H argwandz argwandz amáa-n biya, Folktale folktale she said

suut ám-əmd táa-kíin tsa, bring it we said to her

ba tag-k-əmd-tag kala, kala, she tells us different types (color color color)

kala kal ba tag-k-əmd-tag má tag-aa-tag palla ba k€n vəl-a k-áms tə-γər, she tells us different ones; if she has told us one, we give an answer to it

má tag-aa-tag pál ba k€m vəla k-áms tə-γər, if she has told us one, we give an answer to it

tag-k-əmd band bandikwán, má máy, she tells us like that, if there is

n€digit maraw bi k€n βág n-əmd l'aßiya dzax-k€nd-án, something bad, we do it again; she gathers us

tag-k-əmd-tag maro bi, ßag-am bi k€digit maro biya, tag-k-əmd-tag bad'd'€má (8.21) she tells us it is not good; don't do something bad; she tells us all

(146)

M ay tag-γa bi k-árgwandz-íini ay So you didn't tell the folktale

H áγá naa tá =argwandz n-uuda You want to tell a folktale

M mm

H argwandz argwandz amáa-n, Folktale folktale she said

sut ám-əmd biya, káa amáa-n, 'suut' we said, then she said

agər-á baabiğa amáa-na, kaa ám-əmda xakwa, beans of a grandmother she said; then we said 'a small amount'

bər-aa-bərg amáa-n, b€g dəg čar ám-əmda, it has arranged, she said, arrange it well we said

káa amáa-n m€ŋ n€ŋ, wá lərn k€dəγwa amáa-na, then she said, there is, another girl she said

γər d'aagáa-n amáa-na, (153) her name is 'head' she said

m€ng kwałərn k€zər-á dzəra amáa-na, there is another pestle (son of mortar) she said

ßəl-v€m má vakáy d'əg-áva d'əg-áva , d'ig-áv, (8.52) it was dropped in it, it is pounded and pounded

káa ságáw kwałern k€bayiğ xuts-ánt k€łałáa-n amáa-n €n dá d'əg łałá-r amáa-n, then another grandmother comes and she takes its old bones she says, I will pound my bones she says

ßag-aa-ßág łał má, once she's pounded the bones

n-ál n€duγwə-n k-uud má kəγay má šak =úusə-na, the girl became a person in a dish, a pot of the woman

ətə-gáan n-uusə-na, γərá-r, the woman cooks, my head!

wáawa γərá-r, waawa γərá-r ám n€duγwə-n, ÿiŋ-aa-ÿíng O my head O my head, the girls says, its over [interpretation; a badly told folktale]

M n-árgwandz A folktale

H m

M kwałərn Another

H kwałər-na Another? (159)

M aaná

Yes

H máy wałərn-i

There isn't another

M ba kwána

Just this?

H mm

M aa βága ndar tá-a ba kwán-i

How does it happening, saying only this?

H ba kwána

Just this

M ndza bad'd'eek tag-k-əmd n-áz daadá-md ard baabá-md ám€ŋ ama-y

I say, Your father and mother and the like were telling us a lot you said I say

H aaná, áγá naa dig-á daad n€ηa (9.25)

Yes, do you want one of father

M aaná

Yes

H dig-á baaba číi ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋga

Mother's have just finished

(162)

M tag k€dig-á baab, a daad

Tell one of mother, of father

H dig-á daad, argwandz argwandz amáa-n sut ám-əmda,

Of father, 'folktale folktale' he said, 'suut' we said

káa amáa-n t-áa kəsk-kəmda,

then he said [he says] to us

m⊕ wałərn k€duγwa-x [ar ba/], ár l'əßa,

there were other girls, they were five

ár dágál dá čá-a awər má təγal,

they went to pick tamarind in the bush

məŋə n€dəγw-á wajəg pál m-it€a, there was one widow's daughter among them

ndza vak bayğáa-na, kaa amuud tá-a k-it€a, she was with her grandmother; then {someone} said to them

kú waar aa láŋ bi k-áwur-n-í **kú** aanğu má xard'i, (9.48) no one should take a tamarind, even in a fingernail

kaa duγw-á wajəgə-n, then the widow's daughter

fə-dəm má xard'áa-n laŋ-gáan sáas (168) kiya bayğáa-n, put {one} in her finger and carried it away home for her grandmother

amáa-n, bayiğ, ná tap-na-tapəg k€dəvá-r-n amáa-n, she said, grandmother, 'come and taste my hand' she said

tapə-gáan n€bayiğ-na, γud-dá baz ədváa-n, the grandmother tasted it and even cut off her finger

mmm, aa mər wá ŋə-nŋə-n€n kəsə-γa, mmm, where was the sweet thing of yours

amáa-n, ğ-ii amáa-n, she said; let's go she said

aa bayiğ ßag-aa-ßág n-ávəd' k-i dá ßá-a-w sartə-na, ah, grandmother, night has fallen; what will we do at this time?

ğ-i tał yaγ-əŋ, wiy-á bi γwačək-iya, (10.10) let's just go please, a cock isn't crowing

ba tap-ní kə γwačika, so she {grandmother} touched the cock

ba wii-g n€γwačika ba tap-ní k€γwačika ba wii-g γwačika, then the cock crowed, she just touched it and the cock crowed

ğ-ii, amáa-n, (174) **to** ğ-ii ám n€duγwə-n, let's go, she said, let's go the girl said

ár ba dágála, ár ba dágála, they just went and went ár d'alə-t k-áwurə-n, mbats ndaku, they climbed up in the tamarind, [LL]

[awur-á/] dəg təγal bad'd'€máa-təra, [tamarind] all the wild animals

ár sáas n€dəg təγala, the wild animals came

waar wá t-uuf-na, who is on the tree?

k-áy ám-it €, waar wá tuuf-na k-áy ám-it €, 'me', they said; who is on the tree?, 'me' they said [kəmd]

ár ba m€ŋ, ár ba m€ŋ, (10.33) they were, they were {grandmother and daughter}

kaa ám, n€dəg təγala-na, then the wild animals said

k€n dá [mč-á/] mč-á łuwa, waar wá dá təmga-təmg vaakwán, we will roast meat, who will remain here {of the animals}

káa ám lukuva, €n təmga ŋ-áy €n maal-n almaan, then the baboon said, I will remain, I the elder will remain

aa k-áy wá-n təmg n-d'emd'em ám kurage, (180), 'so I am the one who will remain, the wise one', said the squirrel

k-áy wá-n təm-g ám wáx, 'I am the one who will remain', says that

kaa təmg amuud táa k€lukuv, so remain, said {they} said to Baboon

bá-r dá dágál n-it € dá čá-a digita, and they went to look for firewood (burning material)

ba xwad'a-g k€lukuva, m€ŋ nda vaakwán nda má kwadala, the baboon was happy, {as much as} from here to Kwadala [distince of 5 or 6 kilometers, Ngoshe to Kwadala]

dágál ba də-mdərg sáa ba də-mdərg,

he went away running and came back running

mbats ba dáxá dágál n-íiná, the moment he went away

gáv-á saasaa-tər nçəkwáx nçəkwáx nçəkwáx, they began sidling down the tree little by little

lakuti níin sáas, s-a-xi-səg pál, before he came back, one had come down,

duγwə-n təma ba bayiğə-n t-uuf, (11.08) the girl, and just the grandmother remained in the tree

d-al-áan n€duγwə-n, the young girl has gone

lakuti n-it saasa, bandikwán bandikwán, before they came back, like this and this

s-a-xi baz uusə-n, káa d'alə-t n-íiná, the woman also came down; then he {baboon} climbed the tree

[má/] d'alə-t-dálg n-íiná, kaa ár sáas n€dəg təγal, [once/] he had climbed it, then they {the wild animals} came back

waar wá t-uuf-na máy tá-a γay-i, ár x-árs káar, who is in the tree? He doesn't speak; they kindled a fire

mča-g-ú, βəl-xí ár tagu-ní, roasted {him}, he fell down, they shared {it, baboon}

ár dágál dá xúß-á yuu má, má m-uuva, ávda, they went to drink water, in a well, monkey {was in the well}

əs-gə-t-i m-uuv-i sú-wá-d€-səg ám d'íika, he couldn't get out of the well, a bird said, 'bring him out for me'

aa €n kəs-ká-d€ biya, má s-a-ka-də-t-səg n-uuda, no I can't get you out; if someone gets you out

áγá máy d'úw-ú uud-iya say má z-an-k€t-zəg ám€ŋ k-uud amáa-n, (193) you won't leave a person, 'you say to a person 'unless I have eaten you/I will eat you' he said

tag-ír bandikwán k-uud, he {monkey} tells a person that

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[= tag-ár bandikwán k-uud, ]
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káa dág-ár bíiri tał-yaana su-kúwá-dət-səg amáa-n sə-dá bíliya, then the monkey said to him, please, get me out 'he said, then {another} monkey got him out ?? [káa dag-ar = tag-ar]

€n máy d'uwá-k-d'uug amáa-n taak biri xəcə-ná k€biri, (11.51) I will not leave you, he {monkey from well} said to the monkey and he held on to monkey

xəcə-γ-ní-xəcəg k€biri maa, once he had grabbed the monkey

sei sago l'aß bayiğ-na, ságáw bayiğ-na, aftsa awər-na, then the grandmother came again; the grandmother came, the ashes of the tamarind tree

kwa mča-g n-uudə-na, [əm] waawa d'aŋd'aŋáa-n-i, that roasted someone, Oh!, the taste of potash

amáa-n, €n dá ßá-a iž =axut amáa-n, she said; I will make potash from it', she said

ďiyə-m [k má/] βá-a iž =axutá-n, ďiy-árs ki-yuwa, she poured the ash in {something}, she added it to water

ba təd'iga, ba təd'iga, (199) ba təd'iga, t€d'ékw, it dripped down, it dripped down, Ted'ekw plop

zər-á jiyá-r wáx ám lukuv-íiná, tə-d'ekw xətrá-r waxa, that is my eye, the baboon said; Ted' plop that is my nose

tə-d'ekw γayá-r wáx, ba tág-áan ŋ-án ba tág-áan ŋan, Ted' plop that is my mouth, he went on talking like that

d'uul-dá bayiğə-n subanilay, ağa kwár wán k€digita, (12.24) then the grandmother threw it away, Subhanallah; what sort of thing is this

təd'ekw təd'ekw amáa-na, kaa n-ál-nəg kəŋ, Ted' plop plop it went [or he said], then it became

k-ákur-á xay-á axupiya, ságáw l'a wałərn k€bayiğ, a stone for grinding g.c. flour; another grandmother came

waawa, akur-á d'ál-á xay-á xup-íini, maraw amáa-n, kəs-ánt, (205) Oh!, is it a stone for grinding soup {should be vaara}; 'good', she said and carried it off

ba xay-gáan ba xay-gáan, kaa amáa-n

she ground and ground, then she said

Sung

k-áy əmdág əmdága, I eat a powder

k€ γ xay-g də-xay-g, k-áy əmdag əmdaga k€ γ xay-g də-xay-g, you kept grinding it, I eat it, you keep grinding it

amáa-n, mbats ba xáy-gáan n-uusə-na, she said; the woman kept on grinding

əx€ß€-gáan bad'd'€m dá má xud'áa-n, xəß-**€ šikena** (12.49) so he drank everything in his stomach, and he drank it, that's all [baboon ate because it had turned into a grinding stone]

M ÿiŋ-uu-ÿiŋg n-árgwandz The folktale has ended

H m

M aa, mtak n-árgwandza-γə-n, Your folktale is nice

ama má kwán k-árgwandz tsa, but in this folktale

(209)

H m

M awa tsagu-wə-ŋ kwán əm-vakáy What did you learn form it?

H íin d'aŋ wana tsag-u ŋ-áy bad'd'€mə-n, That is it: that is all I learned

tsag-an-u-tsag k€təd'-á iž =axut əm-vakáyá I learned about extracting potash from it

M **yanzú** [s€ga-/] m€ŋ n-iiž =axuta-γ kwána Now do you have potash extract

H m, e **mana** €n s€ga-s€g k€təd'i-gáana Yes, I learned about extraccting it M m€ŋ əvjá-rwa

There is in your home?

H m€nga There is

(213)

M tág-áan bandikwa tag lukuv tə-d'ekw dig-á dig-á jiy-ár wáx amáa-n-i máy xi He said like, the baboon said, Ted' plop that is from my eye, he said or not

H digá-md-íin tsa, dig-á yáa lukuv bi ndan ndan yáa, Our own now, is now of a baboon now

dig-á dákár-á geñ n€digá-mda ours is from the ash of a neem tree

M iyó dig-á dakara geñ n€digá-ru So, yours is from the ash of a neem tree

 $\begin{array}{cc} H & mm \\ M \end{array}$

M méy níin tá-a tə-d'ekw k-áy dakara geñ-i (13.30) It doesn't say, Ted' plop, I the wood of a neem tree

H a, a máy tág-áan-i No, it doesn't say that

(217)

M máy tá-a γay n€diga-ŋ, diga-ŋ It doesn't speak, the thing of

H méy taa γay-i It doesn't speak

M aa šagəra, Thanks

yanzú aw ba kwán má k€γ má dá kəsə-γ-uu-kəsəg k€žiil kwán, dá tə-vuukw tsa now what about this, if you, if you marry a husband now, in the future

H m

M dá m€ŋ naŋ, n€βá-a, Will there be, the doing kwána-xáa-n ndza ßag-áv wur-na, of those {things}, as they used to be done

n-a-v-ál bi k€žəgma-xə-n-i, áγá dá méy xa βág-áan əvjá-ru when we weren't religious, or won't you do that in your house (we have not become religious)

H **ko** aw ba zaman wá =s-dá zaman-iyaa Whatever {happens} one generation brings another generation

(222)

- M iyó méy táakí m€ŋga máy-i a dá βá-a ba dig-á zaman
 There is no question say whether there is or not; you will do whatever is current
- H €n Bá-a ba dig-á zaman číi n-áya, ba digit əs-dá zaman I will do what is current; whatever the present generation brings
- M á dá máy βá-a d'ál-á łał kwán-i You won't cook maggot soup now (aged bone soup)
- H aanğu €n dá ßág-áana ba šəg palpal-iya (14.09) Even if I do it, it will be just once
- M šiy-a-k-šiig kəsə-γ It smells to you
- H vavaa €n man má ŋ-áy tə-gáan, I don't even cook it

€n máy ŋ-áy z-á ďál-á łał-i, I don't eat maggot soup

dá naag ba žiilá-r-íini tsa €n-dá naa bi ŋ-áy k€d'ál-á łał-i my husband will like it; I won't like maggot soup

- M awulg-i Why?
- H na-y €n máy η-áy zə-gáan, ba d'íiçid'íiç, €n naa bi I don't like, I don't eat it, at all, I don't like it
- M šiy-a-k-šiig kəsə-γ It smells to you
- H šiig či n-íiná,

Of course it smells

kuma má má-r ďəg-áan vava mtara-xa, and if others are pounding it

m⊕ kwed'a ár d'ə-gáan baz kwed' m-vakáy there are maggots, they pound it even with them in it

- M á čáď ərviď You are disgusted by it
- H m

(229)

- H €n naa bi n-áy-i, fəg-wá vreeg má z-an-uu-zəg (14.35) I don't like it; if makes me vomit if I eat it
- M á dá z-aw, ama zə-gáan k€gəlg What will you eat? But you eat fat
- H gəl-g **kam**, **ko** ba waar zə-gáan k€gəlg **mana** Fat, everyone eats fat now
- M ard-awa l'aß And what else
- H €n máy n-áy ba z-á łałíin-iya, ba łałíin wá-n máy η-áy zə-gáan-i I don't eat just aged bones; only maggot soup is what I don't eat
- M **yawa**, **yanzú** gud-á baabá-γ kwán tsa Okay, now your mother's room

H əŋ (234)

- M tag ba də-γay-á kəskəs k€d'aag-á digita-x ndana Say in Glavda (language of village) the name of things now
- H digita-x má gud-á baabá-r bad'd'€má Things in my mother's room, all of them?
- M ee, ba də-γay-á kəs kəsa Yes, just in Glavda
- H má gud-á baabá-ra, m⊕ga, (15.04)

In my mother's room, there is

piin-á xəŋ-ganá-mda, m€ŋga, taasa-xa, a bed for our sleeping, there are, dishes

m€ŋga, akwatiya d'iy-á səd'ava-xá-mda, there are, boxes for storing our clothes

m⊕ bad'd'€m, m⊕ **tebur** k⊕n fá, az wala mas-ga-xá-mda, there is everything, there is a table, we put our various body lotions

az aw tə-vakáy bad'd'€má, m€ŋga and whatever, all, there is

(240)

M ba xkərd' dig-í əgud-á babá-γá
Only three things in your mother's room?

H xkərd'a-w-i, ár ba ğar číi n-it€a, What three? They are many

baabá-ríin vəl-á kal'aŋ d'áŋ níin, my mother sells goods

m⊕ kal'aŋ vavaan əf-gáan, gudáa-ní-n tsa, ár buwa, there are good she keeps, her rooms are two

palla, d'iy-á kal'aŋa-xá d'ál mam vakáy válg də-válga, (15.37) one, she stores soup stuffs in it and she goes on selling them

pál kwa x€já má vakáyá one is the one which she sleeps in

M buu n€ŋ n€guda baabá-γ Your mother's rooms are two?

H aaná, buwa Yes, two

(244)

M ağa kwár k€d'ál wá válg níin-i What type of soup does she sell?

H bad'd'€m tataasaya, **kú** kuwa, azəγa,All, sweet pepper, or okra

səßaaka, təmaatəra, **máagíya**, baobab like, tomato, magi

bad'd'€m ba val-ga-xáa-n n€baabá-r my mother just sells all

M bad'd'€m dəg d'ál Everything you make soup with

H mm

M ba vál-g-áan baabá-γ Your mothre sells them

H ba vál-g-áan She just sells them

M yaar wá sagw-áan Who buys it?

H b-uuda-xa kəsa-x ár sago dá sagwa-xáa-n, Everyone in the village comes and buys it

ba dig-á kəlawa mərtal ár sagw-áan (16.05) things for 10 20 {naira} they buy

(248)

M ár tə-g-ú də-d'ál əvja-xaa-tər They cook it with soup in their houses

H mm

M ama méy daada-γ əsgw-áan-i But your father doesn't buy it

H máy daadá-r səgw-áan-i k€n ba ča-gáan k€n tə-gáan My father doesn't buy them; we pick them {from the room} and cook them

M ám zə-g ba jaan You eat for free

H əŋ k€m zə-g ba jajaan, We just eat for free

l'akula riibá-md-íin iin wá-m zə-g n-əmd-ina instead of a profit, it is what we profit (eat)

M iyó **kú** má łám-ná-y k€digit má, Oh, even if you don't earn anything Alternative ł-am-k€na-y]

ba kwá-m zə-g-úu n-uuram dá má γayá-ru ndakwi, ba **riib** níin that which you eat in your mouths is also a profit

- H ba riib níin vaká-md It is a profit for us
- M **yanzú** má xəŋga-xaa-ts, Now, those days

ndza də-γ-ál dá má =ks-i lərn nii ndza də-γa-l-i xii (16.33) did you go to other towns or not?

- H k-áya, ndza d-an-al číi n-áy dá má yaruwa Me, I used to go to Maiduguri
- M awa miits What is there?
- H ba mbac, baabá zár-xa zəráabá-r vaakwáx-e Because, many of the children of my siblings are there
- M də-γ-ál dá vakaa-tər You went to them
- H m
- M á β€g-wá-raa-β€g k-árgwandzə-n palla Can you tell me one folktale
- H áγá naa b-árgwandz n€ŋa, bá-n β€-ká-ráa ní-ya awa tə-vakáy-i You want a folktale; I tell it to you, what is in it?
- M β€-wá-raa-β€g číi Just tell me
- H ba kwa tág-úwá maalá-r kwánna, The one my elder tells me

amáa-na, argwandz argwandza amáa-na, suut ám-əmda, she says, folktale folktale she says; bring it we say

má tag-ámda-tag n-əmd k€suuta, (260) once we've said 'suuta/bring it'

kaa 'amáa-n, m⊕g wałərn k€duγw bíin pál k€dadáa-n, then she says, there is another girl she is the only {child} for her father

b-íin pál k€babáa-na, dágála dágála, n-ál kəŋ, n-ál kəŋ, (17.13) the only one for her mother, she goes, she became, she became

kə γər-á tuuγa, kaa kəs-ánt n-uus-íiná, the head of a sheep, then this woman picked it up

waawa [γəre/] γər-á tuuγá-r €n daa dá βaa, Oh!, the head of my sheep, I will go and do

€n daa dá kwaďáx-á yuw-á káar €n daa dá xuß-gáan amáa-n, I will go an boil hot water, I will go and drink it she said

ba kwad'áx-gáana, káa amáa-n, aya γərá-r **maamáana**, she kept on boiling it, then she said, oh my head my mother

an kaše ní kena yaw amáa-na,

I was killed today she said (someone killed me today)

ba tág-áana ba tág-áan ba tág-áan ba tág-áan ba tág-áan (265) band kwán, she went on speaking and speaking and speaking like this

šikena ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋg máy wán ład'd'-i (17.33) that's it, it's over; this is not long

- M γər-á tuuγw wá tá-a γaya The head of a sheep is what was talking
- H m Yes
- M yo tsa-kəmda-tsəg n-uud xiinán ám γər-á tuuγw So, we were killed today, a sheep's head says
- H aaná, má-γa naa-gáan €n tá-ká-rá pál l'aßa Yes, if you like I will tell you one more
- M tag-wá-ra-tág l'aß
 Tell me one more then

H argwandz argwandz amáa-na, Folktale foktale she said

suut amáa-na, m⊕ wá lərn k€duγwa, 'bring it' she said, there is another girl

baabá-r duγw-íin amúudá, a mother and the daughter as it is said

band tá-a **momi** ard **doota** amuud ndakwánən **kena** like it is said 'mother and daughter' now

M mm

H ár ba ndzə-gan ár ba ndzə-gana, (17.54) They stayed and stayed

m⊕ wá łərn k-uusa, ts-á γər n-íiná, there was another woman; she plaited hair

káa 'ám, **mómíi**-na, then her mother said,

€n dá tsa-yər ama taaa kə **dawtə**-n, I am going to plait my hair she said to her daughter [mixed up actors]

dəg čiya, ná k€ner kul bu dəg dá tsə-gáan ama, so go, take twenty naira, go and plait it she said

vəl-á k€martala, dágál dá tsə-gáan n€duγwə-na, she gave her 20 naira, and the daughter went to plait her hair

kaa ám n-uusi-na, má-γa xay-gant-xayga, (273) then the woman said, if you agree

ba-n tsə-ká k€palla bá-γá dágál dá ługu-wá, I will weave one, you should go push

káar manjəl ki-yuw-á kaará-r-na, the fire under my hot water

bə-n tsə-ka k€palla bá-γá dágál dá ług-wá-łəg káar amáa, (18.19) 'I will plait you one, you should go and push the fire', she said

mbats ndakwa maandala šak wáa fəg-€ níin tə-káar lamb-á kəla tár bu,

not knowing that she put a big pot on a fire, number 12 {pot} [number 12, number 1 is smallest; 12 is biggest]

dig-á ÿíŋg maa dəg dá l'ə-gáan ama tá-a k€duγwə-n, in the end {weaving hair}, go and push it [firewood], she said to the girl

łə-g-árs kə duγwə-n dá má yuw-á kaarə-n taa-k€, zə-gáan, she pushed the girl into the hot water, cooked her and ate her

kaa sago, k€dawtáa-na, dawtə-n tag-áv-na, then her daughter came, the daughter as it is said [= amúudá] [roles have been switched around again]

m€ŋ xa **momiyá**-r vaakwána, (278) is my mother here?

aa méy momiya-γ, á s€g dá z-á kafa, no, your mother isn't around; you come and eat food

aa €n naabiya tał-yaan á s€g amáa-n, no, I don't want thank; please you come she said

ár ba zə-gáana, ba n-dig-í jiy-á **momiyá**-ri xa wán amáa-na, they kept eating, 'isn't this is like my mother's eye?' she said

€n dá zə-g xər k€jiya **momiya**-γ amáa-n, (18.47) 'when should I eat your mother's eye?' she said

ba n-dig-í xətəráa-n-i xa wán amáa-n €n dá zə-g xər amáa-n, 'isn't this like her nose?' she said; when should I eat it?' she said

bad'd'€m dig-í tə-vəγ-á duγwə-n ba tág-áan ba tág-áan, everything about the body of the girl she kept on talking and talking about [switches around roles again]

kaa 'ám, n**€dawtə**-na, bello d'aagáa-na, bello bello, then, the daughter said, her name was Bello, Bello, Bello

k€γ də-vja-γ amáa-n tsa, sai dáalá çiyám, 'you with your house', she said, until the day of rapture

s€v-səg amáa-na, ba tág-áana ba tág-áan, 'it comes', she said, they talked and talked

á tag dən xaws níin k€nsáa-n-íiná (19.08)

she said it in Hausa, her song

M á β€ga-β€ga Can you sing it

H ee yes

M ßəlg čiya Then sing

H kaa amáa-n k-uudə-n tu-wacaγ tsa Then she said to this person at the gate

Sung

káy bello, káy bello, ní dá gidan-ka sei rana-r tašin kiyoma, yaayi k-usa you Bello, you Bello, I with your house until the day of rapture, it is near

ba tág-áan, ba tág-áan ŋan, kaa (288) ám γ walvə-na, they talked and talked, then the boy said

fá-fəg k-irvəd' má xud' talyaana, be patient please

aa zə-g€ ba n-uusi-n ám, 'it is the woman who has eaten her', he said

ba γwáďéď ba γweďeď ám n-uusə-n vəree-g tsa, Gwa, a nauseaous feeling overcame the woman and she vomited

sə-t n€duγwə-n má xud'áa-n, n-ál-nəg ba marawa, (19.34) the daughter came out of her stomach; and she became well

č€ďáŋə-n n€duγwə-na, aa **dawta momiyá**-rii-n xa wana, the daughter was white, isn't this my mother [daughter] [unclear as to who was the one eaten]

íin biya, **momiyá**-ri-n xa wana, iín biya, sei amáa-n tsa she is not; isn't thi my mother? She isn't; then she said

Sung

iyaa kadam, iyaa kadam iyaa kadam ka ğaa mini momina, mother?, mother, mother, pull my mother for me

iyaa kadam ka ğaa mini dawtáa-ná (292) káy bello,

mother, pull my daughter, you Bello

káy bello, káy bello, nida gidan-ka say rana-r tšin kiyoma yaayi k-usa you Bello, you Bello, with your house, until the day of rapture is near

ár ba tág-áan ŋ-ána, ár sagalaa-tər dəŋ, they kept on talking like this; they came out

d-uusə-na, fac ár sáláa-tər ár dágálaa-tər (20.06) with the woman [mother], they came out and went away

M ubən n-árgwandz End of the story

H m M

M aa k€γ ndakwi áγá duγw,Now you also you are girl

xkərd' aa Bəlga-ŋə-n tsa, you have narrated three

akwa maa ndza m⊕j wá łərna má-γa gat-wá-ráa-na, (296) if there is another, you should have found it for me

amáa **ko** máy ndakwi βá-γá-βág k€duγwə-rə-ŋ yaan but if there isn't, you have done girlhood proud

- H mm yáa €n β€l-ká-raa-β€lg **kena** Should I tell you again?
- M ba ndzə-ganáa-na Do {any} remain
- H ba ndzə-gáan palla One is left
- M β€l'a-r-aa-β€lg čiya Just tell it
- H argwandz argwandz amáa-n, suut amáa-na, 'Folktale folktale', she said, 'bring it', she said

m⊕ŋ n⊕ŋ, uŋwasa-xíin ár xəkərd' əvjaa-tər, there were women, they are three in their house m⊕ waxa, xadiiz d'aagáa-na, there was that one, her name was Xadiza

m€ŋ waxa fad'i d'aag-á duγw-íiná, (300) kaa mtsa bab-á palla, there was that one, Fad'i was the name of the girl; then the mother of one died

t€n-á ár buwa, kaa ám bab-á xadiiz-ənaa, (20.41) two remained, them the mother of Xadiza said

dágál dá k€-á dakara t-á kafa, she went to look for firewood to cook food (break firewood)

γw-á kúus má šəg-á, mts-án, then a nail pierced her leg and she died

təma xadiiz-na, Xadiza remained

ko kwár k€xəŋga, every day

má ßag-aa-ßág mangaríib dá z-á kaf n-uud-na lagw-árs n-uusaadáa-n də-mdərga, when the evening prayer came, when people eat food, her co-wife pursued her running

má lagw-áan n-uusaadáa-n də-mdərga ár zə-t kafa, while the co-wife was pursuing her running, they ate up the food

aa mər kafá-r ÿiŋ-aa-ÿiŋg, baz dá g-á yuw amáa k€áa xəŋg, so where is my food? It's finished, and with fetching water every day

ay ám n€duγwə-na, (305) maal'ey dágál-iya, then the girl said, I will not go again (will no longer go)

kúu kwár k€γəŋg tsəm, bá-γá zə-t k€kaf tsəm, (21.07) every day, you eat up the food

bá-γá zə-t kaf tsəm, you just eat up the food

káa ám n€duγwə-na, then the girl said

bá-m zə-t kaf kəla xəng tsəm €n máy η-áy dágál-i, you ate up the food every day; I will not go

a'a aγ kafa-γíin f-aŋ-ka-fəg ba ndakwán, no, your food, I saved it for you now

a máy dágál amáa-n-i taliyaan amáa-n, 'I won't go', she said; 'please', she said

€n máy dágál amáa-n, 'I won't go', she said

lagw-árs də-mdərg, d-ál n€dəγwə-n, she chased after her and the girl went

sə-dá ki-yu, kaa ßága l'aß k€mangaríib, (21.28) and brought water, then the time of evening prayers came

€n máy dágál **ko** áγá βág ndandar amáa-n (310) áγá dágál ba **dole dole** amáa-n, 'I won't go, whatever you do', she said; 'you must go', she said

dágál n€duγwə-n , lagw-árs ba də-mdərga, the girl went and she chased her running

m⊕j wá lərn k€gəlax =úuda-x ba kwa ndza wurwura, there were other tombs of people of forme times

dá-γá dá m-vakáy n€dəγwə-na, aa awa dzəgaar ám-it€ taal-íiná the girl entered it, 'no, no, what has happened?' they said they begged her

M ám li má gəla-x
Those in the tomb said it

H ee Yes

M usaadá-r tsəm, My co-wife

n-ax-kwa-y ba d'ikid'ikiya dəg dá gá yu amáa-n taa kəskay tsəm ba zə-t kaf tsəm iin wá-na luwa, doesn't like me at all; 'go to fetch water', she tells me, and then they eat up the food; that is why I refuse

(314) ŋ-áy dágál-na, to go

amáa-n biya, she said also nğa-kwa n-ándəl xuβ-áv vaakwar yuw amáa-n ám n€duγwə-na, (21.55) 'I am thirsty; where can water be drunk? She said, the girl said

aa aγ ki-yu vaakwáx tsəm, there is water there

xə bi ki-yuwə-n tsəd'aŋə-n tsəm, 'don't drink the clear water

xußə-g kwa jaŋwə-n amáa-n, drink the dirty (black) one', she said

iya, ám n€dəγwə-n xəβ-úu kwá jaŋwə-n, 'so' said the girl, she drank the dirty one

tsəkáa dá sáa dá **keena** dá x€ñaxa, Ts she went home slowly

di bi daa dá xiñex-i tsəm k€n fə-ka-fəg n-əmd k€vəja-γ ba vaakwán ba marawáa-n amáa-n, 'don't go home; we will build you your house just here, a nice one', she said

ár sə-dá dá [maja/] jəmal, (323) they brought her out

ár f-á k€vjáa-n ba maraw, they made her a beautiful house

máy digit máy m-vakáy, there is nothing missing from it

bad'd'€m n€digit kál-aa-kál, (22.20) all the different things

dig-á zaman€n m€n m-vakáy, contemporary good were inside

kaa, sago n-uusə-n dá γugw-áan də-xiila, then, the woman [co-wife] came to split her with an axe

ŋ€-t idváa-na her hand locked up [as she was about to hit her]

??

γal-áv n€duγw-na n máy **yaf-**gáan amáa-n-i,

the girl was begged; 'I will not forgive', she said [before the elbow would get unlocked, the girl had to forgive her co-wife]

γal-áv n€dəγw-na, €n máy **yaf**-gáan amáa-n γal-áv n€dəγwə-na, the girl was begged; 'I won't forgive', she said, the girl was begged,

€n máy yaf-gáan amáa-n-i, 'I won't forgive', she said

dá cár dá cár yafə-v-γ-án, hardly had she forgiven them

kaa lagw-árs baz-íin k€dəγwáa-n, then she chased her girl again

fad'i, má lagw-ars-lágw maa, (22.38) Fad'i, once she chased her away

dágál baz dəywə-n dá má, afka gəla-xə-n the girl again went to the bottom of the tombs

aa awa dzə-gaara, ám li má gəł, ,so, what has happened', those in the tomb said

baabá-r tsəm nax-k-wá bi ba d'içiid'iç yáa, my mother doesn't like me at all

má kwár kə mangaríib tsəm dəg daa, whenever at the evening prayer, go

gə-g-wá yuw amáa táa kəs-káy tsəm, and fetch water for me she says to me

ba zə-t k€kaf tə-k-áy tsəm, €n máy ŋ-áy dágál xiinán-ya, she eats up the food for me; I will not go out today'

ám n€dəγwə-n, tał yaan diga, the girl said; ,please, go'

amáa-n tsa, ám n€ŋ núudá-x má gələ-n tsa, she said, the people in the tombs said

€n máy dágál amáa-n-i, taliyaan diga, 'I won't go', she said; 'please go'

€n máy dágál amáa-n-i, (326) dəg daasa-y či,

'I won't go', she said; 'just go on your way

aa ng̃ə-kwa n-ándəl aa xuß-an-ú-xußəg ki-yu **lakuti** €n daas amáa-n taa k-íitər, 'No, I feel thirsty; let me drink water before I go away', she said to them

xəßə-g či amuud, xəß bi kwa tsəd'aŋə-n tsəm, 'so just drink', she said, don't drink the clear one

xußə-g kwa jaŋwa, amuud tsa, 'drink the dirty one', she said

xuß-ú kwa tsəd'aa-η n€dəγwə-na, the girl drank the clear one

€n naa-y kwa janw amáa-n, to á səg ğ-ii daas, "I don't want the dirty one', she said; 'come, let's go away'

puγw-ak-puγwəg núudá, bad'd'€m digit maro biya, (23.34) a person will see you off; all of her things were bad

az ayáa γuďa, guva-xa, kuriya baďď€m, (331) like diarrhea, shit, urine

kwačé kwačé baďď€m, refuse all of them

dzax-va-r-ánt m-ábuxw dəg daas či amuud, it was gathered in a sack for her; 'go away then', they said

saasa kaa xwad'ag babáa-n, she came and her mother was happy

wá wá duγwá-r as-dá digit ğ-uu-gəg k€digá xadize awaramáa-n, 'here is my daughter; she has brought something, that is better than Xadiza's things', she said

ba xwad'aga ba xwad'ag dá číβ-gáan tsa, she kept on rejoicing, when she broke {the sack} open

čar ám ya xuď má xuď má xuď-á xiñex, (23.44) čar went the diarrhea in the middle of the house

kaa túuga túugaa duw-árs k€xiñexíin məl-á dágál-áan, then she {mother} cried and cried; leave the house and began going

kaa dágál-áan baz fad'i, ubən n-árgwandz and so Fad'i went away; end of the story M aa áγá duγwa, βá-γá-βág kwakari You are a girl; you've tried