

IM101Fa1

Fa Fadhume, F Fatuma Musa, I = me

Fadhume's experience as a youngster herding and trading buttermilk, butter and ghee.

<S I> gareeti fi sangá

'Did you study in a Koranic school?'

<S Fa> ana ma gareet, aa ma baaruf baktuba, (4:40)

'I didn't study; I don't know how to write.'

<S I> axayaanki fi košeri

'Are your siblings in Kosheri?'

<S Fa> košerí, aa gaadiin, axaayaaní amaamí cat fi, aha, aha bazuurhum, mhu, aa bamši, kan simiit maəm nəşaa bemši, kaṃ ṃarattum wildat bemši, ke bemši, fi s sana ya tineen ya ṭalaata kula bemši, aha, (5:19)

'Kosheri, yes, they are. My siblings, uncles and aunts are all there. I visit them, I go if I hear they aren't healthy I go, if one of their wives gives birth, I do. In a year two or three times I go.'

<S I> haratti

'Did you farm?'

<S Fa> ma harát, waladí hárat amma, waladí hárat qaadi, aha,

'I didn't farm. My son did, however. My son cultivated there, aha.'

<S I> našaqtí

'Did you herd nomadically?'

<S Fa> awaan ana saqayre našáq maa kaakaytí, ana saqaiyre dige , našaq ma kaakaytí, (5:37) 'When I was small I herded with my grandmother. I was very young, however. I herded with my grandmother.'

<S F> hu da bikaan fassara gede da madiri minna

,Concerning this, why he's asking you I don't know'

<S Fa> aa ana waşfa ma baarfa ana saqayre, ana saqayre dige bilheen (5:52), maa baarif wasfa da, aa kaakaytí haw bígat mafi kula ana saqayre gede ma baʔarifa, našaqaana amma awaan kuure ana saqayre da, nasiir haw nenzil, haw aloom kan nazalo hineen ambaakir bifartulu, ambaakir binšu ke da da catta aarfé, amma waşfa gade da ma baʔarfa, (6:15)

'I describe it? I don't know (it) I was young, I was very young. I don't know its description. My grandmother, and she passed away when I was young, so I don't

know anything about it any more. We herded, but that time I was young. We'd travel and make camp, and if we made camp one day here, the next day we'd break camp and go on; that's what I know. But a description, I can't give one.'

<S I> sará l bagar

'Did you day pasture?'

<S Fa> aa ma saráh, ma sará be l bágar, axaayaaní fi, axaayaaní fi, hi kula šába hiil fi dugo axayaaní fi, bisarho,¹ ana ma sará, (6:34)

'I didn't day pasture. I didn't pasture the cattle. My siblings are there, they're there and so like my siblings, they pasture cattle but not me.'

<S I> keef as sarha

'How is pasturing cattle?'

<S Fa> as sarha di ya,² min šaba min aššaba biniššu al bagar haw sáro, haw kan al xariif ka ađ ɗaha bugulbuuhin³ bijiibuuin, gadé kula kan gayyalan fi l beet⁴ ad ɗúhur, binšan, lubb al leel bíjan, kan šába da ke kan dada minəšaɓa kan, naššaayin⁵ mášan dada al muqurub biján, ke sei (6:58)

'Pasturing. In the morning, in the morning, they drive out the cattle and pasture, and if it's the rainy season, around 10 AM they round them up and bring them. Then they spend the day in the house and in the early afternoon they go out and come back in the middle of the night. And so on in the early morning. They drive them out and in the late afternoon (around 6 PM) they come back. That's how it is.'

<S I> lubb al leel

'The middle of the night?'

adugó bíju, ha dada min aššabá fájir bihelbu, gidé kula biniššan, bimšan kan al gayle ađ ɗúhur kan al gayle ke da bíjan burugdan bigaylan fi l beet, haw ađ ɗúhur kan, halabo kan, bəxarman gadé kula, lubb al leel bíjan (7:22)

'In the middle of the night, ya it's difficult. People come in the middle of the night, flashing flashlights in the middle of the night. Then they come. And early in the morning they milk (them). Then they drive them out again, they go and then in the daytime they come and sleep and spend the day in the house. Then in the afternoon

¹ Note retention of final -h, < *sarah, made clear by the regular shift of stress on the penultimate -árh.

² *di ya, ya* = yes-no Q marker, *wa*, often *ya* after a front vowel or -y.

³ *galab* in this case makes clear that they have to turn the cattle in the other direction, to go back home.

⁴ As clear from other texts, the cattle spend the hottest part of the day inside the same house that the herders occupy.

⁵ < naššaa-hin, with the common h > y in the context of a high or mid front vowel.

they are milked and they go out (after 1PM) and come back again in the middle of the night.’

<S F> kan fi l xariif da bihalbuuhin ala tineen⁶ ya⁷

‘In the rainy season they milk them twice?’

<S Fa> aha, tineen bas

‘Ya, twice.’

<S F> dugud šaba fi d daar kula tineen bas wa⁸ bihalbuuhin

‘Like now in the countryside twice they just milk them?’

<S Fa> aha tineen bas, tineen bas, min aššabá bihalbuuhin, gede kula fi l leel bihalbuuhin

‘Ya, twice, two. In the morning, and again in the night they milk them.’

<S F> dugud kan min aššaba, dašaran jin da, bihelbuuin dada gide kula

‘Now in the morning, if they go out to pasture and come back, they milk them again.’

<S Fa> gide kula fi l leel bihalbuuin (7:42)

‘Again in the night they milk them.’

<S F> kan fi leel halaboohin xaraman da dada gide xalaas,

‘If they milk them in the night, they milk them and they leave outside again, then it’s (milking) over?’

<S Fa> bilhalbuuhin,

‘They milk them.’⁹

<S I> d’awwalti fi birni

‘Did you stay long in the city?’

<S Fa> aa šaalooni saqayre jaabooni gide ma xarám, aa yarwa bas al hiluwe, (8:17) al birni bas hílu, barra tabaddil, támiš le l xád’ab, tawrud le ?alme, támiš jaay, ha dagut gayid ille kan šud’, illa kan al injin rikata buutu sei, (8:21)

‘They took me when I was young and brought me and I never left again. Maiduguri is nice, the city is nice. In the countryside (i.e. Kosheri) you sell whey and sour milk, you go for firewood, you fetch water, you go and come back. But now I’m just around and only cook, except I go the engine mill; its simple.’

⁶ *ala tineen* = *yaa tineen* ‘twice’. In frequentives by far the more common expression is with *yaa*. However, *ala* is always an alternative, *j-o lee-na ala ašara, miya* etc. ‘The came to us ten times, one hundred times ...’;

⁷ Variant of more frequent yes-no marker *wa*. Perhaps *ya* is favoured by the front vowel of *tineen*.

⁸ Note non-final position of yes-no marker. See comment to this point in translation of GR167, n. 12. However, in this case *wa* follows *bas*, which it otherwise often collocates with, *bas wa* ‘That’s it?’.

⁹ I.e. Fa1 contradicts the assumption of F’s question. They do milk them when they come back.

<S I> baddalti

‘You traded milk products?’

<S Fa> baddál, min qaadi našiil aṛ ɾaaba fook ɾaasna náji hineen bas nabaddil, aa ma bahálib , ma bahálib, axayaaní biaawnu aḅuyi bíhalib, aaha,¹⁰ (8:37)

‘I did. From there [village] we’d take the whey on our head and come here and just trade. I didn’t milk myself, I didn’t milk. My siblings help my father and milk, aha.’

<S I> dugo biyaad’uuki

‘Then they give you (the buttermilk)’

<S Fa> aṛ ɾaaba dada al lében, kaakaytí ka tadugg¹¹ al busxa, tasill az zibde, haw dají tagallimha ke ke ke, ha dada našiilha náji le yarwa sile sile sile néji nebiya, kan be qalla kan be kofo kan, (9:00)

‘Sour milk then milk. My grandmother would churn the gourd. She’d take out the butter and then would sprinkle it out in pieces like this like this. Then we’d take it and come to Maiduguri, one schilling, a schilling a schilling we’d come and sell it, for grain or for money.’

<S I> be rijil

‘On foot?’

<S Fa> be r rijil da bas, naseyi leena wugá naxud’d’aha fook ɾaasna, ha našiil ad dimbá naxud’d’aha haw náji, aha, haw náji nabaddil , na?iid’ kokiyaam,¹² nakud, nakud, lei lei¹³ nakud, yam naxalas kan narawwe le l beet, aha, (9:20)

‘Just on foot. We’d make ourselves a head pad and put it on our heads and carry the gourd and put it and then come, come and sell. We’d cry out “kokiyaam”, we’d wander about, street by street we’d wander and when it we finished we’d go back home. Aha.’

<S I> inti foog darb maiduguri

‘You’re on the road to Maiduguri?’

¹⁰ The production sequence of milk products is as follows. *Laban* is the raw milk. If left for some days, as it often is in a gourd, it becomes *raayib*, ‘sour milk, buttermilk’. This is churned into *raaba* which falls into two parts. From the surface of butterfat droplets are skimmed off to make *zibde* ‘butter’, which can be heated into ghee (*zibde* or *dihine*). The liquid from which fat has been extracted is *raaba* (whey?). *Raaba* appears to be a term which can refer either to the mixture which is separated into butter and whey, or to the whey itself.

¹¹ Lit. ‘beat, hit at’; in the current context translated as ‘churn’. The milk is beaten against the inner sides of the gourd, in a process akin to churning.

¹² Traditional call of buttermilk sellers.

¹³ Distributive use of noun repetition. Lit. ‘street street we wandered’

<S Fa> maiduguri, aha fi darb maiduguri, fi maiduguri wai, haw lubb al hille awaan da gwoonge di maafi, aa mi ambuud'a, ajjeeré, hille hiil ajjeeré di maak aarifha, aaha, aa qalla ye nebaddil, kofo ye nebaddil, ar raaba, bijiibu ?ala ke, xalaaş naşub leam raaba ke, kan jaabo kunguna kula kan naşub lehum, ha dadda bişiiilu binşu, wai, (9:58)
 'Yes, the Maiduguri road, in Maiduguri yes. And the middle of the city, at that time there was no Gwange. Amudha, no not Ambudha, Ajjeejré, the village of Ajjeeré, You don't know it? Aha. We'd trade for grain, for money . Whey for what they bring, then we pour them out the whey, If they brought cowries we pour it out for them then they carry it and go away, ya.'

<S I> kunni yoom

'Every day.'

<S Fa> aa ar raaba, kan raaba kooma, bibaddilu kunni yoom, kan laban şiya, bugoodu yoom, biju yoom, bugoodu yoomeen, biju yoom, bugoodu ʔalaata yoom kan şiya bugoodu doora, ke dugó bubaddilu, kan bağar kooma laban
 ,The whey; if there is a lot, they trade it every day; if there is little milk, they stay a day, then come, they might stay two days then come, three days, if there is little they might stay a whole week, then sell it. If there are a lot of cows, the milk (is much).'

<S F> hu da bulummu ween, tallaja kula maafi haw

'Where do they store it X ; there's no refrigerator.'

<S Fa> bilummu¹⁴ fi l busxa bas, fi buşxa bas busxa fi, buşuḅḅú fiya, baxxaaş ke ke, al labán (10:28)

'They just put it in the gourd. Just in a gourd.¹⁵ They pour it in it, gourds, the milk.'

<S F> ha ma bisey şai ma bixamar

'And it doesn't do anything, doesn't it go putrid?'

<S Fa> ma bixamar wa gal bitalaf, ma bitalaf (10:37)

'It doesn't go sour and he said it goes bad, it doesn't.'

<S Fa> ma bitálaf, ma bittállaf, ma bittallaf, bibga qaliid dúbuk ke bas, ma bitalaf, bəbga haamiḁ baş, haamiḁ ɗa haaməḁ, amma ma bittallaf, bibga qaliid dúbuk ke mmm, ma bitalaf¹⁶ şai kula, mmm, buduggú buduggú buduggú bidiirú la fi busxa hu şiya ke şiya şiya şiya da, dada biduggu buduggu bidiirú la fi busxa kabiire, d'aaka kula

¹⁴ *Lamma* is a much used verb (see Owens 2015 on its idiomatic profile). The sense of 'store' is differentiated for the substance that is stored. For dry substances like grain one can use *xazan*, which is not used for liquids.

¹⁵ It might go sour, but the milk keeps.

bidiirú cat bixalld'ú, ha bidiiru fooga alme haw dada biduggú buduggú, buduggú, da dada, az zibde taxarim túkur túkur dedda bilimuuha bilimuuha, ha dadda buuq bidiiruuha fi dumbá ha buga!lummuua, wəi aha, (11:10)

‘It doesn’t spoil, it doesn’t spoil, it doesn’t. It just gets thick and lumpy but doesn’t spoil. It becomes sour, sour, sour, but it doesn’t spoil, It gets thick and lumpy.

Nothing spoils. They churn it and churn it and churn it and pour it into a gourd little by little by little, then they churn it and churn it and pour it into a big gourd. That one as well they pour it and mix it up and pour water on it and they churn it and churn it and churn it.¹⁷ Then the butter comes out in droplets and they gather it up and gather it up, then whoosh they pour it in a large gourd and cut it up. Ya.’

<S F> lában raayib

,Sour milk.’

<S Fa> wai raayib, aa ma n nabiiya raayib,¹⁸ nadugga raaba, buduggú fi l busxa ke ke ke dada bubga raaba, zibdata taxaram, dihine, dugo nabii?a, aaha (11:30)

,Yes, sour milk. We don’t sell the sour milk. We churn it into whey, they churn it in the gourd until it becomes whey and its butter exudes out. Oil, then we sell it. Aha.’

<S F> aa taxallu le talmasso baha¹⁹

‘And you smear your (hair) with it.’

<S Fa> nuxalli namsa raasna, haw nasub fook eešna, naakul wai,²⁰ az zibde, aha, ha waahid nabiiha, catt, wai al eeš sei, dadda

‘We smear our heads and pour it on our meal and eat it, ya. The butter, some we sell and some we put on meal.’

<S F> at tibiddil (11:52)

‘The milk trading

<S Fa> at tibiddil a, mi hílu, daači, našiil fook raasna haw náji da, maalá wa!laahi aadum²¹ kula, la la,

¹⁶ In this sequence, the basic form I intransitive *bi-talaf* alternates with the derived form V intransitive *bi-ttallaf*.

¹⁷ Here she describes that the process of pouring in the sour milk and churning it may last for a few days, since it may take time to acquire enough milk.

¹⁸ The buttermilk is not sold, presumably because the biggest profit comes from butter *zibde*, which is produced from the buttermilk. As of October 2019 in Maiduguri, a measure (e.g. a small *roobá*) of *raayib*, buttermilk costs about seven time more than a measure of *raaba*. A very small portion of butter, no more than three tablespoons, at N200 (€50) costs 25% more than a measure of *raayib*.

¹⁹ Here, the butter, *zibde*.

²⁰ *Zibde* is not a staple part of the diet in the way *raaba* is. *Zibde* is given to children, and is used as a hair and skin cream.

‘Trading milk products? It’s not nice. Then we carry it on our heads and come.

What’s it worth it?

<S F> taʔab

‘Tiring’

<S Fa> táʔab mmm, (12:10)

‘A bother, mhm.’