

TV45Magonari-bulama-final<sup>1</sup>

S = Sayyid ḍraba (M), H = Jidda Hassan, J = Bulama Jidda, A = Adam, V = voice

<J> aʔa da mi kweyis, aʔa da mi kweyis,  
„no, that’s not good“

<H> aniina širibna digee catta riwiina,  
„We’ve drunk [water] already and aren’t thirsty”

<J> cat kula naadiim wahid bigdar bišarba, aniina dugut magadna da, ke nadim waahid  
ma bišarba a, da ma sahi  
„Everyone can drink. We in our place, if a person doesn’t drink its not right.”

<H> širibna xalaas (0:25)  
„We’ve already drunk.”

<V> kai da mi zeen,  
„Really that’s not good.”

<J> allah lammaana sei,  
“Hasn’t God brought us together?”

<H> aa širibna wallahi,  
“Really we’ve drunk already.”

<H> mine kulla baḍuna ammálat wallahi,  
“Each person’s stomach is filled up”

<H> inta uşəmak šunu  
“What’s your name?”

<J> isəmí bulama jidda  
“My name’s Bulama Jidda.”

<H> bulaama jidda, qašim beetku šunu  
“Bulama Jidda, what’s your clan?”

<J>aniina himeedi  
“We are Himedi.”

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<sup>1</sup> The audio in this file ends on p. 14, after about 14 minutes. The translation stops at this point.

<H> ammak haw abuuk cattum himediyiin  
 “Your mother and father are both Himedi?”

<J> cat himediyiin, ammi abuyii, cat himeediyiin, hau dugud kula majudiin, cat gaadiin  
 “Both are Himedi and they’re both around.”

<H> inta mauluud fi l hille di bas sai  
 “Were you just born in this village?”

<J> maluud kulla hineen bas, fi l hille di bas,  
 “I was born in this village here, in this village.”

<H> miyaaxid ala maak maaxid (0:57)  
 “Are you married or not?”

<J> be marti  
 “I have my wife.”

<I> hi kula arabiye  
 “Is she also Arab?”

<J> hi kula arabiye, hi kula axti bas dugo lammoona  
 “She’s also Arab. She’s my sister and we got married.”

<H> yo inzeen, be iyaalku sei  
 “Okay, good; do you have children?”

<J> be iyaalna laagi, laagi banaat tineen, hau sami abuyi dugo hau sami abuyi kan rab al  
 alamiin dawwara  
 “We have children, two daughters and one named after my father but God took him.”

<H> dugud saiinna di iyaalak cattum bilkallamo be kalaam al arabi walla bala kalaam al  
 arab kulla bilkallamo  
 “Now, your children, they all speak Arabic or do they speak other languages?”

<J> a?a kalaam al arab bas (1:20)  
 “No, just Arabic.”

<H> ille kan kuburo maso muba dugo  
 “Except until they’ve grown up and go to Mafa.”

<J> kan masan mubaa, irfanna zeen be l fasil bisawwigan, hau bomsan le s sawaga,  
 binsan le l magiil, lee l injin, ha daa kan dadda bilkallaman kalaam barno, amma aloom  
 yoom ma hineen al yoom ma bimsan een kulla ille kan masan le jaaban alme bas da, catt  
 arab bas, catt arab bas,

“If they.F go to Mafa they are grown up<sup>2</sup> and trade so they go to the market, they go in the daytime, to the grinding machine, and so they speak Kanuri. But today they aren’t here. They don’t go anywhere except to bring water. They just speak Arabic.”

<I> hinna kubaar  
“Are they big?”

<J> waade, samiy ammi kweese ke, ha waade kua tariiditha hi kuwa samiyiin nasiibtí  
“One, named after my mother Kweese, and her younger sister she’s also named after my mother-in-law.”

<H> ha inta bas bilaama al hille da,  
“And you’re the village Bulama.”

<J> aha  
“yes.”

<H> keef keef dugó ad’ook al bilaamayye di, ad’ook leeha (1:55)  
“How then did they give you the Bulamaship? They gave it to you?”

<J> aɓuyí kuwa dugut kulla gaaʔid, hu, kan jaa hana malám, ma bigdar bəmši, dahadda gaddamni ana, da kula axuyi bas, amma waade abuuna waaid, amma ana bas al kabiir, yauwa kan hana malamm hana lawaan ke bidawwurna ye nemši, kan ajaa ke bidawwurna ye nemši, kan šariye ke bidawwurna ye nemši, dada gum agoot hu kabiir ma yigdára, ha ana as saqayyir kan banši, ašaan da bas gaddamni ana (2:22)  
“My father is still alive, but when there’s a meeting he can’t go, so he nominated me. There’s also my brother, one father and mother, but I’m the elder. So when there’s a meeting and the Lawan wants us we go, when the Aja wants us we go, when the courts want us we go. But he [father] to get up and go he can’t do it, but I’m younger and can so he nominated me.”

<H> hu bas gaddamak mi an naas haadi lammo gaddamook sei  
„Did he just nominate you or did the [village] people do it?“

<J> mi n naas, hu bas,  
„Not the people, just him.”

<I> xidimit al bulaama šunu  
“What’s the work of a bulama?”

<J> xidímit al bulaamá di , al bulaamá di, goolin<sup>3</sup> naadum kulla gaid fi angubaara, kan abuuk haadi mafi kulla tugoot fi angubaarak bas, al ašara kan šaalook, bugoodu, maak,

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<sup>2</sup> *irfanna zeen be l fasil*, lit. “they know good from bad”, meaning they are old enough to distinguish right from wrong.

biju ihertu, kan alla ad'd'aam inta kula yaad'uuk leek šúqul šiya šiya, kan allah ma ad'aam, ha da kan inta kula maa talga (2:52)

“The work of the bulamaship, every person if he stays in his land, if your father is not there, you just stay on your land. If the community chooses (carries) you and they stay with you. They come and farm. If God gives them, you as well they give you a little [grain]; if God doesn't give them, you don't get anything either.”

<H> balaaha da gade ke ma induku xidime  
„Besides this you don't have any other work?“

<J> ma leena xidime  
„We don't have other work.”

<H> bala da ke ma leku xadime bala hi di a  
„You don't have any work other than this?“

<J> balaaha hi di ma leena aniina da, ille xariif, naharit, šeef, dada al bisəra be qanamaata ye fi, al bisəra be bagarta ye fi, al buşub̄b̄ hood̄, le t tamat, le al bagar ye fi?, yo šeef da, kan xariif jaa, kan gade kulla catt nallamma kan naharit, (3:13)

„Besides this we don't have any, except in the rainy season, we farm. In the hot season, then someone pastures the sheep, and pastures his cattle. Someone pours [water] in the basin, in the pond, for the cattle, in the hot season. Then when the rainy season comes, we again get together and farm.”

<H> ha kan ma leeku xidime ke dugo al hakuuma tidoowura minuku wa intu al bulaamayiin da  
„And if you don't have any work, then what does the government want of you and the bulamas?“

<J> a?a da da mana, kan mi harajii, da nugd'a haraji, da dugud kula nakd'a, joo kataboona mášo kula, bágar, kula naseyyi, hakkoohin, táwar kula naséyyi hakkoohin, kaaja kula naseyyi hakkoohin, kan al hool ja da, da bas, hau al kuuzi, kula nagd'á naira ašara xamsa ašara xamsa, da bas

“No, except for the tax, we collect (cut) the tax, we've just gotten it, they came and recorded us and went again; we do the cattle. They ?? them; the bulls we ??, goats as well we ?? When a year passes, that's it. And the house tax on each fifteen naira. That's all.”

<V> ha kan joo le iyaal magaranta  
“And if they come for school children?“

<J> kula foog al bulaama, dadda walad wahid tineen kulla naad'iim,  
“Its all up to the bulama; he'll call one or two children.”

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<sup>3</sup> goolit n > goolin n... Inter-word assimilation.

<H> [X] kaatibiin fi giddaamak dugo intu bilaama al hille, a al hakuma aarfe be inta bas bilaama hana al hille da sai (3:59)

“Did they write that you’re the village bulama; the government knows you’re the bulama.”

<J> [X] a?a humma kan ja hana malam idawruuna aniina, amma fi l kadmada da abuuna bas, amma aniina ke da dug maktuubiin kula haraji da nasawwi, mm

“If there’s a meeting they want us, but as far as being recorded [officially] on paper its our father. But we’re recorded as well and we also collect taxes.”

<H> ha dugud al iyaal al gultu al gumnati bikaan waahid tarsal tidoor minnak iyaal da, inta sa?inna assa di as sana ke da rassalo leek walla ma rassalo, (4:21)

“And those school children you said the government wants from you, did they send them or not?”

<J> as sana da ma rassalo lei le magaranta ke da ma gaalo, ille jaak gariib da al lawaan ja katabna, katab al qanam katab al bagar, katab an naas ke, haw masa? amma ma ad’o leiya kan ad’o al baab<sup>4</sup> da buguul taalo ag’o, dadda abu bagara xamsa fi, abu bagara asara fi, abu qanam talaata fi, abu asara fi, dadda bug’o, hana al kuuzi ka taa kula naira asara xamsa asara xamsa, al bagara neera tineen, al qanamá neera, da bas, da ka goolis<sup>5</sup> sana al hool kan liig da nisawwi, (4.54)

“This year they didn’t ask me about the school, they didn’t say anything. The sub-chief just came to you recently and we wrote things down, he recorded the sheep and the cattle, the people then he went. But he didn’t give the green light to say come and collect it. So one person has five head of cattle, another ten, another three sheep, ten, so they pay it. For each house like before 15 naira per house, a cow two, a sheep one, that’s all. Each year when the year’s up we do it again.”

<H> intu al gomnati ke da, intu xudumitku al tad’uuhum loem al haraaji hau takaffo šunu da catta kaal mafi šuqul ke bijiibu leeku wa

“So you, the government, your work is to give them the tax and you pay it; do they bring you anything in return?”

<J> šuqul bijiibu leena da maa na?arfa, šuqul jaabo leena aniina ke da, waddoona beya da mana aarfinna

“I’m not aware of anything they bring us, something they brought us or gave us in return we’re not aware of it.”

<H> šuqul wud ke ma sawwo (5:09)

“They didn’t do a single thing in return?”

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<sup>4</sup> *ad’o al baab*, lit. “they gave the door = give the green light to do something”.

<sup>5</sup> Goolit s > goolis s... ,cf. n. 3 above.

<J> ma sawwo, ma jaabo leena famfam, nakató leena, ma jaabo leena tərōktor gaalo leena ahartu beya, intu al masaakiin, da ka ma jaabó, al miskin da mi buwaddu be da bas a, yowa, da ka ma jaabo, yó inta al miskiin ma tagdar tamiš taguul le aš şuld'aan, jiiib leiyi aš šúqul da, mat tagdar taguula, tawa ašaan hu iwuddak,<sup>6</sup> ijiiba leek, hu yam ma jaaba, kula aniina kuwa kan gaadiin, ninšad allah kan jaab leena alme kan naharit, da bas (5:37) “They didn’t. They didn’t bring us a pump or dig [a well], they didn’t bring us a tractor to farm with. You’re poor people, isn’t this what he gets in return, they didn’t bring it, can you a poor person go to the emir and and say ‘bring me such and such a thing’? You can’t say it. It would have been better for him to give you [something], to bring it. So when he doesn’t bring it, all we can do is sit and ask God to bring us rain so we can farm. That’s all.”

<H> šabá bagarku kila kan waqt al márađ ja da ma bijuubu leeku dawa a  
“Like if your cattle get ill, don’t they bring you medicine?”

<J> kan waqit al márat ja da , al hool ka liig da ad doktaai fi, biji dadda biduss le ibire kuruut,  
“If an epidemic comes, every year there’s a doctor who comes and vaccinates all of them (enters a needle).”

<H> kan dassa lee ibire kurut budoor minnuku maal a  
“And if he vaccinates them does he ask money from you?”

<J> a?a ma budawwur,  
“No ye doesn’t want it.”

<H> yowa (5:51)  
“So.”

<J> buduss sul ke bas,  
“He does it for free”

<H> foog haraji ku al kaffeetu  
“Its from the tax you’ve paid”

<J> da bas, šuqul ma hana gumnaati  
„That’s it, isn’t it from the government.”

<H> da kula mi wuudu  
„Isn’t that someting in return”

<J> wuud wallahi da da wuud wallahi dada

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<sup>6</sup> Tawwa ~ tawa ~ taa “formerly”. It is also, as here, a particle introducing a counterfactual clause, with a subjunctive verb. *Ašaan* is not obligatory in this clause.

„Something in return, in fact it is.”

<I> al arab fi l hille di kam (6:02)

“How many Arabs are there in your village?”

<J> fi hillinna di, aniina kurud arab, naadim min hajira ke, rad’d’aani naf̄erta wahatta da mafi,

“In this village, we’re all Arabs. A person from outside, a non-Arab speaker, there’s not one of them.”

<H> adadku kam (6:17)

“What is your number?”

<AD> busowwu kam

“How many do they make?”

<J> aniina fi l hille di ke da, ar rašadi da, ar rašadi walla kabiir saqair

“We in the village, the heads of household or both big and small individuals?”

<H> kabiir saqayyir

“Big and small.”

<J> dada aniina ke da, nəzerrib, nəzerrib (6:31)

“Then we are, we ??”

<V> xamsiin nadiim

“50 people”

<J> a?a man nagiif, gariib miya kuwa naseyyi, kan naadim ille rašadi ille bilbas xalaga da, be saqiira da naseyyi, mm (6:41)

“Just a second; we even make up to 100 if just the grown men who wears the garment, with his dependents.”

<H> hau cattuku ke da tisauwu kam, rijaal nuswaan

„And all of you how many do you make, men and women.”

<J> ke da miya kuwa nabugg, be yaalna da ke da nagiif a, al beet waid fiya naas sitte fi, naas taṃaane fi, naas taṃaata fi, ma kooma a, yoo šiif al hille di, kajiritha di sai šəftaha, ma kabiire, yauwa amma, burnaai fiina mafi, catt árab suurr, (7:04)

„We surpass (go out from) 100, with our children; One house has six people, eight, three. Isn’t that a lot. So look at this village, its boundaries if you saw it isn’t it big? But there aren’t any Kanuri, just pure Arabs.”

<I> wa min zamaan kula borno mafi

“And since a long time there have been no Kanuri?”

<J> min zamaan kula fil hille di birnaai ma gaʔád, catt aniina arab wahadna bas,  
 „For a long time no Kanuri stayed in the village. We are just all Arabs alone.”

<H> šuqulhum da ma bidooru magad maʔaaku walla intu ma dawwortu magadhum  
 „Is that because they don't want to stay with you or you don't want to stay with them?”

<J> aʔa, humma ye ma joo, inta kan bigiit gadiim da, kan mukarrim jaak kula seí biji  
 bugoot, ha kan ma jaak da, tisaw laha keef, haa, kan dugud bas waaid ja kula bugoot,  
 yoo ha kan ma ja da, haa  
 „No, they're the ones who didn't come. If you've become a leader, even a witch can  
 come to stay can't he? And if he didn't come to you, what can you do. If one comes he'll  
 stay and if not so what?”

<V> humma ke ma gaado kula amma wadaraana,<sup>7</sup> catt da jamí niseyyí (7:33)  
 “They didn't come but if we have special occasions, all come and we do them together.”

<J> kana<sup>8</sup> ke da suugna ye waahid, wudurna ye waid, kan nadimhum maat ye nemši, kan  
 naadimna maat ye bíju, kan fi s suuk ye nillaaga, dugud al halaal deel catt kula nuššihin  
 arab nuššihin barno mǝlxalbid'iin amma aniina ke da arab wahadna surr bas,  
 “We have the same market, the same needs, if one of theirs dies, we go to them, if one of  
 ours dies they come; we meet in the market. Now these villages [around] half are Arab,  
 half Kanuri mixed up but we're just pure Arabs alone.”

<I> inta gareet fi madirasa  
 “Did you study in the school?”

<H> gareet a fi l madirasa (7:51)  
 “Did you study in the school?”

<J> ha girá hiil aš šala al laakiye laakiye di gareet iske, ha gaal naadim musulmaay ye  
 hiil aš šala di mafi da bikuun a, abga faqiir ke da di kula ad'd'iid allah, amma šúqul aš šala  
 al laaki laaki da gareeta  
 “The simple basic study for prayers I studied of course. Can you call someone a Muslim  
 if he doesn't know the prayers, But to become a scholar is a gift from God. But a simple  
 prayer, I studied.”

<I> laakin fi as sangá da ma gareet  
 “But you didn't study in the Quranic school?”

<J> aʔa ma gareet, ille fi hillidna ka faqara fi, ha namši nenšid, šunu, ha ágir ke ágir ke  
 agir ke dadda kan ligiil leek šuqul šalla ka xalaas (8:15)

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<sup>7</sup> Fašala plural noun of *wudur* “need, thing, interest”, quite characteristic of Nigerian and western Sudanic Arabic.

<sup>8</sup> *kəna*, Kanuri



“No I didn’t. There’s a Quranic teacher in our village, and we go and recite, and you recite you recite then you get something for your prayer and that’s it.”

<I> al faqara al biju le al hille di arab

“The teachers who come to the village are Arabs?”

<J> arab, mafi naadim gade catt arab bas, catt arab bas,

“Arab. There isn’t anyone else, all Arabs, all just Arabs.”

<I> wa kulli sana nafs an nadim biji walla faqara gadee (8:30)

“And each year the same person comes or are they different teachers?”

<J> mm le faqiirna gaid fi l hille hineen bas, hu kula ma’ana bas, [X] haw dadda al iyaal yimšu kan, igarriihum

“Yes, our teacher just stays in the village here, he’s just with us and when the children go he teaches them.”

<I> hu kula naadim al hille di

“He’s from the village.”

<J> hu kula hineen bas, hu kula hineen bas be haala be šaana cub gaid hineen bas, imaam hana al hille, kar ramadaan da ja da, faqiir mafi da ikuun, yauwa hu bas iřalli leena imaamna, mm

“He’s here, he’s just here with all his belongings he’s just here, the Imam of the village. When Ramadhan comes and there’s no learned person [is not possible]? So he just prays for us, our Imam.”

<H> šabá gultu gaal faqara waadiin bijuuku, kan waqt al xariif jaa, da an namuus biturudhum

“Like you said, other teachers come to you.PL, and when it’s the rainy season, the mosquitoes chase them away.”

<J> doola kan joo kulu birrakkəsu fooga hu, (8:56)

“If those others come they rely on him.”

< S H> yowa humma dool da

“So those others.”

<J> kan šaayafat, humma kan xarrafat bimšu, amma hu gaaid be marta be haala be šaala be bagara, catt jami,

“When the hot season come, they go when it rains, but he stays with his wife and belongings and cattle, all together.”

<I> hu biharit

“He farms?”

<J> biharit, inda zar hana buriyye, inda zar hana goos, kurut fi, cəp inda dugud kula biyarit,

“He farms. He has a wet land farm, he has a sandy soil farm, everything he has now and he farms.”

<V> kan iyaal as sangáa joo kulla bigiifu fooga dugo humma kulla busowwu, şeef ka biju binjammo bugoodu, (9:20)

“If the students of the Quranic school come he stays there [on his farm] and they work it. When the hot season comes they come and rest and stay.”

<J> ma hu bas kabiir bígi, yauwa ašan da bas

“He’s the most important one, because of that.”

<V> kan al wad’a xarrafat kan hu gaid da bikaana

“When the rains come (the earth rains), he just stays in his place.”

<H> hu humma al bujú dool da, hum kulu sana humma budooru bijú walla gade kulla waadiin kan doola mašo waadiin gade bíju (9:33)

“The ones who come, do they come each year or if the ones have left do others come?”

<J> aʔa ille iyaal as sangá da kan hineeni ye bíju bigoodu, waadiin kaal kan ábat bugoodu fi muba, kan fi l hille bulamari, kan yeen kula iyaal as sangáa kan mášo gaado ka bugoodu fi lubb al hille, yauwa dahadda kan inta martak şaad’at kan tawaddi lehum, kan gabiilak marta saad’at kulla tawaddi lehum, ke bas hau buguru,

“The Quranic school students from here just stay; others if they refuse [to stay in the village] stay in Mafa, or in Bulamari, or wherever if the students go they stay in the village. So now if your wife’s cooked she sends them [food], if your colleague’s wife cooks she also sends them, and that’s how they study.”

<V> humma al biju şeef da, humma at tawwa bas,

“The ones who come in the hot season, they’re the just the same ones.”

<H> yoo humma at tawwa bas bíju, wallaahi [X]

“Okay so they’re the same ones as before, really.”

<J> iyaal ka catt dugaag dugaag, naadim ma inda mara ka ma igoot ille ikudd igəri, ha kan lígi al qurʔan imši yaaxud mara igood fi daarha hiilha (10:08)

“The children are all young. A person without a wife doesn’t stay in one place, he moves about and studies and when he’s finished the *Qur’an* he marries and goes and stays in her village.<sup>9</sup>”

<V> hau bixayd’u aj jakaawi hau ke,

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<sup>9</sup> One expects here, that he would marry and go stay in his village, but the text clearly has a 3FSG object pronoun.

“And they sews caps and the like.”

<H> di şanaayittəm al bisowwu fiyy a  
 “This is their work that they do?”

<J> di bas  
 “Just this.”

<V> kan katabo kan ma katabo ka, dahadda bisowwu jakaaʔiihum hau ke hau bibiiʔuuhin, hau kan dauwár loum siyaal<sup>10</sup> ke bisauwú leek, yauwa dawwár leek jakuwá bəḏʔannuua leek, yauwa šába da iyaal al sangá a, hau kan xarrafat ka humma bimšu, mine kula bimši le bikaan naasa biherit, hau şeef ka bubuggu bihejjiru, dahadda bilgo loum humma kula laaki, inšan šaba hu da

“If they study or don’t study, they still make their caps and the like and sell them. So if you want them to pray on your behalf, or sew you a cap they make it for you. So like the children of the Quranic school, once the rains start everyone goes to where his people are and he farms and when it’s the hot season, they go away and go afar, and they get a little bit of [sustenance] for themselves, like that.”

<H> zeen ha inta dugut fi xidimit ale hiil al bilamaaye di, aš šifta fiya ke šunu inta, šif fiha ke šunu, al helú hau be al muř da aš šifta ke šunu, (10:47)

“Good and you now, the work of the bulamaship, how do you see it, the good side and the bad, what do you see in it?”

<J> aloomí da, hélu da mafi, fi magadna da aloom heelu mafi, ašan šunu, inta al miskiin da, xariif mi kaša kaša kaša kaša foogak, telga taharit, kan şaayafat alme mafi da dada şeef, amma xariif bas ile aloom dauwa alme zeen mafi, al miskiin kan alme mafi da inda ágəl fi<sup>11</sup>, yauwa ma leena nafas, da bas, šuqul ana aš šifta da,

“Today, there’s nothing good. In our existence now there’s nothing good, why. You the poor. The rainy season it pours on you kaša kaša, you get a little bit to farm. When the hot season comes there’s no water, just heat. But then today in the rainy season there’s no rain. A poor person, if there’s no water, what can he do? So we don’t have an opportunity. That’s how I see it.”

<H> wai da mi cattuku šifta, amma fi xidimtak hiil al bilamaaye ke, fi xidimtak hiil sainna assa hiil al bilamaaye ke da, at taab aš šifta be heluuha ke šunu, (11:20)

“Okay I’ve seen all of your problems, but in your work as bulama, in the present-day work of bulama, what is a problem and what is enjoyable?”

<J> mhm, hi al bilaamá di, walla indaha helu wala indaha táʔab

“No, the bulamaship, it has neither enjoyment nor problems.”

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<sup>10</sup> *siyaal* “supplication, prayer”; related to *suʔaal* “question”.

<sup>11</sup> *inda ágəl fi*. A rhetorical question. “Does he have sense, does he have peace of mind?”

<V> ille hi di kan inta bigiit kabiir ašara ka, taʔarif al kabbaariyye, tamiš tawaššil bəkaan al lawaan, tasəma kalaamhum, tasəma xubuurhum, šaba rašaak binkáši ke, tabga naadim a naadim da kula naadim zeen, kan jaabo kalaam kula iguulu leek, tasəmaʔ, kan šaba jaabo kalaam hana fasaala kula (11:52), biguulu leek, jaaba šúqul hana ziyaada, kula buguulu leek, támiš, tagayyil maʔá lawaanak hau taj, yauwa, kan šaba, al helu leek inta gaaid fi bilamáa tadoor šaba ijiibu leek turookta kula tariida, taki inta kula tariida, taad'a le masakiinha bušubbu fi zuraattum, inšan inta gaaid šaba hu da raaida hu da bas, tadawwur leek foog famfam fi tiraabak taxud'd'a, naas bəlummu foogak, inšaan šaba huda bas (12:22)

“Except if you become the head of the community, you know leadership, you go and reach the place of the Lawan, you listen to what they say, you hear their news, so like you get enlightened and become a person, a better person. If they bring a problem they tell you, you listen, like if they bring a problem of bad behavior, they tell you, he brought something beneficial, likewise they tell you. You go and spend the day with your lawaan and you come back. Like, what is good you stay in the bulamaship and you want like they bring you a tractor, you want it, fertilizer as well you want it, and he gives it to his poor companions and they apply it on their farm, why you stay [as bulama is] because you want it [these things], you want a pump for your land and you put it and people come and live with you. That's what's good.”

<H> hu kan ke da šuqulku da, intu min tawa gultu, al gomnati ma jaabat looku fanaafin hau ke da, haw inta dugut gul kan, naadiim mašá le lawaanhum al kabiir saala kula kan ma inda famfam hau ma inda šuqúl ke ankuun, yiaawnú beya da, inta šuqúl da ma, saʔalt al lawanaat walla šunu

“If its like that, did you say before, the government hasn't brought you pumps and the like and now you said, a person went to their lawan and asked him even if he doesn't have a pump, and maybe he doesn't have anything, they'll help him with it. Didn't you ask the lawan for that?”

<J> kan saʔál kula be l famfam fa ma biʔaanuuk, kuure da ma naárfa al yoom hadar le gaadna siniin xamsiin sana da, ma biʔaawənu a naadim, az zamaan tɫif, al famfam kan humma aš sald'ana, al gaadiin fi l birni, kula al famfam al yoom gisi leehum, ásko inta al miskiin barra mine bufkur fiik, mafi naadim bufkur fiik (12:50)

“Even if he asked for the pump and they won't help you, before we didn't know about [doing] that,<sup>12</sup> but now for the last five years they don't help people any more. Times have gotten bad. A pump, if they, the government sitting in the city, even if a pump is expensive for them, let alone that you're a poor person far away (outside), who's going to think about you? No one will think about you.”

<V> dugud kajura hiil mafá di, hayne kulla ašara hille da kajire fookka, aniina al bilaamaat da, gade kula lammeena be lawaana mašeena tur mašeena ya al kantomaa, mašeena bakeena dawwarna famfam, ijiibu leena famfam, ixud'd'ú leena fi tiraabna da

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<sup>12</sup> It seems here he is implying that formerly they could ask for something and get assistance for it from the government.

aniina ašaaniin, jaabó dugud kuwa fi mafa kaamil ma cakko ya dugud kuwa ille šuqul hau waagif kaamil ma cakko leena, (13:16)

“Now in the surroundings of Muba, there are easily 10 villages on its outskirts. We the bulamas, we joined together with the lawan and went right to the district head, we went to his place begging and asked for a pump, that they bring us a pump, they put it for us on our land because we’re thirsting. They brought it to Muba but they didn’t install it until now they stopped the work on and they didn’t install it at all.”

<J> šaaló kula

“They even took it away.”

<V> waid seí waddó, ha da seí jabó kula gaalo gal talfaan, kan ma ya dugud kulla ma šiifná

“They sent for one, and brought it but then they said it was broken, and up till now we haven’t seen it.”

<V> ha fiya hu da taguul šunu

“So what do you say to that?”

<J> inta maskiin fiya hu da taguul šunu, indak walá heel mafi

“You are a poor person in that, so what do you say; you’ve got no power.”

<H> wai ha kula kan, al kantomaai min jaay mašeetu gultu leiya, hau al kantomaai ma sauwa leeku da be lawaanku gade kulla lammeetu da ma temšu ya giddaam wa

“Ya and if the local authority, you went to it and told it, and the local authority didn’t do anything for you, did you get together with the lawan and go to a higher authority?”

<J> da da aniina kulla, ya giddaamna, zaadna mi muwaddiina dada gaʔadna, naraai fi an naas al giddaamna doola bas

<V> naxadiim foog xidime hiil al lawaana al buguula lena da, sai hana hu bas, kan gaal leena kalaam kulla, taabinna hu, hu kulla binši ya giddaam, buguul leena aniina gulna leiya kalaam, bakaana kulla binši ya giddaam buguula buguul hu da we ašara taariif al bulaamaatí al masakin dool humma kulla šuqul ke məgaššərum, adʔuuni buwaddi lehum, kan adʔó ka hu kulla biyadʔiina, kan ma adʔó ka aniina kulla gaadiin, aš šuqul nadoora minna hu, dada hu ka bidoora min an naadim, taariif mine kulla ka kabiir giddaama

<U> inta mašeet le bikinne taniyaat

<S> ana da ma mašeet, ille min hineen kan xaadʔər, maxadʔaar da yařwa di bamši lea maxadʔaar ke barudd, kan indina, hana mamša hana wudur ke nemši le yarwa di, kan nasuuk hana mu bakan amiš le balad hajira da ka ana da min wuldooni kulla ma mašeet, yeen kulla mani aarifa, ille min yarwa, muba ille lubb da bas, min jaay konduga dahedda da bas bikaan hanayii, da bas bikaanna, amma balad hajira da ma mašeet,

<U> wa gamboru ngala kulla ma mašeet

<J> a?a gamboru ma mašeet min ?allah xaalaqni kulla, ille, darbaha da biguulu lei da maše le gambaru ke, ana ma šiftaha be eni kulla ma mašeet wallaahi

<U> fi maiduguri da tigoot maa mine

<J> a?a ille nenši le wudurí ke narud, naas hanaana kulla fi maiduguri sai fi, axawaat am̄mi kulla fi maiduguri dugud kulla fi min hille di ana, axawaat ammí ye fi, maiduguri di fi, yauwa min hineen kan le s suuk le dikwa kulla nemši, min hineen kan le yarwa kulla nenši min hineen kan le konduga kullanemši, amma balad, hajira ke da mana mašeet la, bama da kulla ana ma na?arfa,

<U> an naas al fi yarwa dool jo min al hille di

<J> catt da bas bukaanhum dugo rahhaloohin fi yarwa,

<U> maala mašo ga?ado qaadi

<J> saaro mášo gaado fi yarwa, fi maiduguri, saaro mašo

<H> ma biján hine a

<J> bíjan, kan údur bígi bíjan lena, kan údur mafi kulla bíjan leel nool le axuthin di, dadda aniina kulla kan mašeena ka nagiif fookhin afe afe intu afe, afe dada náji da bas, šúqul kan ille min Yhine tarkab dugo támiš taj šuqul ka mooto, lakin humma bigoodu marra wahid fi yarwa, catt kooma naasna da fi yarwa da kooma wa maala

<V> ar rijaal yam biyaaxudhin ka binšu behin

<J> yoo nadiim wahid taab barra da ma bədoora binši binjamma, al bərni ka anjumma, barra šiif gadak gadak aniina seet mafi anjumma seef mafi sari, be bagartak, alme qaali, xariif hiraata, taharit, al oom kulla kan ma yoom ngudo da cat taj tilgaana fi zura?aatna naharit yoo ha naadim wahid kan ligi lea razəx, binši buduxul fil birni hai binjamma, kan dugut fil birni da dugud bas jildí da bəbga ahamar cuu, šiifa az zirak ciil da caad al ta?ab na barra yauwa,

<U> wa intu ma gul le nasaak axeer baxarim min al hille di hau banši bagoot fi yarwa

<J> ha razaqa yeen, indak razəq maafi da, al birni inga?id leek a, xád'ab maal, alme maal, yoo šuqul hana al bərni šuqul dugaag dugaag ke min aš şabah gaal da bibiiyú gaal da bibiiu ha kan ma indak maal da, gurs da ikuun, ha hineen ka da maafi, ille al isawwu leek al išooḍu leek da taakula kawai

<H> an naas addaxalo, al árab ad daxalo fi luub al buraani da catt daxalo bala koofá bas tara

<J> ha kulla sai quno, dool busfuru, humma gaadiin fil birni kulla barra catt be catt bagiirum be aʔayyithum dugud kulla binšaqu

<H> wahadiin seyii

<J> wahadiin da

<H> ha waadiin kan ma loum šai bas gaadiin

<J> ha kan ma leəm kula sai mərraksiin le hum foog naadiim, dugud kan inta ma indak kula, kan axuuk inda inda kulla tamiš tarakkis fooga, šuqul hana axuuk da taakula fiya, kan axuuk zeen da,

<V> yauwa kan be xidimta biseyyi leiya gadiya ke, walla biseyy leya birkila biwaasi al buyuut, walla bilga leiya laki binši, walla wa hana suuk, binši bibí bišəri, biraggid beeta kulla, fil birni da kada

<H> ankuun, al bilaama dool bidauwur bilamaita bas fil hille, hine

<J> aniina hineen da kan naadim dugg tishatta kulla nagood waadiitul kulla ma nagdar namši, kan xalleet bukaanak naadim gade ja gaad tilgá yeen

<H> al ardiya ke hiilak, kan mašeet yeen kulla sai tij tilgaaha

<J> aʔa aloom da zamaana tilif, kan aloom tarreet da, kai ma tilga bukaanak, iju ikubsuuk ruub, ikaalmuuk, igalo minnak hillak

<H> šuqúl šabá ha huda kulla bəbga a

<J> bəbga mana, fi d daar da bubga mana, aniina da aloom arəbaʔa sána da , ikaalmu fiina hineen fi tiraab konduga hineen dugooni, ar raajil da ad'aaha leena

<H> mine da alkali koomi

<J> alkali koomi aʔa arubʔa sana naseyy kalaam, dugo gaallaʔha ad'áaa leena, le axuyi abuuna waid, dugut fi tiraab konduga, wii, hau aniina gaadiin fia da iširiin sana, hau hu kula fi d daar bas ma ja gaal al bikaan da hanayii, yam bigi helu aniina sahhalna bígi ziraaʔa nađiif, naas min hajera kulla iju ihertu fiya dada ja máša šakaana, nalkílim ke indina arbaʔa sana dugo al haaj koomi dađa lena al kaddadá kullu ad'aah lena, gaal gade ya ašiifak fiya huda, hum dool al yoom išəriin, sana gaadiin, ma jiiit guul al bukaan da hanayí da, finjaan al bukaan bígi hélu, fi šeriití ana da mafi mat tilga, dada dugo gáʔat,

<H> ha kan da intu gabúl kula šariihinha dugo geʔettu fiiya

<J> ille angura gadiime ille šeder, kərn dugó, abuyí máša dada, al lawaan ad'aaha leiya, al lawaan al ad'aaha la kulla dugud bígi mafi, hau zamaan abba yusuf, hu bas, ajáa fi konduga dugo ad'aaha gaal leiya taal agoot, inta kulla hineen kulla, dadda gaát, lamma jaab angamargu calcal al bikaan da waasó surul sawwo zura?aat, ligi masakiin min hajira bíju allammo fooga, yam

<V> dugud kulla sai indi kan nadum gará duuk al kalaam hana al hille da fi ha nadiim bigirri

<H> hana aš šariya as sawwo sei

<V> hana sa?id min simiin abuyi da gaád fil hille di, hau le hadda assaa di, al bágar al waddarin fiya da dug fil kaddakáaya da fi zeen

<J> ha aniina da bas xoofoana, ma nagdar nemši yeen, kulla, ille gaadiin fi bikaanna da bas

<H> wui ha sai da bas, arđiitak haluwe tidoowurha, walla šunu

<J> da bas,ke bas gaadiin yam naadim bukubur yam bas bumuut,

<H> muuba bas kan dada tabí arđiitak di,

<S> wala nagdar nabiiya, at tiraab gaal kan bitta kula maala da, kan naadim gaalo bibí at tiraab da, bumuum mufulus,

<H> yoo gaalo ke sai

<J> gaaloo, mi hana be, ille taharit taakul, kan mut ka fiya idufunuuk fiya, kawai, kan be saqiirak gaid, xalleeta ka bugoot

<V> ya giddaam mat talga?, az zamaan bigi zamaan al hiraata, yawa, bikaan ragabt a lei al di, ali kaamil tiraabha ma u bubuur, naas gaadiin fi luub al burni kullaibuggu ihertu kulla fi, yoo šaba huda inta taabi al koofá, tiraabak biita da gade talga yeen, ha šunú indak sanyá mafi da tiraabak bas birabbiik

<H> ha dugud sa?inna assa di, intu ke ille dikooyinak walla iyaalak hadi ixarmu idúxulu al birni ma idiri inta ke ma indak niye,

<J> a?a mafi, ana da ka ad'd'eenni razak kulla ma nagdar nenši le al birni da, nugoot fi bikaanna da bas, fi bikaan ammi, a?uyi wildooni da gaaid fiya hu bas

<H> iyaalak ma tilizzuhum le al magarant a

<J> kan dawwarooem baad'iïem, kan ma dawwarooem da, niya ke , kan giráa hiil allah ke, kan faqiir f l hille ke namši naguul leiya amiš agir, al gaal leek šúqul šallah



<U> inta ma tawadduhum ille kan hukuma dawrohum

<J> kan humma dawwaroo, al ajáa budowwur foog al lawaan, al lawaan biguul leel al bulaama ana fooga iyaal tineen taáata fi hillate kataab, ha inta dadda taj tašiil leek walad waid tineen, taad'a fi magaranta, dugud magaraantattum kan ad'eena iyaalna kulla igarruum, siniin saba gade kulla ibaddiduum, wala bōnfa leek aḅu?, walla binfa qaadi le raasa, waaid kulla maafi

<H> hu da maala busawwú

<J> ha nadiim ma naariif

<H> yoo ille kan waddeetuum da kan wahid gára kee, sawa leiya sab?a sána dedda bibadduum

<J> aa yeen gale, fi hillinna di walá walad waayid tul hu da gára, hu dada kulla gaayid fi yerwa, waddoona ana baya bas said da itimaan, dugut kuwa gaaid fi yerwa, amma gade da mafi, gade da caad baddadoohum da axuyi da kuwa šaalo dugo zagaloo,

<H> utumaan mine

<J> utumaan wal mahamat ta fi hillinna hineen dugó šaaló magaranta, dugud kulla gayid fi yerwa,

<V> inta hu fi beed arradio kulla sai bilkallam, a?a da wal

<J> hana musa sai, utumaan walad ahamar bišaabiik ke yauwa, ta f l hille di bas dugo ana ba jamí šaaloona waddoona hau šaaló hu hau xallooni ana, amma hu da gára yam allah ad'aa?, yam dasso kuburiyye kulla, dugud kulla fil xadime a?a, nazal ma narfa,

<H> ha ma mašeet šifta, tawa tamiš tašiifa

<J> ma mašeet šifta, al aam da jaa hineen be watiira, ana bea allaageena hineen bas assallamna, ana gul leiya inta futtini riiš, yauwa amma dagut beeta kula ma mašeet šifta yoo kan naadiim ligi qunna, hau inta mašeet lea bišiif šaba inta tiš?ar inta al miskiin, ašaan da bas aniina man nenši, ille gaayid fi máskanátak bas, nišad allah, hu kulla aḷlah ad'd'aa, ana kulla kan allah ad'aani balga maal kan ma ad'aani ka gaa?id bas, naadim ke, naadim ke šuqul bišiila heel ka mafi sai allah yaad'i leek

<H> wai ha hu kulla sei márak min lubb al hille da dugó ligí šuqula da, wala geéd fi lubb al hille,

<J> šaaló seii, sei dawwaroo, dawwaroona tadoor dugo mašeena, yam mašeena ka gaalo ke, dada šilna, huda saqayyir, sai da hu šiya ke zeen ana saqayyir dada ana assaqair xallooni, catt kulla mi miaawun ar riiš bas

<H> miawuun ar riiš

<J> yawa ko kan

<H> as sana al waraaha kan abeet ma timíš,

<J> wa dahadda ma dawwarooni dadda ana kulla ma mašeet, amma axuyí da kuwa šaalo, dugo xalló hu kulla

<H> walla hu bas abaaha ke, hu bas šaaf ke

<J> a?a ma ke da biyaabá keef, ille humma bigarru bigaru haw dada kan naadiim ma la riiš ka buzuguluu, abu riiš ka dadda biwaddú ya gidaam,

<U> bigaru be ayiil luqqa

<J> árab bas

<H> be kalaam al árab bigarruuku a

<J> bigarruum be al arab bas,

<V> be kalaam an našara bigarruum

<J> dugud bigarru be an našara a fi l magaranta

<V> be kalaam an nasaara bigarruum, al gíra da

<J> ha inta keef taárfa

<V> ha sai fi l kaddad, sai šabu al giri hana allah da bas buguulu amma bigulu leek be an našara, yauwa gíre hana kajirii, biguulu leek be borno, wahid, da kira kajirí wi da be borno amma hu da hana al magaranta da hana an nasara da, dateen min temiš dahaaba da, bigarruuk, e bi si fi gafaahi, bigarruuk wan tu tri, id hana an nasaara da, tak tatumma, dada gade taktub ašama, haw hatta bigarruuk, ali šuqul misil ke da buguulu leek usuma šunu be an nasaara, taguul le a ma ba?arfa, buguulu leek ašuqul al ke be an našara da, usuma ke, ha taguula, xalaas, ha d'aaka usuma šunu man na?arfa ha buguulu be an našara ke, ille ba huda ke inta kulla yam tiállam, dahadda inta kulla tabga naadim naadim raaša, da aniina aš šifná allah yam ma wadda ka dada gade kassoona yawara

<J> yoo ma dawwarooem da, sai doola humma gaadiin , kan dawwarooum da ma nuwaddiiem bas a, kan ana naadim bigəri, yam bilga kuburiyye, yam bilga rázəx, biyaad'ú wataayir, yam bíji naasa al barra kulla caad biwadduhum, har humma kulla bisauwi lehum raziq caad aarfinna, amma huda kulla miaawun ar riis, kan ma leek riiš da kan waddock ya legos kulla walla telga maal

<H> šúqul waid da bidauwur leiya asari ma bidauwur gaal, gaal al arab biguuļu šunu

<V> dagud huda da wulud leiya walad kulla allah ma xalla, amma dugud axuuna waaid wald aḅuuna da , da kuwa iyaal tineen bəgaru fil magranta di, fi konduga qaadi, dugut kulla bitta waade di jaat hineen ke bas, kuburat kan daassinha fi muba di bas tagrii, yamta kuburat dugo šaalooa dassooa le bikaan ar rijaal, dugud indaha kadmada catti, kaarbe indaha

<J> kana dugud kulla wald axti waid kula yigəri fi muba ke dugut aloom kaal min muba kulla wado le gubio, dugud buguri fi gubio

<H> yauwa ha da bas sai ana kalaami leek, kan tawwa al iyaal dool catti asartuhum mašo da, šiil iširiin ašara ašara xamsa waddeettum da, ke kan abu riış fiəm mafi kulla abu riış sai billaagi

<J> bibiin, ha da ka ma seyyeena?, da ma sayyeená hau naas, kan taa, goolit hool bi bədooru foogak, TaaT, amma a naadim ma dawwar ke ille šiil saqiraak wadda guul haaku garru ka aniina ma səyyeena

<V> nəséyyi

<J> amma fi šuqul ad diniya aš šifna ad dugut da, doola leena nəsowwii, lee l mamfaa, le naadim raasa binkáši bas bisauwi, fi bikaan waid da summaak da kulla kan maak aarfa ma tišarab alme kulla, ašaan da bas

<H> dugud ma tišiif naas waadiin fi halaalhum kan iyaalum gáro hau ke bigdaru bijjiibu loəm famfam hau ke kulla bijubuu,

<J> catti aarfinna fil gára bas, dugud al kantomá di, as sana waade waddat al famfam le utumaan da sei maala ligat, awwaliya sai al gará bas, lam al yoom sauwaaha, kantoomá da kan mi al girá da mi tilgá yeen, ha al girá bas

<H> al kontooma mine

<J> hi šummaha hajje ammuna, al hamöre di sai, yawa, ha dugud itimaan da, fi finjan waliya sai wadad la famfam, ha kan ma garat da bilgó yeen,

<U> fil hille di naas bifhamo kalaam an našara fi

<J> a?a kan mi wálad al mi tawa bijulus leeku hineen saadu da mafi

<U> kalaam arab kalaam arab, kalaam arab da aniina sai catti aarfinna

<H> al buktubu be kalaam al aḅ

<J> da da al faqiir kulla mafi ya, ha al faqiir kulla saí fi

<H> amma gade da balahum humma dool sai mafi

<V> bala humma dool da aarfiin, dugg ke maajiriin al fi gafa da

<J> dool sai catt mahajiriin, buktubu

<H> usum alḷah da

<U> fil hiraata intu al rijal walla an nuswaan kullu bihertu ma badhum

<J> cat naharit, wálad, mara, raajil kurt, bihartu, al ma harat da ille kan be naáar yoomak sareet, be l bagar, dugud min ta sai intu jiitu da basma al bagar kulla jin, yawa dugut sainna di ar raajil jaabhin da dadda, binši biharit ke, gade kulla úsur ka bíji, gade kulla bid'alliguuin ke bišiilin binši leel waadi, amma a naadim al aaxər gaid da ille binši biherit bas kan be saqiraak kan be martak, tahartu ke, yam taayo taju leel beet, gade kulla ašiyye ke binšu ille ke bas, kádar l xariif biyaggib da

<H> ha al mára be raajilha da, zarruhum bubga waaid walla šikk

<J> a?a zurruhum waahid bas, ma beetku waayid, aa al maṛa di seí maal ar raajil, as saqiir ye, maal ar raajil, al maṛa kulla maal ar raajil ha keef gale bitigdar tiseyy zar wahatta da bikuun wa

<V> marta di kan daṛraaba ke, le tabí amma kan hana libiya hana qalla duk humma at tineen bihertu,

<J> ta?awə̀n ar rajiil bas ua mi maala

<H> maala amma kan tawwa hi kulla xad'd'eet la zar ke hi kulla ligát leha šúqul ke da zeen

<J> ha tisey leha ziree saqayyir lee hana duṛraaba hau hana ke kina zar hana raassa ke da ma tiseyyí šiif al hiraata hiil al iid di gaasiye, yoo, ad'd' maal, ihertu leek, dugud šaba nana naas al birni kaza kaza jiika jiika da bas aniina ma nagdara heelna šiya, dada naharit foog heelna bas taharit leek zer, dada tilga leek bahawa arba?a xamsa, akil aš šeef, dada da bas, baiya huda bas ka gaadiin

<U> ma tabiu al qalla

<J> ma nabiiha, al qalla kan kan ligiitta kulla ma faal yaallah yaallah ka ligiit, lemmitak leek hool di tigidar tabiyya, dugut hiil al gooz, hiil al gooz di naakul fiya, naakul fiya, nakul fiya hi tidoora tam, al buṛiye kulla taji, ha hiil al buṛiye di gade da nəšaayif naakul fiya, yam taxarrif, ya sa?idna di kuwa naakul fiya hi bas, dada hi kulla talummina gade kulla le hiil al gooz, hiil al gooz kulla kan naakul fiya naakul fiha hi kulla tammina fiya le

hiil al ɓuriyye da bas, amma nadiim bí hajíra da mafi, be da mafi, kan biit hajira da xariif  
taakul šunu, al kofo buruuh

<H> ha ke da nadam hana weekta da bilga min šunu □

<U> ma tabiu al qalla

<J> ma nabiiha, al qalla kan kan ligiitta kulla ma faal yaallah yaallah ka ligiit,