

TV71c-Gulduba-unknown lady

W = woman, AD = Adam, I = owens, L = Allamiin, V = voice

<L> aniina gaadiin fi yerwa ...

“We stay in Maiduguri and ...”

<W> nimši beyya nisawi beyya al boṛiye

“We’ll go with him and work the wetland farming.”

<V> aniina naadum mi mašá le l balge bišiifa ween

„As far as we’re concerned, what will a person who has never been to the Balge area understand.“

<V> kan mə naadum fi l balge bišiifa

“Only a person from Balge can understand (see) it.”

<I> ad dunguluusu keef

“How is the D.”

<W> bəsawwo baa al buṛiye

“They do wetland farming with it?”

<W> bəsawwo ba al boṛiye al boṛiye, al fuṛkiye, al bər chuqquwa<sup>1</sup> be l gavgal ke ke di bəsawuuha busawuua ba al jirf ke ke ke, wai?, bəgəra alme, dada al alme bəmla al boṛiye kal, ha dadda dadda an naas bəmaḷḷud’u bəmaḷḷud’u bəmaḷḷud’u haw biheertu, yawwa beya hu da, aha

“What they do in wetland farming, the dry clay soil, they pierce it with a sharp-pointed stick so, so, and they make canals like this like this, yep. It restrains the water. Then the water fills up the wetland completely. Then people keep weeding out grass and they farm, in that way.”

<I> bilá da (0:37)

“Beyond that?”

<AD>balá hu da gede šuqúl ...? (0:43)

“Besides that what else ...”

<W> niheerit beheertu bumaḷḷud’u, huu,<sup>2</sup> al di d duxún kula biheertu n naas naadum beheerit gede kulla birud biheerit, wai?, hau bənəzaayi

“We farm, they farm and they weed the grass, and, millet as well people farm and then he comes back and farms. Yep, and then we finish up the farming.”

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<sup>1</sup> For *bəčuqquua*.

<sup>2</sup> *hu ~ huu* “and”, a characteristically Bagirmi variant of the conjunction “and”.

<V> al gafgal da [X] (0:54)  
 „This gafgal.“<sup>3</sup>

<W> al gafgal, aa al gafgal, aa alme tamma da, bəmaɫɫud'u, anta heeratooa da bə bəchuqqu, be l qafgal, ha bəʃubbu alme,<sup>4</sup> hu bəʃubbu ad digaʔ, dugo bəčuqqu be bəquzzu<sup>5</sup> al boʃiye dugo tugum kan dada bəkoortu, wəiʔʔ (1:10)  
 “The sharp pointed stick. The gafgal. When the water dries up (finishes), they weed, and when they've cleared it they stick in, with the gafgal and they pour water in [the hole] and stick in the seedling and they ?? the wetland, then it sprouts and they clear the wetland of grass, yep.”

<I> cakkeetu xalaas  
 “They've harvested it already?”

<W> ɫissaʔ, mənnan qaadi dugut nuchuq minnan qaadi, minnan qaadi dugo buju be bechuqqu, mhm, dugud dugta dugu an naas bəmaɫɫud'u bəmaɫɫud'u wa bəheertu bəkoortu fi l buriiye, al aɲa, gafgal fi, mhm gafgal fi, [X] maak ʃaaifinna, ʃifte sei, yawwa, aaha (1:36)  
 „Not yet. In a little bit now, we'll harvest in the future. In a little bit they'll come and plant, mm. Now, the people are weeding and farming and clearing grass in the wetland area. There's a gafgal. There is one. Haven't you seen it? You seen it, right? Right.”

<I> kam biheertu fi bakaan waahid  
 “How many farm in one place?”

<W> naadum an naadum kan be raamata, be saqiire, be saqiire bəheertu jamí, ka al ba marta, kula be marta bilaawanu kula beheertu jamí, kan be axuuk be xuutak haadi kula bittiheertu jamí, ha n naadum kan hu weeda kula biheerit bas, fi zeɾɾa, wəiʔ, aha, mine kula bəxadum fi xidimte bas, mine kula al biheerit weede yee biheerit, al be marta bi betixadam miyá tiaaəne hee tiaaəne, yawwa, wəiʔ (2:11)  
 “A person, a person maybe with his children,<sup>6</sup> with his child, they farm together, maybe with his wife, they help and they farm together, maybe with your brother and your brothers they might farm together. And if a person is alone as well he'll farm, in his farm, yep. Everyone works at their own work. On the one hand someone might farm by himself they just farm, and on the other, with his wife then he might farm as well.”

<I> wa intu bas fil fil naas fil hille wallaa tiheertu fi bakaan waahid walla naas hellaal taaniyaat bijú bijú besaaiduuku

<sup>3</sup> Showing the stick with which holes are made to plant seedlings in the clay soil.

<sup>4</sup> The water is poured into the hole before inserting the seedling. The speaker had begun in the wrong order.

<sup>5</sup> *qazza* “stick something in the ground and leave it in.” It is not clear whether this is used as a synonym for *čaqqā* here, or whether it is a different sort of activity.

<sup>6</sup> *<rahma, ultimately \*rahma* “blessing”, used for “dependents one cares for”.

“And you in this village do you farm in one place or do other people come and help you?”

<W> aniina, niheerit fi hillinna hineen bas aniina?  
 “Us, just us farm in our village here, just us.”

<L> intu awaan tiheertu  
 “When you farm.”

<W> haa  
 „haa?”

<L> naas gide kula biju biaawunuuku fi walla (2:28)  
 “Do other people come as well and help you or what?”

<W> mine bijí be biaawuuna mine kula be biheerit le raasa kina mine bijí biaawona, n naadum mine kula biyeerit le dumta, mine kula biyeerit le raasa, naadum biaawuna naadum fi waa, haa mine kula bæ bæ kəkrət kikir<sup>7</sup> titik titik bæsey le raasa bas, aahaa (2:43)

“Who will come and help us, everyone farms for himself; who would come and help us? Everyone farms for themselves, everyone farms for themselves. Is there someone to help a person? Everyone is hoeing and just does it for himself.”

<I> waa keef al herraata as sana di?  
 “And how is the farming this year?”

<W> heřraye, heřrá di haar sei?  
 „The heat, the heat is hot of course.”<sup>8</sup>

<V> [X]

<W> yo řřal hiraata haarre, gaasi bas dada, al hiraata di kar kar an naadim biyeerit ke al hemá di tibaddid ke bas biheerit, wai? (2:59)

„Okay. Farming is difficult, it’s just difficult. This farming chk chk a person farms and the sweat pours down and he just farms, yep.”

<I> hu bala l hiraata řunu induku řunu fil hille di  
 “And besides farming what else do you have in this village?”

<W> aniina, indina, indina da an naadum al ba bagarta be bagarta al be miizeete<sup>9</sup> bæ miizeete, al mafi le kula kan dada gaaid, bæ dumta ka gaaid al miskiin kula ka gaaid bas, wai

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<sup>7</sup> Ideophones to describe the sound of hoeing.

<sup>8</sup> Misunderstanding the question.

<sup>9</sup> Singulative in form, though mass nouns in their sense.

„We, we have, a person who has his cow has his cows, a person who has a goat has his goats, and the one who has nothing is there as well, he stays by himself poor but he is there, yep.“

<I> wa keef šunu tusawuu ma aa al bagar da al bagar deel šunu bee šunu tusawu bai?  
“And how do you do with the cattle, what do you do with them?”

<AD> faidíttan šunu  
„What do you get from them?“

<W> ha, al bagár ha as sára, as sara a, bisáru bən yaa lubb al leel yaa l fajír, yawwa, dugo bəjí haa dugo kan bəsarú kee kan kan nahaar, kan, maafi ɗuɓɓaan ka bəsarú beyin migeyyeliin t̄lis an naas fi al waadi, wəi, (3:41)  
“And, the cattle, the pasturing, they pasture them up till the middle of the night up to daybreak, then they come and might pasture them in the daytime. If there are no flies, they pasture them spending the whole day in the bush, yep.”

<I> fi waqt as seef  
“In the hot season?”

<W> waqt aš seef da an naas ma məgeyyilaat t̄lis saaryaat fi l waadi a, yaa l leel dugo bəján a, yawwa haa haf dugu xa,<sup>10</sup> xariif kan finna<sup>11</sup> al ɗuɓɓaan kan mi biján daateen kee, fi leel dugo bəsarán a, yaa l fajír dugo bəján  
“In the summer, don’t people spend the whole day pasturing [cattle] in the bush, up to nightfall then don’t they come back? Okay ??, in the rainy season because of the flies isn’t it the case that they come early, don’t they pasture at night, up to daybreak, then they come back.”

<I> ween buwaddu al bagara mišan al alme (3:53)  
“Where do they send the cattle for water?”

<W> minšaan lee l leel waadi bəšaɗban fi l fi l hooɗh, fi l hooth, al hooth, al biir  
“So that at night in the bush they drink at a basin, a basin, a well.”

<I> al biir da keef (4:08)  
“How are the wells?”

<W> wai haa gariibe ween, beyeefəruua beyeefəruua fi n nugura be gariibe da ween, n nugura gariibe ween, an nuggura beʔiide bas beyeefəruua  
“Haa, how do you mean, ‘shallow’? They dig it out, from a hole. It’s shallow? Not at all. The holes are just very deep<sup>12</sup> and they dig it.”

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<sup>10</sup> A false start.

<sup>11</sup> One expects *minna* “from it” here. Perhaps a combination of *fii-na* and *minn-a*.

<sup>12</sup> *baʔiid* is ambiguous between “far” and “deep”, and *gariib* ambiguous between “near” and “shallow”. *d’awiil/guṣaar*, *gəṣayyir* are also used for “deep/shallow” or “long/short”.

<I> [X] 4:17

<W> d'awiile, d'awiile bas beyeefəruua, haŋ, rijaal rijaal arbaa xamsa kula bəsaawi,  
mhm

“Deep, deep they dig it. It might even be four or five men [deep].”<sup>13</sup>

<I> an naas min al hille di bas binšu bihafu al biir (4:27)

„Do the people from this village go and dig a well?“

<W> al biyaar da kan n naadum maa la kufo da an naadum bas bəyeefir fi biire, kan bə  
kufó kaa bəyaadi kan beyakkir kan al ma bəgdar bəduxul al maa la,<sup>14</sup> al mi aarif ka  
biyaad'di maa la ka biheefru leyya, wai?

„The wells, if a person doesn't have money, he'll dig a well. If he has money he gives it  
to [someone] and he hires [him to dig] ?? The one who doesn't know how [to dig] or  
who doesn't have money, they dig [it] for him. Yep.”

<L> jambuku fi helaal arabiye taaniyaat (4:53)

“Are there Arab villages near you?”

<W> amh, fih, raafá?, raafáh, raafá rrafá da hinna salaasa, čar raafá raafá?

„There are. Raafa, Raafa, Raafa, There are three Raafa's. All are Raafa, Raafa.”

<AD> al bala raafa da

“Besides Raafa?”

<W> , raafa, mhm, qaadi min hineen kula hellaal mi fi ya,

“Raafa. mhm. There from here aren't there villages?”

<AD> sumhan šunu

“What are their names?”

<W> qaadi min hineen kuuri?,

„Over there is Kuuri?“

<AD> yawwa? ha gede (5:27)

„Okay, and what else?“

<W> qaadi ke da bə?iid ke da lahaad ke da čat qaadi yaa giddaam ke da, illa l graab kan  
raafaat, čat summan raafa raafa ke bas, mhm

<sup>13</sup> The depths of wells is measured by how many men standing on each other are needed to get from the bottom to the top.”

<sup>14</sup> *al ma bəgdar bəduxul al maa la* „the one who can't enter the one who doesn't have“. A false start. Perhaps the lady was going to explain that some men can get into the well to help dig, and some cannot get in (*ma bəduxul*), and that those who can't need to hire people to dig their wells for them.

“Over there, far away is Lahaad, also up there in front, but the near ones are just [named] Raafa. All their names are Raafa. Yep.”

<I> ad daffe at taanye (5:38)

“In the other direction?”

<W> aaa ad daffa di borno

“In this direction are Kanuri.”

<W> kula borno

“All Kanuri?”

<W> wai borno, ambaagá (5:47)

“Ya, Kanuri, Ambagá.”

<I> haa di kulo

“And this ??”

<AD> qaadi keefa

“And over there?”

<W> kee di al allaamudi di ju jiitu fookaa

“Like that Allamuudi that you came from.”

<AD> aaa

“aa.”

<W> yoo jaay ke da allamuudi, yawwa jaay ke deela borna indak a kaabalmari, yauwa alborčano, yoo dii a aṅ buṅaa, taamsuugo, yo deela kan jaay, mhm

“Okay in that direction is Allamuudi, and in that direction are all Kanuri, you’ve got Kabalmari, then Alborčano, then this Buṅa, Taamsuugo, those are this direction.”

<I> wa inti waldooki ween

“Where were you born?”

<W> an

“What?”

<I> waldooki ween

“Where were you born?”

<W> aná, waldooni fi d daar di, waldooni fi d daar di (6:17)

“Me? I was born in this area, I was born in this area.”

<I> ayyii hille asmal hille

“What village, what’s the name of the village?”

<W> al hille al wildooni fiyaa, wəɾdooni fi ndiné  
 “The village I was born in? I was born in Ndine.”

<I> ween andiné  
 “Where’s Ndine?”

<W> ndiné d’iike ke (6:24)  
 “Ndine is that one over there.”

<I> beʔiide min hinee  
 “Is it far from here?”

<W> beʔiide min hineen  
 “It’s far from here.”

<I> mhm  
 “mm.”

<W> wai?  
 “yes.”

<I> tuwasseli yoom waahid  
 “Can you arrive in one day?”

<W> aa yoom waahid ha nuwaşşəl, kan naşiihe da bawaşşəl dugo marðaana kina  
 bawaşşəl, ah aaha ah  
 “I arrive in one day. If I’m healthy I’ll arrive, maybe ill, but I’ll arrive, ya.”

<I> usum al hillee di šunu (6:39)  
 “What’s the name of this village?”

<W> weenii  
 “Which?”

<I> hi di  
 “This very one?”

<W> diyaa guldubá?  
 “This is Gulduba.”

<I> aaha huu d’awaalti hini  
 “Have you lived here long?”

<W> d’awwál  
 „I did.“

<I> aha kam sana hini  
 “How many years.”

<L> xariifat kam  
 “How many years (rainy seasons)?”

<W> xariifaati ya  
 “My years?”

<I> aiywaa  
 “Ya.”

<W> hedér jiiit hineen da, mm min aná di jaabooni kula gaayde fi hineen bas, yamta da  
 raasi kula bigi abyaɗ kaarɗɗ kula gyaayde fi hineen wai?, yawwa? (7:08)  
 „Since I came here, since they brought me here, I’ve just been living here. Ever since my  
 hair has turned very white I’ve just been staying here, yep.”

<L> arbaiin wa xamsa  
 „45.“

<W> čat fiya gaaydi fiya hi di  
 “The whole time just staying here.”

<I> aiywaa wuu bakan da hini taaniyaat mašeet fiyaa  
 “Ya and have you gone anywhere else?”

<W> mm  
 “mm?”

<I> mašeeti lee bəkinne taaniyaat  
 “Did you go anywhere else?”

<AD> bakaan gide inti mašeeti wallaa ma mašeeti  
 „Did you go anywhere else or not?“

<W> gede bakaan gede ma mašeet ana?, da bas bakaani  
 „Another place I’ve never been to. This is just my place.”

<I> Maiduguri kula  
 „Even Maiduguri?“



<W> mm, mayduguri yaa dugut aṅgalté, yaa dugut be eené kula harmaan,<sup>15</sup> maani šaayfinne illee šaayfe baama, min allaa xalaqni, maa šiftehe, maiduguri ma šiftehe yaa dugut (7:40)

“Mm, Maiduguri up to now never. Up to now with my eyes it is off limits. I haven’t seen it, except I’ve seen Bama. Since I was born, I didn’t see it. Maiduguri I didn’t see up to now.”

<I> baama šiftee walla maa šifte  
“Have you seen Bama or not?”

<W> haa bama di šiftehe, mhm baama baama di, baama di šiftehe, yawwaa banki kula šaaifinne,  
“Bama I saw, Bama, This Bama I saw, and Banki I’ve seen.”

<I> aiywaa  
“ya.”

<W> yawwa? min hineeni da, di l makunus di yaa I di d’iike aa, gaṛadaay kula hau le l miize da mašeet lee šiftehe, illa gede maani šaaife bəkaan, mhm (8:04)  
“Then from here, that crazy one up to that one, Garadaay as well, and up to Mize I want and saw it. Except any place else I haven’t seen.”

<I> huu n naas fil yaa n naas fi fi min al hillee di fil mašó gaad geedo fii maiduguri  
“And have people from this village gone and lived in Maiduguri?”

<W> hineen minneen da maani maani minneen da mafi  
„Here, from here no ... from here there aren’t any.”

<I> min al hillee di maafi (8:17)  
„From this village there aren’t any.”

<W> aṛa, aniina arab gaadiin fi bəkaanna da bas ša aṅgaraduguli gaadiin fi doola da kina, naadum binši lee Maiduguri ween aniina doola, maafi leena aniina?, aniina da gaadiin da bakaanna, mhm, min d’iikee aṅguruyinna waadi bur d’aaka waadi d’aaka al qalla al waafke da, haa bəṛəmná jiina hineen kan yamta , iyaalna doola walla naaum da bas bəkaanna yamta šayyabna kula da bakaanna, mhm, gede ween kula mafi naadum maša (8:43)

“No, we Arabs just stay in our place, should we live like a cripple. A person goes to Maiduguri among us are you kidding? There isn’t one among us. We stay in our place. That abandoned settlement was our home, that bush, that stream, the grain standing there, and we changed it and came here when... Our children or any person this is just our place, when we get old it’s still our place. Where else should it be? There isn’t a person who left.”

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<sup>15</sup> Lit. “it is forbidden with my eyes.”

<I> wa inti tilkallami balá l arab ayyii yaatu alluqqa  
 “And what language do you speak other than Arabic?”

<W> mm  
 “mm.”

<I> balal arab tilkallami ayyii luqqa  
 “Besides Arabic what language do yo speak.”

<W> kalam al aráb  
 „Arabic?“

<AD> ti?irfi kalaam aaxar walla ma t tiaarfi  
 “Do you know another language or don’t you?”

<W> kalaam gade,  
 “Another language?”

<I> aiwa  
 “ya.”

<W> a?a kalaam bala hana al arab da gede kalaam waahid kula ana maani aarfinne,  
 heyyin da hana borno kula ma biyerfe (9:01)  
 “No, a language other than Arabic, there’s no other language I know. The easy one even  
 Kanuri I don’t know.”

<I> aiywaa  
 “ya.”

<W> mhm  
 “mmhm.”

<I> hausa  
 “Hawsa?”

<W> maani aarfinne ille kalaam al aa gul leek kalaam borno al buuti da kula maani  
 aarfinne sakko kalaam hausa  
 “I don’t know it, even the language I told you the easy Kanuri I don’t even know it, let  
 alone Hawsa.<sup>16</sup>”

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<sup>16</sup> *buuti* Lit. ‘cheap’, i.e. easy to learn if they want to. The answer throws into relief the criteria by which languages are judged to be easy or hard. Whereas in Maiduguri Hawsa is deemed to be an easy language (see IM26, n. 6 and TV36 n. 4), in rural areas where Kanuri is the dominant language, Kanuri is deemed easy.

<L> gaal illee hana al arab  
 “He said only Arabic.”

<W> ille hana al aráb, kina maani aarfe šei, mhm, bee raasi al abyad karř da bas maani  
 aarfe šai šai kula alla (9:17)  
 “Only Arabic. I don’t know anything else. Mhm. despite my old age I don’t know any  
 other language.”

<I> inti gareeti fi s sangaa  
 “Did you study in a Quranic school?”

<W> a aa ma gareeth, maa gareeth,  
 “No, I didn’t study, I didn’t study.”

<L> awaan saqiire ma gareeti al quraan seyi  
 “When you were small you didn’t study the Quran?”

<W> maa gareeth, maa gareeth, waldammi (9:26)  
 “I didn’t study, I didn’t, my son.”

<L> kee lee hamdu kee qul huwa allahu ahhad keda  
 “Like ‘Al-Hamdu’ or “Qul huwa.<sup>17</sup>”

<W> aa  
 “aa”

<L> minn al hamdu kee qul huwa allahu ahad (9:30)  
 “From the Hamdu, and “say is is Allah the One.”

<W> haa sainna  
 “And our teacher ... “

<L> min ke ?? la awaan saqqayri fi l beet  
 “like when you were a child at home.”

<W> wa wai?  
 „Yep.“

<W> yoo illee da bas kina gede maani aarfe šei?  
 “Okay, other than that, How should I know anything?”

<L> wai? wai? garraata assala di, gareetiya fi l beet walla jiit gareeti hineen da (9:40)

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<sup>17</sup> *Al-Hamdu*, the first chapter of the Quran (*Al-Faatiha*) and ‘Qul huwa allaah ahad...’ “Say he is Allah, the One (chapter 112).

„Yep, yep, studying for prayers. Did you learn it at home or when you came here?”

<W> a?a gařeeta hineen da kine maani aarfe řai wałd aṃṃi  
 “No, I studied it here. Do you think I know anything, my brother?”

<L> al girá hiil ař řalá bas  
 “Just studying for prayer?”

<W> mhm, maafi řai  
 “Yes, nothing else.”

<I> tidoori yoom waahid tiřiiifi maiduguri  
 “Would you like to see Maiduguri once?”

<W> tawaddəni inte, awaddini inte, kan inta bəwaddini<sup>18</sup> da, ana kula bamři (10:00)  
 “Will you send me there? Send me yourself. If you send me, I’ll go with.”

<L> gaal řunu gaal  
 “What did he say?”

<W> gaal ke aṃři ařiif Maiduguri, ana kula marđaana, aṃři ikařřəṃni ifařđuuni ibəre,  
 aṃři batəbá bamři ana kula,  
 “He said go and see Maiduguri. I’m ill. Let me go he should grab me and heal me  
 traditionally,<sup>19</sup> let me go and I’ll follow him and go.”

<I> tafađđali  
 “You’re welcome [to come].”

<W> aṃři batəbaak bamři ana kula, ana gaade ?? gaayde kula aloom bala bagdar  
 baxadum mařiide, da aloom sánten da illee mařiide gujuk gujuk gujuk, mənnineen  
 maxaariđi deel da čat bəwajanni rijilé deela aa a bəwajanni da, řaii kula gadəraana  
 baxadəma maafi (10:28)  
 “I’ll go and follow you. I’ll go as well. I just stay around these days, without being able  
 to work. I’m sick. I’ve been sick for two years now, just dragging myself around Gujuk  
 Gujuk . From here, this lower back of mine hurts me all over, these feet of mine hurt me.  
 I can’t work at anything.”

<L> sahe wallahe  
 “That’s true.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> An odd error, b- imperfect for third person, with an epenthetic vowel [i] as in the second person of a weak final verb.

<sup>19</sup> *farrad*, to heal traditionally by drawing blood with cuts.

<sup>20</sup> L is commiserating, not confirming the truth value of what she says.

<W> marɗaana illaa kuɗok di magatti da, ana kula batɔbá bamši, at id'iinii al ibere  
 "I'm ill, just sitting in one place is my situation. I'll just follow him and go. Definitely let him give me an injection."

<V> bakaan biwaddiiki aarfinne dugo timši  
 "A place he's sending you do you know it, and still you'll go?"

<W> a?a qarada<sup>21</sup> kan ween bɔwaddiini kula kaal kaal aná di, kaal ana di  
 "It's up to him wherever he sends me it's all the same to me."

<L> [X] iyoo bɔdooru kalaam ke bisamá  
 „Oh, you they want conversation so he can listen to it.“

<AD> kalaam da daayriin n naadum  
 „For conversation they want a person.“

<L> iyoo haa gaal šunu gaal yaat xabar ke, inti šuqúl bileen ajabki min ke gaayde kee šabá be yoom maa šiftí  
 "Okay, and what did he say, which news .... You, something that pleased you since you've been here, have you seen it?"

<W> da minneen da muřrina as saná di al bəgí foogna da, hedér allaa xalaqna kula gəffe šabá šuqulna aj jaana hana as saná de da maa šifná (11:03)  
 „Like our problem this year what happened to us, since God created us, a disaster like what happened to us this year I've never seen anything like it.“

<L> saahii  
 "right."

<W> aa  
 "aa."

<L> šabá bɔdoor tuguuli leyi bɔdoowɾ bɔsma al kalaam  
 "Like you want to tell me, he wants to hear it."

<L> joo al borno fattono tixabbərni al kalaam da  
 „The Kanuri came, tell me about it.“

<W> borno fattono foogna aniina as saná di, kattalo naasna bəraake<sup>22</sup> sull, fil fil fi diinaŋ qaafil<sup>23</sup> ke, aa, šabá hu da da angaalté min walladoona, minn an naas al gabuLna zamaar raabi haadi bəlkallamo, beyya kula šabá šuqúl hana as saná di as sawwó fiina da, kuure maafi naadum šaafa,

<sup>21</sup> qarad "intention".

<sup>22</sup> be raaha ke "like for pleasure"

<sup>23</sup> diinaŋ qaafil, perhaps *diin-an qaafil* "by surprise, ambush".

„The Kanuri ?? on us this year, they killed our people for no reason, in an ambush, something like that never since we were born, since before us the time of Rabeh<sup>24</sup> they used to talk about, only like that, something like they did this year to us, it's never been seen before.”

<L> mm sahi (11:27)  
„that's correct.“

<W> kuure raabi haadi bəjí kula, bəkútulu minjam kina, ille iezzil leya naas, da doola lawaanaat, da doola a lawaanaat bas dugo ikattilum šabá da ke iguulu humma anjammeena, ikattuluuhum fi diinaŋ qaafil, naadum fi karnika fi, fi beete ke iguulu, aniina ligiiná foog, foog ad darb aadum da, hedar allaa xalaqa kula ijeegá n naadum mašá kasará a, ille iguulu šuqúl a a aj jaaybinna šabá as saná di as sawwó fiina da maafi (11:53)

„Before even when Rabeh came, he'd just kill for no reason. He'd just pick out some people [randomly]. But these ones,<sup>25</sup> these, the sub-chiefs, the sub-chiefs they just kill them then they say they're Chadian outlaws. They kill many in ambushes, a person in his own village, in his house they say. We found him on the road, Adam. Since God created him, no one can accuse him of stealing anyone's property. They say there's [ever been anything like ] what they brought us this year, what they did to us.<sup>26</sup>”

<L> sahii wallahi  
“Absolutely correct.”

<W> aa  
“aa”

<L> sahii  
“correct.”

<W> hu da min alla xalaqana maa šifná waldammi, min alla xalaqna hu da aŋgalté, šuqúl giffé šabá hi di maa šifnaaha

<sup>24</sup> Rabeh was a lieutenant of the Sudanese warlord Zubair Pasha and his son, Suleiman, who was defeated in (1879) by Count Gessi. Rabeh fled the Sudan with the remainder of the troops and eventually established control over Bagirmi, and over Borno itself, in 1893. He ruled for seven years before being killed by the French general Lamy in 1900. Though he is said by some to have favored the Arabs in Borno, his rule is remembered by all groups in Borno till today as having been particularly brutal (see also TV58 for further reference to Rabeh).

<sup>25</sup> She is comparing the events which they are experiencing at the moment with the days of Rabeh, saying that while Rabeh killed indiscriminantly, now they are targeting village leaders. She refers to a person called “Adam (Dabdab)” who was found dead on a road. He is known throughout the area, and would never have stolen even a sugar cane from a person, so killing him was completely unjustified. *ijeegá n naadum mašá kasará* “a piece of cane from a person, would he go and cut it?”, a rhetorical question to indicate that such an act would be unthinkable.

<sup>26</sup> The events talked about here occurred at the end of the 1980's and early 1990's, and describe killings which arose out of business conflicts, but which became partly an inter-ethnic conflict between the Kanuri and Arabs in the Gulumba-Banki area.

„This thing, since God created us we’ve never seen it my brother. Since God created us, never. A scandal like it we’ve never seen.”

<L> aa sahi wallahi  
„That absolutely correct.“

<W> maa šifná wallaahi  
“We’ve never seen it really.”

<L> da kan šuqúl amrár minna da maafi  
“There’s nothing more bitter than that.”

<V> haa n naas al bəkattiluhuum  
“And the people they kill.”

<W> hum haa  
“mm”

<?> [X] (12:14)

<W> fi l murr daʔ, an naas aʔa an naadum al hineen an naadim ya al hineen kina d’ool<sup>27</sup>  
ka da aarfinum ween abuu  
„Among those problems. The people, a person here [ I know but] those ones how should I know them?“

<L> tuwaali banki ke kula sai ikaṛṛubu arab bas ikattuluuəṁ  
“All the way to Banki there’s just detaining Arabs and killing them.”

<W> d’ooloka arab d’ooloka da  
“Those Arabs, those Arabs.”

<?>

<L> wai aa ha  
“ya.”

<W> al bəkattuluuhum naadum doola da, kina dooloka da nieerifum ween, d’ooloka maani aarfinum (12:35)  
“The ones who are killing them, how should I know them? Those ones I don’t know.”

<L> ha hu ke, haw gaal, t, nzeen da murr, ha gaal ke, yoomaki da helú ke, šuqúl kee bas bəleen tizzakarú da hu da bəleen bigí leeki helú ba yoom kula šabá maa ligiití ke da, šabá šunu ke da

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<sup>27</sup> Unusual implosive /d’/ in proximal demonstrative.

„And ... he said, good, that's terrible, and he said, something nice, something like you remember especially and was especially nice for you like a day you experienced it, what might that be?”

<W> aa illee waldammi ana fi d dunya maa šifta al helú da,  
„My brother in this world I've never seen something nice.“

<L> da sahi wallaha  
„That right.“

<W> maa šif helú, ad dunya di ana fiya helu maa šifte waldammi  
„I didn't see sweetness. This world doesn't have pleasures. I haven't seen it my brother.“

<L> yoom waahid ke ille galbiki ifrí ke fook šuqúl helu ke marra waahid (12:58)  
“One day you were very happy about something nice.”

<W> šuqúl helu da kan mi naadum amta, anta ille jaabo inta jaabo rahhalo le saqiirak,  
„Something nice if a person, when they bring, they marry your child.“

<L> wi da sahi  
„That's right.“

<W> kan mi dada gede fi d dunya di hali helaalti  
“Otherwise is there anything on earth ?? [nice]”

<L> [X]

<W> aa  
yawwa waldammi, illaa da bas kina gida helu fi d dunya aniina fi d dunya maa šifnaá?,  
„Okay my brother, just this, otherwise we haven't seen anything nice.“

<?> [X]

<W> yawwa rahaa?, aahaa dada da bas al, dada da bas, di bas faryyinna kina gede maa leena fara waade kula, [X] yawwa kula da da faraínna, aaha dada di bas faraídna  
„Right marriage ..., that's all, that's our only joy, but otherwise we don't have any. That's all of it, aaha.”

<L> da bas  
„That's all.“

<W> di bas, di bas farayídna waldammi, maafi maafi, farayyinna maa fi leena maa fi dada al hamdulullahi alla kan xad'a foog an naas ka, dada, an naadum maa bœeegibe  
“That's all, this is our happiness my brother. There isn't any, none. We don't have any happiness so [we just say] praise God if God ordains to people, a person doesn't question it (pass across it).”