

TV72b-rafa-ahdbdalla-final

Abdallah = AB, I = Owens, AD = Adam, L = Allamin, V = unknown voices

<I> ismak mine  
“what’s your name”

<AB> şumumí abdallaahi, wuldooni hineen bas, fi najerya hineen bas (0:28)  
“My name’s Abdullaahi. I was just born here, in Nigeria here.”

<I> fi yatu hille  
“In which town”

<AB> hille a fi dagala?, fi dagala?  
“The village? in Dagala, in Dagala.”

<I> ween al hille  
“where is it”

<AB> d’iikkiya hiya, d’iikkiya hiya  
“It’s right there, right over there”

<I> gariibe min hine walla be?iid  
„Is it near here or far?“

<AB> gariibe  
“near”

<I> yoom wahid naadim biwoşşəl  
“A person will get there in a day”

<AB> yoom wahid naadim biwoşşəl, dugut gaid fi raafa?, (0:52)  
“A person will get there in a day. Now I stay in Rafa.”

<I> d’awwal hineen, siniinak kam hineen  
“did you stay here long, how many years?”

<AB> d’awwál hineen, hineen talatiin<sup>1</sup> sana kula maarək, cat hineen  
“Now I stay in Rafa. I’ve stayed long here, since thirty years. All of them here.”

<I> inta arabi

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<sup>1</sup> The speakers from the four Gulumba-area villages vary between \*θ > s and \*θ > t. The latter is invariably the form in the western area. However, \*θ > t is also found in the northern Bagirmi dialects, including perhaps (no detailed dialect surveys exist) the Kaala area (see e.g. TV112Mada n. 51), where a number of the current speakers migrated from.

“Are you Arab?”

<AB> aṛaḃi, nafar a, nafar aṛaḃi jubuur aná?, mhm (1:07)

“Arab, my clan is Jubur”

<I> ammak haw abuuk kula arab

“Are your mother and father also Arabs.”

<AB> amḃi, aṛaḃi ye, abuyi kula aṛaḃi, humma cat nafarna wayid, wəi?

“My mother is an Arab, my is as well. Both are the same clan.”

<I> bala al arab tilkallam luqa yatu

<AB> nafira gade?, nafira gade?, waade kula beyerifha mafi, ille nafəra borno?, ille borno, alellemte hineen fi gulumbá di bas (1:42)

“A different type. I just know one type. Just Kanuri I learned. I learned it here in Gulumba.”

<I> wa hawsa

<AB> hawsa ma biyerfa

“I don’t know Hawsa.”

<I> xidimtak šunu

“What’s your work?”

<AB> xudumti ille al hiraata (1:53)

“I just farm.”

<I> keef tiheerit

“How do you farm?”

<AB> keef baheerit, keef baheerit, baheerit da al hiraata al waade tul di ad duxún di, mi hiraata a di al qalla al waafke di, al qalla al waafke di, u baxadam fi z zer?, al ḃuriyye, hu be l katanka, naadim biheerit be l katanka, mhm, hu buḃalləd’ fi alme?, kan alme sabba ka ḃalləd’ fi alme?, wəi?,

„How do I farm, how I farm? The one type of farming is millet. Isn’t it the type of grain standing there, this one standing? And I work on the farm, the wetland farming. It’s with a hoe. A person farms with a hoe. He digs [grass] out from the water. When it rains, he uproots the grass. yep.”

<AB> bicuxx, be l gafgal, bicux hu bicalli, yowa?, wa budugga?, buḃgulha bijjibhe le l beet haw biyaakul (2:30)

“he sticks it in, with a pointed stick, and sticks it in and cuts it off. And he threshes it. He transports it and brings it to the house and eats it.”

<I> ticelli be šunu  
 “how do you harvest?”

<AB> nicalliihe be l bongoro, mata bicalluuha, hi bicuquuha da tušur šałaasa dugo bicalluuha?, mhm  
 “We cut it down with a machete. When they cut it down, then they stick it in, for three months, then they cut it.”

<I> when do people farm with hoes

<AB> biheertu a, biheertu kula šahár?, šaareen kula biheertu, dugo tušur šałaasa da, sab?a šahár, dugo betinjađ, mařra wahid min hiraatíte haw le cilayithe da?, aha (2:53)  
 “They farm. They farm, one month, two months, they farm, maybe three, seven, then it ripens. From its planting up to its harvesting completely.”

<I> ticalluuha baadeen  
 “after you cut crops, what then”

<AB> benulummaha, nulummaha fi l madák, dugo nuduggaha, wai dugo bədařruuha, dugo nišiilha nijjibha?, nuduggha fi l madák, fi n naga, wa benišiilha nijjibba?, nišiilhe foog kooro, kooro a, himaar, himaar, himaar, yowa?, baadeen baadeen ma nuŋuļha fi l kafaawi bas foog kooro bas foog al himaar bas kula nuŋuļha foog šunu, (3:36)  
 “We gather it, we gather it on an open area, then we thresh it, then they winnow it then we take it and bring it and beat it on the open area, on the flat plain and we carry it and bring it. We carry it on top of a donkey, a donkey, donkey. Then don’t we carry it in leather sacks on a donkey, what else should we carry it on?”

<I> ween  
 “to where?”

<AB> nijjibhe nijjibhe le l beet hineen, nijjibhe hineen le l beet, wai? nuşuḅḅaha fi n nugaar nidufúnha, iyo, ween kula nugura benunkut leya  
 “We bring it, we bring it to the house here, here to the house. We pour it into a hole and bury it. Anywhere we dig a hole for it. (3:47)

<I> ween tidifunha  
 “where bury it?”

<AB> nidfínhe fi tiraab da bas, benidissehe angalde benidfinhe, ma titalaf,  
 „We bury it in the ground. We put it in completely and bury it. It doesn’t spoil.”

<I> keef ma titalaf  
 “how doesn’t it spoil?”

<AB> ma titalaf, ma titalaf benidiss lehe širgaaniyye nuşuḅḅaha hu nədifine fi t təraab, hu an naadim gamma ka bikšaaha?, hu biyaakul? (4:04)

“It doesn’t spoil. It doesn’t spoil. We stick a mat in it and pour it in and bury it [grain in mat] in the ground. Then a person comes and opens it and eats it.”

<I> keef taakula  
“how eat it.”

<AB> mi naakula da bəreekuuha, bəreekuua?, bişukkuuh?a biwadduua le l injin, biyađu fookha kofo?, yowa hu bəreekuua?, kan bujú buşuud’uua eš,  
“Don’t we eat it? They grind it, they grind it. They separate it and send it to a grinder. They pay for it and they grind it. Then they come and cook it into meal.”

<I> ween al injin  
“Where’s the grinder?”

<AB > al injin fi gulumbá, fi borno qaadi fi gulumba al injin, buwadduua bišiiluaa foog raashum bas kina buwadduua keef, al mará tišiilhe tiwaddiha hu bəreekuua?, mhm, wa betišiilhe tijiibhe ka buşuuduua eš, wai hu biyaakulu (4:40)  
“The grinder is in Gulumba, with Kanuri in Gulumba. They send it and carry it on their heads and they send it how? A woman carries it and sends it and they grind it and she carries it and brings it [back] and they cook it and they eat.”

<I> as sana di keef al hiraata  
“how is farming this year?”

<AB> as sána, al hiraasa, kuweese haw mi kuweese, kuweese haw mi kuweese, kaafi?, kaafi, biyaakula ma bixalliia?, mhm, hu alme kula šiya?, mhm, kweese, kweese wa mi kuweese da al kaafi biyaakul da, yo ke da gade kuweese a, ha kweese da, hi ke da betinherít hu al kaafi biyakulha da gade kawasitha min ween, yowwa?, (5:15)  
“This year, the farming. Its good and not good. Its good and not good. Grasshoppers, grasshoppers are eating it they don’t leave it. And the rain is little. Its good and not good the grasshoppers are eating it. But its good, it can be farmed but then the grasshoppers eat it, so where is the good in it?”

<I> what do you do against grasshoppers

<AB> al kaafi, ha al kaafi bi?errit a, dada bəkaan bəfađđil kan təfađđil kina al kaafi bi?errida, al kaafi ma binši yeen kula, biyaakul bas, šuqúl daliil ke an niseyy le l kaafi da ke aniina mana aarfinne; akuṛubha jiiibhe leena dugo kan hu aarif be daliile isawwi leena fihe, yawwa jiiibe dugo kan be daliile da iseyyi leena fiya?  
“The grasshoppers, do the grasshoppers run away? Then the place where it remains, it [grain] just remains. Do the grasshoppers run away? The grasshoppers don’t go anywhere. They just eat. Anything we can do against the grasshoppers we don’t know about. Grab them and bring them to us so he knows something to do about them. Bring it in case there’s something he can do for us.”

<I> mašeet təraab taani fi najeriya

“Did you go to any other place in Nigeria?”

<AB> fi najerya, mašeet, fi legos a, ween taani leyi ana a, a?a, ana ma kaddeet, mašeet qaadi kula gayd bikaana waade bas raddeet jiiit.

“In Nigeria, I went to Legos. Anywhere else I didn’t go. I went there and stayed in one place and returned.”

<AB> da al kaafi biyaakul al qalla, yawwa, kan be šoortak fiya da?, be šoortak fiya sei, qaadi da kaddeet da, min tinibut bus stop, baaga street, yawwa?, da bəkaani dada ana jiiit? (6:37)

“Now the grasshoppers are eating the grain. If you have advice about them, if you have advice about them. There (in Lagos) I moved around, from the Tinibu Bus stop, Baaga Direct. That was my place, then I came.”

<I> indak xidime qaadi be legos

“did you have a job in Lagos”

<AB> indi ziyaara bas, šuquli ziyaara bas, raddeet

“I was just visiting. I just went for a visit and returned.”

<I> buyuut al arab kam fi rafa

“How many arab houses in Rafa”

<AB> buyuut aṛāḅ hinna ašara, hinna išəriin, buyuut áṛāḅ išəriin.

“The Arab houses are ten, they are twenty, the Arab houses are twenty.”

<I> gabaayil taaniyaat fi

“are there other tribes?”

<AB> catt áṛāḅ, cat áṛāḅ, gade gabiila taaniyaat mafi, (7:13)

“All are Arabs, all Arabs. There aren’t any other tribes.”

<I> gariib minku da, hellaal arab katiir walla šiyya

“ many arab villages in neighborhood”

<AB> kooma, gariib da da hillit aṛāḅ, d’aaka kula hillit aṛāḅ, da kula hillit aṛāḅ, waraak da kula hillit aṛāḅ, mhm (7:28)

“Many, near here, this is an Arab village that also is an Arab village, this as well, behind you also is an Arab village.”

<I> samamaahin šunu

“their names?”

<AB> šamaṃaahan, gulduba sei dugut jiiit fookha, gulduba sai jiiit fookha, yoo raafa?, allamúudi, yawwa?, guldubá?, yo raafáa?, gəde kula rafaa?, rafaa? šalaasa, yoowa?, fulatarii?, katakorii?, ya giddaam ke, katakooṛí?, hiy a, mhm, beiide ye be?iide u gariibe

bileen kula mi gariibe, saʔa naadim biwaşşəl, le katakorí sei, bəwaşşəl, kadár al uşúr, ma bugoot le l uşúr, naaəm binši, yoo jillíʔ, cidesíʔ, xasaara, deela cat hellaal aṙáḅ, yoowaʔ, (8:33)

“Their names. Gulduba that you came from, Gulduba, the one you came from. Then Rafa, Allamudi, then Gulduba, and another Rafa and another, three Rafa’s, then Fulatari, Katakori in front there, Katakori, its far, a bit far, very near, but not too near. In an hour a person reaches Katakori, before evening, before evening a person will go. Then Jilli, Cidesi, Xasaara, these are all Arab villages.”

<I> intu tusowwug  
“go to market?”

<AB> ambaakir a , basowwəg, fi s suug,  
“Tomorrow? I go to the market. “

<I> tilkallam ay luqa  
“what lg do you speak there (misunderstood).”

<AB> bagood yaat bəkaan, bagood fi suug fi bəkaan aš šugalaaya fi fi fi lubb as suug bas  
“In the market I stay in which place, I stay in the market just in the middle of it.”

<AD> təsawwəg be šunu, luqa yatu  
“what language do you use in the market?”

<AB> basuug be kalaam al aráb da bas, yo kan bašəri šuqúl balkallam be ka... bašəri hineen balkallam be kalaam borno, yo kam kam, iyiit minna tara, tara iyiith, iyiith, mudda hejira kula (9:14)  
“I market in Arabic. If I buy something, I speak .. I buy it here, I speak Kanuri, like how much how much. I’m tired of it, I’m tired. Point it [the microphone] somewhere else.”

<I> mašeet le l sangaaya  
“Did you go to Quranic school?”

<AB> sangaaya, sangaaya mašeet kula kula ma d’awwál, ma d’awwál šuqúl akaad da ana saqiyyir, gede ma mašeet, sangá fi yerwa baktabá, wəiʔ (9:32)  
“Quranic school, Quranic school I went but not for long. I didn’t stay long. That was when I was small and I didn’t go any more. A Quranic school in Maiduguri in Baktaba<sup>2</sup>,”

<I> taktub be kalaam al arab  
“Can you write Arabic?”

<AB> xalleeta saqayyir ma bakútuba, šiya šiya da bagərí ille katabiin ma bakútuba,  
“I left it when I was small and can’t write. I can read a little. But writing, I can’t write.”

<AD> sayyidku nafaara yatu

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<sup>2</sup> A village name. Unidentified.

“What clan was your teacher?”

<AB> saʔinna a, saʔinnaa nafara qalmi

“Our master was Qalme”

<AD> fi sangaayitku di cat aráb walla məxalbadʔiin

“In the Quranic school were you all Arabs or mixed?”

<AB> awaan da cat aráb, awaan da dug árab (10:00)

„At that time all Arabs. At the time all Arabs.”

<AD> fi hillutku hineen dalaal fi walla mafi.

“Do you have dances in your village?”

<AB> fi hillidna dalaal mafi

“In our village there aren’t dances.”

<AD> mafi dalaal kaamil, ha misal abba, šaba inta hassa indak bineey, ho burnaay budoorha, wa da arabi ja budoorha, taand’a le mine fookhum

“There are none at all, like Abba, like now you have a daughter, and a Kanuri wants to marry her, and an Arab wants her, which one would you give her to?”

<AB> haw kan al arabi ja bədoorha da baadʔihe le l arabi kine al burnaay baadʔi leya (10:20)

“If the Arab wants her, I’d give her to the Arab; would I give her to a Kanuri?”

<AD> ha da áhala aráb, ahala árab wa hu ma bisəma aráb kaamil.

“And that one, his relatives are Arab, his relatives are Arab but he doesn’t know the language.”

<AB> áhala aráb, hu hu ma bísəma aráb.

„His relatives are Arab but he doesn’t know Arabic?”

<AD> wa da kan mi arabi wa bisəma kalaam al aráb

„And this one isn’t Arab but he knows Arabic”

<AB> da kan arabi haw ma bisəma kalaam al aráb

„This one’s Arab but doesn’t speak Arabic.”

<AD> taad’a le weenu fookhum

“Which one would you give her to?”

<AB> wa hu da kan ahala aráb, u kaal ma bisəma kalaam al aráb, ha kula kan aarfinna taw arabi da, baadʔiha le l arabi da bas.

“This one whose relatives are Arab, but doesn’t know Arabic at all, and if I know before he was pure Arab, I’d give just her to the Arab.”

<AD> kan ma bisəma kula  
 „Even if he doesn't know it?”

<AB> kan ma bisəma kula (10:44)  
 „Even if he doesn't know it.”

<I> tismaa raadiyo  
 “listen to radio”

<AB> aʔa, ar raadyo da ma basəma zeen, ma basəmə́ zeen, šiya šiya kan, akšá ke, akšá ke, basəmə́ šiya šiya da?  
 “The radio, I don't listen to it well, just a little. If I open it I just listen to it a little.”

<I> indak bagar  
 “do you have cattle (bágar)”

<AB> bagár fi  
 “There are cattle.”

<AB> al bagár a, al bagar saariin behin, wa bihelbu lebanəm, bihelbu lebanhum kina, bisowwu behin šunu, (11:17)  
 “The cattle. The cattle they go with to pasture and they milk their milk, they milk their milk of course. What do they do with them.”

<AD> busowwu bahan keef  
 “What do they do with them?”

<AB> bəsárho behan da, dugut aš šam di korak wagát da, ha betid'allikan dugut mirabbad'aat fi l beeth, betid'allikhan haw tišiil aasaatak haw timíš behan le l waadi, timíš ya l fajír, akaad ad jidaad bibki da, kan betijjibhan tidissahan min ađ duḅḅaan, fi sartiina da, mhm  
 “They farm with them. Now when the sun has set completely, you let them loose. Now they're tied up in the house. You untie them and you take your stick and you go with them to the bush. You walk until morning, until the cock crows, then you bring them and put them [in the house] away from the flies, like at this time.”

<AD> da fi l xariif sai, ha fi aš šeef a (11:44)  
 “This is the rainy season right, and in the hot season?”

<AB> wəi, fə š šeef ka bisáran nahaar, kula binšan le l waadi bas  
 „Yes, in the hot season, they pasture in the daytime and just go to the bush.”

<I> beʔiid  
 “Is it far”



<AB> ha, binšan beʔiid, [X] gumḅuḷak keʔ biseyy, ke kula biseyyi təʔa||əge, yowa hu tišiil hiṛaabak hu titbaahan, wa andafaatak kula da gadirha ke ihud'd'ehe le l harrá, yo yamta aš šam togá ka betijiiphan, tijiiphan le l hille, mhm kan bugoodan fi l beet (12:10)  
 “Ha, they go far. Your gourd is like this, you hang it down [from the shoulder] and you take your spear and you follow them and your hat as big as this, you put on against the sun and when the sun sets,<sup>3</sup> and you bring them to the village and they stay in the house.”

<AD> ha taakul šunu fi sera  
 “And what do you eat when you pasture?”

<AB> ha tilqadda fi l beet bas, timuruk fi sera taakul šunu, [X] šunu kula taakul bas, gade tilga šunu taakula, fi l waadi bas, inta maaši fi l waadi tilga šunu taakula  
 “You just lunch at home. You go out to pasture, what do you eat? You eat just anything, anything you get you eat, in the bush. You’re walking in the bush what can you find to eat?”

<AD> ha fi l waadi da šunu šunu ke at tilga taakula da  
 “And in the bush what do you find to eat?”

<AB> ma tilga šei kila fi l waadi da, ille kan hijilij, yawwa, ille kan naḅák, yawwa haw kan samúx, yawa, yawa, gade šai kula mafi (12:47)  
 “You don’t get anything in the bush, except hijilij nuts, Okay, except for ?? and for ?? and gum Arabic. There’s nothing else.”

<L> gaal ke, gal, gal hu ke min inta gayid da, šunu ke bigí leek helú ke, yoom wahid ke šunu, šuqúl sowwo bigí leek helú ke friit beya min inta ke gaid ke da šunu, (13:06)  
 “He said, he said, since you’re here, what do you find nice, what have you found nice, you are happy with it, like what?”

<AB> šuqúl ke aloom bigí helu lei, (13:08)  
 “Something that was nice for me?”

<L> šuqúl ke aloom min inta gait ke, bigí leek helú da šabá šunu ke  
 “Something since you’re here that was great for you like what?”

<AB> da ma biérfe walḍammi hu da, ana beyerfe yeen (13:14)  
 „I don’t know anything my brother. Where should I know that?”

<L> ha xalaas dada ninšit d’aaka  
 „Okay then I ask that other guy”

<V> kan binšitni ana da, fi d dinya da, ille šuqúl helú lei fi d dinya da ille naší cir, as saná da kan min šaatat da ille ana maṛiiḍ, le ana maṛiiḍ ille ana maṛiiḍ da šuqúl al fi d dinya muṛṛ kaamil, da bas al fi jildi, (13:31)

<sup>3</sup> Presumably, “sun rises” is intended here.

“If you ask me, in this world, the only nice thing in the world is to be healthy. This year when it was the cold season I was sick, I was just sick. That was very terrible, in my life.”

<L> da al muṛṛ sei, ha inta ke min gaaid šunu yoom wahid ke bigí leek helú, isoww šuqúl al bigí leek helú ke,

“This is what is bad. Now you, what did you find good, the thing that is good for you?”

<V2> šuqúl fi aj jamaa da siniina kula ma faatan a hana aj jamaa awaan ad dinya zeene an naas be dalaalhum bigallubu iyaal nuswaan, banaat billamman, nišiif di, tišiif, da kula helu, da kan tamma al yoom tak min ad daar, he gide helú fi a, helu mafi (13:51)

“Something in the community has long passed [is overdue]. When the world was good and people danced and galloped horses, boys, women, girls would gather, I see this, you see this was good. That’s finished. Today its gone completely from the land, so what’s nice, there’s nothing.”

<AD> ha naas bigallubu be l xeel keef, abba

“How do people gallop horses Abba.”

<V2> naas bigallubu be l xeel da, al banaat birussan ke, al iyaal šubyaan šabaaku intu dool, šabaaku intu dool maaku iyaal dugaaga a, raakib foog jawaadak, kaare labbaas biširi biširaati, hiraab tineen kaarbinhan fi iidak, min jaay leek naas šalaasha min jaay leek naas šalaasha, haw dahadda tigallibu, tijú tiruṣṣu foog al banaat hinna kula bilkallaman waade waade, da awaan da fi di dinya helú, ha al yoom diniya hilwe ween, hilwe mafi, alyoom da ad dinya murra handáx, le gaadiin dugut magadinna hana aloom amaaniin šuuf-an abiyad<sup>4</sup> dool da, le gaadiin fi d dinya hayyiin da maytiin kula axeer, [X] al yoom ad dinya muṛṛa hax (14:30)

“People ride horses. The girls line up like this, the youths like you guys, like you guys aren’t you young? You ride on your horse, clothes, a well-clothed person ?? ?? grasping two spears grabbing them in your hand. Over here are three people over there are three and then you gallop, you come and you line up in front of the girls and they also are speaking one word after the other.<sup>5</sup> That was when the world was good. But today how is it good. It isn’t. Today the world’s very bitter . Our situation today is that of old men, Staying in the world living, dying is even better. Today the world’s very bitter. ...”

<AD> ha inta abba, hineen tixarmu le l ganašiin walla mat tixarmu

“And you Abba, do you go and hunt or not?”

<V2> ma naxaram ween kula ille karbinna le angumde Kireet Kireet, kireet min hiraatina di bas, hu ka naadim kan be bagarta kan gam kadda al waadi kan ja zagalha, aṣṣaata, gide ad dinya di fiha helú šunu, dokta fiiha haruna fi hillitku mafi, dokta mafi, allah wallahi dokta mafi, alla wallahi dokta mafi, dokta tatt naira išəriin, inta miskiin miskiin tatt naira išəriin, taata talatiin, naira arbaʔiin kula ibəre zeene mafi gide dokta yeen, [X] ha al magaani cat magani al gadiim gadiim da humma cat afuno, al magani al gadiim bas biṣaxu, lambayta al gadiime biṣaxuuha bišiilu lambáa aj jadiide

<sup>4</sup> *šuuṫ-an abiyad*, with the linker –an before the adjective modifier.

<sup>5</sup> See IM26 for description of traditional horse shows.

buhud'd'uuha, ha dada bibiiuha leeku jadiide, yam idussuuha fi jildak da tiworrum jildak ke ke ke, haw šai tisey leek mafi, dadda heelum siyaad al-kimees doola, (15:25)

“We don’t go anywhere except grabbing onto a hoe handle and farming kreet kreet. If a person has cattle, if he gets up and wanders the bush he throws down his stick [after the work of herding]. What else is nice in this world. Doctor Haruna, do you have a doctor in your village. There is no doctor, no doctor, no doctor. You give him naira, you a poor person give him 20 naira, 30 naira, 40, yet there’s no good injection. What sort of doctor, and the medicine all the medicine is old, old. They’re all Hawsa doctors. The old medicine they peel off, its old number they remove it and they take a new number and put it on it and then they sell it to you as if it is new. When they inject it into your body, it swells up your body like so, and it doesn’t do you a bit of good. So most of them are just [fraudulent] chemists.”

[X]

<V> Helú fi d dunya kaamil maafi, helú maafi, (15:43)

“Goodness in the world there isn’t.”

[X nafarhum šunu an naas doola, ha dugut siyaat al kemis doola, nafarhum da, afuno da, haruun da mi biyerifhum a, anšit indak daa, anšit, al kemis da siyaada ma afunhum a inta kula, ha ana gide helu fi d dinya kamil mafi, ]

<V> bature helú mafi, awaan ja birbit lei da ana gul leye al bikaan da bidis leena alme kooma, bidis leena le buriyinna tæmmolí kal, nicux nilga qalla kooma kula sanga rá?a sahaab ke gaal, as saná di alme mafi a, ana gul alme ind alla kina, alme mi indak, amis amma misil kalaama da as saná da alme mafi

“European, there’s nothing good. When he first came to me I told him this place, he’ll<sup>6</sup> get a lot of water for us. He’ll send water to our farm and it will be filled up completely. We plant and we get a lot of grain he raised up his head and saw the cloud and said, and this year there’s no rain. I said, water is a gift of God. You don’t have water. Yesterday [that year] there was no water.”

<L> fi l hille di, iyaal marago mašó buguru fi maiduguri fi

“In this village, did children go and study in Maiduguri?”

<V2> a?a mašó le l barraani, egabo le le lagos ke da walla wahid walla tineen da fi, a ille isa bas sei, ille isa bas, mašá le legos, aha, fi maiduguri mafi, fi maiduguri da mafi (16:29)

“No they went far away, they went on to Lagos, one or two, just Isa, just Isa, he went to Lagos, but none in Maiduguri.”

[X]

<AD> binšu le l xidime mafi, aniina dool da, ille nidoor ille naadim ilkallam kalaam katiir ke bas xalaas, kalaam benudoor na?arif kalaamku intu bas, da bas,

“They don’t go to work, us, we just want a person to speak a lot, just that. We just want to know your language, just that.”

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<sup>6</sup> Unclear reference; a person who said the area would get rain.

<V2> idabuzuuna ibar nibka nišá cir, niharit angumde ille gir, gire be l heel nilga qalla kooma nakul nišba diŋ, da bas aniina nidawre, gide nidawr šunu min alla (17:02)  
 “They should inject us so we become very healthy. So we can farm the hoe handle with great strength and we get a lot of grain and eat and get filled up. That’s all we want. What else do we ask of God?”

<L> inta ke yaat šuqul ajjab inta šifte da  
 “You, what surprisng thing have you seen?”

<V2> aʔa, aš šuqúl alajjab da, as sána min anxəraaya da suqul ajjab mafi sai, ille gide ajjab da mafi min as saná di, min zamaan an našara kula awaan da kula buguulu kan faziitak nasaara kula saw leek ɓašara, (17:18) intu dool bas an našara, awaan da intu gaadiin qaadi fi d daar da, borno bikuɓbu naadim buɗ bigulmu ragabta, dugo an nasaara bigoot bukurus ke dugo bijíʔ, šunu šunu šunu, humma biduxuluʔ, borno min kuure kula humma kattaaliin aɗ ɗaal biduxulu ambeen an nasaara ambeen al aráb, gaal ke ke ke dada an nasaari no no no intu rawweetu, haw xalleetuuna aniina kan anfajayəna, hu dugut da wa intu zamaanku hana an našara da baggaʔ, kan daxál hana borno, hana borno al yoom al iyaal ad dugaag dugaag dool ke al bəgaru dool kani kan inta sawweet zeen ye kal, kan sawweet fasíl ye kula kal, gade kan galbuhum kašafak katíl ye biktuluuk, kan galbak<sup>7</sup> ma kašafak kan kan kan rubaat ye birubɗuuk, kan galbuhum kašafak, maalak cat bušiiilú? (18:02)

“No, something surprising, this year as a result of fear, there isn’t anything wonderful this year, since the time of the British even. That time they say, even if your supporters are whites, find yourself a way out of your difficulties. You are Bature. You were once ruling this country. The Kanuri would grab a person and cut off his head. Then the Bature would wait before coming. What’s going on, then they entered. The Kanuri before were deceivers.<sup>8</sup> They would intervene between the Bature and the Arabs [for their own interest]. The Kanuri would say such and such then the Bature said ‘no no no’ and you went back home [without getting justice]. Then you let us get stamped on. And now your day [of power] of the Bature has gone, and then the era of the Kanuri began, of Borno today. The young [Kanuri] who have studied, whether you [an Arab] does good or bad its all the same. If they (their hearts) have something against you, they’ll just kill you. If they don’t find you out, they’ll still put you in prison; or if they find you out they’ll take your property.” (20:26)

[X]

<sup>7</sup> Probably *galbuhum* “their heart” intended, as with the other two tokens.

<sup>8</sup> *kattaaliin aɗ ɗaal* “killing the one who has gone astray”. The killer of a stray being is morally tainted, and hence a cheater or deceiver.