

gr136sk.txt

saleh kwes and co m = mohammad hasib, sk saleh kwes, g gulumba man (Abba al-Haj); 32 minutes, 3567 words

<M> inta ma garó, a šuqúl da as sábab da, gade ke le abu gudura, kan gaal aʔazila da, dawa al mulk, an nasaara mun marago had'd'o al mulk dawa leya, aj jerraay hal imši išiile

'You,¹ they weren't educated. The reason is that now [politics] is for the powerful. Select it. Here's the government. They [the British colonial government] put it out when they left and said, let the fastest runner go and take it.'

<G> ha sei bidooru leum šuruut, naadum gaari haw ke, ile ke bas

'Yes, they set conditions, only an educated person and so on. Only that way.'

<M> mafi šai, kan ille waggafna ud haw šaaló kula xalaas (0.24)

'It wouldn't even matter if we nominated a piece of wood and elected it.'²

<G> ha al hakuuma

'What about the government?'

<M> al hakuuma təkabal kalaama, kan naadum gumbul ma biyeerf kalaam, kan da wiheede

'The government will accept his word [even if illiterate]. If a person is a gourd and doesn't know writing, that's a different matter.'

<SK> fi lubb al arab da kan naadim ma gaari

'Among the Arabs, if a person hasn't studied ...'

<M> xallu minku kalaamku da, iyaal gaariyiin fi,

'Forget about what you're saying. There are educated youth.'

<SK> sei dawa abba al haaj al gaid da, hu wei maahum

'Ask Abba Haj here. Isn't he among them?'³

¹ 'you' as a vocative address.

² In the first part of this text an argument develops between speakers M and G about what the meaning of politics and politicians is. Here speaker M implies that power, not education is relevant for government.

<G> awaan jaabooa da, walla, ana sei mašeet sawweet šunu kula čat inta gaid hineen, walla, ana da awaan, awaan burbud da, da sei ligiit sawweet šunu kula, walla mi ke, ha addariye amta gaalo an naadum, al mi gaari da, sei dada ana šafán,

‘When they brought it, I went and did everything. You were here to see it weren’t you? At the initial stages, didn’t I do everything? But when later they said that those who aren’t educated have no place, I kept quiet.’⁴

<M> di basmá munku (1.12)

‘I can understand this.’

<SK> ha abba al haaj da naadum bufuuta fi katekate hana mišard’e fi a

‘As for Abba Al-Haj, is there a better person than him in the Misharde area?’

<M> a?a ma inda ilim sei

‘No, he’s not educated.’⁵

<G> a?a ke da bas ad daliil dugut, naadum ke bufuut fi a, naadum fi zamaan sardawna dool kula,

‘No, that’s the reason they give now. Is there anybody who can do better than someone who participated in politics during the Sardauna era?’⁶

<M> abba al haaj tara šuqula mi siyaasa, a?a abba al haaj min zamaan kula šuqula mi siyaasa, as siyaasa di siidha šik

‘No, Abba Al-Haj, his thing isn’t politics. It hasn’t been for a long time. Its practitioners are other people.’⁷

<G> maalá

³ G, over 60 years old, has been a local politician in the Gulumba (Amcaka) area for many years.

⁴ G apparently had higher political ambitions, but not having a formal education he did not advance beyond the local level.

⁵ M changes tack, apparently to continue his attack on G.

⁶ SK, observer till this point, comes to the defense of G. In citing speaker G’s association with the Sardauna (a title given to Ahmadu Bello, first premier of Nigeria’s Northern Province at the time of independence) he invokes a reference to what today is thought of as a relatively honest period in Nigerian politics, in contrast to the corrupt image of the present-day.

⁷ As will become clearer below, according to M, only those actually in government can be considered politicians. He considers G an outside critic, and hence not a politician.

‘Why?’

<M> aʔa, abba al haaj da, kan sawwo šuqúl, al haakuuma, misil an naas aš šald’ana taakul an naas, taakul an naadum alla, hu ma biqassid, al hakuuma tiriida fi da, amma as siyyaasi da, ke daaxil fi l hakuuma, walla ma daaxil fi l hakuuma (1.56)

‘No, Abba Al-Haj, if they did something, for example the government and traditional rulers cheat people really, and he wouldn’t agree to that. The government likes him for that.⁸ But is a politician part of the government, or not?’

<SK> aʔa ha hu kula fi zamaan sardawna dool da fiiha

‘Yes, but he was part of it during the Sardauna era.’

<M> aʔa as siyaasi da ke al hakuuma šaaylinne, hassa inta šaaylinnak kansala, tigaddir al hakuuma wa

‘A politician is part of the. Now if for example you’re elected councilor, can you challenge against the government?’

<SK> ma bagaddirha (2.04)

,I can’t.’

<M> a to, ah ke bilkallam ale qarada foog al haakuuma, kan simiit kalaam binši biwaddi le l haakuuma, le l gumna biwaddí, le ač čiyaman biwaddí haw ma biqassidu, le ad dio biwaddí da le šunu, haná hu walá siyaasa (2.20)

‘So he can speak as he wants about the government, and if he hears something [bad], he can go and report it to the government, the governor, the [local council] chairman and they won’t agree [to his criticisms] he’ll report it to the district officer. What he does isn’t politics.’

<G> hu haadi biguulu ala inta haadi tiguula abba

‘Abba, is he the one who defines himself as a politician, or you?’⁹

⁸ The implication here is somewhat enigmatic, though speaker M may be suggesting that the government will tolerate a certain amount of independent watchers, who will also control the traditional rulers and the opposing party.

⁹ Again intervening on behalf of G, SK objects to M’s narrow definition of a politician.

<M> ana, baguula ana al aarif as siyaasa, ha, inta kan taakul an naas hu ma biqassit leek, be al kuḍúb da, ke da

‘So its as if I’m the one who knows about politics, and if you are cheating people he won’t agree to it, with that cheating.’¹⁰

<G> kula siyaasa sei

‘It’s all politics’

<M> a?a di maaha siyaasa, di naadum hammaaši le n naas al masaakiin, kan naadum biyaakul al masaakiin da, kan al hukuuma jat kan al marfa?iin ja biyaakul al qanáam hu bítar, (2.47)

‘No, that’s not politics. This is a person protecting the dispossessed, if a person is cheating them, as if when a hyena comes to eat the sheep, he prevents it and chases it away.’

<G> malum saalem ana gul lea ka, *d’an kišin kasa* da, siyaasa ala mi siyaasa

‘Malam Saleh,¹¹ I said to him, [acting] because of *patriotism*, is that politics or not?’

<SK> gal an naadum al biriid daara da, al bidoor al xeer bas ibga fi daara da, wal al siyaasa wala mi siyaasa

‘He’s a person who loves his country, who only wants good to come of it, whether he’s a politician or not.’

<M> yawa, kan aš şald’ana bisawwu a šúqul mi şahi da biterhim sei, ha kan yoom d’aaka dassooum memba da, bigdar bilkallam a, ha agiif dugó, ha kan gaal bitallif le al hakuuma da, da ke burbud’ú (3.12)

‘Okay. If the traditional rulers do something wrong, he stops them, right. And if one day they make him a member of the legislature, can he say anything? Wait a minute. And if he says something that criticizes the government, they’ll just gag him.’

¹⁰ Speaker M paraphrases speaker G’s conception of a politician, only to reject in paragraph , where he graphically illustrates his idea about speaker G’s role.

¹¹ Speaker G tries to enlist the support of SK, rather than take on M directly.

<G> ha asuma digé, ya titallif lei, albaarak agiif, albaarak aš šúbur, da, nayntiin seventi siks da walla, walla, hai asuma dugo, nayntiin seventi siks da,¹² ana sei bigiit memba kansala, amčaka, malum kaní walasa da, wala mi ke, fi naynti seventi siks da

‘Now just listen and don’t interrupt me and be a bit patient. Now listen!’¹³ In 1976, didn’t I become a local council member for Amcaka, and Malam Kani for Walasa,¹⁴ in 1976, right.’

<M> fi zamaan an nasaara madiri gade anzalamtu

‘Maybe during the colonial era, but now you’re being cheated.’¹⁵

<G> fi siniin at talaata deel da, borfol ille sawwaaha fi tiraab hana gulumba kab, ana asima digeeni, čat, asibiti hiil amčaka, čat, xidiminna as sawweenaaha di, ye l yoom hu da tiraab hana gulumba inšalla minnaffiin fiye (4.12)

‘In the last three years there hasn’t been a single borehole dug in Gulumba. Listen. Everything, the hospital in Amcaka, all the work which we did then, till today the Gulumba area has benefited from it.’

<M> ke tilkallam be a šuqúl al mi šahí, biquššu al masaakiin inta ma tiqassit beya

‘So you say something that isn’t true, they cheat the people and you don’t accept it.’

<G> mi ke

‘It’s not like that.’

<M> ha kan daaxil fi š šoora da, keef, aš šoora gaalta bas titəbá

‘And if you’re giving advice,¹⁶ you’ll just accept it (what government wants).’

<G> aʔa inta ana sei fi š šoora

‘Now look you, I was on the council.’

<SK> hu sei šaaló memba hana al kansal sei

¹² M is still speaking and G is trying to get his turn.

¹³ Obviously somewhat exasperated at not being able to get a word in.

¹⁴ Both villages SE of Gulumba town.

¹⁵ At this point there were two conversations going on simultaneously, only one of which is clear on the tape. This expression is a snippet of the unclear one.

¹⁶ I.e. a part of government.

‘He was in fact a council member.’

<M> kansala memba da sei talaata saná

‘A council member for three years?’

<SK> yo sawweet talaata saná kula a

‘You served three years?’

<G> ha talaata saná, hatta dalleena, ha sei talaata saná, borfol di, aniina sawweená, ad dagaliib, hine as sawaga, aniina sawweenaaan, aa, al gaareji, asbiti, ai deela čat aniina sawweenaaan ay, xidiminna aniina sa sawweenaaha di, ye l yoom tiraab hana gulumba minnafiyiin bean hinna, šuqúl ke gade sawwó abadan mafi, yo ha zeen , ha fi al yoom da kula ma alfakkaro, ma alfakkaro, karabo daharna, he gade benuguulu loum šunu (5.23)

‘And during those three years until we stepped down, in those three years, boreholes, we made them, rooves for markets we did them, car parks, a hospital, all that we did. All that we did up till today the Gulumba area has been benefiting from it. [After that] they did absolutely nothing. And today no one thinks, no one thinks to come to me asking for support, so why should I have anything to say to them?’

<SK> humma kaarbiin al hesát,

‘They are just jealous.’

<G> naas biheesiduuk,

‘People are jealous of you.’

<SK> šifta sei alyoom mag?ettí di kan la maqaam haná kansal kula ma bamši, fišaan šunu, hu al bikaan saqair haw an naas biheesuduuk, (5.39)

‘Look today in my situation, if there were a councilor position (open) I wouldn’t go, because it [Gulumba] is a small place, and people envy you.’

<G> al haasid da. ai bihsid raasa, ha yamta humma aarfiin da, kubaaraathum dugut hine as siyaasa dool da, waahid ke ana amši aguul salaama aleekum ma išiiil šuqúl ke, iyaad’iini leya da abadan mafi, ha aná sei aarfinne tam, walla mi ke, (6.02)

‘The envious will end up envying themselves and now when they realized that, the leadership of the older politicians, should I go greet one of them, that he doesn’t take something and give me it isn’t on the cards.¹⁷ They know me very well. Right?’

<SK> ke bas

‘That’s it.’

<G> yawwa, kan al helú da, humma axaayaaní masaakiin, ma dawwár minum maal, mi šuqúl gede, aa, amma goolit aniina ridna filaan bas di, hi di kula yamta humma, ma irfooha a, ma sowaaha dada ha gede keef keef al ámur bubga (6.25)

‘It would be nice [to have some acknowledgement] since my less fortunate brothers, I didn’t ask money from them, nor anything else, only that each one proclaim, ‘we like so and so’,¹⁸ But when they didn’t do even this, how do you expect the situation to be [in Gulumba]?’

<SK> igoodu ke bas gide ma ilgu

‘Let them continue like that, but they won’t get anyone (like G).’

<G> ana sawweet as siyaasa miyá habata makooli, aloom fi zamaan, dugut fi borno stet di kab, an naadum ke dugó ile haadir habata mokole ke, naas tineen ma tilgaalum,

‘I practiced politics with Herbert Macauley,¹⁹ a long time ago. Nowadays in Borno there’s hardly a person around when he was. You won’t find two people [in Borno].’

<?> habata mokoli da šunu inte

‘Who is this Herbert Macauley?’

<M> sum hana naadum sei, an naadum dugut al fi al al katkadaay an naira da (6.58)

‘The name of a person, the person on the one naira note.’

<SK> yoo, habat mokoli sei

,Oh, Herbert Macauley!’

¹⁷ Apparently speaker G feels unjustly ignored by the younger generation of politicians in Gulumba, though claims here that his older colleagues still value him.

¹⁸ Meaning the speaker.

¹⁹ Nigerian politician who ...

The main speaker in the story about Herbert Macauley is the visitor from Gulumba. The translation is picked up when SK’s role increases.

<M> al fi an nayrá da sei hu

‘The one on the one Naira note.’

<G> hu bas, habata mokoli

‘That’s just Herbert MacCauley.’

<M> aniina ke hiné

‘We are here.’

<SK> šuftu hu be ruuha ke kula wa hu, kalaamí le abba al haji, an gul ja hineen be ruuha kula
ja wa

‘You saw him in person; I’m asking Abba alHajj, did he come here in person?’

<G> ana faqiire, al bikaan al burgut fiye, ya iyaala kula ma binšu leye, kula ma binšu leye,
inšaala ana banši leye, ana faqiire,

‘I was his faqir. The house where he slept. His followers didn’t go into it, didn’t enter it but I
would. I was his religious officiant.’

<SK> habata makoli

‘Herbert MacCauley.’

<G> habata makoli da, aa, hu haadi aj jaab as siyaasa le n najeriya hine, walla, hu bas ille jaab
an siyaasa le najeriya kap, hu bas ille jaab an siyaasa le najeriya kap (7.33)

‘This Herbert MacCauley, he’s the one who brought politics to Nigeria here. Or he’s just the
one who brought politics to Nigeria.’

<M> inta hu nyamiraay alla yarabaay

‘You, was he Ibo or Yoruba?’

<G> yarabaay, amma fallaatiye, abú yarabaay, eemar ču inšalla

‘Yoruba, he mother was Fulnai, his father Yoruba. Very reddish complexion.

<SK> amma fallaatiye a (7.48)

‘His mother was Fulani.’

<G> aha amma fallaatiye aše le da bas eemar da, hu bas eemar, wa ma bišarb al mariise, aa, wa hu al kaabood hana al fanaajiil al bišarbu baan al mariise deel da, inde kobood bisawwi min hineen le al geraji da, bisawwan talaata arba da čat, al fanaajiil al bišarbu baan al mariise, loon, loon, kaala, kaala, wa addini kaala, junis,²⁰ mariisithe al bišarbooha di, aa, ai har be finjaalha (8.25)

‘Ya, his mother was Fulani. That is why he was reddish and didn’t drink alcohol. And the cupboards for cups, that they drink alcohol from, he had a cupboard that went from here to the garage, , that amounted to three or four, the cups that they drink alcohol from. Different colors, different colors. And each color, its alcohol they drank, it had its own cup.’²¹

<M> šuqúl hu bas jaabha fi najerya da ,

‘The thing he brought to Nigeria.’

<G> šiif, al wayəles di, ana šiftehe fi, fi beet habata mokoli

‘Look, the wireless (radio), I saw it, in Herbert Macauley’s house.’

<SK> hassa hu waqid da biyeerif hawsa haw ke a, bilkallam leeku be l hawsa a (8.47)

‘Now did he know Hausa, did he speak to you in Hausa.’

<G> wald axú, wald axú, geed fi kano gará, biriid al hawsa, ha hu haadi dawa as sabáb ille lammaana beyya, aha, bisma al hawsa wald axú, samí, yawa, hu al lammaana beyya, ha, wayəlés di, ana šiftehe fi beete, kan mašeena geedna da, dada xalaas, deda bikšaha, deda biguul lei asuma , fi ingila gaalo ke, fi ingila gaalo ke (9.25)

‘His nephew, his nephew, he lived in Kanro and studied. He loved the Hausa. He’s the reason I met up with him. His nephew knew Hausa. His namesake. Yep. He joined us up. And this radio, I saw it in his house, when we went and stayed, then, he’d turn it on and tell me, “listen”. In England they said such and such, in English such and such.’

<M> intu al aráb da, malaaku zamaan an nasaara kula axeer

²⁰ Probably ‘gin’.

²¹ Difficult to reconstruct, but it appears that though he did not drink, Herbert MacCauley had many types of liquor and each type had a dedicated cup for drinking.’

‘You Arabs, why were you better of during the days of the British?’²²

<G> yam bišká da, ille biguul lei fi ingila gaalo ke (9.38), gaalo ke, gaalo ke, waqid al membayiin ille aš šaaloom ke, awwal mašó le duwaara hiil al hurriye di, humma kan waahid wa tisʔiin, kan wa tineen wa tisʔiin, awaan jo maašiin da, habata mokoli, al murr al xabar hana najeriya da kula ke, sajjala, simiit alla, wa ašaata, hiya mikanjara, aa, al katkat dada čat zarraga foog fiye, fi duwaarit al hirriye fa,

‘When he turned it on, he could tell me, in England they said such and such such and such. At the time they took them (to England), when they went to the independence negotiations, they were 91 or 92, when they came to go, Herbert MacCauley, the news about Nigeria, he registered all of it. You got me. And his cane was curved. And all the papers, he would stick them in it, during the independence negotiations.’

<SK> yawwa (10.28)

‘Right’

<G> aha, mašó le ingila da, deda, ai ašaata kan amkinejiri, birrakkas fookha, atari fi badʔina al xabár

‘Ya, they went to English. So his cane was curved. He’d rest on it and lo and behold inside it there was a message.’

<?> fi lub ašaata di bas

‘Just in the middle of his stick.’

<G> ha, fi lub ašaata di, kátab al ašiir hana an nasaara al bixadumu beya, šuqul an nasaara kula ke kataba

‘Ya in the middle of stick, he wrote the British secrets that they were working with. The British are so and so, he’d write it down’.

<?> ašaata di indaha karkuur

‘His stick had a hole.’

²² Speaking in background.

<G> indaha karkuur šabá ke, yawa kula ke dassa fi al ašá, gade kula sawwá gade kula ma t tin?eríf (11.04)

‘It was hollow like that, and he’d put it in his stick, and did it again, and it wasn’t noticed.’

<?> fi lubb amkinejire di bas, hu an naadum ma bidiri hi kula kan as sir, fi lubbaha daaxil

‘In the middle of the handle, and the others didn’t know the secret, in the middle of it.’

<G> min daar borno, al membayiin humma, al waid wa tis?iin dool da, min daar borno hineen, abba habiib al maṛhuum fiye, fiyum, brahiim imaam al marhuum kula fiihum, ana fi hankara, dada katáb maktuub le abba habiib, dada gul leya dawa ana jaay, amma baddalla fi kaduuna beek nillaaga, dada gaal lei la, gaal aniina maašiin le ingila, arjaani fi legos, be l yoom al filaani ana bají fi lagos,

‘From Borno state, the members were, the ninety one, from Borno here, the late Abba Habib was among them, the late Ibrahim Imam was among them, I was in Hankara. So then I wrote a letter to Abba Habib, and I said to him, here I am coming. But I’ve gone to Kaduna. We’ll meet with you, then he told me, he said, we’re going to England. Wait for me in Lagos. On such a day I’m coming to Lagos.’

<SK> mhm (11.49)

‘mm‘

<G> xalaas šareet gooro, hana hankara a šifta l abiyaḍ da, hu alf, kondó haná bisey ke, deda xalaas rabatta jiit beyya, dadda addalleet fi legos, beetí mi fi legos wa, xalaas kasseena ga?adna, nahaar jo amta jiit da, nasiibí da, inuwa wadá, al minista hana kano da, naadumhum, deda ana gul leya diḡe ana badoor be naasí, maaši badoor ašiifhum, hu nasiib kula kan bidoor binši bišiif, kan šuld’aan kano, hu kula fi n naas al maašiin, deda gaal leí arajaani nimši jamí, iyaala xamsa beena aniina sitte dada daxalna mašeena, yamta mašeena da, deda ligiia šuld’aan kano, (12.48) hu kula dawwar al xaramaan ke lissa ma xarám, haw xawaaji kan mašó ša??ó, mašó legos, murajjiin, xarmaana, ke dada amta šuld’aan kano marák, xawaají čat mašó sallamó,

aniina kula mašeena sallamná, aniina kula mašeena sallamná, ha deda ana gul le nasiibí, ana badoor bašiif abba habiib,

‘So I bought the kola nuts. The kola nuts in Hankara are the white ones. It made a whole basket of them and I tied them up and came with it. So I went down to Lagos – isn’t my house in Lagos – and we moved aside and waited. When they came the day I came, my in-law Inuwada, the minister from Kano, he was among their men. So I told him, I want to see them, my people and my in-law he also wanted to see the Sultan of Kano who was among those going (to England). So he told me, wait, we’ll go together. His five children with us so we were six and we got in and went. When we went we met the Sultan, he also wanted to leave, but hadn’t yet and his retainers had accompanied him, they had gone to Lagos and were awaiting him. So then the Sultan of Kano came out and all the retainers went and greeted him. We as well went and greeted him. We also went and greeted him, then I told my son-in-law, I want to see Abba Habib.’

<?> fi legos qaadi (13.16)

‘There in Lagos.’

<G> aha fi lagos, yamta xaramna da, attarí al waqíd lihík, abba habiib dool da xalaas, al watiir waddattum le bikaan al baabuur, ile bitxulu fihe le inglan, ween mafi gaalo, abba habiib maafi mašá le apapa, indak brahiim immaam naadumku, kan tímš leya ana gul la, deda al watiir faatat beení, ya apapa, ya mašeena le qášim al babuur, deda gaalo lei mafi daxál, dedda, al kərđi kula kula teerif , an naadum az zeen fiihum, maani aarif, deda gaal lei taal, rafiigí, gaal lei fi an naas al maašiin dool da, be naadumak fium, ana gul lea be naadumí fiihum, bədoor šunú, ana gul badoor mulaagaata, ha gaal lei ana kula min an naas al maašiin da ana kula wahid, bədownwur²³ šunu, ana gul la dawa al gooro da jibte, badawwur

‘So in Lagos when we left, suddenly it was time and Abba Habib and his group, the car had taken them to the place of the boat, just to it to go to England. “Where is he?” “He’s not

²³ < be-ti-downwur

around”, they said. “Abba Habib is not here. He went to Apapa. There’s Ibrahim Imam from your group. Do you want to see him?” I said “no”. So the car took me to Apapa, to the door of the boat. Then they told he wasn’t around. He’d gotten on board. Then the southerners you know, there are good people among them. I didn’t know him. He told me “Come. He’s my friend.” He said, “Among those going, was your guy among them?” I said, “My guy was with them.” “What does he want?”. I said I wanted to meet him. Then he said, “I’m among those going as well, I’m one of them. What does he need?” I told him “Here are the kola nuts I brought.” I want ...

<?> taad’i (14.22)

‘You’ll give him.’

<G> aha, baad’i leyya, xalaas, gaal lei, aktub isima, wa anṅi leye²⁴ be l gooro, kan alla raad dada, inšalla hu da ilgá, deda xalaas, katáb ism abba habiib, deda šil al gooro da ad’deeta lea, abba habiib ja biwaṣṣif lei da gaal mašó da, al gooro tak tamma minhum, ille al gooro al ana ad’deete leye da, ha gaal hu da as sábab leyya, xalla ákil al gooro kula marra wayid, šunu, gaal gal gaadiin be n nasaara fi l mitiṅ da, deda yamta mádak al gooro da, alme dada šabba fu, hu bazáx, tuf foog ad dirdir (15.13)

‘Ya, to give him. Okay. He told me, “write your name and give me it with the kola nuts. God willing for certain he’ll get them.” So I wrote the name of Abba Habib, and he took the kola nuts and gave them to him. Abba Habib one day told me, when they left, all of the kola nuts with them got finished (eaten) except the kola nuts that I gave him. He told me the kola nuts I gave him were the reason he gave up eating kola nuts. He said they were in a meeting with the British, and when he had chewed the kola, my saliva was coming out and I spit it out, tuf, on the wall.’

<SK> fi l mallamma bas a

²⁴ Indirect object *-ni* ‘me’ as verb suffix, 3MSG direct object *-a* ‘it’ (*-e* in this dialect) attached to the preposition *le*. Such indirect object “advancement” occurs with relatively few verbs.

‘Just in the meeting.’

<G> aha, fi l mallamma, deda gaal lei an nasaar kula ke gammo, dada gaal lei, xaramo, deda gallab, deda xalaas mádiq al gooro xallá marra wahid, yemta ámis maat,²⁵ gade ma akál al gooro abba habiib, ke ta biškur fiye, gaal lei malum wallahi goorook bileen naffaani, as sábab lei ke da amta ana xalleet akíl al gooro (15.40)

‘Yes, right in the meeting. Then he told me, all the British got up and he told me they left. So he got angry, and from that time he stopped chewing kola nuts forever. He didn’t eat a kola nut again, Abba Habib, thanks to that. He told me Malum really your kola nuts served me, they’re the reason I stopped eating them.’

<?> fi lubb al malamma, bas bazáx al gooro da, fi lubb al malamma

‘In the middle of a meeting, he’d just spit out the kola nut, in the middle of the meeting.’

<G> aa, wai, yamta madaxxa, maum gaadiin a, ha deda xalaas bazaxxa foog al kuuzi [X]

‘Yes, when he’d chewed it, weren’t they there, and he’d spit it onto the wall’.

<?> xalaas, al ašá a šiftaha di, al ašá dedda

‘So, the cane you saw, the cane.’

<G> dada, habata makoli deda xalaas, kašá ašaata, aa wa al katkat as sawwá da kula ke, šaala, šaalá, kab, lammá (16.33)

,So Herbert Macauley, he hid his cane, rather the paper he made, he took it out, took it out and gathered them all together.’

<M> intu dugut kumše kansila kam

‘You in Kumshe have how many councillors?’²⁶

<SK> baama ala kumše

‘Baama or Kumshe?’

<M> kumše, kansal waid wala tineen

²⁵ Lit. until yesterday he died’, in sense of ‘Ever again until he died.’

²⁶ At this point the discussion turns towards rural politics in eastern Borno. The councillors they are speaking about belong to the governing bodies of the local government areas, the smallest administrative unit with elected officials.

‘Kumshe has one or two councillors.’

<SK> tineen ankuun,

‘Maybe two.’

<M> tineen

‘Two’

<SK> tałaata kula bisey,

‘Maybe two, up to three even.’

<M> ha tałaata da, al árab humma fi kumše šiya a,

‘And these three, there aren’t many Arabs in Kumshe, are there?’

<SK> fi gulumba haadi, al aráb katiiriin sei, fi kumše fi kula hana kula hana gulumba faayit, intu abba al haaj, intu, al aráb hiné gulumba da ma bifuutu hine kumše fi l kutúr (16.56)

‘Rather in Gulumba there are a lot of Arabs. Though there are some in Kumshe, there are more in Gulumba. You Abba Al-Haj, don’t you Gulumba Arabs surpass those in Kumshe in number?’

<G> faaytiin

‘We have more.’

<SK> yawwa, fi gulumba katiiriin bileen

‘Right, in Gulumba there are a lot.’

<M> ha kaala fookka šunu

‘And Kaala,²⁷ what does it have?’

<SK> kaala wala daarna, kaala d’akkuwa al balge qaadi

‘Kaala isn’t our place. Kaala belongs to the Balge there.’

<M> wəi, ha kaala fookha kansal arabi ala, birnaay

‘Ya, and does Kaala have an Arab council, or Kanuri?’

²⁷ The area directly north of Gulumba.

<G> kansala čattuhum árab, kansala siyaad kaala raassum anfatá, wáqd as siyaasa jaat kaala čattuhum lammo qašimhum humma al bařra duk, duk šaalo iyaalhum (17.26)

‘The councillors are all Arabs. The councillors of the Kaala people are well informed. At the time of the political contests they joined together, those in the countryside. They all chose their own sons.’

<M> šaalo arabi a

‘So they selected an Arab?’

<G> aráb mana, čat mi waid mi tineen, kansalayiin hine kaala, aráb, hiné ran aráb, čaman hana angala, arabi, sana waade, inta nisiit a, naár jarma rukúb da, naár mašiite le ran d’iike ma mašeet maum a,

‘Arabs of course. All. Not one or two. The Kaala councillors are Arabs, of Ran are Arabs, the chairman of Ngala is an Arab. One year, did you forget, the time when Jarma²⁸ the time of his visit to Ran didn’t I go with them, that day.

<SK> mašeet maaum (17.59)

‘I went with them.’

<G> aa, nahaar d’aaka, sei zarma tamma d’uula dedda gaal naas aj jaabo leeku al huriye naas ašara waid, ha humma al ašara waid da, al haaj jidda hu bas, hiya kabiirum, dool an naas aj jaabo leeku inšalla ai zarma gaala ai, inšalla ana kula fi l lumma, (18.21)

‘So Jarma stood up and then he said, the people who brought you independence²⁹ are 11. And these 11, Al Haj Jidda is their leader. These are the people who brought [it] to you, I swear Jarma said it. I was indeed at the meeting.’

<SK> an naadum bilkallam foog as siyaasa bas

‘The guy (Sheikh Jarma) was just talking about politics.’

²⁸ The first Arab elected governor of Borno, in 1983 (see n. 20 below).

²⁹ Independence from the previous political system is implied here.

<G> inšalla gaala, ha humma d'oolaka da, ana beum xadamna jamí, humma kubaraathum a šiyaabhum wa iyaalhum a, čat xadám lehum, biriiduuni misíl šunu, ana kan min kaala da deda ana, ana ana aloom sei, ha naasna hiné gulumba doola, al hesát hana alla da, alyoom alla sawwa, intu doola gareetu, ha al yoomi da, kan tawwa dugut alyoom intu doola da, betimšu toosolo qaadi, aa, ayy hadda dool an naas,³⁰ ille binaawunuuku, ille benišiluuku, wa tuwaaso leena daarna, (19.14)

‘And those councillors, I worked together with them, with their leaders, their elders, their children. I did it all for them. They love me for it. I should have been in Kaala. But now today look at me and those Gulumba people. Pure envy. You’ve been educated, and if you should have the chance to go there [to Gulumba], we will just help you, we’ll elect you, and you’ll fix us our district.’

<SK> an naas i?aawunuuna maafi

‘No one to help us.’

<G> a?a, ma mašeetu kine da sei aniina haadi beni?aawunu (19.24)

‘No, you.PL didn’t go (into politics)? Isn’t it that we help.’

<SK> wəi dugut kalaamna da as siyaasa hiil al yoom betilagí kan aš šahí hana alla da, siyaasa hiil aloom di bala kofo sei ma tingádir, ma bukuun

‘Now the problem is that in contemporary politics, if you want to be precise, without money you can’t practice it.’

<G> as siyaasa di, malum sale, as siyaasa hiil al maal fi, wala mi ke, aa, an naas raasum waid, al kirdi, al burmu leya, al bisaayisu leyya, aa, al biyaakul maala šik, wala mi ke, wa al bišilú, ambaakir fu ar rami, kan burmu leya kula kan šik (19.58)

³⁰ Unclear. Perhaps, ‘if they achieved a certain status’.

‘This type of politics, Malam Sale, the politics of money exists, or not? But people are unified. The southerners³¹ vote for one person, they campaign for another, and get money from a third, right? And the one they choose, the next day in the voting they’ll vote for another.’³²

<M> ma, raašum mafkuuk, humma aarfiin naadumhum

‘They are wise, they know their own people.’

<G> nyaamiri, al maal ile akaló (20.21)

‘The Ibos they stole the money.’³³

<M> aiya, tiraabku hana baama da čat heela aráb, haw ma ilga šai, arabi ke imluk ke ma ilgá

‘Look, your region in Baama [local government] is mostly Arab, and it doesn’t get a thing. If an Arab rules he doesn’t get a thing.’

<G> al aráb kula, ana haadi bayyant al aráb hine hine, ana haadi bayyantuhum

‘The Arabs, I was the one who clarified things [for them], I showed them.’

<M> ha, sawwu šoorá, walla ,

‘And they met, right.’

<G> áasma kalaamí (20.40)

‘Listen to what I’m saying.’

<M> battaan, alkallamo foog al behér da, al behér da, al behér da ma tiraab baama wa, sei hana baama, sei dawa al hediid hana jaamuus dawa maqazuuz, ha min al behér da waddú ke sawwu soteet hanaaku wihetku

‘Again they talked about the lake, the lake. Isn’t the lake in Bama territory. Bama’s. Isn’t there an iron (marker) of the Germans, right here stuck in the ground. And from the lake, continue on and create your state for yourself.’³⁴

³¹ *kirdi* has various opponents of northerners. In addition it may mean “pagans” or “primitive people”. It is probably etymologically related to the word *karda*, which itself has different meanings. It may refer to certain groups who vacillate between Kanuri and Arab ethnic identity, or to non-Arabs, especially Kanuri, hence a village named *kardari* “the place of the Karda”, an originally mixed Arab-Kanuri village in the Dikwa area which took its name from the Kanuri part of the village.

³² I.e. he is advising SK to learn to manipulate politics to his benefit.

³³ A stray from an ancillary topic.

<SK> kan sawweena kula sei gaadiin tiithum bas

,Even if we did it, we're still subservient to them.'

<G> asuma, malum šaale (21.10)

'Listen Malam Saleh.'

<M> haw, kan sawweetú da bubga axeer,

'And wouldn't it be better if you did it?'

<G> maalum šaale

'Malam Saleh.'

<SK> naʔam

'Yes.'

<G> fi yerwa dugut, kubaaraatku dugut intu fi yarwa doola da, aa, kooma ke al waahid inta kan sáyyas lea kula bišiilak bilbaaxak, maa barno, bišiil a šuqúl le raasa, annáffo beena, ille annáfo beena, ana aaruffum, bixadumu foog makaatibna aniina, waqíd sardawna inšalla ana kan sawweet, kan katáb maktuub, la sardawna, talaata yoom inšalla³⁵ hu da biyaad'uuni ansa, hu biguulu le l majilis hana baama mafi naadum malum jidda bišamšir leya ke, ba ʔuṣba, mafi naadum išamšir leyya (22.02)

'Today in Maiduguri, your leaders in Maiduguri, a lot of them, a person, you if he makes politics he'll toy with you, with the Kanuri. He'll assume power and they profit from us, they'll profit from us. I know them. They work with our papers. At the time of the Sardawna I was working, I wrote a letter to the Sardawna. Within three days this guy gave us an answer. He said to the Bama council, there isn't a person who can point their finger at Malam Jidda, with his finger. No one can point at him.'

³⁴ An aside. Mohammad AlHasiba is referencing colonial or presumed colonial agreements between German Cameroon and British Nigeria.; see IM001 Musa Daggash-translation p. 4 for summary perspective.

³⁵ In the sense of 'for certain'.

<M> intu ke da bišiiifa ke da fi zamaan an nasaara kula heelú leeku maalá hassa, fi zamaan an nasaara kula heelú leeku axeer min alyoom, asan³⁶ min alyoom, aʔa alyoom da tara ma induku kalaam (22.27)

‘You guys, the days of the English were better for you than now. During the time of the English it was better for you than today. Better than today. Today you have no voice.’

<SK> mafi šai, aloom tará, šiya šiya bas, aʔa,

³⁶ < ahsan ‘better’

<I> taktub tamsiilaat

‘Do you write plays?’

<SK> hassa d’awwál ma mašeet leum, šuqulaat, al tamsilaat al indina al biguulu lea al waajib le naas al yoom da, tamsilaat da mafi salloohan mafi muwaggaf, hana al aráb, haw hana mandara, hana waha, wa hana margí , čatta fi jaabo loum manaja wahid ke ha wagáf, dateen kula indina al barnaamij an nisey fookan al tamsiliyaat, wahid nisawwu fookha, ʔálab al mustamiyiin, ha mafi hu da məwaggaf, amma tamsiliya, mimkin naadum bisawwiian, fi ar radio, da hassa bisawwu barnaamij yoom al isineen sei, amma aniina haadi ma benimši (23.28)

‘It’s been a while since I went to them. The dramatic serial [in Nigerian Arabic] which we used to run called “What people today need”, it is no longer, they removed it, its stopped. They took it away. It’s stopped. For Arabic, for Mandara, for Waha (Lamang), for Margi, all of them. They brought a new manager and it stopped. So before each had their program, they did plays, another did listener requests, and it was stopped too. But a play, a person can do them maybe, on the radio. And now they do the programs on Tuesday. But we don’t go any more.’

<M> gammo le aš šalá

They got up for prayers.

<G> aha gammo (23.32)

‘Ya, they’re getting ready’

<SK> dateen kula binimši bikaan bikaan, pat time ke bas, wa dugut kan xalleena, xidiminna bigát katiire,

‘Before we were going there as part time workers, but now we’ve left it. We’ve got too much work in school.’

<I> fi l madrasa (23.45)

<SK> fi l madirasa, ad diraasa bigát leena katiire, wa al produusa hana al aráb hu zaata kula mafi, waddó le beet al gomna gayyaro lea bikaana, wa aj jaabó da ma inde, ma inde mu?aaawana been an naas ke, fi ašaan da bas, aniina batta ma bidooru bixadumu maaum (24.04)

‘We’ve got too much work in school. Our studies have increased, and the Arab producer himself they transferred him to the Governor’s office, he changed his post, and the new one they brought doesn’t have good rapport with the people. So for these reasons they don’t like working with him.’

<G> jaabo wahid jadiid,

‘They brought a new one.’

<SK> hu kula arabi šaaló jadiid, amma hu da mi šabá al awwalaani, d’aaka faaytinne d’aaka da, al produusa da bas, axbaar, indina barnaamij al waajib le naas al yoom, da šumma al barnaamij ke, mumkin iseyy tamsila, bisó fiya tamsiliya, bisawwu fiya wasiyya ke, wala bičakkubu loun dokta bilkallam foog wajá hana an naas, wa foog hana al bagár, walla kan bijuubu loun naadum edukašanist ke gaari, bilkallam loun foog al ílim, foog faayit al ilim, šuqúl katiir, fišaan, sum al barnaamij ke al waajib le naas al yoom, kulu šuqúl waajib le naas alyoom da deda bigaddumú fooga, kan tamsaliya ye marrateen bisajjulu yoom al isineen, wa yoom al larbaa, yoom al isineen, gabúl yoom isineen sa?a tineen wa nuş la sa?a tałaata, wala saa?a tineen le sa?a tineen haw nus madiri minna, yoom al arbaa min saa tamaane haw nuş le saa tis?e, al axbaar kan, kuli yoom fi, axbaar kuli yoom fi, (25.34)

‘They appointed a new one. But he’s not like the first. That one was better, the producer. [We had] news, the program “What people today need”. That’s just the name of the program. He can run a play, do a play, give advice on it for example find a doctor to talk about diseases of people, or about cattle, or they bring an educationalist an educated person who speaks about education, about the benefits of education, a lot of things. Its name is “What people today need”, so it’s for whatever is necessary for people, and then they present it...’

<I> kull yoom

‘Every day.’

<SK> kuli yoom, gişayyir gişayyir haná al leel, hine an nahaar kula fi, hine an nahaar da ful, katiiraat, axbaar bisowan ašara dagaayik kula, wa hine al leel da tałaata, wa arbaʔa wa xamsa dagaayik ke bas, šiya, kula hina al axbaar dool da maššaata bas kuli yoom busowwu, awwal amís ana gayd buktub leum tamsiliya, wáqid ana gaid da marra marriteen kula ana bas baktub leum tamsaliya, (26.08)

‘Every day, very short, very short in the evening. And in the day too. A lot.

<I> inta kula tilkallam fooga

<SK> balkallam fooga aha, balkallam fooga, bikaan waid ma bají, bikaan waid kan bají haw balkallam fooga , bikaan waid kan baktubha leum wa bađ’iha, leum imšu isowwu ihasal haw idussuuha fi as soođ, haw bikaan wahid kan ana kula bamši maaum buktubu leena keef da, biktubu al tamsiliia ke a, la, fi, fi balaayí kula biktubu fi, šabá abdulmumin dool kula biktubu, a, tinsamí, lea fi bikaan gade a, aa bikaan gade mafi,

<I> ille ar raadio

<SK> ille ar reedio bas (26.55)

<I> indak wagit

<SK> aʔa foog, al produusa, kan al produusa hanaaum zeen, hu šabá al gulta leek al gabulaani da, hu bas binaadiina taalu sawwu leena tamsilia foog aš šuqúl al ke, taalu sowu leena wasiifa foog aš šuqúl al ke, barnaamij hiil al waajib le naas al yoom di, benijí nigaddimaha, ha ad dugut ja da, hu bas min aš šuqul čatta, wa ma bidoor miʔaawan an naas bařra, ma bidoor miʔaawan an naas bařra ijí iʔaawunú fi aš šaqaali aš šabahiin hina deel (27.28)

<I> naas min maiduguri bas

<SK> aḡa mi naas maiduguri, hu bičakk, qaaliban, walla hu weede bijí bisey lea barnaamij ke, wala fattiš lea naadum waid bas, hu kula an naadum al mi fattašna bijí bisawwu, mi šabá hanaana, wa šiif gabúl da, indina nuswaan kula fi, bisawwan maana, indina niswaan, indina, fi l waajib le alyoom da fi bikaan biguulu lea, ṭálab al mustamiyiin, (27.56)

<I> šunú

<SK> yammit sawwa lajina šuqul ša al klob ke, hassa kula gaadiin, šabá hana r redyo da bas, bišáru katkat hana rekwest da, wa bisallumu le axayyaanhum be kalaam al aráb, wa waid minum bijí binši bigiri wa ke, bileen algaddam bileen, amma dada ar reedio ja wágaf, barnaamij hana d'álab al mustamiyiin da waggafó hana, luqaat ad dugaag šabá aráb haw al mandara, wa margí dool da, (28.26)

<I> mm

<SK> hiya waggafó gaalo ṭálab al mustamiin gade mafi, isowwu barnaamij šabá al waajib le n naas alyoom ilkallamo fooga, aš šuqúl al kaayin wa ke, ha da bas, hassa mafi amma hassa ke, albaare wala awalt al baare, ligiithum bisawwu miitiṅ naas hine, lajinit, klob hana ṭálab al mustamiyiin, (28.52)

<I> fe reedio

<SK> fi r reedio bas, eenhum le hana ar reedio bas, wa hassa mawaggifiin kula humma dool bihaawlu binšu buktubu, katabo le beet ar redio le be koon iḡawunuuəm ixalluuəm ijú, ixallu naashum ijú igaddumu barnaamij hana ṭálab al mustamiin (29.08)

<I> maala alqayyar

<SK> mi siyaasa, al polisi hana ar redio da, walaahi al polisi da, azunna min naas beet ar redio, šiif, indina, al luqaat al kubaar, masalan niguul kanuuri, hawsa, ingliš, wa fulfulde (29.34)

<I> kula fi

<SK> kula fi, gabúl, mi isawwu yoobe da simiis sei, ha hinne deel da, indaan, tagriiban šabá hawsa wa be kanuuri da, kanuri, inda barnaamij tagriiban, biseyy, bisawwan xamsiin, sab?iin fi l miye kula, hawsa kazaalik, al ingliš kazaalik, wa fallaata kula yoobe gaayde hineen da humma kula, bisawwu, humma kula induhum barnaamij kasiira, fi al usbu da tagriiban talaata arbaa barnaamij bisawwú, ha, al aráb, wa margí, wa bura, humma at talaata dool da, xalaas, jo naadoom awwal da ille bisawwu axbaar bas, ma bisawwu šuqúl gade ile bisawwu axbaar bas, (30.25)

<I> axbaar

<SK> ha gaadiin ke axiiran, fulfulde da kula šiya ke ja d'a??afó lammo loum humma kula, axbaarum kula busowwu axbaar waayid šunu šunu čat lammoohum ke, waid, ha xalaas jo ad'd'ooum gade kula nasiib buguulu lea šuwa haf awa, kanuuri abin nan, margi haf awa, babuur hafawa, ha al haf awa al ad'ó loum da, da bas humma al produsas hine hineen aš šaaló da, sawwo la, masalan nuguul gaid šabá šuwa haf awa ke (30.54)

<I> mm

<SK> xalaas, aniina deda jiina, dadda sammeená sammeená la al waajib le naas al yoom da, ha xalaas kalmit al waajib le naas al yoom mi šaamil a, yoom waid nisey fooga tamsiliya, yoom waid nisey wasaaya ke, yoom waahid, axiiran, humma dada bidissú yoom al lisineen, wa yoom al larbaa, hu al waajib le naas al yoom da, šuwa haf awa bidissú be yoom al lisineen wa yoom al larbaa, ha xalaas axiiran gede kula produsas jo gaalo ke, al indum yoomaat tineen da, alyoom hana al larbaa da masalan le l arab

<I> end of tape