

"Let us insult Pella" : a Ful6e Mbooku Poem

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"Let us insult Pella": a Fulbe Mbooku Poem

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The present paper aims at presenting six versions of a *mbooku* poem, "Let us insult Pella", from the Diamaré Prefecture of North Cameroon. This poem is a good example of how the entertainers use abusive expressions in poems. The annotated texts and translation follow the general introduction.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to introduce six versions of an abusive *mbooku* poem, all bearing the same title, "Let us insult Pella", the original of which both Ardo Aakal and Siddi Yammbaram claim to have composed.

1) Materials

The following recordings of the six versions of the poem were used for the present study:

1) "Let us insult Pella" (*Pl 1*), 139 lines, performed by Ardo Aakal at Mr. Kaaw Madam's compound in Dugoy District, Maroua on October 10, 1976.

2) "Let us insult Pella" (*Pl 2*), 133 lines, performed by Siddi Yammbaram in the same place as above on November 15, 1976.

3) "Let us insult Pella" (*Pl 3*), 124 lines, performed by Siddiiki Mise in Madaka, on November 5, 1976.

4) "Let us insult Pella" (*Pl 4*), 92 lines, performed by Siddi Ndollaandi in Kojoleewo on November 16, 1976.

5) "Let us insult Pella" (*Pl 5*), 72 lines by Mammadi Kodek in the same place as 1) and 2) on November 11, 1976.

6) "Let us insult Pella" (Pl 6), 27 lines, performed by Aadamu Daarifu in Madaka on November 5, 1976.

2) A brief introduction to the singers' life histories

1) Ardo Aakal was about seventy years old (in 1976) and blind. He was born in Maroua and has lived in Bogo for many years. He still believes that he is a Maroua man, and a stranger in Bogo (See *Pl 1*, line 31).

2) Siddi Yammbaram alias Siddi Umel was about 75 years old (in 1976).

He was born in Julguf, and died there in 1983. He learned singing from Ardo Umel Julguf. He was able to sing nineteen different songs.

3) Siddiiki Mise was born in Kojoleewo and was about sixty (in 1976). He learned singing from Lawwal Gooje Kaayeewo.

4) Siddi Ndollaandi was born in Karagaari and was about sixty (in 1976). He belongs to the Juba clan.

5) Mammadi Kodek alias Mammadi Bello was born in Kodek and was fifty five (in 1976). He learned "Let us insult Pella" from Siddi Yammbaram.

6) Aadamu Daarifu was born in Bogo and was about fifty (in 1976). He was learning *mbooku* poems from various singers.

3) The origin and transmission of the poem

The origin of the present song cannot be known, since mbooku singers influence each other. Aakal and Siddi Yammbaram declare that they composed it by themselves. They however had had experience accompanying a famous mbooku master, Umel Julguf. Thus, they must have been at least partly inspired by Umel. Since some of the motifs are common among the six versions, it can be said that they must have the same origin. Namely, there must have been nuclear motifs, and at a later stage Aakal and Siddi Yammbaram added some other motifs and expressions.

From the point of view of transmission of knowledge, Aadamu Daarifu's version can be ignored. Mammadi said he learned it from Siddi Yammbaram, but there are additions. The author forgot to ask Siddi Ndollaandi and Siddiiki Mise where they had learned the songs. It can be said that they were partly influenced by his contemporary singers such as Aakal and Siddi Yammbaram, but they added many expressions which cannot be seen in Aakal's and Siddi Yammbaram's versions.

4) The nature of the poem

The nature of this poem is indicated by the words *Haa pelen Pella* 'Let us insult Pella', sung by the chorus members. There are two extremes of expression in Ful6e speech, eulogy (*mantoore*) and abuse (*kuudi*). The present poem is an example of the latter. At the beginning of each poem except Aadamu's, it is said that a man called Pella insulted the singer and the singer returns the insult.

The word *fela* means 'to tell why someone is wrong, and admonish him'. Pella, an augmentative form for *fellere* 'spot where there is no hair', means big baldness, and is a nickname of the main figure in the poem. Although the verb *fela* was chosen for the sake of alliteration, this word may include the meaning of *huda* 'insult'. The proof of this lies in the free usage of expressions like *Pella hudam-no, mi huutoto mo* (*Pl 1*: 4), *Haa mi fela, mi feltoo mo* (*Pl 3*: 21).

Abusive expressions are those which make someone ashamed. In the Ful6e society one is expected to follow the Ful6e culture and esthetics (pulaaku) and the Moslem tradition (juulndamku). If someone is criticized for not conforming to these norms, he will be insulted and ashamed.

In this poem the singers use jammooje 'nicknames', and stories or motifs to

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insult Pella. Namely, the singers say Haa mi meema mo jammooje (Pl 1: 22), Haa mi losa to jammooje (Pl 2: 29) etc. Some examples of bad stories or gossip are 'Pella's lie about praying' (Pl 1: 62–72), 'Pella stole a palta dough and had gas in his stomach' (Pl 1: 102–112), 'Pella's feces on his wife' (Pl 1: 113–136), etc. Here it should be noted that Aakal is the only one who favors the frequent usage of motifs. It seems that Aakal has an ability to make up good stories, as in 'Wood Ibises' and 'Beeda'.

There are direct and indirect insults to Pella. The indirect ones are those to Pella's mother and wife. The Ful6e say the worst insult is the insult made to one's mother. For the purpose of entertaining the audience, the singer adopted the insult to Pella's wife, which would not be as painful as an insult to his mother.

Is Pella a real person? It is hard to think so. The singers try to make him sound real.

5) The purpose of abusive poems

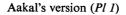
The primary purpose of these poems is to set the audience laughing by insulting a non-existent person. In the Ful6e society it is believed that one who uses dirty words is a low-class person. The *mbooku* singers, however, are not bound by such social conventions, and may make free use of abusive expressions.

The second purpose is to encourage people to give the *mbooku* singers the right reward. It is a kind of advice not to be too stingy. The singers criticize Pella's meanness and hint that the audience ought not to be like Pella.

The third purpose is closely related to the second. The singers want to show their linguistic prowess. They impress the audience that they can either be good friends by eulogizing with praise songs or be enemies by insulting. In so doing they show the dynamism of their tongues. This is an indicct threat to wealthy but stingy people.

6) Poetical and musical devices

The $\bigcirc - \bigcirc$ meter is employed as in 'Wood Ibises' and 'Beeda'. The poem employs the *ostinato* melody and is performed poly-rhythmically; as can be seen in the following musical notes. The chorus sings *Haa pelen Pella*.



Transcribed by T. Sakurai



Siddiiki Yammbaram's version (Pl 2)



Transcribed by T. Sakurai

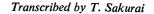


Siddiiki Mise's version (Pl 3)

Transcribed by T. Sakurai

Haa pe-len

Siddi Ndollaandi's version (Pl 4)





Mammadi's version (Pl 5)

Transcribed by T. Sakurai



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Aadamu's version (Pl 6)

Transcribed by T. Sakurai



P. K. EGUCHI

HAA PELEN PELLA (*Pl 1*)

by Aakal

Haa pelen^a Pella. Sew6e, kakkilanon ja6re. Pella waɗi ko pelden ɗum^b. Pella huɗam-no, mi huutoto^c mo. Kadi, mbaɗon ja6re. Mi meeman mo. Meeytoto^d mo. Worgan^e mo.

Tallan mo.

¹⁰ Wiccan mo.

Fomloto mo.

Daada maako tullantam^f.

Pulodebbo ko wanyi mboo'en, mo kuulel^g kine rummoodu^h, 6aleere ɗuuɗa moodoodeⁱ? O hawtu coɓe e moodoode. Debbo maako tullantam.

On bi'ando mo, "Taa hokku." Demdemel¹ ba be'el luumo,

na ndunyannga^k ngowrannga. Bondi Pella kollan-mi. Haa mi meema mo jammooje. Pella hudam-no, mi huutoto dum. To mi dalii mo, toye nduuman-mi? Kadi, mbadon jabre. Gildi Pella kulni-mmi, diggotoodi ba saayannde^l, koolotoodi ba na'i seeto^m, tagammaⁿ nyiibi nder Balge^o.

c. huuto $(\langle *hudto \rangle = hokkita kuudi 'return insult'$

f. tullantam = tullanta yam

g. kuulel/kuulon < huulde/kuule 'a cloth of about twelve strips' [TAYLOR: 88]

h. kine rummoodu 'a part which is higher than the anus and lower than the waist'

a. fela = wolwa koni wayne wadi ayiibe, mbolwana mo 'to tell somebody why he did something wrong and admonish him'

b. ko pelden dum = ko en peldata mo 'what we adomonish him for'

d. meeya = meema; meeyta = meemta; meema here means to enumerate gossip about Pella.

e. worga = yefta do"a = yerba do"a; Here, worga bee jammoore 'to lift up and throw down with other names'

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Let us insult Pella.

Thin men, be careful of the chorus.

Pella gave us cause to insult him.

Pella insulted me. So I will return the insult.

Now, sing your chorus.

I will criticize him.

I will again criticize him.

I will lift him up and throw him down.

I will keep insulting him.

¹⁰ I will whip him.

I will knock him down.

To me his mother is worse than he.

What made the old woman hate the *mboo*-singers?

She has a small loincloth not enough to cover her hips.

Black with many wrinkles.

She has feces in the wrinkles.

To me his wife is worse than he.

She tells him, "Do not give."

Talkative like a small goat in the market,

²⁰ big with young, yet in heat.

I will tell evil stories about Pella.

Let me enumerate his nicknames.

Pella insulted me. So I will return the insult.

If I leave him alone, where can I pass the rainy season?

Now, sing your chorus.

Pella's intestinal worms scared me.

They rumble like a rain cloud,

as noisily as cattle at the beginning of the rainy season.

They resemble the elephants in Balge.

i. moodoore/moodoode 'wrinkle'

- k. dunya = reedu 6adake danyugo (har dabbaaji) 'be well advanced in pregnancy (of animals)'
- l. saaya = saaka = sankita
- m. seeto = hoore duumol = aran duumol 'beginning of the rainy season'; In this season the cattle recapture their liveliness.
- n. tagamma = bano = ban = ba

o. Balge is located East of Waza National Park.

j. demdemel/demdemoy, demdemon < demdemo/demdoobe = duuda-haalaajo 'talkative person, gossiper'; Talkativeness is either duudal haala or mbollollu (ngu).

- ³⁰ Huya, malaaji taa nyaamee ɗam. Miin mi koɗo mi kootoowo. Bonɗi^p Pella kollan-mi. Haa mi meema mo jammooje. Malaawa yaaja rummoodu, wammbitiindu ba gole wooyndu, buubi ngaɗi ndu nyallirki, doombi ngaɗi ndu nyoolirde, marndu pontipoŋe^q ba ngal^r kuu-mi, jawle Calala ton ndufata,
- ⁴⁰ pobbi ngaɗi ndu dammirde^s. Paatu nani ka waabii dum, hooyi sewngo e marŋayru^t, woonya^u suufu, yuwa doombru. Ndunna Pella furata-mmi. Ndunna fora ba gaasinje^v. Malaawa kalle zaginaaje^w, nyay ya rew6e ndiwa ndilla. Bonɗi Pella kollan-mi. Pura purndala banndum'en.
- ⁵⁰ Pura nga lee6i 6alintaa dum. Yeeso sarado^x, gite fuura, galane palndugal^y waalde, daande iyirugal yolnde, kallunga yeeso bu'e njamndi. To mo luumo, mi yaataa ngo. To mo lumce, mi maay kolndam. To mo gawri, mi maay weelo. To mo suudu, mi waal yaasi. To mo ndiyam, mi yara cille.

To mo debbo, mi waal doyla^z.
 Bondi Pella kollan-mi.
 Pella ŋanci^a wi'i juulan,
 yeeso hokkiti gal fommba,

q. pontipone (de) = gargada (nga) 'bumpy ground'

t. margayru = sawru marndu njamndi haa hoore mum 'club with iron head on its top'

v. gaasinwal/gaasinje (<Kanuri, gaasi) 'trumpet'

p. bondi, pl. of bonngol 'bad story, bad behavior, etc.'

r. ngal = karal 'field used to plant dry season millet'; Karal is damp and covered with water during the rainy season. In the dry season the surface of the field is bumpy.

s. dammirde (< damma = yaaba bee semmbe 'step with strength') 'place to step on with strength'

u, woonya = sankita

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Hey, cursed worms, do not eat me. I am a stranger, and am going home. I will tell evil stories about Pella. Let me enumerate his nicknames. Cursed one with a large anus, chipped like a dyeing pit, where flies pass all day, and where rats get natural salt. It is as bumpy as my dry season field, where the Chalala guinea fowls lay eggs, 40 and where hyenas always play. A cat heard the story and quarreled over it, took a sharp spear and a club with an iron head on it, and pushed the pubic hair aside to pierce a rat. Pella's anus surprises me. The anus makes a sound like trumpets. The cursed one has testes as big as zaginaaje, which jab into women, and drive them away. I will tell evil stories about Pella. He is the most dusty among his people. ⁵⁰ He is too dirty to make himself up with butter. His face is like an incense burner. His eyes are like fura millet balls. His cheek bones are like a bar to close the kraal. His neck is like a bar of the gate. The face of the ugly man is like black iron. If he were a market, I would not go there. If he were clothes, I would die naked. If he were millet, I would die of hunger. If he were a hut, I would sleep outside. If he were water, I would drink urine. ⁶⁰ If he were a woman, I would sleep and ignore her. I will tell you evil stories about Pella. Pella lied and said he would pray. He stood up, faced toward the south,

a. nanca = esta goddo 'deceive somebody, make a false declaration'; nanco (ngo).

w. The meaning of zaginaaje is not clear.

x. sarado/carade (ngo/de), 'earthenware burner'; yeeso sarado means yeeso nyiddugo ba sarado. The Ful6e prefer a long face to a round face like an incense burner.

y. paldugal 'bar placed on two y-shaped sticks at the entrance ot kraal'

z. According to an informant, *d'oyla* means *ngorga yummataako* 'penis does not become erect'. The original meaning is 'not to pay any attention or to ignore'. The husband does not show any interest in his wife nor does his sexual organ work.

habbiraango luuyaango, waaciico^b nga yowi ndolndol^b. Kem-mi njaa-mi meeyoy-moo-mi. Njaa-mi ndarnitin-moo-mi^e. Mbii-mi yoo ngaya caylaanga^d. Yeeso hokkita^e fuunaange,

⁷⁰ ngaɗa jiido^f njowa qulhuwa^f, ngaɗa naasi^f njowa falaqi^f.
Dum boo Pella anndaa ɗum.
Bonɗi Pella kollan-mi.
Taw-mi Pella nder luumo.
Nder luumo Bogo nii taw-moo-mi.
Malaawa wujju tame fuura.
Hawsa hurri^g mo, "Dan duuru^h", lori hurri mo, "Dan neema^t", tuurti hurri mo, "Dan seele".

⁸⁰ Bondi Pella kollan-mi. Sew6e, kakkilanon ja6re. Pella suuriti ngi'-mi. Don nii ngi'-mi mo mayleeru. Don ngi'-mi mo rummoodu. Don ngi'-mi mo soomaandu¹, siwru hacca foofaango^k, fertotoondu¹ suna jawmum, wodeeru sawari hennduuje. Kalle tikki ɗali loogo,

 ⁹⁰ dedo maaje a joodorto. Mbasu ba ufru baaneewo. Bondi Pella kollan-mi. Sewbe, kakkilanon jabre. Pella hudam-no, mi huutoto dum. Nyaadnga nyaada fuddoode^m, fuyncere koro Kooseewa, malaawa fasko ginngille,

f. *jiido*, the first sura or Al-Fātiḥah; *qulhuwa*, the 112th sura or, Al-Ikhlās; *naasi*, the 114th sura or Al-Nās; *falaqi*, the 113th sura or Al-Falaq.

b. Chants used at circumcision ritual. See [EGUCHI 1973]

c. ndarnitin-moo-mi = ndarnitin-moo-mi gal Qibla

d. caylaado = bortaado hakkillo = mo hakkillo hayam hayam 'dull-witted person'; Caylaado is one of the worst abusive words.

e. hokkita 'place one's back toward', huucitina 'place one's face toward', huucitina yeeso gal fuuna woyla 'place one's face toward northeast' is right in North Cameroon. That is the right direction for prayer, qibla.

magnified Allah's name with a whistle, and sang circumcision chants.
I had a chance to go and touch him.
I went to make him face toward Mecca.
I said, "You are a fool.
Your face should look toward the east.
⁷⁰ Recite the Al-Fātiḥah and add the Al-Ikhlās.
Recite the Al-Nās and add the Al-Falaq."
He did not know this either.
I will tell you evil stories about Pella.

I found him in the market.

I found him in the Bogo market.

The cursed one stole fura millet balls.

A Hawsa man insulted him, and said, "Bastard."

He repeated the insult and said, "Bastard."

He got worse and insulted him, "Bastard."

⁸⁰ I will tell you evil stories about Pella.

Thin men, be careful of the chorus.

Pella took off his clothes and I saw him.

I then saw his anus.

I then saw the hole.

I then saw it.

The striped anus, which stinks of fart, which enjoys itself, but annoys its master. The red one which beats a parley of farts. The testes ran away and left a cave.

⁹⁰ You may be able to sit on the skin of the testes. The penis like a used hoe head.
I will tell you evil stories about Pella. Thin men, be careful of the chorus.
Pella insulted me. I will return the insult.
The rough-skinned one with a rough-skinned bottom.
His glans like a donkey in Kooseewa.
The cursed one has pubic hair like thorny *Echinops*,

- j. soomaandu (< sooma 'use other name avoiding the real name because of shame') = rummoodu, mayleeru.
- k. foofaango (< foofa 'breathe') refers to anus which breathes' like a mouth (hunnduko), namely, blows wind.

l. ferta = seya

g. hurra < *hudra 'to insult with'

h. d'an duuru < Hawsa d'an duurùn uuwaa 'what a bastard you are!' [ABRAHAM: 237]

i. d'an neema < Hawsa d'an neemaa 'bastard' [ABRAHAM: 703]

m. fuddoode | $puddoode = fuddoode i'al \ baawo$ 'the tip of a coccyx'

fasko na'i fiyan mbeeda n , naa galiljiº ba di meeden.

100 Bondi Pella kollan-mi. Gildi Pella ngidaa beldum. Na Pella yari ndiyam palta. Daga de kecce nga don nyaama, reedu yeefanii^p daande. Nden 6e noddi cannyoowo, cannyoowo mo Sirataare^q, wari wardi e dorweere, wari uppi mo her ndunna^r, uppi uppuki algayta,

110 itti ittidi bee daabe^s. Cannyoowo yarii naawdum, kanyum uppata njontaanga^t. Caka jemma o bu'i debbo u . Debbo maati kacceenga, fiyi mo hellov dow reedu. Mala wayliti don η usla^w. Mala hooyi mo dawraaru x , tami yolli de nder loonde. Fajiri Alla akubar beetki, ¹²⁰ debbo noddu keddidfum^y:

"Useni maada bee sirri. Fel le Pella taa meeta. Hanki Pella saaram-no. Darnde Pella darii ndee ni. yaarataa bu'e mum ciraka, saa'i fuu bu'a lootna-mmi. Malaawa ndunna goofiingal. Hujja^z bu'a e njuulan-mi." Debbo maako don fela mo:

¹³⁰ "Darnde Pella darii ndee ni, koo njeenu^a nga anndaa ɗum.

weeda = waalo 6aawo haarannde 'lie down after satisfacion' n.

galilye | galilji (nge/di) 'small cow'; galiljum 'small' 0.

yeefana = utta р.

Sirataare, one of the three Bornuan's quarters in Bogo which are located in the north q. of the market. See [EGUCHI 1980: 130]

ndunna(aaru) 'anus' r.

o bu'i debbo = o bu'i dow debbou.

daabe (de) = bu'e (de) 'feces, excrements' s.

njontaanga < jontaado = mardo yontere 'someone with fever' Usually yontere refers t. to malaria (piyal pabbooje).

on which cattle could graze until they get full, cattle which are not as small as ours. 100 I will tell you evil stories about Pella. Pella's worms do not like sweet things. Pella drank the dough for *palta* cake. Before the cakes were ready, he was eating them. His stomach had reached to his throat. Then they called for a weaver, the one from the Sirata district. He brought a bobbin with him. He came and blew his breath into Pella's anus. He blew as one blows the oboe. ¹¹⁰ He pulled out the bobbin with Pella's feces. The weaver had a hard time. He blows into the anus of the feverish man. At midnight Pella defecated on his wife. His wife smelled the stink, and slapped his belly. The cursed one shifted his position and then complained. The cursed one took his gown, rolled the feces and threw them into the waterpot. The next morning, she called her neighbour and said, 120 "Please keep it in secret. Tell him not to do it again. Last night Pella poured diarrhea on me. Pella is as tall as this. He does not take his feces to the backyard. Whenever he defecates, he makes me wash his clothes. The cursed one has a big anus like a laying hen. He defecates where I pray in the monring." His wife is blaming him, ¹³⁰ "He is as tall as this. He does not know intercourse.

hello | kelle (ngo/de) 'spank on the hip, slap on the hip'; cf. maaraawo | maaraaje (ngo/de) 'slap on the face'

w. *ŋusla* 'whine, yelp (of dog)'

- x. dawraaru | dawraaji (ndu/di), 'somewhat mean and shorter gown'; dawrawol refers to a long ordinary gown. By classing it into *ndu*-class, the singer added the pejorative nuance.
- y. keddiadum probably refers to Pella's second wife.
- z. $hujja = dawa \ cub$ 'wake up early, get up early'
- a. njeenu (ngu) = waaldugo bee debbo 'have sexual intercourse with a woman'

Malaawa duuda kalhoore^b, tugga koppi ba kuuwannga^c. Yirla ndunna losa^d puuto^e. Waddere arti basel naatgo. Purpur^f bana 6ii wamnde.'' Bondi Pella naa timman. Pella hudi-mmi mi huutake mo. Haa pelen Pella.

b. kalhoore (nde) = mani (dam) 'semen'

c. kuuwannga (<huuwa 'work'), 'someone who is going to work'; Here Pella's posture reminds one of that of grinding grain, hoeing, etc.

The cursed one with much semen, kneels down like a working man, sways his anus and farts. Feces come out before the penis starts working. The fart makes a noise like a donkey. There is no end to evil stories about Pella. Pella insulted me. So I have returned the insult. Let us insult Pella.

d. losa = fooda wurtina

e. puuta / puuto (nga/ko) 'big fart'

f. purpur = sawtu puute 'onomatopeia of fart'

HAA PELEN PELLA (Pl 2)

by Siddiiki Yammbaram

Haa pelen Pella. Pella waɗi ko pelden ɗum. Ko sokki-mmi, ko yaali-mmi? Ko watta mi felataa Pella? Pella huɗam-no caka mooɓre. Mi wi'i ma, huɗa mo nder yimɓe, yaha jalnira zamanuuje. Anndi Pella pelniinga. Bugurumje^a mo nyarɓaaɓi^b.

¹⁰ Nyawngel ɗaɗi puufaaɗi, Turoo fuufa mo rummoodu^c, gaasa ruuya, ɗala mbuurga^d. Ton losan-mi jammooje. Ee, ko sukki mayleeru? Sukkundu waɗi amcille^e, ŋappitiindu ba gole waande^f, suumru sawari hennduuje. Bugurumje mo nyar6aa6i. Geeto mo dute leeran-no.

- ²⁰ Anndi Pella pelniinga, kaado nayeejo dagam illa. Nyawngel dadi puufaadi. O nyawri juwe^g e tuusaaje. Kaaramaajo mo fittinta. Kanko nyaami Arum-sawru^k. Bugurumje mo nyarbaabi. No watta mi felataa Pella? Pella wadi ko pelden dum. Haa mi losa to jammooje.
- ³⁰ Wi'i ma jalnira zamanuuje, nadda mbu'oowa puutoowa. Haa mi naata nga jammooje. No watta mi hudataa Pella?

- c. turoo fuufa mo rummoodu corresponds to Aakal's lines 109-115.
- d. mbuurga < buurdu < bu'a 'defecate'
- e. In the past Suwa and Ful6e girls had a hair style (*amcille de*) which consisted of many tufts of hair. In this case it is a figurative expression implying that the cursed one

<sup>a. bugurumwal | bugurumje (ngal/de) = laalawal nyiiri manngal 'big lump of millet ball'
b. nyar6aa6i 'wrinkles'</sup>

"Let us insult Pella": a Ful6e Mbooku Poem

Let us insult Pella. Pella gave us cause to insult him. What do I care? Why should I stop insulting him? Pella blamed me in the midst of people. I declare that I will insult him among people, and go to make everybody laugh at him. I know Pella is to be blamed. Although he eats much, his face has wrinkles. ¹⁰ The sick one with fart-producing roots. One bends down, and blows into his anus. His hair scatters, and leaves his big anus. I am calling him all kinds of names. Why does his anus have a lot of hair? The much-haired anus captures feces. Its orifice has scars like the opening of an anthill. Black anus with a parley of farts. Although he eats much, his face has wrinkles. The live one over whom vultures fly noisily. ²⁰ I know Pella is to be blamed. An old pagan man who has lived since long ago. The sick one with fart-producing roots. He is sick with arthritis and syphillis. The witch who practises sorcery. He is the one who ate Arum-sawru. Although he eats much, his face has wrinkles. Why should I stop insulting Pella? Pella gave us cause to insult him. Let me pull out some names for him. 30 I told you to make everybody laugh at him. The humped one, the defecafor, the farter. Let me go into his nicknames.

Why should I stop insulting Pella?

had hair full of dried feces around his anus, resembling the above-mentioned style.

f. gole waande would better be as gole wooyndu in Aakal's line 39.

g. According to an informant *juwe* means an unidentified disease which sounds like arthritis. It does not mean *juwe* (pl. of *yure* 'a deep reach in a river'). [TAYLOR: 239]

According to an informant, Arum-sawru, Manay Chukuto's father, was a story-teller in Mogom. He used to ride on a donkey. He carried a stick, as he was a leper.

Debbo maako boo tullan mo. Kaddotoodo nde filtaayi. Kuulel kine rummoodu, cobe kawti e moodoode. Daada maako buran naawgo. Pulodebbo mo birdiije¹.

40 Yamee saare, tawee ciraka. Do"eteedo calwaaje. O walli eere koro baatngel¹. Banndu nyaanyata bano cewde, koo sadawre mo tullan dum. Demdemel ba be'el luumo. Naa dunyannga ngowrannga, Annya dubbe goofiingal. Hujja bu'a e njaareendi. Hujja bu'a e njuulan-mi.

⁵⁰ Ko watta mi felataa Pella? Na mo nyaamdi bo mettaaki. Mo nga luttani kam maaydo. Doylitiido minyum maayi, ngam sabiida mbuumaari. O watta pete ha gillaaje^k, may ya moda ba ndawu Marwa, kosde didi ngu laynirte^l. Kuutol koro Kooseewa. Haa nga silla be'i nyaara.

⁶⁰ Ee, ko sukki mayleeru, nappitiindu ba gole waande, suumru sawari hennduuje, waata mbasu mo nawliiru. Mbasu maako buraay nyo'otal. Bilngel caka heltoto. Pella ko wanyi mbeebii dum? Abba Njaru yarii naawngol, suusi fiyi nga dorweere, uppi losi mbu'on maako.

 ⁷⁰ Bu'e maako no nanndii-mi? Ba66atti e koowoowe, Bu'e maako no nanndii-mi? Nanndotoo-mi e bu'e nyiiwa.

j. The meaning is not clear.

i. birdiije (de), acne. In Taylor's, birdimre | birdiije.

His wife is worse than he. The one who wears a cloth which cannot cover all her body. Small cloth which hardly covers the hips. The cloth with feces and stains. His mother is more terrible. An old woman with pimples. ⁴⁰ Ask for her compound. Find her in the backyard. She is the one who should stumble on the stubbles. She planted cotton for her dead child. Her body itches like skin disease. Even leprosy is better than that. She is as noisy as a goat in the market, big with child, yet in heat. Ugly rump like that of a laying hen. She defecates on sand in the morning. She defecates where I pray in the morning, ⁵⁰ Why should I stop blaming Pella? One who has eaten with him has never tasted food. One for whom he leaves food is dead. He ignored the death of his younger siblings, because of the smut in the Guinea corn. He pulls off a big lump of millet ball. He swallows it as instantly as the ostrich in Maroua, which can make you lame with two legs. His penis is like that of the Kooseewa donkey. When he urinates, goats run away. ⁶⁰ Why does his anus have a lot of hair? Its orifice has scars like the opening of an anthill. Black anus with a parley of farts. Impotent penis with several wives. His penis is not bigger than a needle. The used one breaks in the middle. Why does Pella hate to be neglected? Abba Njaru had a problem. He dared to insert a bobbin in Pella's anus, blew through it, and let Pella's feces come out. ⁷⁰ What did his feces look like? They had grasshoppers and insects. What do his feces look like?

I want to compare them to those of an elephant.

k. Mishearing of gellooje 'dum palm'.

l. Laynirte might consists of lay - + -n + -ir + -t + -e and means 'will make you lame'.

Pinndi ledde e gi'e tanne. Debbo maako naawii-mi. Malaawa kuulel kine rummoodu, Pella huulde ganngaawu, mari pistuli pustirdi. Haa mi meeya, mi meeytoo mo. 80 Pella malaawa njawniinga. Haa mi taa6a nga ngorlooba. No watta mi huɗataa Pella? Pella waɗi ko pelden dum. To mo tagaa fuu mo tagu jikna. O meedaay kese dow balbe. Mo wayru geya mo femmbaaki, mari cukkunga cuuritala^m. Huuwa kuuta ngidaa banndum. Alla naalu mo mi naali mo. ⁹⁰ Alla naalu nga yaa jawmam. Malaawa legga bayyor de^n . Bana Aadama colaº maayo. Ngimmba yaadu honndorde. E malaawa njalniinga. Haa mi ta6a nga ngorlooba. No watta mi huɗataa naawngel?

Kallel buku^p yarnaande. Keetol koro Kooseewa. Annya dubbe goofiingal.

- ¹⁰⁰ Bugurumje nga nyar6aa6i. Pooydo becce jawjawru. Haa mi taa6a nga ngorlooba. No watta mi huɗataa Pella? Pella waɗi ko pelden dum. Fuuta muka karel Fowru. Fuuti muki karel Woonya. Haa mi taa6a nga ngorlooba. Fuuta Ngasa, Dammbay nyaara. Fuutere yewi mumtorgol.
- ¹¹⁰ Fusiinde waati fommbinna. Ton nde nyaarni duumooji. Mbororo doofi kuri muudum,

m. According to an informant curritala means suurititto meere meere 'will be completely naked'.

n. bayyorde would be better as mbayyorga.

o. Aadama Cola, abusive name which means 'Aadama as useless as a big bird in the river'

They had flowers and the thorns of desert date tree. His wife made me feel badly. The cursed one with a cloth too small to cover her hips. Pella has a little cloth like a drum cover. He has frequent farts. Let me criticize him. I will criticize him again. ⁸⁰ Pella is a cursed stingy one. Let me hold his neck. Why should I stop blaming him? Pella gave us cause to insult him. Since his birth he has been penniless. He never had new clothes on his body. He has never had his hair shaved. He has enough thick hair to cover his whole body. He is thin and worthless, and avoids his relatives. May Allah curse him as I do. ⁹⁰ May Allah curse him, my Lord. The cursed one, the wooden ladder, like the big bird in the river. The one with protruding forehead who walks like an ant. The ridiculous cursed one. Let me hold his neck. Why should I stop insulting Pella? The testes as big as a buku fruit. The penis like that of the Kooseewa donkey. Annya has a rump like a laying hen. ¹⁰⁰ Although he eats much, his face has wrinkles. The thin man with protruding ribs. Let me hold his neck. Why should I stop insulting Pella? Pella gave us cause to insult him. He farts and the fart reaches the Fowru field. His fart goes across the Woonya field. Let me hold his neck. When he farts in Ngasa, the Dammbay people run away. His fart broke a toilet stick. ¹¹⁰ The fart went up to the south. The fart drove away the rainy season cattle.

A Mbororo took out his arrows,

There is, however, a kind of bird called *Aadamayel* or *Aadama-maayoyel*, which probably is 'black-winged Stilt'.

p. According to an informant, buku 'a kind of fruit'. According to other informants, there is no such form as buku.

tammo huunde habeteende. Jaka boo Pella ngan fuuti. Hey malaawa njalniinga. Debbo maako jalnii-mi. baleewa nyii'e kuri kiiɗi. E ko balwi fenndirde? Annya dubbe goofiingal.

¹²⁰ Marnga gikku ba Mbororooji, yoofa cille bu'e njooro. Annya dubbe goofiingal. Dugunwa^q Duudu Corkomla,^r Duudu lonngo leloo lannga. Mo juutngal piye les dawde. A galnake nga a wiikorto. Jaka goriiko wiikorto. Marnga pistuli pustirdi. Debbo maako naawii-mi.

 Haa mi meeya mi meeytoo mo, gorko Ndujja dummoogel, nyawngel dadi puufaadi. Haa pelen Pella.

q. dugunwa (<Kanuri *dugun* 'hatred, enemy'), 'someone who never agrees with other people'

and thought it was a wild beast to fight. Actually it was Pella who farted. The ridiculous cursed one. His wife made me laugh. The black one with teeth like old arrowheads. What blackened her milk calabash? Annya has a rear end like a laying hen. ¹²⁰ The woman who has as bad a nature as the Mbororo cattle. She pours urine, and feces come out together with it. Annya has a rump like a laying hen. Duudu Chorkomla's rival, Duudu, who likes big millet lumps, with her twisted clitoris long enough to touch her thin thighs. If you sharpen it, you may weed with it. Actually her husband weeds with it. She has fart-producing roots. His wife made me feel badly. ¹³⁰ Let me criticize him. I will again criticize him. Ndujja's husband with a small anus,

the sick one with fart-producing roots.

Let us insult Pella.

r. Duudu Corkomla is the main figure of Mbala's abusive poem called by the same name.

HAA PELEN PELLA (*Pl 3*)

by Siddiiki Mise

Haa pelen Pella. Pella waɗi ko pelden ɗum. Pella pura ba 6ii-wamnde. Pura maccunga peeguuje^a. Ko waadi-mmi^b e bee pooynga? Ngam nga luudotoo^e mboo'en. Ngam nga holi, nga tulli-mmi^a. Nyaafta^e nyii'e kuri kihiɗi. Pella baaba buurii6e^f.

Pella pura ba 6ii-wamnde. Kalkunga fase^g kaywaaji^ħ. Ko waadi-mmi e bee Pella? Ngam nga luudotoo mboo'en. Ngam nga suudotoo mboo'en. Ngam nga huli, nge tulli-mmi. Nyaafta nyii'e kuri kihidi. Pura ba caski Mawndeewo^t. Lee6i jowi 6alintaa nga. Nyaanyotoonga lare nduuya.

Pura pedeeli maafiire. Haa mi fela, mi feltoo mo. Haa mi felda mo bee mbooku. Nanu lee haa mi fela Pella. Pella pura ba 6ii-wamnde. Ee ko laa6i caka hoore, tal tal ni ba caka mbaggu? Pella pura ba 6ii-wamnde. Henndu hooyi mo dawraaru. Leestin-mi, ngi'an-moo-mi^j.

³⁰ Ngii-mi siro^k he mayleeru,

a. feeguure | peeguuje = tummude feeguure | tummude peeguuje 'calabash for drinking beer' Feeguure is said to be much bigger than a muudoore calabash used as a measure for tithes on corn. Most people, however, have never seen one, since they have no drinking habit. cf. feegumre | peegumje 'beer-shop' [TAYLOR: 51]

b. Ko waadi-mmi = Ko sokki-mmi = Ko yaali-mmi

c. luudo = yia'aa haala; luudiia'o 'selfish person'

d. tulli-mmi rather means tulli kulal. Pella really is afraid of the singer.

e. nyaafta (nga) = kallunga 'ugly one'; The degree of ugliness is emphasized by adding nga-class suffix.

"Let us insult Pella": a Ful6e Mbooku Poem

Let us insult Pella. Pella gave us cause to insult him. Pella is as dusty as a donkey. The dusty man, slave to beer. What do I do with the thin fellow? The thin man would not like *mboo*-singers. The naked man fears me and became more afraid of me. Ugly man with teeth like old arrowheads. Pella is the father of daughters nobody wants. ¹⁰ Pella is as dusty as a donkey. Ugly man with sheets of leather sack. What have I to do with Pella? Because he hates mboo-singers. Because he hides himself from *mboo*-singers. Because he fears me, and became more afraid of me. Ugly man with teeth like old arrowheads. He is as dusty as the acacia tree in Mawndeewo. His body will not be made smooth with five lumps of butter. When he scratches himself, his skin scatters. ²⁰ Dusty man with a hawk's claws. Let me blame him. Let me blame him with a *mboo*-song. Listen. Let me insult Pella. Pella is as dusty as a donkey. Why is the top of his head so smooth, as the center of a drum hide? Pella is as dusty as a donkey. A wind lifted up his short gown. I lowered my head and saw him.

³⁰ I saw skins stripped off around his anus,

- *i.* The famous *caski Mawndeewo* 'Acacia albida in the Mawndeewo quarter' can be seen even today. It gets dusty and white during the harmattan season.
- j. ngi'an-moo-mi would better be as ngi'-moo-mi
- k. siro | cire (ngo/de) 'skin at the root of a nail'; In this context, some skin stripped off around Pella's anus.

f. buuriido is someone whom nobody wants to marry because of his/her ugly appearance.

g. fase (de) = be''itte (de) 'sheet, bed cover'

h. kaywaawu (ngu), (<Kanuri kaiwa) 'one of two leather sacks used for transportation of goods on pack animals'

juutiindu daɗii pooɓe¹. Ndunna pura seŋan sewngo, seeɓa ndu bu'i janngirde. Ndu faasko waɗani benteere, ɓaawoore he yeesoore. Faasko nyemmbu^m faɗo fuuna. Na'i gaheereⁿ piyan mbeeda. Waata-mbasu mo nawliiru^o. Cewngu nanndu nyootirgal.

⁴⁰ Delemngel caka heltorto. Pamaru darnde ko6o cumpel, tistel yewataa suuno. Debbo maako don jala mo. Aka njeenu nga anndaa dum. Tugga koppi ba ury annga^p. Pella ndunna rufa puute. Purpur bano 6ii-wamnde. Njooya^q kam de 6uran sawtu. Bawdi gawa^r de nanndii-mi.

⁵⁰ Pella pura ba 6ii-wamnde. Pura maccunga peeguuje. Ngaɗannga bobiyo^s nder faada. Puuta haaɗa njukunaajo^t. Njukuna jurnginoo wuuma. Ladabu^u ngu mi haabii ngu. O fuuta-mmi, o haada-mmi. Haa mi fela mo, mi feltoo nga. Haa mi felda nga bee mbooku. Na 6e kula-mmi 6e kuldaa-mi.

⁶⁰ Sew6e 6e kulataa loor6e. Dokkudo haani e manteego. Hokkataa dume 6urdi-mmi, sonaa ba nyaadgo bokolooje, nyaadde nanndu samnalde? Pella pura ba 6ii-warmnde. Nyaafta nyii'e kuri kiidi.

l. foobre | poobe = rubbere | dubbe 'buttocks'

o. nawliiru 'having several wives'

m. nyemmbu (<*nyemmba* 'to imitate') = *nanndu* e.g. *Wayne nyemmbata wayne*. 'Somebody imitates somebody'.

n. According to an informant *na'i gaheere* 'a lot of cattle'. The root of *gaheere* is not clear. It means something like *waagaare* 'much, many' which is also classed as *nde*-class.

"Let us insult Pella": a Ful6e Mbooku Poem

a long one protruding from his rear end. The dirty anus may be used as a spearhead. The sharp one defecated in a school. His pubic hair became a loincloth, front and back. His pubic hair resembled an eastern sandal. Many cattle can graze in it. Impotent penis with several wives. Penis as thin as a big needle. Thin one which might break in the middle. 40 Small one as short as a penny coin with a hole. A little one never giving up its lust. His wife is making a fool of him. He does not know even intercourse. He kneels like someone who is about to grind. His anus blows farts, as noisy as those from a donkey. They are noisier than a big drum. To me they sound like little drums as wrestling. ⁵⁰ Pella is as dusty as a donkey. Dusty one, slave to beer. One who plays a children's game among the chief's subjects. His big fart annoys a horse-boy. The horse-boy bends down and gets blind. I never liked his manner. He farts at me and accuses me falsely. Let me blame him. I will return his blame. Let me blame him with a *mboo*-song. His people fear me, and all fear me. ⁶⁰ Thin men who do not fear big men. One who gives is worthy of being praised. One who never gives can never be useful to me, like irritating testes, like a hedge-hog's skin. Pella is as dusty as a donkey. Ugly one with teeth like old arrowheads.

- $p. \quad urya = nama$
- q. njooya (nga) 'large drum'
- r. gawa (nga) = gala (nga)
- s. bobiyo 'children's game'
- t. njukunaajo 'one who precedes a horse' In Taylor's njukinaajo, 'horse-boy'.
- u. ladabu (ngu) 'good manner'. Cf ladbe 'chasten, teach manners to' [TAYLOR: 117]

Kalkunga fase kaywaaji. Yeeso sarado, ngito fuura. Geleme baaldugal^v viite. ⁷⁰ Pella felam-no, mi feltoo nga. Haa mi fela, mi feltoo nga. Laambe fuu ngada pade borne. Kallunga dasa laalaaje. Laambe fuu ngada meetalji. Kallunga yowa naanaare^w. Laam6e fuu ngaɗa baytalji^x. Kalkunga yaha bee kosde. Haa mi fela, mi feltoo mo. Ko huɗi-mmi 6uran naawgo. ⁸⁰ Weelo lelii koree maako. Aysatu kulu sippoo6e, pooydo becce jawjawru^y. O yiiwataako sey to6ra. Mo kuulel kine mayleeru. Henndu wifata ngel ruuya. Cobe kawtu e moodoode. Yamee saare, tawee ciraka. Puldebbo mo birdiije. Haa mi fela mi feltoo nga. 90 To mi dalii mo, mi tullan mo. Zummbuluujo^z ba baam maako^a, ciiwo haaju Zidimawni^b. Daada maako Maɗay wi'ete. Maɗay Pella nga yayyoonde^c, nga loonde femmbi dum hoore. To mi dalii mo, mi tullan mo. To mi dalii mo, to mbeedan-mi? Njawiinga ge6el mboo'en. Pella njawiinga gebel mboo'en ¹⁰⁰ Ko waadi-mmi bee pooynga? Naa mi suka gullaa do^d .

Sakko mi nodda dewel Pella. Juul6e am dume mbad-moo-mi? Ko mbad-mi Pella felata-mmi?

v. baaldugal = judal 'firewood'

w. naanaare 'Oryza Barthii A. Chev., wild rice'

x. baytalwu | baytalji 'good horse'

y. jawjawru (ndu) < Hawsa, jawjaw 'hourglass-drum, beaten at only one end (it is beaten with the smaller *kolo*)' [ABRAHAM: 419]

Foolish man with a sheet of leather sack. His face like an incense burner, his eyes like *fura* millet balls. His calf like a piece of firewood. ⁷⁰ Pella blamed me. I will return his blame. I will insult him. I will again insult him. All the chiefs wear sandals. The ugly one puts pieces of calabash on his feet. All the chiefs wear turbans. The ugly one puts grass on his head. All the chiefs keep horses. The foolish one walks on foot. Let me insult him. I will return his blame. The way he insulted me was more painful. ⁸⁰ Hunger made his wife twisted. Aysatu is nicknamed 'Wood ibis' by marketers. She is so thin her ribs come out. She never bathes unless it rains. She has a small loincloth not enough to cover her hips. When the wind blows, it flies away. The cloth has stains on it. Visit her at home. Find her in the backyard. Old woman with pimples. Let me insult Pella. I will return the blame to him. ⁹⁰ If I left him alone. I would feel worse. The uncircumcised man like his father, a panther which the people of Zidimawni hunt. His mother is called Maday. Pella's Maday has a lump on her neck. Carrying a water pot made her bald. If I leave him alone, I would feel worse. If I leave him alone, how can I graze? Stingy man to mboo-singers. Pella is stingy toward mboo-singers. ¹⁰⁰ What did I do to the thin man? I am not a young amorous man. Why would I steal Pella's daughter? My Allah, what did I do to him? Why does Pella insult me?

z. zummbuluujo = mo juulnaaki 'one who is not circumcised' In Taylor's, jummbulumjo.

a. baam maako, rather abusive form for baaba maako 'his father'

b. Probably Zidimawni is Zidim in the Mofu country.

c. yayyoonde | gayyoode (nde/de) = wayyoonde 'lump on one's neck'

d. suka gullaado 'young man who is wooed by many girls'

Naa mi digaljo^e kulniido, hooya kaabi nder yewnde, sakko hooya mo gammbaaye. Juul6e am, dume mbad-moo-mi? Naa mi digaljo kulniido,

sakko mi hooya mo kadaraawu. Juul6e am, dume mbad-moo-mi? Naa mi digaljo ndakkiika, sakko mi hooya mo layhaari. Juul6e am, dume mbad-moo-mi? Pella baaba hawtaayi min, sakko o maaya, mi rona njawdi. Pella daada hawtaayi min, sakko o maaya mi rona njawdi. Pella nga pe''i laynata dum.

Pe''i ceeki mo pade borne. Mi taw burumda heedi maaga. Sey be ndiira nga her naange Piddeteenga ba be''itte. Weelo lelii koree maako.

digaljo 'robber, highwayman'

e.

I am not a fierce thief, who steals cattle in the lonely bush. Why would I take his old cow? My Allah, what did I do to him? I am not a fierce thief.

¹¹⁰ Why would I steal his pony? My Moslems, what did I do to him? I am not a dirty thief. Why would I steal his sacramental ram? My Moslems, what did I do to him? Pella and I do not have the same father. How would I inherit the property when he dies? Pella and I do not have the same mother. How could I inherit the property when she dies? Cracks on his soles make him lame.

¹²⁰ Cracks on his soles made him wear sandals.I found bedbugs on him.They should put him in the sun.

He should be shaken like sheets.

Hunger made his wife twisted.

HAA PELEN PELLA (Pl 4)

by Siddi Ndollaandi

Haa pelen Pella. Pella waɗi ko pelden ɗum. Haa mi huɗa nga jawwaala^a. To nga ladde, mi yaataa nde. To ndiyam, mi yara cille. To nga limce, mi maayi kolndam. Biirawaandu dutal^b nyiiri, leelanoowa i'al haako, duurtindiinga^c minyum maayi, 10 ngam sabiida rottaande. Ramma daande, gite maaydo. Daande yi'irugal waalde. Kalle dogoro^d 6alinoo6e. Mbasu rawaandu Baa Jaabu. Mbasu waarudu^e Jam Naati. Yukka halla sartiire^f, mboliniroowa bee puute. Waata mbasu, nga nawliiji. Jawmu cillunga nga ɗaayi turnga. ²⁰ Wajja^g billo basel ɗaaya, waddere aartu mbasu naatgo. Fasko waɗani benteeje. 6aawoore e yeesoore. Pella turta "A suuraaki." Haa mi huɗa nga jawwaala. Min doo laabi ngaddi-mmi. Caka jemma nga don wooka. Nayeewa halla hakkiilo. Ee ko halli diilaaye^h? 30 Mari noora luwel gootel,

³⁰ Mari noora luwel gootel, nagga ngoota ha ngoogiireⁱ, woya nyaarna na'on Ful6e,

a. jawwaala 'without any problem, without any worry, without hesitation'; This originally means Alla hokku en waalugo jam 'May Allah give us a peaceful sleep'

b. dutal 'eagle' usually does not live in the village, and looks for food in the compound. It would be better as *jiga* 'vulture' in this place.

c. *duurtindiinga* < *duurtindo* 'be indifferent, turn one's face away'

d. dogoro / dogorooje (nde/d'e) 'a stone to be tied to a cloth when the cloth is hung and dried'

Let us insult Pella. Pella gave us cause to insult him. Let me insult him without hesitation. If he were a bush, I would not go there. If he were water, I would drink urine. If he were clothes, I would die naked. Son of a bitch, vulture over food, shouter over a bone in the sauce. indifferent to his dead younger sibling, 10 because of trouble over a millet ball. The short-necked one with a dead man's eyes. His neck like a log to close the kraal. Testes like a dyer's stone. His penis like that of Baa Jaabu's dog. His penis like Jam Naati's sickle. Hump-backed with badly-mannered intercourse, talker with fart. Impotent penis despite having wives. His much urinating penis shrinks even as he pleads. ²⁰ Lying on the back of a beauty, his penis shrinks. Feces come out before his penis goes in. His pubic hair works as a loincloth, both from front and back. Pella stretches himself, and says "You are not clothed." Let me insult him without hesitation. I made trips there. Pella was crying at midnight. Old man with a bad temper. How ugly he is! ³⁰ He has a red cow with a black back that has one horn. He only has one cow as one hat on one's head. His cow cried and drove away the Ful6e's cattle.

i. ngoogiire | ngoogiije (nde/de) 'hat'

e. waarudu 'sickle'

f. sartiire, 'to decide the time and place of rendezvous'. Here it is better interpreted as a manner of sexual intercourse.

g. wajjo = tello

h. diilaaye 'a cow which is suckling her calf, and is kept in the enclosure for milking'

6irdeteenge turturnde^j, endi didi^k ba ndammoowa. Kosam maage lippillaajam. Puccu pooynga jalnii-mi. Day kuray^l ngu saamnirta, ngeetu ngu jiga leeranta. Caamniranngu bee dume maada?

⁴⁰ Kere meserji e lubbukaare^m. Alla naalu njawniinga. Kalle tirde tonteere, a way yoto ngi'a Minndif. Haa 6e Manngabe boo peeteyⁿ. Be ngaɗi ngaaba e mbasu Pella. Henndu yisi nga toggoore. Min ngi'-mi nga juulnaaki. Wod6e mbi'i nga njuulnaanga, ngaɗi ngaaba e mbasu Pella.

⁵⁰ Mo meedi mbasu ngu toobooli, toobi jowi ba njiddaajo. Juulni bannge dali bannge. Haa mi huda nga jawwaala. Debbo maako tullan mo. Debbo maako wi'ee Annya^o. Annya dubbe goofiingal, hujja bu'a e njuulan-mi. Wadi pustuli^p pustirdi^q, kuulel kine rummoodu.

⁶⁰ Baarde huulde ganngaawu. Cobe kawtu e moodoode, nadda halla sartiire. Haa mi huɗa nga jawwaala. Juuta horde, yiɗa-mbelndi. Ndaa reedu, to nyaanyaare? Ndaa poobe, to ngeemuuje^r? Ndaa hoore, to sunndukru^s? Pella hoore, boode waande. Gildi maako ngiɗaa belɗum.

n. peetey = fakat, mal 'clearly'

j. Usually one milks in the crouching posture (*jood jood nde*).

k. Normally a cow has four nipples.

^{1.} day kuray 'an onomatopeic sound for going slowly'

m. lubbukaare | lubbuaaje (nde/de) 'a small amount of folded fodder'

"Let us insult Pella": a Fulße Mbooku Poem

The cow to be milked in bending position. The cow with two nipples like a goat or sheep. Her milk is blue. His thin horse made me laugh. It runs very slowly. It is alive but vultures fly over it noisily. How do you expect his horse to run? 40 He only gives pieces of corn cobs and a bit of fodder. May Allah curse the stingy man. The skin of his testes may be used as a drum hide. When you sit on them, you will see Mindif. Even those from Mangabe can be seen clearly. They quarreled over Pella's penis. The wind blew off his shirt. I found him uncircumcised. Some said he was circumcised. We quarreled over Pella's penis. ⁵⁰ Who has ever had a penis with tufts, five tufts like an uncircumcised boy's haircut? One side was circumcised but the other side was not. Let me insult him without hesitation. His wife is worse than he. His wife is called Annva. She has a rump like a hen laying eggs, she defecated in the morning where I prayed, and farted. She has a too short loincloth to cover her whole hips. ⁶⁰ Her loincloth resembles a drum cover. Feces stick on it, making black stains. The concave-backed one with badly-mannered intercourse. Let me insult Pella without hesitation. He has a long spoon and likes sweet porridge. Here is his belly. Where is something to make it itch? Here is his rump. Where are some carbuncles? Here is his head. Where is a box for him to carry? Pella's head is like the mounds of an anthill. His worms do not like sweetness.

o. Annya is not an orthodox name.

p. pistuli, pl. of pistugol 'loosening'

q. pustirdi, pl. of pustirgol.

r. ngeemuure / ngeemuuje 'boil, rash'

s. sunndukru | sunndukji (<Arabic صندوق) 'box'; In Taylor's, sunnduukiiru.

Pella yari ndiyam palta^t, reedu uttorii jemma.
Don 6e nulani Abba Jaru.
wari wardi e dorweere, ndaari yi'i nga dorweere, ndunna moosindo 6ura daande, naa ndu yaawana cirakaaji, ŋappitiindu ba 6oode waande.
Suumru sawari hennduuje.
Juul6e, haa pelen Pella.

Pella waɗi ko pelden ɗum. Nyaande altine min mbonndi, caka jemma nga riiwam-no. Debbo maako tullan mo. Debbo maako wi'ee Umma. Umma ummake, mboodee^u ɗum, naɗɗa halla hakkiilo, ŋalla^v dur-no dammooji. Nanndi suundu nanndii-mi. Alla naalu jawniiɗo.

Alla naalu jawniido.
 Tiinde Pella kam harba.
 Tiinde Pella kam harba.

t. The palta cake is prepared with millet sprouts, millet flour, peanuts, seyseyi.

u. wooda 'cry with a loud voice'

"Let us insult Pella": a Ful6e Mbooku Poem

⁷⁰ Pella drank dough for *palta* cake, and had gas in his stomach at night. They sent for Amma Jaru. She came with a bobbin. examined him and inserted it into his anus. His anus swallowed it more quickly than a mouth. It made him hurry to the back yard. Chipped anus like the mound of an anthill. Black anus with parley of farts. Moslems, let us insult Pella. ⁸⁰ Pella gave us cause to insult him. On Monday we finished with each other. He kicked me out at midnight. His wife is worse than he. His other wife is called Umma. When Umma wakes up, laugh at her rudely. The concave-backed and ill-mannered one. The insulter used to tend goats and sheep. To me she resembles a lesser hyena. May Allah curse a stingy man. ⁹⁰ May Allah curse a stingy man.

May Allah curse a stingy man. May people stop looking at Pella's front. May people stop looking at Pella's front.

v. $\eta alla = huda yimbe meere meere$

HAA PELEN PELLA (*Pl 5*)

by Mammadi Kodek

Haa pelen Pella. Pella waɗi ko pelden ɗum. Marwa ngancunga laamaay^a nga, ɓorni nga dawrawol tenɗi. Nyaanyotoonga lare nduuya. Mboodi ngati nga naadaay nga. Yaare fiɗi nga ban meere. Woɗɓe mbi'i mo juulniiɗo. Miin do mbi'-mi mo juulnaaki.

- ¹⁰ Henndu ndee ta'i min ngaaba. Henndu hooyi mo dawraaru. Yeew-mi siro e mayleeru. Ngiitindii-mi ndunnga maako. Ndunnga maako seŋan sewngo. Suumru sawari hennduuje. Heltotooudu suna jawmum. Coycoy ba^b ndu ɗon wooja. Pella pura walaa barka. Dappeteendu ba gole waande.
- Pontipoŋe ha ngal kuu-mi. Pella pura walaa barka. Pella naargewol galla^c, hulataa tagu koo weetngo. Wod6e mbaɗi nga njalniinga. Lawan fuuta lenyol luunda. Ko sokkata-mmi bee nyaafta? Ngam mi yillake genndeeru, holtina wuro hippoo-mi. Nden mi yerdake senndoo6e,
- ³⁰ don cennda^d 6e don ngooka. Nden nga waɗi ndiyam ngulɗam. Kanjam nafi hoori-mmi. Ko sokkata-mmi bee nyaafta? Laamu fuu wara dow dooki^e. Pella boo wara dow wamnde. Wamnde fuuta nga ɗon roonda.

b. Logically ba is not necessary.

a. laamaay should be laamnaay.

c. naargewol galla which literally means 'storm on food' might mean 'Pella storms food'.

Let us insult Pella. Pella gave us cause to insult him. He complained that the Maroua people did not let him rule, and made him wear a gown with lice. He scratched his body and the skin flew away. A snake bit him, but did not hurt him. A scorpion attacked him but did not do anything. Some people said he was circumcised. I said he was not circumcised. ¹⁰ A wind finished our quarrel. The wind blew off his short gown. I saw the skin stripped off around his anus from afar. I saw his anus clearly again. His anus may be used as a spearhead. Black anus with parley of farts. The anus breaking farts despite the master's sadness. The anus gets completely red. The dusty Pella has no blessing. The anus with scars like the mouth of an anthill. ²⁰ It has bumps like the field where I worked. The dusty Pella has no blessing. Pella attacks food like a storm. He is never afraid of men. Some people made a fool of Pella. When a district head farts, all his family scatter. What do I do to the ugly man? Because when I visited the big slave, and gave everybody clothes, he attacked me. Then I am grateful to those who intervened between us. ³⁰ While separating him from me, they were shouting. Then Pella made some hot water. It was useful, and I took it home. What do I do with the ugly man? All the chiefs come on horseback. Pella comes on a donkey. The donkey farts and carries him.

The usage of galla is seen in a place name like Dargala ($\langle dar + galla \rangle$).

d. sennda = sennda habre

e. dooki, a Hawsa word for puccu 'horse'.

Mbakkuga waade nanndii-mi. Alaama 600le^f tappirde. Debbo maako furata-mmi.

- ⁴⁰ Aysatu kulu sippoobe. Goyrando mo taa hokku. Kuulel kime rummoodu, hawtu cobe e moodoode. Taa turta, a suuraaki. Pella wujji ganngaawu. Ko sokkata-mmi bee nyaafta?
 - Mbala, ndoombala^g dow kawriije, ga''iniido mo maayaay-no, geeto mo dute leeran-no.
- Kuranoowa^h iyal haako.
 Ko sokkata-mmi bee nyaafta?
 Say mi fela nga, banndam'en.
 Pella nga felki buurooreⁱ,
 hulataa tagu koo weetngo.
 Goonga nyaafti ba mettaaki.
 Kuranoowa iyal haako.
 Daada maako ni furata-mmi.
 Puldebbo mo tooboondu,
 toobi tati ba njiddaajo.
- ⁶⁰ Peleteenga e caabeeje. Koppi ndaro ba ganngirje. Wada liyeere kolo baanngel.¹ Ko sokkata-mmi bee maako? Nagge maako jalni-mmi. Tolle woya na'on nyaara. Tolle wanyaange waynaa6e. Wujeteenge corel^k paatu. Ko sokkata-mmi bee maako? Sey mi isa¹ mo jammooje.
- ⁷⁰ Sey baruuje^m semteende.
 Juul6e Alla cettoo mo, hulataa tagu koo weetngo.

h. kuranoowa < hura 'aim at, eye'

f. boolde | boole (nde/de) = leggal tappingal limce has digga 'club to beat to soften clothes' g. ndoombala = doombru woyla 'Thryonomys spp.'

i. buuroore probably corresponds to *bururu* 'wooden food bowl' [ABRAHAM: 117] cf. *Buroore* 'a mountain near Maroua'

To me his long beard looks like that of a dead body. When you see him, better prepare the beating mallet. His wife surprises me. ⁴⁰ Aysatu is nicknamed 'Wood ibis' by marketers. She told her husband not to give us. She has a small loincloth not enough to cover her hips. The loincloth has feces and stains on it. Even if you say that you are clothed, you are not. Pella stole a drum. What do I do to the ugly man? A big rat which wanders in a graveyard. He is the one who is left there still alive. He is a live man over whom vultures fly noisily. ⁵⁰ The one who eyes a bone in the sauce. What do I do to the ugly one? Let me blame him, my friends. Insulting Pella is like insulting a wooden bowl. He is never afraid of anybody. Truly he is ugly. The one who eyes a bone in the sauce. His mother surprises me. Old woman with tufts of hair. three tufts like an uncircumcised boy. ⁶⁰ The one who should be insulted in the open bush. Her knees stand like poles in the huts. She plants cotton for her dead child. What do I do to her? Pella's cow makes me laugh. When his one-horned cow moos, other cattle run away. His one-horned cow is a cow hated by herdsmen. The cow which should be rubbed with cat's corel. What do I do to him? I only have to add to his bad nicknames, ⁷⁰ and shameful slander about him. Allah's Moslems, hold him back. He is never afraid of anybody.

j. The meaning of this line is not clear even to informants.

k. The meaning of this word is not clear even to informants.

l. According to an informant isa means duuddina 'to multiply'.

m. banngurre | bannguuje (nde/de) 'axe' cf. gulekre | gulekje; gulokre | gulokje; sakdeere| sakdeeje.

HAA PELEN PELLA (Pl 6)

by Aadamu Daarifu

Haa pelen Pella Pella Madaka^{*a*} too heedi, cuudotoonga gebel mboo'en, mbaalotoonga les geene, Purndala^{*b*} pura banndum'en, Kalle njawdi koree muudum, yoka de piccoroo baawo.

Njawdi sottataa balde. Njawdi coldo^d dume nafata? ¹⁰ Layha waɗa nga nduumtoowa.

...^c

- Debbo danya bilaa innde, marnga waalde walaa sirla,
- a. Madaka is where this song was recorded, some twenty kilometers east of Maroua.
- b. Purndala (< fur- 'dusty'), an abusive name which implies someone dusty.
- c. Originally the following enumeration of local people was sung. They are all big owners of cattle. This part is important to introduce *Njawdi sottataa balde*, but is not essential for the Pella poem.

Haa mi limtane nafnoobe. Fulbe darnube limtan-mi. Yaaya Danna Bagarmiire, mari kaabi e nuleteebe. On boo ɗali ndi sottaay ɗum. Njawdi sottataa balɗe. Hammadu Yiɗi Jaareengol, Alla alaahira boo yiɗa mo. On boo ɗali ndi sottaay ɗum.

- ¹⁰ Mal Maana Palar Deewa, mari kaabi e nuleteebe. On boo dali ndi sottaay dum. Jamnay bii Tukur Waawo. Abba Aamadu cemtoowo. On boo dali ndi sottaay dum. Manngabe Bakari Baa Raajil, Abba Badii'u mo wiirnaaki, Njidda mo Mazanngay Maayo. Y oolon Kuta ooran-no.
- 20 Toye Dugursi bee Gagga, mawniraabe jawrooji, wadanbe kinndigay jemma, wada be borta laamiido?

Let us insult Pella. Pella lives in Madaka. The one who hides himself from the *mboo*-singers. The one who lies under the grass. Purndala, the dusty one of his family. The big testes are his wives' wealth. When he walks, the testes knock back.

Wealth cannot redeem one's life. What can a stingy man's wealth do?

¹⁰ The sacrificial ram for the festival passes alive another year. Even if his wife gives birth, his child stays nameless.

· Even if he has a kraal full of cattle, he has no trousers.

Buubaare kanyum woodi, sirla Atiiku mo wiirnaaki, Pullo dankici dow balbe. Buuba jawmu koobaawu. Garga jawmu Dulo berni. Buuba say jiiba ansarji.

- ³⁰ On boo dali ndi sottaay dum. Balda Bakari Ammaaru. Abba Bello mo wiirnaaki. Buuba Ubbo Bunngel Maayo, ngaari jawmu cuumordi. On boo dali ndi sottaay dum. Yuguda Arjani dow Bawli, gajeere wooda noonaadi. On boo dali ndi sottaay balde. Sedek boo Garga Baa Oolo.
- ⁴⁰ Garga mo puru foonduuwu. Buuba Baraari Wuro Gaabdo, Buuba gorko mayram'en, kaabi njarni dum shaahi. On boo dali ndi sottaay dum. Buuba Mbuneewa mo Keesuuwo. On boo dali ndi sottaay dum. Buubannja mo wuro Manngo. Abba Tukur mo wiirnaaki. Bagalaf wadi Hammarre.

d. coldo = ndigaajo 'miser, mean'

yukka yaadu doonyorgal, yukka yukkinoo fuuta. Haa mi nannga nga dow daande, turoo fuufa nga soonaamdu. Gaasa ruuya ɗala mburga. Don losan-mi jammooje. Debbo maako tullan mo.

 O bi'ando mo taa hokku.
 Demdemel ba be'el luumo.
 Daada maako tullan mo, nyii'e tati ba lawgaaje^e, dammudo huulde ganngaawu, raneere duuda moodoode, wadi lawtuli pustirdi.
 Innde colnga kam Marwa.

e. lawgawal/lawgaaje (ngal/de), 'x-shaped wood placed on top of a y-shaped hut pole (ganygirwal or dinwal) to support the grass roof with the help of a loop (falloore)'

Humpbacked with a cameleon's walk. The humpbacked one curls himself up and farts. Let me hold him on his neck. I will call him all kinds of names now. The hair flies away and leaves the big anus alone. What is hard about finding names to call Pella? His wife is worse than he.

She says not to give to singers.
She is as noisy as a goat in the market.
His mother is worse than he.
She has three teeth like x-shaped pieces of wood.
Short woman with a short cloth like that of a drum, white and full of stains,
which has seams because of the farts.
The great stingy city is Maroua.

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