From Slavery to Aid
Politics, Labour, and Ecology in the Nigerien Sahel,
1800–2000

From Slavery to Aid engages two major themes in African historiography, the slow death of slavery and the evolution of international development, and reveals their interrelation in the social history of the region of Ader in the Nigerien Sahel. Benedetta Rossi traces the historical transformations that turned a society where slavery was a fundamental institution into one governed by the goals and methods of ‘aid’. Over an impressive sweep of time – from the pre-colonial power of the Caliphate of Sokoto to the aid-driven governments of the present – this study explores the problem that has remained the central conundrum throughout Ader’s history: how workers could meet subsistence needs and employers fulfil recruitment requirements in an area where natural resources are constantly exposed to the climatic hazards characteristic of the edge of the Sahara.

Benedetta Rossi is Lecturer in African Studies at the School of History and Cultures of the University of Birmingham. She is editor of Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories and coeditor (with Anne Haour) of Being and Becoming Hausa: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, as well as author of many articles focusing on slavery and emancipation in Africa and on international aid to Niger.
For Alessandro Rossi and Federica Rossi Germani,
and in memory of Mary Germani
The African Studies series, founded in 1968, publishes research monographs by emerging and senior scholars that feature innovative analyses in the fields of history, political science, anthropology, economics, and environmental studies. The series also produces mature, paradigm-shifting syntheses that seek to reinterpret and revitalise the scholarly literature in these fields.

Editorial Board

David Anderson, University of Warwick
Catherine Boone, London School of Economics
Carolyn Brown, Rutgers University
Christopher Clapham, University of Cambridge
Michael Gomez, New York University
Nancy J. Jacobs, Brown University
Richard Roberts, Stanford University
David Robinson, Michigan State University
Leonardo A. Villalón, University of Florida

A list of books in this series will be found at the end of this volume.
From Slavery to Aid


BENEDETTA ROSSI

University of Birmingham
Contents

List of Maps
List of Figures
Preface and Acknowledgements
Note on Language, Names, and Anonymisation
Currency Conversion Rates
Acronyms and Abbreviations
Glossary

1 At the Desert’s Edge

   Ecology and Politics 3
   The Imperative of Mobility 8
   From Slavery to Aid 17
   For a Perspectival History 25
   Conclusion 33

2 Between Sokoto and Agadez: Inter-Ethnic Hierarchy in the Nineteenth Century

   Land and People 38
   Ader at the Time of Sokoto’s Expansion 42
   Sokoto’s Tenuous Hold On Ader 54
   View From Within: Environmental and Political Insecurity 58
   The Organisation of Dependence in Tuareg Hierarchies 62
   Tributes, Violence, and Slavery 67
   Asna Social and Supernatural Hierarchies 89
   Asna–Tuareg Networks 97
   Conclusion 103

3 Entangled Histories of Colonial Occupation, 1899–1917

   Prelude to Occupation 108
Contents

‘It Was Necessary to Show We Were the Strongest’ 115
Attitudes of Indigenous Chiefs: Hausa and Lissawan Submission 121
Kel Gress Defeats at Zanguebe and Galma 127
Makhammad and Iwellemeden Resistance 134
Normalising Government: Borders, Chiefs, and the ‘Bellah Question’ 142
‘The Bellah is Indispensable to the Tuareg’ 146
The Uprisings of 1916–17 151
Epilogue: the Massacre of Tanout 158

4 Governing Labour – Slave, Forced, and Migrant, 1918–1945 161
Slow Death of the Indigénat 164
Persistence of the Question Bellah 169
The Crisis of Native Rule 175
Prestations: Between Forced Labour and Fiscal Obligations 183
The Migration Question 188
From Slaves to Migrants 192
Conclusion 200

5 The Development of ‘Development’, 1946–1983 202
The Will To Develop: Colonial mise en valeur in the Keita Valley 206
The Invention of a ‘Voluntary Region’ 215
How the New Institutions Worked 220
Recasting Labour as Participation 228
The Development Society 238
Desertification in National and International Policy 246
The Initiative of Italian Cooperation in the Sahel 251
Conclusion 255

6 Fighting Against the Desert, 1984–2000 256
The Keita Project 259
Managing ‘the Keita Miracle’ 262
Sensitising the Peasant 267
La Femme de Keita 272
Women Workers in the Project’s Worksites 277
Gender, Development, and the Slow Death of Slavery 282
Negotiating Gender and Status in the Keita Project 290
The Project and Labour Migration 295
Conclusion 300

7 Between Development and Dependence 303
Change and Continuity at the Desert’s Edge 304
Aid, Subjectification, and Subjection 308
The Experience of Dependence 313

Bibliography 321
Index 357
Maps

1.1 Ader, the region of Tahoua, and broader study area page xxxi
1.2 Cantons of Ader xxxii
2.1 Ader and surrounding regions, ca. 1800–1850 53
2.2 Main trajectories of Kel Gress and Kel Denneg caravans: salt cure, azalai (or taghlamt), and southwards commercial routes 65
2.3 Location of Azna groups, 1850–1900 99
3.1 Trajectories of early colonial expeditions 115
3.2 Anglo-French borders, 1890–1906 (from Tilho) 117
3.3 Sites of battles and confrontations between Tuareg and French forces, 1900–1917 138
5.1 Administrative divisions of independent Niger, 1964 215
6.1 Keita Project intervention area and zonification 262
Figures

2.1 Asna shrine (2005) page 42
2.2 Agouloum and the Keita Lake in colonial map (1906) 44
2.3 Keita Lake in the dry season (1920) 44
2.4 Descendant of Bayan Tudu warrior wearing talismans 76
2.5 Tambari of Tawantakat Kel Gress with drum, Galma Nomade (2010) 80
5.1 The Basic Territorial Unit in the Keita Project 220
5.2 Organigram of the Development Society (CND Bulletin, January 1984, no. 1) 241
6.1 Femme de Keita building a reforestation trench 279
6.2 Spillway assemblage 281
6.3 Rakiata 286
6.4 Woman in cin rani 298
6.5 Labour migrants (yan bida) 299
Preface and Acknowledgements

When I first travelled to Northern Ader in 1995, my initial interaction with this region was mediated by a development discourse that characterised its inhabitants as victims of an inexorable process of desertification that had to be stopped through the intervention of aid programmes and projects. This discourse was powerful because it set criteria for monitoring, classifying, and acting upon the region and its inhabitants. It evaded criticism because it was couched in a language that mobilised universal humanitarian values. It was both ahistorical and apolitical, for it represented its own operation in technical terms and failed to acknowledge the historical process by which Ader had come to be governed by the ideas and methods of planned development. And it was ubiquitous: it was reproduced with only minor variations in all circles and milieus, and appeared to be all there was to know about Ader. I decided to make the study of this discourse and its effects the main focus of a PhD in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics.

In 1998, I returned to Ader to conduct long-term fieldwork for my doctoral thesis, which analysed the social impacts of aid based on theories in the Anthropology of Development. Upon completion of my doctorate, I thought that my study had couched Ader’s society in yet another narrative meaningful primarily to a small set of Western academics, but historically too shallow to account for local identities, strategies, and inequalities. I was left with more questions than answers: I wanted to find out how the current situation had come into being, what subjectivities had existed prior to the development of ‘development’, and how one could write about Ader’s society using analytical concepts derived from
the study of Ader’s past, and not from questions set either by international interventionism in Africa or by alien theoretical agendas.

Hence, in a certain sense, this book has been written backwards. Its final chapters illustrating the contemporary situation contain anthropological research that began in the mid-1990s and was recurrently updated in the years that followed. Preceding chapters are the result of about twelve years of postdoctoral research focusing on Ader’s social history. They could not have been written without the help of many of my friends and informants in Ader and Tahoua, and of Nigerien researchers and colleagues in Niamey. This book is a social history of Northern Ader that covers approximately the last two centuries. Its primary focus turned out to be the problem of labour in a context where, due to environmental and climatic conditions, returns to labour are low and unpredictable. But Ader’s history could not be reduced to a generic account of what climate did to people. In a place where no one could escape the harshness of climate, the same conditions had different consequences for people with unequal opportunities – slaves and masters, Hausa farmers and Tuareg herders, colonisers and colonised, ‘developers’ and ‘beneficiaries’.

Its perspectival approach emphasises multiple perspectives rather than one objectifying account of ‘what happened in Ader’. The perspectives discussed here are not the idealised roles that researchers sometimes deduc from their own interpretation of social structures. And they are not the ‘priorities of aid recipients’ listed in the developers’ formulae of human salvation. Rather, they are the partial viewpoints of real people: an old woman of slave descent reminiscing about her youth, a young migrant planning his journeys, an adept of bori negotiating with the spirits, a French Commandant de Cercle writing to Tuareg chiefs in the desert and military superiors in the capital, an Italian hydraulic engineer gauging the volume of a water stream in Ader’s dry crevasses. The book’s perspectival approach examines how interrelated people at different moments in time made choices that shaped history.

At the outset of this study I wish to record my gratitude to all the people in Ader who contributed valuable information, time, and ideas to my project. I hope I have done justice to their testimonies and that this book will be meaningful to them and their children. The generous support of several research institutions made research for this book possible. From 2005 to 2008 I benefited from a three-year research grant from the Economic and Social Research Council (UK), located at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the School of Oriental and African
Preface and Acknowledgements

Studies (London), which allowed me to spend one year in Ader in 2005. From 2008 to 2011 I held a UK Research Councils Fellowship based at the School of History of the University of Liverpool, where I wrote a first draft of the book. In 2008 and 2009 I held, with Anne Haour, a joint AHRC/ESRC Research Network Award on religion and identity in Hausa history. From 2008 to 2011 I participated in an international research network focused on mobility and migrations in West Africa funded by the Agence Nationale pour la Recherche (France) and coordinated by Dr Monique Bertrand. Funding from this network allowed me to carry out research in Niger in 2008 and 2010. Research and writing for this book would not have been possible without the generous support of these institutions.

The first people who helped me in Ader were Dr Renato Carucci and Dr Dario Tricoli. I owe to Dario everything I know about hydraulic works in Sahelian environments and an awful lot of my initial insights into Ader’s society. In Niamey, I relied on the help and friendship of Paolo Giglio, Honorary Vice-Consul of Italy in Niger. Professor Mahaman Tijani Alou is an esteemed colleague and a friend: I look forward to continuing our collaboration in the future, both with him and with the researchers of the LASDEL team. This book draws from Professor Djibo Hamani’s important writings on Ader’s history. I wish to thank Nigerien colleagues of the Université Abdou Mounouni and the Institut de Recherche en Sciences Humaines of Niamey for enriching discussions, and in particular Mahamane Alio, Abdou Bontianti, Addo Mahamane, Seini Mounouni, and Harouna Mounkaila. Alhaji Soumaila Sani helped me with the translation of Arabic and Hausa Ajami manuscripts. I am immeasurably grateful to Dr Idrissa Maïga Yansanbou, Director of the National Archives of Niger, whose professional advice and assistance made a major contribution to this study.

In Keita the Canton Chief, Sarkin Mahaman Chana Rabo, supported my research and facilitated every aspect of my work. I thank him sincerely and hope that he may find this study interesting. I am grateful to Alhaji Karim Ladan Kaoura, also – but not only – for putting me in contact with my senior assistant, Ahmadou Seydou. While I am entirely responsible for this book’s interpretations, Ahmadou’s collaboration has been vital to all aspects of the research process, especially in 2005. Others who supported me in important ways have been Mohamed Bachar ‘Bacho’, Abbas Aboubakar, Nasser Dilleha, Boubakar Oufagui, Rabi Adamou, and Aboubakar ‘Alhaji’ Houzza. The friendship of Kalenkal, Ghoumar, Taki, Issouf, Aichatou, Mariama, and their children made a tremendous
difference to my life in Keita: I will never forget the time spent together. Kalenkal accompanied me to Dubugu, which felt like the end of the world. In 2008, Mohammed ‘Tubali’ was a precious assistant, and I could not have solved many problems without him. In 2010, Djibrilla Aboubakar accompanied me to Madaoua, Galma, and Arzerori and introduced me to the Sultan of the Tatmakkarat Kel Gress, who was a most generous host.

In Tamaske, Sarki Mahammadou Cheffou ‘Dan Malle’ kindly supported my research. I benefited from the collaboration of Malam Mamman Sani, whose critical reflections were always stimulating, and of Malam Lawali and Alhaji Ibrahim, who conveyed to me the immense resourcefulness and entrepreneurship of Tamaske’s businessmen. I do not think I would have survived in Ader without the company of my dearest friend Hajara Abdou, née Hajara Kader, and the warm support of her family, who made me feel at home in Keita. Aghali Assadeck made available to me his writings on Lissawan history and tradition. Malam Calla Zambo of Kirari shared his knowledge of local history and custom with me. Houssa Atessa, Hama Houssa, and Salifou welcomed me and shared their knowledge with me in Tinkirana Tounga ever since I first visited Ader in 1995. Joël Le Corre enriched my time in Niger and Europe with his profound humanity and intellectual curiosity.

In the UK, Henrietta Moore has been a great mentor ever since I first started researching Ader for my PhD. Her ‘passion for difference’ inspired me to seek out the motivations behind people’s actions. I am most profoundly indebted to Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias, who read the entire manuscript and provided moral support and precious advice from the beginning to the end of my work on this book. His attention to the intellectual projects of the authors of our sources has influenced my research in ways too general to be properly acknowledged in footnotes. In Liverpool, Professor Charles Esdaile provided insightful comments on an earlier version of Chapter 3. Will Ashworth, Harald Brown, Esme Cleall, Zachary Kingdon, Alexander Morrison, and Dmitri Van den Bersselaar were great comrades. I am thankful to Stephanie Kitchen for her balanced and constructive help in the process of turning a manuscript into a published text. The Cambridge University Press editorial team of the African Studies Series was helpful and supportive. For the final revisions, I benefited from the professional collaboration of Mike Kirkwood: I greatly appreciated his thoughtful advice.

Since January 2012 I have been fortunate to enjoy the inspiring companionship of colleagues at Birmingham. I am particularly grateful to
Preface and Acknowledgements

Karin Barber, Max Bolt, Stewart Brown, Reginald Cline-Cole, Juliet Gilbert, Matthew Hilton, Sabine Lee, Insa Nolte, Keith Shear, and Kate Skinner for their supportive intellectual companionship. I wish to thank Bruce Hall, for his comments on an early version of Chapters 1 and 2; Anne Haour, for commenting on Chapter 1 (twice!). Francesca Carnevali and Morten Jerven also read, and commented on, Chapter 1. Chapter 4 was first drafted at the place of Gregory Mann in New York, and I thank him for his generous hospitality. Over the years, I have enjoyed an uninterrupted intellectual dialogue with Lemmy Caution, who read sections of this book and shared his views with me. This book also benefited enormously from the friendship and advice of Jordan Goodman and John Thompson. Many of the book’s ideas have taken shape in real – or imagined! – conversation with Martin Klein and Paul Lovejoy, whose work inspired me and whose support gave me the strength to overcome the ups and downs that this kind of project entails.

Beyond the colleagues already mentioned, Africanist friends and fellow researchers with whom I had the good fortune to collaborate more or less formally at various points in time include Benjamin Acloque, Elodie Aparad, Nick Argenti, Gareth Austin, Alice Bellagamba, Elizabeth Boesen, Florence Boyer, Julien Brachet, Annie Bunting, Frederick Cooper, Jan-Georg Deutsch, Daouda Gary-Tounkara, Charles Grémont, Eric-Komlavi Hahonou, Georg Klute, Robin Law, Baz Lecocq, Camille Lefebvre, Jerome Lombard, Laurence Marfaing, Ann McDougall, Lotte Pelckmans, Joel Quirk, Judith Scheele, Jean Schmitz, Oumy Thiongane, and Ibrahima Thioub. They are a fantastic research community, and I like to think that our cooperation is more valuable than the sum of our individual projects.

Many have been close to me at various stages of research: few words on a page cannot adequately express my gratitude to Dimitrios Giokas, Ezio Martelli, and Victoria Boydell, the ‘daughter of feminism’. Professor Michele Arcangelo Padula and the teachers of the Liceo Classico E. Q. Visconti in Rome placed the intellectual foundations for the studies that followed. This book is dedicated to my parents, Alessandro Rossi and Federica Rossi Germani, who gave me the curiosity and determination without which none of this would have been possible, and to the memory of my aunt, Mary Germani, who showed me that others deserve respect and understanding in their own terms. Finally, I wish to thank Roman Frigg for being my wonderful companion and most insightful critic – and for making it all worthwhile.
MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I am grateful to Henry Buglass and Miles Irving for their help with the design of this book’s maps, and to Camille Lefebvre for allowing me to use her digitisation of the Anglo-French borders map taken from the *Documents Scientifiques de la Mission Tilho, 1906–1909*. Map 3.1 was informed by maps in the annexes of Camille Lefebvre’s doctoral thesis *Territoires et frontiers: Du Soudan central à la République du Niger, 1800–1964*. I am also grateful to Brill Publishers for letting me include Figure 2.1 that appeared as an illustration of my article in *Being and Becoming Hausa: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Figure 2.3 is reproduced from Maurice Abadie’s *La Colonie du Niger* published in 1927 by the now extinct Société d’Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, Paris. Figure 5.1 is courtesy of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. Figure 5.2 is taken from the Bulletin of January 1984, no. 1, of the now extinct *Comité National de Développement* (CND), copies of which are openly accessible in the National Archives of Niger and other public libraries. All other photos are my own.
MAP 1.1 Ader, the Region of Tahoua, and broader study area
MAP I.2 Cantons of Ader
Note on Language, Names, and Anonymisation

I have used the dictionaries listed in this section as a support for the transcription and translation of texts in Hausa and Tamasheq. For the Hausa spoken in Ader, known as Aderci, Bargery’s *Dictionary* is particularly useful. I occasionally employed Matsushita’s addendum to Bargery on the Hausa of Azben (Air) and Caron’s ‘Lexicon’ based on the author’s study of the Hausa of Ader. Mijinguini’s Hausa-French dictionary was also helpful, especially for translating names of plants and trees found in the Republic of Niger. Polly Hill’s ‘Alphabetical Commentary including Hausa Glossary’ provides a discussion of some Hausa institutions as she observed them in the 1970s in Northern Nigeria, which is of comparative interest.

Note on Language, Names, and Anonymisation


The Tuareg dialect spoken in Ader is the Tawlemmet (Tawollommat) of the Eastern Iwellemmeden, for which Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed’s Tuareg-French Lexicon is the most helpful dictionary. Charles de Foucauld’s Dictionary of Proper Names was particularly useful for ethno-ynyms and toponyms. Donaint’s peculiar text provides a critical translation of geographic terminology into Hausa, Tamasheq, Djerma-Songhay, and Fulfulde. Jeannine Drouin has studied the Tamasaghlalt dialect spoken by the Kel Eghlel Ennigger of northern Ader.


Unless otherwise stated, I have translated all of the French quotes cited in the text.

TRANSCRIPTION OF COMMON AND PROPER NAMES

In the interest of legibility, I transcribed Hausa and Tuareg terms following the forms commonly used in the specialist literature, and I minimised the use of special characters. Hence, I have written Kel Gress, not ‘Kel Garas’; Kel Denneg, not ‘Kel Donnag’; Kel Eghlel, not ‘Kel Ǝylal’; and Azawagh, not ‘Azåway’. The transcription in Tamasheq characters of words that recur in the text is provided in the Glossary. I retained Hausa
Note on Language, Names, and Anonymisation

hooked letters (ɓ, ɗ, ƙ, Ɓ, Ɗ, Ƙ) and ‘y/Y because omitting them could have introduced ambiguities in meaning. There is no standard convention for transcribing a large number of Ader’s ethnonyms and toponyms, which are not reported in the main dictionaries (e.g. Lissawan, Tawantakat, Imiskikian, Inoussoufan, Abalkoran, and Gawalley). In these cases, I followed common usage in oral and, when available, written sources. For the names of present-day towns and villages, I referred to the official spelling adopted by the Institut National de Statistiques du Niger. I am grateful to Dr Abdou Bontianti for making available to me official lists of village, township, and district names.

THE NAME ‘ADER’

Dating the first occurrence of the name ‘Ader’ – or, more correctly, Adar – depends on establishing the antiquity of the set of manuscripts known as Agadez Chronicles.¹ If the date attributed to ‘Manuscript J’ (‘Memoires de Aboubakar fils de Attaber-Tachi’) were verified, the name ‘Ader’ would appear to have been used for this region at least since the second half of the seventeenth century. ‘Ader’ (or adâr), pl. idarân, means ‘leg’ in Tamashiq.² Oral tradition derives the name ‘Ader’ from the words that the Sultan of Agadez, Mohammed Al Mubarek, supposedly told his son Agabba when the latter was embarking on the conquest of the region: ‘Agabba, you shall take care of that foot’.³ According to this tradition, the Sultan used this term to designate what was to become a southern extension of Aïr. Urvoy, quoting local informants, argues that Agabba himself named the country Ader when he tripped over his feet as he was entering the region.⁴ According to Francis Nicolas, in Tamashiq ‘Ader’ means ‘land of crevasses’ (ravins).⁵ This meaning is confirmed in Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed’s Dictionary.⁶ ‘Doutchi’ in Hausa means ‘stone, rock’. The expression ‘Ader Doutchi’ would then mean ‘Ader of the mountains’, in contrast to ‘Ader Gulbi’, used to refer to the southern

⁵ Nicolas, Tamesna, p. 42, footnote 1, and p. 51.
⁶ Adar (plur. idarân) in Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed, Lexique, p. 53.
area, which connects Ader to the Majiya Valley. The contemporary toponyms ‘Ader Gulbi’, ‘Ader Doutchi’, and ‘Majiya’ were introduced by the French colonial administration. I am indebted to Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias for pointing out to me that in Azawagh and Air the primary meaning ‘leg’ is retained for adăr. The secondary, metaphorical meaning of ‘small tributary stream’ or ‘narrow valley’ is commonly used in place names, for example, the town of Aderamboukane on the Mali–Niger border, or ‘Adăr-en-Bukar’. ‘Adăr’ or ‘Adar’ – and not ‘Ader’ – would be the correct transcription of this toponym. ‘Ader’, originally an erroneous colonial transcription, is currently the most commonly used form in Nigerien official sources and the closest to common pronunciation, and has been retained in this book.

ANONYMISATION

Some of the information provided in the following chapters was shared with me on condition that I would not reveal my informants’ identity. Whether I was, or was not, explicitly asked to do so, I have anonymised testimonies that could yield unwanted consequences for their authors. These include testimonies that provide information on the slave origins of particular individuals and groups, because slave descent carries stigma for its bearers; testimonies describing animist practices and beliefs; and information, views, and opinions about powerful people that were shared with me confidentially. In all of these cases I have anonymised informants in the footnotes. However, the section ‘Testimonies and Interviews’ in the Bibliography provides the actual names of informants, location, and date of interviews. This information (separated from specific quotes) reveals where I collected oral testimonies, when, and from which sources.

NOTE ON THE TERMINOLOGY OF SLAVERY

In the region that today is part of the Republic of Niger, slavery was abolished under colonial rule in 1905. In the following chapters I have used the term ‘slave’ to describe enslaved persons for the period preceding colonial legal emancipation (1905). For following periods, I referred to ‘persons of slave descent’, or ‘slave descendants’, whenever this

7 Nicolas, Tamesna, p. 1.  
8 Echard, Expérience, p. 17.  
9 Prasse, Aloiya, and Mohamed, Lexique, p. 53.  
information was analytically relevant. Quotes reported verbatim retain
the terminology used by the authors. After legal emancipation, and until
the present day, categories denoting slave origins have continued to be
used anachronistically in Ader, and in many parts of West Africa, to
designate members of groups believed to descend from slave ancestors.
Used generically, today these categories often function like ethnonyms,
but carry derogatory connotations. They include the following terms:
iki (generic Tamasheq name for ‘slaves’); bawa (generic Hausa name
for ‘slave’)\textsuperscript{11}; Buzu or Bugaje (Hausa name for Tuareg slaves and slave
descendants); and Bellah (term used in Mali for Tuareg slaves and slave
descendants; in Niger this term was commonly used in colonial corres-
pondence). While these terms imply humble origins, they should not – in
spite of their literal meaning – be understood as suggesting that the
persons identified as such today live like slaves; the context clarifies when
these terms are used literally to comment on persons thought to be
enduring conditions analogous to enslavement.

\textsuperscript{11} In Ader, the plural of bawa is bayu (not ‘bayyi’ as in Kano Hausa); Caron, Lexique,
p. 275.
Currency Conversion Rates

(As of January 2014)

1 FCFA = US$0.0020
1 FCFA = UK£0.0013
1 FCFA = €0.0015

In January 1994, Niger’s FCFA, then pegged to the French Franc, was devalued by 50 per cent.
# Acronyms and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADM</td>
<td>Ader Doutchi Majiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFN</td>
<td>Association des Femmes du Niger (Association of the Women of Niger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIN</td>
<td>Association Islamique du Niger (Islamic Association of Niger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANN</td>
<td>Archives Nationales du Niger (National Archives of Niger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANSE</td>
<td>Association Nationale des Sans-Emploi (National Association of the Unemployed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOF</td>
<td>Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>Archives Regionales de Tahoua (Regional Archives of Tahoua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCEOM</td>
<td>Bureau Central d’Etudes pour les Equipements d’Outre-Mer (Central Bureau for Overseas Logistics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFDT</td>
<td>Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles (French Company for the Development of Textiles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CILSS</td>
<td>Comité Inter-États de Lutte contre la Sécheresse au Sahel (Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CND</td>
<td>Conseil National de Développement (National Development Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLOMIVAL</td>
<td>Comité Local pour la Mise en Valeur de la Plaine d’Ibohamane (Local Committee for the Development of the Valley of Ibohamane)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acronyms and Abbreviations

CS
Club du Sahel, now SWAC, Sahel and West Africa Club

CTP
Conseiller Technique Principal (Primary Technical Coordinator)

DAC
Development Assistance Committee

DFD
Division Femmes et Développement (Women and Development Division)

FAC
Fonds d'Aide et Coopération (Fund for Aid and Cooperation)

FAIL
Fond d'Appui aux Initiatives Locales (Fund for the Support of Local Initiatives)

FAO
Food and Agriculture Organisation

FCFA
Franc de la Communauté Financière Africaine (Franc of the African Financial Community)

FFK
Foyer Féminin de Keita (Keita Women’s Club)

FIDES
Fonds d'Investissements pour le Développement Économique et Social (Economic and Social Development Investments Fund)

GO
Government Organisation

IFAN
Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire (Fundamental Institute of Black Africa)

IGO
Intergovernmental Organisation

INGO
International Non-Governmental Organisation

NGO
Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

ORSTOM
Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique d’Outre-Mer (Office for Overseas Scientific and Technical Research)

OSRO
Office for Sahelian Relief Operations

PAM (WFP)
Programme d’Alimentation Mondiale (World Food Programme)

PDL/ADM
Projet de Développement Local dans l’Ader Doutchi Majiya (Local Development Project of the Ader Doutchi Majiya)

PDR/ADM
Projet de Développement Rural Intégré de l’Ader Doutchi Majiya (Rural Development Project of the Ader Doutchi Majiya)

PIK
Projet Intégré Keita (Integrated Rural Development Project of the Ader Doutchi Majiya)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPN/RDA</td>
<td>Parti Progressiste Nigérien/Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (Nigerien political party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Société de Développement (Development Society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMUH</td>
<td>Secrétariat des Missions d’Urbanisme et d’Habitat (Town and Habitat Planning Missions Bureau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOGETHA</td>
<td>Société Générale des Techniques Hydro-Agricoles (General Society for Hydro-Agricultural Techniques)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCC</td>
<td>Union Nigérienne de Crédit et de Coopération (Nigerien Union for Credit and Cooperation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCOD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Desertification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSO</td>
<td>United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTE (BTU)</td>
<td>Unité Territoriale Elémentaire (Basic Territorial Unit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WFP (PAM)</td>
<td>World Food Programme (Programme d’Alimentation Mondiale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAI</td>
<td>Zone d’Action Intégrée (Integrated Action Area)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary*

HAUSA

Abinci: food
Abzin: Air
Abzinawa (sing. Ba-abzine): people from Air, used as an equivalent of Imajeghen to designate light-skinned elite Tuareg (Caron, Lexique, p. 272)
Addini: religion; Islam
Aiki (pl. ayukka): work
Albada: a commission to buy or sell (Matsushita, Bargery toolbox 1, Azben vocabulary, p. 9)
Alkama: wheat
Almajiri: Quranic student
Amana: trust, friendliness
Amfani: advantage, benefit
Asna: pagan (also arne, asne); used as ethnonym by some groups in Ader
Asna matsafa; Asna of the sacrifices
Attajiri: wealthy merchant
Bariki: European station, colonial barracks or military camp
Bawa (pl. bayyi; nb in Ader: bayu, e.g. bayun murfu): slave
Bifa: to look for, also bid’owa: to go to look for something (Caron, Lexique, p. 275)
Bodo: tax (Caron, Lexique, p. 276)

* When a term has a particular form or meaning in the Hausa spoken in Ader, I refer to regional dictionaries which report the word in question.
Glossary

Boka: soothsayer, witchdoctor
Bori: a form of spirit possession
Buhu (pl. buhuna): sack, bag
C’iya: poverty (Caron, *Lexique*, p. 282)
Daji: bush, uncultivated country
Damana: rainy season (June–October)
Dangi: relations (beyond parents and children), a people or race
Dawa: guinea-corn
Dillali (pl. dillali): broker
Dissa: bran (of cereals)
(Ean) wuri (pl. kur’di): cowry
Fansa: ransom; ‘biyan fansa’: redeeming oneself from slavery by paying a ransom agreed with one’s (former) masters
Fatauci: long-distance trade
Fura: porridge (balls of cooked flour mixed with sour milk)
Gadadde: inheritors
Gado: inheritance
Gandari: worksite
Gayya: cooperative work
Gida: home, compound
Girbi: reap (harvest)
Gora (pl. goruna): gourd used by travellers for carrying liquids
Hakimi: village chief
Hakimtaka: village chiefship
Haraji: land tax
Hatsi: millet
Iri: seed; kind (as in ‘irinmu’, ‘our kind’)
Iska (pl. iskoki): spirit
Jagora: guide (e.g. in caravan, travel)
Kabila (pl. kabiloli): group, tribe, race
Kasausawa: long spear
Keta: wickedness
Kishiya (pl. kishiyoyi): co-wife
Kungiya (pl. kungiyoyi): group of people
Madugu: caravan leader
Magarya: Jujube tree
Mai gida: head of household
Maƙeri (pl. maƙera): blacksmith
Makiyayi (pl. makiyaya): herder
Malami (pl. malamai): teacher, Islamic teacher
xxx  

**Glossary**

Manomi (pl. manomai): farmer  
Mashi: spear  
Nomar rani: dry-season farming  
Rani: hot dry season (January–April)  
Salka: skin water bottle  
Sarauta: chiefship, canton chiefship  
Sarki (pl. sarakai): chief, ruler, canton chief  
Sussuka: threshing  
Taiki (pl. tayukka): large hide bag  
Taimako: help, aid, assistance  
Takarda (pl. takarduna): paper, document  
Takoba (pl. takubbai): sword  
Tambari: royal drum, chief (in Ader, ‘tambari’ is the Hausa equivalent of ‘ettebol’, a chief’s epithet in Tamasheq)  
Talaka (pl. talakawa): commoner, poor person  
Taramma: gum-yielding tree (Bargery: ‘tarauniya’)  
Tsaba: threshed grain  
Turka: act of securing animal to tethering post  
Ubangiji: the Lord, owner of a slave  
Wakili (pl. wakillai): representative  
Walki (pl. walkuna): loincloth  
Yamma: west  
Zakka: tithe of grain for the benefit of rulers; one out of ten bundles of grain set aside as charity destined for poor people (see Hill, *Rural Hausa*, p. 336)  
Zango: nomad camp (Caron, *Lexique*, p. 352)  
Zarumi: brave man, hero (Caron, *Lexique*, p. 352); a tried warrior (Bargery, p. 1135)  
Zaure: room or hut used as the entrance to a Hausa house  

---

**TAMASHEQ**

Agholla: Chiefly title amongst the Kel Gress  
Akli, taklit, iklan (sing. m. akli; sing. f. taklit, pl. eklan): slave  
Amana (āmana): loyalty; tax (paid to the government)  
Amattaza (ē/a/āmāttāţāţy): disciplined man  
Amenokal (sing. amanokal; pl. imanokalān): supreme chief  
Awellemmed, Iwellemmeden (sing. Awallammad; pl. Iwallammadān): member of the Iwellemmeden confederation
**Ettebol (sing. āṭṭābal; pl. āṭṭābalān):** royal drum; epithet of supreme chief

**Iderfan (sing. ēdārāf; pl. ēdārfan):** liberated slave

**Ighawelen (sing. ēyāwel; pl. ēyāwelān):** black slave descendant living freely without having been manumitted

**Ilellan (sing. ēlālli; pl. ēlāllan):** free man, generous man

**Imghad (sing. ēmāyid; pl. ēmāyad):** member of the free ‘vassal’ class

**Imajeghen (sing. ēmāžēy; pl. ēmāžēyān):** members of the Tuareg noble class

**Ineslemen (sing. ēnāsłam; pl. ēnāsłamān):** religious clerics, marabouts

**Tamasadak (tāmāssādāk):** religious tithe

**Tawshet (sing. tāwšēt; pl. tāwšēten):** Tuareg sociopolitical unit, Tuareg ‘tribe’