

111, Kinemubago, <S J> Jidda = <S J1> brother of Bulama, c. 0, <S V1> = Adum, <S J2> = , V = unidentified voice
= TV111a-Kinembagu

2500 words, c. 1600 by villagers

<S D> al tʔaarfa tiwassif leya, al ma taʔaarfa ka dada

<S J> zeen, bawaşşof lá baguula be kalaam hana arab walla

<?> zeen

<S D> wai, sei dawa huwa¹ gaadiin

<?> wai kula biguul lea šunu, hiraata walla biguul lea šunu

<S I> usmak šunu

<S J> usumi jidda,

<S I> inta arabi sei

<S J> arabi, (0:19)

<S I> arabi nafar yatu
“What clan are you?”

<S J> náfar arabi seedi,

<S I> wəldook ween

<S J> wəldooni fi kinemubá hineen bas,

<S I> isim al hille di šunu manáa šunu

<S J> usumha maʔaana da, maʔaana yamta be bagara, yamta an naas bišuufuua, ittu hillitku maala ma leeha toor, al bágar deela ma lein toor, aʔa al bagar ma leein toor, ijuulin dugaag, tiiraan gurre maafi, dada maʔaana ha da bas al xad'dó lá kinemubágo, (0:50)

<S I> be kalaam yatu

<S J> weenu, (0:53)

<S I> usum al hille min kalaam yatu kalaam árab walla šunu

¹ Conventionalized, *dawa huwa* “here he/you/we/they are. The plural *gaadiin* marks the phrase as “us”.

<S J> kalaam árab, [X] al ma la toor di, kinemu di xalluua, kinemu di bigát šabá
 borno a, al hille al ma la toor,

<V> al hille ma lá toor

<S I> fi kalaam borno

<S J> fi kalaam árab,

<V> fi kalaam al arab al hille al ma leya toor

<S J2> fil arabiyya da

<I> šunu isim al hille

<D> kinemubágo

<V> kinembágu

<S D> kinemu da sei le t toor

<S J> le t toor, xalla, be borno xalla, al hille al ma la toor, hi d'iike al luqqa hiil ar
 rad'd'aana di xallaaha

<S I> ammak wa abuuk wuldoohum hine

<S J> abuyí wuldó fi l hille di, ammi, waldooa hajira,

<S I> ween

<S J> dowa fi tiraab marte, (1:37)

<S I> hi kul bani seed

<S J> a?a hi himeediye

<S I> mine had'd'a l hille di

<S J> bulaama gambó, jiddi abú abuyí bas,

<S I> inta kula bəlaam

<S J> a?a, ana maani bulaama , axuyí (2:01)

<S I> xidimitku šunu

<S J> xidiminna hiraata,

<V> hiraata bas

<S J> barbaré² bas, dugut nugumm az zar kula buwooriik leya, alaamta,³

<S I> way, mumkin tuwaşşif leyi keef tihaartu da (2:17)

<S J> naharit da,⁴ alme yam bişub, dada numuluţ, nierit, gabúl nierit yamta al wád'a tubga buxaara⁵ da, naarit be l kadanka, kab, kab, kab kab al gaş al baxarim da naharta, alme bisub al geş bukubur alme bisub al geş bukubur, kula kan numuld'a, numulud'a, yamta al muluţ bitum, alme bitum, at tiraab bíyebas, kan gade kula nuktul bongoro, nuktul bongoro, nuktul bongoro gade, dada yamta al bongoro katalná xulús kan nišiil al gafgal nicux, kan kab kab kan nişub alme kan nidis ad díga, kan díga kula wafke timiř la tišiifa tiwad alaamitta⁶ (2:55)

<S I> naas kam bisawwu l xidime di

<S J> al xidime, á fi l hille wa, an naas al bicuqqu wa, kan ašara kula ka an naas binšu bixadumu bas, doola be gafaagilum doola bişubbu alme doola⁷ budussu d díga,

<S I> gooz fi walla maafi

<S J> gooz maafi, gooz maafi firkiya zarga di bas,

<S I> ma tihertu ille al alme tamma

<S J> alme tamma dugo nucuxx, kan, alme tamma dada gide caqqeena da gade mafi ši,

<V> sei al hool

<S J> sei al hool, sei al hool aj jaay alme bişubb dugó (3:35)

<S I> zarku ween

<S J> az zar dawa gariib, az zar da gariib ille min al hille qaadi bas dada az zuraa?a

<S I> bala al hiraata da

<S J> ma indina sanya waade kula,

<S I> ijjaal

<S J> wəi hinee l hille,

<S I> tisowwu řunu beehin

² Another generic term for *masakwa*, “guinea corn”.

³ Lit. “Its sign”, i.e. the stalks of guinea corn can be seen from a distance.

⁴ The construction is literally, “we farm this.” The demonstrative *da* also marks the end of relative and adverbial clauses, but here it serves to topicalize the entire question.

⁵ *baxar*, “early sprouting of grass”, *buxaara*, “young grass seedlings.”

⁶ *tiwad alaamitta* lit. “you send its sign.”

⁷ repetition of *doola* “these” for “these, those, the others”.

<S J> al ijuul deela, wa be ammahaathin, neelib naalib lában, haw nuswaana biwaddanna le gambarú, dada bijuubu leena fiya huut haw mile haw qalla naakul, mm, da bas,

<S I> tisra beehin

<S J> nizra beehin, á, mhm (4:16)

“Yes.”

<S I> keef tisar beehin

<S J> saarittin di, dugut, dugut baggan hadda as šabá baggan, yamta aš šam tigá kan biján, ha burugdan fi z zariibe, gade aš šaba kula bixarman, yamta aš šam tigá kan biján le l hille gide kula birugdan fi z zariibe, haw dada binšan, di bas, hinna kula di xadimtin, (4:34)

<S I> mine bisar be bagar

<S J> al bisarhan da, da al loom sará, ambaakir da sará, bukura da da sará ke yam tukut al hille, kan naas talaata jami, kan arabá kula ke bas (4:48)

<S I> tizaro be šunu

<S J> yamta al xoof, an nisra beehin dá, be išeyna bas, ba l ašá bas,

<V> ašá hu gumbulaay hu alme

<S J> gumbul hana alme tidissa fi šaffak (5:03)

<S I> bahaayimku šunu

<S J> á baayimna bagar, bágar,

<S I> bagár bas

<S J> aa

<S I> qánam maafi

<S J> qánam fi, fi, al qánam kula ke bas, al qánam kula aš šabá bixarman, aš šabá bixarman haw mina kula aš šam yam tigaa ka biján le l beet bas, cat birugdan maana, birugdan maana fi zaraayibna deel bas, (5:24)

<V> ra?iihin šikk sei,

<S J> ra?iihin šikk

<S J> al qánam kula ba rafiiin, al bágar kula be

[Y] rafiiin24 (5:28)

<V> al bágar [Y]

kula ar raaʔi wehetum, aš šam tága cat iján, hineen al bágar kula be raʔiin wehetum (5:35)

<S J> aʔa da kula waid, sei waşúf bas,

<S I> ejuul

<S J> wai, al bagár sarahan, maşán giddaamhin,

<S I> kula tisarho beehin

<S J> mm al ujuul kula bisáro behin, bitallifan al qalla, biyaakulan al qalla

<S I> al bagar waddooan ween

<S J> waddoohan ke, binšan ke,

<V> anúm (6:03)

<S J> binšan ánum,

<S I> ma tinšaqa beehin

<S J> á ma ninšaq, aniina nixarrif fi l hille hine bas, kawaaziina deel bas nidissin fiihin haw bugoodan

<S I> mala tuhud'd'u al ujuul šikk wa l bagar šik

<S J> ha lenšaan burđaan, ammahaathin, al lában an nidoora nahalba da, dugut saarhaattin kula ye weheettin, ammahaattin kula saarhaat weettin da, yamta al leel bijí da, aš šam tigá da nikarrif al ijuul nirabbithin, haw al ammaáat fi z zeriibe kan dada nuđ'uluk waid, nahalba, nuđ'uluk wahid nahalba ke yam butumman, da bas maʔaanaa? (6:41)

<S I> gabaayil gade fi walla mafi

<S J> an naas walla, an naas walla šunu, á naas fi?, as sawwak kula fi, al gaaʔid kula fi,

<S I> aʔa gabaayil

<S J> aʔa mafi, (6:56)

<S I> illa al árab

<S J> ila al árab bas, maafi, gabaail gade mafi

<S I> intu cattuku qaším beet

<S J> cat qášim beetna waid, kurut qašim beetna waid, naadum waid kula hajira mafi, aniina cat axayaan bas,

<S I> suukku ween

<S J> suugna gambarú, aloom bas suugna, dugut bas nugum nimši jamí,

<S I> tisawwugu šunu

<S J> aniina a, nisaawak dada nimši niširi leena gooro, kan as surwaal da gidím kula tišír, kan al xaláq da gidím kula tišír, kan d’agiye gidimat kula tišír, dada laleeku laleeku dada nurut nijii, ma n nisayyi ši ma leena sanyá waade kula , ille mašiin saakit bas (7:45)

<S I> tuwaddu šunu

<S J> ?a, niwaddi da,⁸ kan yoom alla ijiiban yoom yoom, baaayimna šiyaat, qanamna šiyaat, yoom alla ijiiba, nuguul leena qanamá niwaddiia nibiiha, yó keee, kan ligí leya ijíl, [X] lihík kula biwaddí kula bibiia?, kula kan fi wudura bas, amma gade ma leena šay šúqul nuwaddí le suuk kaamil mafi, da bas (8:11)

<S I> keef tuwaddiihim

<S J> nuwaddiiim fi l watiir, nidissihin fi l watiir haw niwaddiin le gambarú,

<S I> gambarú be?iide

<S J> miil tis?e,

<S I> kam

<S J> miil tis?e,

<S I> miil tise aaa

<S J> mhm

<S D> be rijil sei naadum

<S J> naadum binši aniina kuure yamta gábul al wataair da, [X] yam gabul al wataayir sei nimšu be rijilna bas hu nijí aloom wataayir kataran ka, kan dugó nimšu⁹ be l watiir alla (8:33)

<S V1> tid’urda ke ke, da bagár isay wa?ár, ke tiwaddaha nadiif dada bišuruua,

<S D> mhm

⁸ See n. in TV 112.

⁹ Note 1Pl, *nimš-u* “we go”, but *niji* “we come”, without the plural –u, in the same turn.

<S V1> axeer min titurud'a be rijilak

<S I> fi l hille di naas rašada kan

<S J> rašada šiyyin, hille mi saqayre, di bas al hille (8:50)

<V> rašadaaha kam, yo ašara sitte ašara sab'a sei, da bas doola bas humma

<S I> kaddeet fi najeriya

<S J> ?a, á ma kaddeet , ha kula legos mašeel la rijilí waade bas, amma ana da maani kaddaad,mm

<S I> saweet šunu qaadi

<S J> a?a mašeet qaadi be axuyí bas šifta haw jiiit, da bas bikaan waššál ma xadám, ma xadám ši, ana mašeet le d'uulí¹⁰ bas dada šifta haw jiiit (9:29)

<S I> axuuk fi

<S J> ?a fi, qaadi, qaadi fi legos bas,

<S I> bixadam

<S J> bixadam,

<S I> bixadam

<S J> á min al hille di bas d'ariidí ana bas,

<S I> qaadi biseyi gaadi

<S J> qaadi biseeyi gaadiye, gaadiye hiilku inta an našara di, foog kawaaziiku intu dool da gait di bas, (9:45)

<S I> yerwa šifta

<S J> yarwa šiftaha,

<V> yarwa sei gariib, yerwa sei gariib

<S J> wai al kalaam, naadum bitab?a foog haná bas, šiftaha yerwa, kula maxađar bas

<S I> indak axayaan fi yerwa

<S J> a?a, be axuyí waid fi wal emmí fi,

<S I> waid bas

¹⁰ *maša d'uul* lit. "go (one's) length = just pass through".

<S J> waid bas, mm

<S I> há diikwa

<S J> dikwa maafi,

<S I> laakin temši

<S J> á banši, le s suuk ke yoom alla ijiiba da nemši

<S I> ween gadee fi najeriya

<S J> á gade ween kula ma kaddeet, ween kula gade ma šifta ana da,

[X]

<S I> amaafia,enuugu

<S J> ma basma šay, enuugu, a?a ma šiftaha enuugu, zeen zeen inugu ma šiftaha, a?a ana da ma šifta (10:29)

<S I> kaano

<S J> a?a kono sei foog darb legos da, kaano da an naadim maaši le legos da, sei bifjaxxa dugo bimši, šiftaha šoof ke da, mm, šiftaha hi kula (10:43)

<S I> tilkallam ayy luqa

<S J> balá kalaam al aráb balkallam be kalaam borno, amma hawsa ma basəma, (10:50)

<S I> keef alellém kalaam borno da,

<S J> alellam kalaam borno da, alellamta da jidditi am aḡḡi di, jidditi am aḡḡi di, al wildat aḡḡi di, axadat leea burnaay, yam ana wildooni, faṣṣalooni min ad deet da, dada gaalat diikoyi da bašiila bal?aanas beya, dada ga?ad maá borno dada irif kalaam borno

<S I> ga?at fi hillittum (11:15)

<S J> gaát fi hillithum25

<S I> gariib walla

<S J> mm

<S V1> be?iid

<S J> a?a be?iide fi tiraab marte, šuqulaaye šiftaha a inta, á d'iike, marte al kabiire šaayifha, marte

<S I> aa šiftaha

<S J> yawwa ha hille hiil borno jambaha ke biguulu la bulagó, yawa di bas ana gaʔád fiya, minnaha hi šabá, ambeena haw ambeen dubuwa,

<S I> d'awwál qaadi

<S J> d'awwál

<V> saqayr ke bas mašá yam bigí raajil dugó ja

<S J> jaabooni le d' d'uhuur bas hine

<S D> abba inta gul mine usmak (12:00)

<S J> usumí jidda

<S D> aha

<S J> mhm

<S D> ha dugut kan šaba naadum ja bisʔalak,

<S J> mhm

<S D> fi n najeriya di,

<S J> mhm

<S D> hu ajami

<S J> mhm

<S D> haw bidoor bilʔallam kalaam al arab,

<S J> mhm

<S D> inta tiguul leya imši, ween dugo ilʔallam, imši le al balge, angumaati, ajjeré, isiir inzil walla tiguul lea šunu (12:17)

<S J> binši bidoor bilallam kalaam al ʔárab, kalaam al arab da, sahi ?? kalaam al árab da fi angumaati,

<S D> mhmm

<S J> angumaati di,

<D> mm

<S J> daar humma árab qawaalme,

<D> mhm

<S J> humma doola, lasanhum naajid,

<D> wəi

<S J> mhm, haw al bałge al bałge lasana a?awaj sei ,

<D> yoo

<S J> biguulu leek iske,

<D> mh

<S J> haw wú,

<D> wəi

<S J> ha da sei ma bin?árif, aha (12:45)

<V> an naas ka bidoor al arab da igaru al kitaab alla,

<S J> mmh

<?> igaru al kitaab alla

<S D> gulna fi n najeriya

V [X]

<S J> fi n najeriya, mm

<?> qawaalme

<S V1> qawaalme

<S J> fi n najeriya di, fi n najeriya di, [X] kalaam al árab naajid da fi angumaati bas

<S D> intu sukku gambarú sei (13:05)

<S J> mm suukna gambaru

<S D> dugut kan mašeet le suuk hana gambarú da,

<S J> haa

<S D> haw arab katiiriin sei,

<S J> ?a árab katiiriin [X]

<S D> ha kan humma árab šába xamsa sitte ke gaadiin bilaanaso da,

<S J> wəi (13:16)

<S D> min lasanhum,

<S J> yaw?

<S D> inta taarif an naadum da min al balge,

<S J> alla ixalliii

[Y] iik

<S D> an naadum [Y]

da min angumaati haw ke

<S J> alla ixalliik

<S V1> aniina kan gaʔadna ke bas cat niʔerifhum

<S J> teerif iske,

<S V1> a já min jaay da ja min jaay

<S J> cat lasanum gadegade, ʔa al lasan gadegade (13:32)

<D> keef

<S V1> gede gede da, doola qawaalme, doola , balge, siaat daar makari wehetum kula lasanum wehetum wai,

<S D> kula sei tiguul al lasan (13:42)

<S V1> wai doola biguulu lasan šá hu dugut al gaala leek da bas, doola hiilhum malwiye,

<S D> wəi

<S V1> hinee l balge,

<S D> aha

<S V1> haw aniina aj jaay kan hiilna mifattiye, al qawaalme kan hi kula isowwu šabá

<S J> hiil angumaati kan fayte hiilna aniina, (13:53)

<S V1> ša daar aš šabá

<S D> wəi, hiil al qawaalme

<S V1> hiil al qawaalme di, yawa

<S J> lasanak inta da bas sei lasan al qawaalme, [X] lasanak inta da bas sei lasan al qawaalme (14:07)

<S V1> da bas bulamaana

<S D> yoo

<S J> lasanak inta da, da bas lasan al qawaalme al lasán cat gade gade

<D> wəi (14:17)

<S I> al árab katiiraat hine

<S J> katiiraat iske, ad daar di heelha sei cat aráb,

<S V1> čat aráb

<S J> árab haw borno, árab haw borno cat məxalbad'iin ke bas

<S D> min jaay da šuqulaaya sei, támbajam

<S J> támbajam, alla ixalliik

<S V1> di kula hille hiil aráb

<S D> usumha šunu

<S V1> roogo, ajjoa, yawwá,

<S D> yawwa (14:44)

<S V1> haw gade radda jaay gide gide gide, hille hiil arab maafi sei, dada jaay kan sei al arab gide ke cat aráb

<S J> inta buqudá aarifa a

<S V1> ke da borno šiyyiin, ke da borno šiyyiin, cat aráb bas,

<D> kirisákkata,

<S J> yowwá, buqudá inta hu sei d daar cat aarifha (15:01)

<S V1> yawwa d'iike, di, al makunuusa di,

<S D> usumha šunu

<S V1> di maarme di al garáli,

<S D> garáli, yó,

<S V1> aah

<S D> hi kula gariib a

<S V1> aha garali kula cat arab , cat gariib cat qášim al bahár bas, qašim al ləbaaiḍ dugut bakaan alme

<S J> cat magaabiil jaay

<S V1> aha jaay bas (15:19)

<S J> cat təraab haná al libaaḍ jaay bas

<?> min al labaayḍ jaay bas

<S D> yo, taabʔiin al lawaan yatuu

<S V1> taabiin al lawaan da, al lawaan abba

<S J> hana fiike,

<S D> hana fiiké

<S J> yo, aha al lawaan abba gana

<S V1> al fikee di borno,

<S D> wəi

<S V1> amma qaadi minha tílis, (15:36)

<S D> mm

<S V1> andakororí,

<S D> wəi

<S V1> ansalerí,

<S D> mhm

<S V1> xáram gide da rawa

<S D> mm

<S J> way, aʔa ma leena xábar tara [X]

<S J> ille jalsa bas, ille jalsa bas,

<S V1> xud'd' gede da yá mándara, cat árab, yá mandara

<S D> mm

<S V1> cat árab

<S D> yó zeen (15:54)

<S J> aniina sei cat dugut bas nimši maaum alla, gade kan maašiin le gambarú da,
[X] kaaddiin alla an naas da

[X]

<S D> haw dugut šába naas waadiin arab, haw ma bísma?o al arab sei fi,

<S V1> arab ma bísma?o arab da kan borno madiri, mafi

<S D> árab haw kuburo fi l barki walla mášo le al birni haw yaalhum ma bilkallamo árab

<S V1> bilkallamo kalaam hana hawsa sei,

<S D> mhm

<S V1> da fi kada ke alla, ardallai, ardallai allahi (16:29)

<S J> dugut alyoom da

<S D> ha naas maahum árab haw busmo kalaam al árab kula fi sei

<S J> fi iske šabá

<S V1> at tiraab, dugut ya borno dool al kabraaniin maana cat biyeerfu kalaam al árab, ha,

<S D> wəi

<S V1> cat bilkallamo al árab

<S D> ha fi n naas at tineen dool da,

<S V1> mm

<S D> waahid ajami haw sími kalaam al árab,

<S V1> mhm

<S D> haw wahid arabi, haw ma bufham kalaam al árab, (16:50)

<S V1> wəi

<S D> jo bədooru bittak inta tatha le yatuu

<S V1> hawu

<S J> angawá nijidat, yawa, angawá nijidat inta beya aadum, inta beeya nijidat angawakku di

<S V1> saʔinna assá di jaayikku di be watiirak da, kan ajami kula biyaad'úuk, ha tawa ka ile an naadum az zeen bas biyaad'ú , aloom ka biyaad'u min jam (17:10)

<S D> ha ana našattak inta , bas

<S V1> alyoom ka biyaad'u min jam?

<S J2> inta at tatha leya da tikurba

<S V1> ana ke da bađ'ia le l arabi bas, bittí ana ke da bađ'ia le l arabi bas

<S J2> hu arabi haw mi aarif kalaam al árab

<S D> haw mi aarif kalaam al arab digee ya

<S V1> al mi aarif kalaam al arab ma bađ'ia leya

<S J> da sei bígi ajami adum, da sei gaal leek bigí ajami (17:32)

<S D> taatha le le

<S V1> baad'iha le l arabi bas

<S D> sei d'aaka, sei naas tineen bas tara maaum katiiriin,

<S V1> wəi

<S D> wahid, arabi ma bifham kalaam al árab, wahid mi arabi, haw bifham kalaam al árab yawwa

<S J2> ha tatha le l arabi al ma bisma kalaam al árab alla

<S D> al arabi ma bifham kalaam al árab

<S V1> diikooyiinak kula ma bifhamo kalaam al árab

<S V1> aʔa al ma bufham kalaam al árab da sei raah

<S J> kaayy an naas doola iktulu an naadum be d díhik alla (18:00)

[X]

<S J> be alla, adum aya adum dugut šabaa kalaama da, al arab fi l hille da, sei tawa usumha arabi

<S V1> wəi

<S J> ha dugut bilkallam leek kalaam arab tisámaa”

<S V1> mm

<S J> yo ha hudu kan wulud wálad šabaaha ke da,

<S V1> da ma laa kalaam

<S J> bilkallam kalaam aráb a, al abú kula mi aarif kalaam al aráb da, yawa he da bas sei,

<S J> an naadum al ma bufham mur sei

<S V1> ašúqúl da cat tara bisajjunu fiya

<S J> bisajjin mana