

TV112Mada

D = danna, G = Gaaji, s1 = his uncle, s2 = young boy, says little I = owens

<G> aloom ala ad daar da, aloom fi a, allom da kan yat hille kula mašeet leha kula tilgá iyaal dugaag bas kine aloom, šaayib kabiir da fi a, cat sei tammo, (0.09)

“today in this area , are there any today? Today if you go to any village you’ll find only small children; are there any older ones today? There’re all gone.”

<D> mm

<G> aloom da kan ligiit kula ašabahí ana da,

“Today if you find someone like myself.”

<I> usum an naadim al xad’d’a al hille di šunu

“What’s the name of the person who founded this village?”

<G> hu da ana ma beyerfa, hu da ana maani saqayyir lea, ille al had’d’á ke da ana maani saqayir lea

„That one I don’t know. For that one, aren’t I too young to know? The one who founded it, I’m too young [to know].”

<I> ma buguulu da fulaan wal fulaan

„They don’t say the son of the son of ... [genealogy]“

<G> filaan wal filaan ke da ma beyerfa,

“The ancestry I don’t know.”

<I> usum al hille madda

“The name of the village is ‘madda’”

<G> maada, (00:35)

“Maada.”

<I> usmak mine

“What’s your name?”

<G> gaají,

“Gaaji.”

<I> u inta bani seed

“And you’re Bani Seed?”

<G> bani seed

“Bani Seed.”

<I> min ammak haw abuuk

“On both your mother’s and father’s side?”

<G> min am̄mi haw abuyí, a?a, min am̄mi haw abuyí cat darbina waid, wai cat bani seed bas (0:50)

“Both my mother and father, both¹ my mother and father are the same, both are Bani Seed.”

<I> ha intu fi l hille di xudumitku šunu
„And what do you all do in this village?“

<G> xuduminna ile al buriye dugut an naxadima da [as], hiraata da bas, herraatiin dugut qalla da, di bas xuduminna catt,

“Our work is only the wetland farming, what we are working at now. Just farming. Farmers the grain, this is what we all do (work of us all).”

<I> mumkin tiwaššif keef tusowwu al hiraata di
“Can you explain how you do the farming?”

<G> al hiraata di, nuktul bongoro, nijerrif jirf, dugut jarafa jiitu jiitu fooghan fi ala mafi,

“The farming, we slash with a machete and dig canals. Now the canals which you came over, did you notice them or not?”²

<I> á fi
“There were.”

<G> aj jirf da nijarrifa hu bas di bas xuduminna cat, haw dugut qalla nicux dugut šabá dugut waagif axadar da, di xuduminna cat, min gammeena cat di bas tirabbeena fiya, (1:22)

“The canal that we dig, that is just our work. Now we are planting the grain, like that green plant over there. This is our work. Since we were born, we grew up [doing] it (in it).”

<I> keef tixadumu be šunu be šunu
„How do you work, with what and what?“

<G> bongoro da ma ti?erfa a, da bongoro kal hine mafi dugo
„A machete you don’t know? We don’t have one right here.”

<S1> intu šuqulku da tidooru tiktubu bas ala tinaššudu šuqúl gade
“You guys, do you just want to write [about the language] or will you ask something else [have something else in mind].”

<G> al bongoro tiarfa ala ma tierfa
“Do you know a machete or not?”

¹ catt “all”, or if referring to ‘2’, “both”. Probably < šatt, with irregular assimilation of š > č before the alveolar. A similar shift is attested in lower Gulf dialects, čuf-t “I saw” < *šuf-t.

² Indeed, in the wetland farming area, the canals dug in the hard black soil are very noticeable to a car. The canals are built up one and half foot, making it very difficult for a sedan to traverse them.

<D> baarfa
 “He knows it.”

<G> ha di bas xudumitna dugut al qalla di, ad dunguluusu da,
 “So this is just our work now, the grain, this axe.”

<D> wəi?
 “Ya.”

<G> me bišiilu beha aj jirfa a, (1:38)
 “They dig out the canals with it right?”

<D> wəi?
 “ya”

<G> dugut aj jirf da bisullu be dunguluusu, bangaro kan buktulu beya, biwaasi beya bikaan al gaš, biwaasi beya al buriye, di bas xuduminna aniina min gammeena cat, juduudna kula cat di bas xudumuthum, gide bala hu da ma leena xudume, di bas sinaainna kurut, gide mafi leena şuná, (1:53)

“Now the canals they dig out with the D, the machete they cut with, clear the place of grass, and prepare the wetland farm. This is just the work of all of us since we grew up. It was the work of our ancestors. Besides this we have no work. It’s the occupation of everyone. Otherwise we have no occupation.”

<I> tiheertu mata
 “When do you farm?”

<G> sartí al xariif da, alme sai bíji kan ja da mi³ niheerit bas a, dugut xariif da niheerit, dugut waqitna hana al yoom da hiraata di fi a, gide fađđal leha ile kan callooha bas sei, gide sei nijidat qalla da, (2:09)

“The rainy season. When the rain falls, shouldn’t we just farm? Now in the rainy season we farm, now is our time for farming. All that remains is to cut it down, since the grain has ripened.”

<I> yá hassa da ticuqq
 “Till now you’re planting?”

<G> aʔá, hassa da gide caqq at tiraab yaabis da bincaqqa kef, alme mafi da gide sai zamaana faat, gide sartiina da ille kan qalla nijidat callú bas, gide mafi leha šai, dada gide fađđal lea icallú iduggú bas, gide mafi šai,

“No, now digging in the dry soil, how can it be dug? There’s no water, the season’s over. The only thing we’re waiting for is for the grain to ripen and to cut it down. Otherwise we don’t have anything to do. It just remains to cut it down and thresh it, otherwise there’s nothing.”

³ Note negative *mi.*, which prototypically negates non-verbal predicates. In this case there is a contrast between *ma* vs. *mi*. The former is predicate negation, “we don’t farm”. The latter constitutes propositional negation, “isn’t it the case that we farm”. The latter in turn can carry a modally colored meaning, the implication being, “since it is the case that, therefore we should”.

<I> intu bagar fi
 “Do you have cattle.”

<G> a'a mafi, aniina kaal hillinna fiha bagara waade kula mafi, mafi lea šai, al bagara⁴
 di, fi hillinna da aloom gaadiin ma leena bagár maafi leena šai, (2:40)
 “No. In our whole village there’s not a single cow. There’s nothing. The cow, today in
 our village we stay without any cattle, or anything.”

<I> šunu induku min al bahaayim
 “What sort of domestic animals do you have?”

<G> bahaayim da bala al miize da šuqul fi a aloom , dugut da jiitu fooghin dawa
 barra, dugut barra fi l bikaan da jiitu fooga da, gide balá maafi, gide ile hinna deel
 bas, gide mafi ši, bagara⁵ di kan gul leek fi kula mi fusúx a, a šuqúl al mafi da aguul⁶
 leek fi a (2:59)
 „Domestic animals, other than goats is there anything else? Now you just came past
 them these ones [goats], the place you just came from, otherwise there are none. Just
 these ones, otherwise there’s nothing. A cow, if I were to tell you there is a cow
 wouldn’t it be a lie? If something doesn’t exist should I tell you it does?”

<S1> kuure da katiiraata fi
 “Before there were a lot.”

<G> aloom tamman
 “Now they’ve finished.”

<S1> kuure da katiiraat
 “There used to be many.”

<G> aloom kan bagár tamman mafi šai, aloom da ile al miize a jiitu fooghan deela
 bas, gide bagara maafi (3:08)
 “Today the cattle have finished and there’s nothing. Today, the goats you came by are
 the only ones. Otherwise there are no cattle.”

<S1> an naas aj ju šagga d daar al bagar an naas aj ju ke laahik lehum
 “People, famine engulfed (split, cross by) the country; Famine caught up to the
 cattle.”

<G> dugut sartiina da, bala al miize aj juutu fooghan deel da, fi hillinna bagara waade
 kula mafi
 “Now, our time, other than the goats you came by, there’s not a single cow in our
 village.”

⁴ Interesting use of singulative noun in a context which appears to suggest a generic entity, “cattle.”

⁵ Note lack of definite article on *bagara*, though it is modified by a demonstrative. This is not the only place this lack is attested. It could be that the definite article may be left off (1) on words designating a general category (e.g. *bagara*, *naadum* “person”) and (2) when non-referential. In the current case the speaker is talking about the non-existence of any cattle or cow.

⁶ Note subjunctive here, creating a rhetorical question.

<S1> aniina aj ju ke katilna haw dagooní tinšudu min d'aaka haw ke da (3:20)
 “Famine killed us and then you ask about this and that?⁷”

<I> aj ju
 “Famine?”

<G> ha jiraab waid bas jikka tineen da al fi iidna tak ke tamma, šiif eedeena deel aloom alaama dugut minan ma raahat da, šiif a šuqúl siida bišiil baaš a, sei xudumta ile dunguluusu , haw bangoro, haw gavgal, šiil leek uud dugó kut beya da, gaasi ala mi gaasi, ha da bas xuduminna aniina,

“One sack [of grain] is two four hundred [naira], so everything we had is finished (what we have in our hands). Look at these hands of ours. The effects [signs of our work] doesn't disappear from them.⁸ There are only the D, machete and the pointed planting stick, you take a piece of wood and go about with it. Is that hard work or not? But that's just our work.”

<S1> gide mafi leena šai, aniina di bas šuṣaana
 Otherwise we have nothing. That is just our occupation. What?⁹”

<D> abu muzuraak (3:46)
 “An Abu Muzuraak snake.”

<G> diiru fooga alme, aniina da di bas sinanṅa,
 “Pour water on it.¹⁰ That's just our work.”

<V> šubbu fooga alme xallu ire
 “Pour water on it and let it go away.”

<D> mala bušubbu fooga alme (4:07)
 “Why do you pour water on it?”

<G> subaana minna
 “To curse it.”

<D> a'a makunuus da
 “ No
 [X]

<where is market>

<G> aniina da sukna da, ale tineen, sukna da bidoor suk jambina gariib leena ka alla
 “Our market, Monday. He wants the market that is near to us, right?”

⁷ The speaker is suggested a certain heartlessness on our part, asking about famine but not giving them anything.

⁸ The speaker is referring to the roughness of his hands, as a sign that they are constantly subjected to the hard work of farming.

⁹ This reacts to I's jumping abruptly up from the mat, when he sees a snake making its way rather quickly towards him. Later it is explained that it was poisonous, but not one that bites people.

¹⁰ I. e. G is considerably less fazed by the snake than I is.

<D> ale tisawwugú
 “The one you market in.”

<G> ale nisooga gariib leena ke, dawa aj jiiit fooga da bas, muuda da bas, aniina ajá hanaana kan kaala, ajaatna da kaala, muuda kan mi gariib leena a juutu fooga da, dada kan mi suugak kula gariib leek kan tímš tisawwuga, (4:29)
 “The one we market in nearby, its right here, the way you came. Muuda. Our district head is Kaala, our district head is Kaala, but Muuda is near to us, the way you came from. But even if it isn’t your nearby market, you can still go to it.”

<D> mhm
 “Mm”

<G> finšaan gariib al hille di me gariib leena a, karnak ad dugut baggeet minna da, hu da gariib leena, ajaanna kan kaala,
 “Because its near, the village near to us. The large settlement that you passed by, it’s also near. Its district head is also Kaala.”

<S1> lawaanna kula kaala bas,
 “It’s sub-chief is also Kaala.”

<G> šunu kula gide leena cat kaala bas, šum bani seed da cat kaala bas, nafarna aniina da cat kaala bas (4:46)
 „Everything belongs to Kaala. Even the name [of the clan] Bani Seed, our clan is also in Kaala.“

<D> gabaayil al arab al katiiriin da yatum bani seed walla axir fi
 “The biggest clan is Bani Seed or are there others?”

<G> aniina bani seed bas, gide nafara waade kula mafi fiya, al hille di bani seed bas naadum minha barra kaal mafi, kan nišit da ille fiiha bani seed bas gide naadum fiha barra mafi (5:21)
 “We are just Bani Seed. There isn’t another clan. This village is just Bani Seed and there’s not a person from outside. If you ask, just Bani Seed, no one from outside.”

<S1> walla birnaay wala nafura axir, aniina wehetna bas
 “Neither a Kanuri nor anyone else, just us.”

<G> kan našattu maada ille bani seed bas,
 “If you ask about Maada, just Bani Seed.”

<S1> bani seed arab wehetna tul,
 “Only Bani Seed.”

<D> al hellaal al arab al giraab le l hille di yatu
 “What are the nearby Arabic villages?”

<G> gide fiya šai mafi, doola bas, helaal hine al aráb, giraab jambina ke a, usúm al aráb min jam¹¹ ke bas ala, summahan
 “Otherwise there’s nothing. Just these. Arab villages, near to us. Just any Arab names, their names?”

<S1> a'a da amšu lehan hinna deela, kolmé? ambilíya?, dada kaala
 “Go to these, Kolme?, Ambiliya?, then Kaala.”

<G> tikurbu al lai da timšu fooga da, kolme di mi waade a, diya al hille am kinduwe, buyuutha kula tišiiifha da, ambílya, al lai da cir kaarbinna bas maašiin, cat arab, ha dedda kaala (6:06)

“Take the road that you came down; isn’t this Kolme one of them? Then this one the village Am Kinduwe, whose houses you can see here, Ambilya. The road you took directly and continue on, all are Arab [villages], then comes Kaala.”

<D> ha al hille d’iike
 “And that village?”

<G> aj jambina di as siqayre di at tihitna di a,

<D> wəi

<G> di kula máda bas baggat min hiilna, taa hineen dugó mašó saaro mašó qaadi, deela cat waid, doola aniina beum cat waid dugó saaro minnina [X], doola aniina beum cat waahid dugo saaro minnina, s siqayre di sai, aniina behum cat wahid saaro min hineen bas (6:31)

“This small one near us, this is Maada as well. It struck out from ours, a while ago right here, then they went and moved there. These are all the same. We and them are the same, then they moved from us. We and them were one, then they moved away from us, this small one, we and them were one then they went away from here.”

<I> kaddeet fi najeriya
 “Have you travelled around in Nigeria?”

<G> bas le najerya mašeet, mašeet dugó ma d’awwál, ya lagos kula mašeet, amma ma d’awwal fiya hidi, maxad’ar ke da mašeet, ma d’awwál haadi kinyi (6:47)
 “Just in Nigeria. I went but didn’t stay long, up to Lagos, but I didn’t stay long there. Just a trip and I didn’t stay long.”

<I> xadam qaadi
 “Did you work there?”

<G> xadám da, xudume xadamtaha ke da tušurí tineen bas, amma tušur hinna tisse da cat ana fi lagos kula geét,
 “I worked. The work I did was only two months. But I stayed nine months altogether in Lagos.”

¹¹ *min jam* “any old thing”. In this case, any Arabs other than the Bani Seed.

<I> keef šif legos da
 “How did you find Lagos?”

<G> hana šunu da, hana xudumitha ke ala (7:08)
 “In terms of what, its work or what?”

<I> al maiiša,
 “the life.”

<G> haa
 “What?”

<I> al magad
 “The life.”¹²

<G> al gaadiye di ala, hana al gaadiye di dada kan mai jidak ja tigum tiška leya al beet, ha kan as sarti líhik kan tigum timíš tixal al xudume, as sarti lihík kan tij tikurubha bas, gaadi da mi da bas xudumta a, kan as sá liigat, sitte le sitte kula fi, xudume waade good maniye¹³ kula fi legos fi, tulummí lee l nahaar kula mi fi a,
 “Being a guard or what? As far as being a guard, when your boss (owner of house) comes you get up and open the house, and when the time comes you go and leave work and when it’s time again you come and resume it. Isn’t this just what a guard does? And when the time comes, from six to six, it’s all the same in Lagos. Is there a guard who works completely throughout the 24 hours.”

<D> wəi? (7:30)
 “Yep.”

<G> fi legos da fi sei, haw xudume waade kan tukurub kadár candiik bijí xalá tigumm tixallaha minnak, amma tušuri fia tis'e, amma xadám ke da xadam tušúr tineen bas, cat gaaid ke bas gammeet ka jiiit,
 “In Lagos its like that, you assume (grab) a job until (someone) takes your place then you go and leave it. But I was there nine months, but I worked a proper job just two months. I was just sitting around, then I got up and left and came back [here].”

<I> šif al magad hilu walla mi hilu
 “How did you find the life, good or not?”

<G> ha an naadum inta ma inda xudume gide helaatha šunu, ka ta waleet xudume bašiil maal kooma hilwe, mašeet waalet, šiifha naadum tis'e šahár, haw dugo xadám šaareen¹⁴ da hilwe a, sei mi hilwe, ligiitaha mi hilwe lei sei, kan hilwe da naadum tamma tis'e šahár da, gide bají baheerit, šiif šuqulna da sei gaasi, haw raddeet jiiit leya hu bas, (8:05)
 “So a person, if you don’t have any other work, what’s good about it? If I had come upon a job I would have gotten a lot of money. Look a person in nine months, and he

¹² One needs to be ever wary of introducing Standard Arabic or vocabulary from outside Nigeria.

¹³ Unclear. Perhaps < English “guard man”.

¹⁴ Dual. The previous two tokens used the periphrastic, *tušur tineen*.

works two, is that good? It's not right? I didn't find it good for myself. If it were good would a person spend nine months, then come back and farm. Look at how hard our work is, but I still returned to it anyway."

<I> haw mašeet bakaan gide
 "Did you go anywhere else?"

<G> a'a gide bakaan hejira ma mašeet, ille geet fi lagos daxil bas, gide baŕra ma baggeet, a'a ana min al lai hejira ma baggeet ween kula, ile tur da ya legos kaf daaxil bas (8:24)

"No I didn't go anywhere else, except I stayed inside Lagos, but I never went out. From this road here I never went anywhere, except directly right into Lagos."

<I> mata mašeet
 "When did you go?"

<G> aloom saná arabá wala xamsa kula, bisey dige,
 "Today it's four years or even five in fact."

<I> siniin arbá aw xamsa
 "Four or five years?"

<G> wala arabá wala xamsa sana, xamsa bas, kadár le gide jiiit minna hu da aloom gide ma mašeet, bisei lei sana xamsa (8:43)

"Either four or five years, five, since I came back here from there. Then I didn't go anywhere else. It adds up to five years."

<I> tidoor tarudd walla ma tarudd
 "Would you like to return or not?"

<G> aá da alla haadi i'ierfa, dada,
 "Only God knows."

<D> kan fi šoofak da
 „In your view.“

<G> fi alaamti ana ke a, kan alla gaal banši da mi gaasi sei, dugut šif yamta nasiib alla ijiibku hineen da, taa sei bəjjú¹⁵ ad darb d'aaka, kula sei jiitu min jaay, kan našiib bají fiya da, gide kula bemši sei, ha kan mi našiib bašiifha da, kan gait sei, hu be sertiýí a, aná, kan alla geyyenni da kan ambaakir haadi gammeet kula sei gammeet bas sertí ma leha sei, šaba masál ar ruh¹⁶ bas, ha intu da sei tawa enku darb hana sabkara, yamta našiib alla ijiibku foogna aniina hineen da, kula sei jiitu foogna aniina ha nasiib bijjibku bas kaamil ma bukuun, ille wenu kula bikun ba||a bas (9:21)

"That's something God will determine, as far as I know, if God says I should go, it's not difficult at all. Look when God brought you all here, you come on that road, didn't

¹⁵ A rather rarely attested loss of a short preformative vowel, with subsequent assimilation of /t/, < be-ti-jú.

¹⁶ < masall ar-ruh "taking out of the soul".

you all come from over that way? If luck will have it, I'll come [on the road] again and I'll go again, and if I don't have the luck to see it [Lagos], then I'll stay. Is it under my control (is it my appointment) , me, if God sets me down then I'll get up tomorrow, because if I get up [and go] there's no appointed time for it. It's like death. You guys weren't you directed down the road from Sabkara (your eyes [were direct]), when God's hand brought you to us here. Didn't you just come to us, but for the fact that fate brought you here, you wouldn't have come. Wherever we are it's by God's wish."¹⁷

<G> humma taa bijú foog ad darb hana sabkara, ha ad darb šaalum, muudo ad darb amta šaalhum ka jo foog ad darb hana muudo, humma tawa ad darb d'aaka bijí foog sabkara bijí foog kaala,
 „They just came on the road from Sabkara, and the road from Shaalum, Muudo. When the road brought them, then they came via Muudo. But the other road comes via Sabkara and Kaala.”

<D> al qalla waafge haw ke da
 “Like where the grain is standing.”

<G> al layyaat bišaggan induku leya al hille tineen deela bas sei, al laiyaat da bijí foog al gadəna, ha da kan bijí foog humma kan šaalo al anumaay, dada anumaay šaalhum, dadda jo foog hana muudo
 „The roads divide. You only have these two villages. The roads come via Al Gadena, while the other passes by them, but they took the southerly way, so the southerly way took them and they came via Muudo.”

<D> d'aaka da šilná dugo raddeena dige
 „We took that one, then we turned back.“

<G> ha tawa d'aaka da, bimarriku foog sabkara dada foog kaala, eedal , da kan jaabku foog mudo sei (9:51)
 „And before that one, it takes you out via Sabkara then Kaala, directly, while the other brought you via Muudo.“

<D> hi kaala agiráb min andufu sei
 “Is Kaala nearer than Andufu?”

<G> sainna di a, a?a
 “From here? (at this time) No.”

<D> min andufu
 “From Andufu.”

<G> min qaadi ke naadum binši ke haw le, le mine, naadum birud ke haw ke ka da a, a'a kaala agiráb sei, kaala sei gariibe, kaala sei

¹⁷ An extended parable in which the speaker compares his own future possibilities in life with our own happening upon his village.

“From there a person goes like that, to who (which people) and returns such a way. No, Kaala is nearer. Isn't Kaala nearby, Kaala?”

<D> a'a min andufú naadum bitiba ke imši le kaala wala min andufú imši le kaala da ke (10:14)

„No, from Andufu a persons follows the way he goes to Kaala, or from Andufu should he go to Kaala?“

<G> ke da sei kaala sei agi'rab, kaala min hineen sai gariibe
„Kaala is really closer; from here Kaala is really near.”

<D> ana kula ille bal'ajjab ke
“I was surprised.”

<G> a?a kaala intu sei lešaan ad darb ammada¹⁸ beeku da, šaan inta gabúl ankuun šaayif d'aaka,

“No Kaala, because you guys, the road became long for you, because you maybe saw that [other] road first.”

<D> wəi
“Ya.”

<G> d'aaka imši ?? šaayfinne, dugo qalabak qalbiin kiji, ha dugut kaala min hine sei gide gariib (10:29)

“That one ?? , it completely confused you, but now from here Kaala is near again.”

<D> mašena le hille waade, usumha nugura wala šunu, anzuuriyya
“We went to one village, whose name was ‘Nugura’ or what, ‘Anzuuriyya’”.

<G> ancukuli, mašó foog darb ancukuli ad darb laađ beum dige,
“‘Ancukuli’, they went via Ancukuli then the road circled around on them”

<D> wəi
“Ya.”

<G> hillit borno sei
“A Kanuri village.”

<D> borno, baggaara, (10:48)
“Kanuri, cattle herders.”

<G> a?a borno be bagarum, borno, gide ke da, gide catt bagarhum fi, al helaal al kena cat hine bagar fi, al keda cat hine borno haw be bagarhan, ke da arab da, mafi, ad darb aj jiitu fooga da cat borno, da barno (11:03)

“Kanuri with their cattle. Others in this direction, all have their cattle. The village is filled with cattle. All Kanuri with their cattle, but no Arabs, none. The road you came by is all Kanuri [villages].”

¹⁸ < an-mada form VII, passive, “get elongated, long, stretched out”.

<I> inta gareet
“Did you study.”

<G> aa
“What?”

<I> gareet
“Did you study?”

<G> á gərá ma gareet,
“Studying I didn’t.”

<I> as sangaa
“Quranic school?”

<G> sangá, la ma mašeet, kaal ile xudumtí ile xaddaami bas, šai girá kula ma mašeet,
“Quranic school, no I didn’t go to it. My work is only that of a laborer. I never went to any school.”

<I> faqir fi fi l hille di walla maafi (11:17)
“Is there a Quranic teacher in your village?”

<G> faqir fi l hille di xaaḍiriin kipi fi, maafi sa’inna di gaaid da mafi, sainna di faqir
gaid da mafi, (11:23)
“A Quranic teacher in this village has left; now there isn’t any, now there isn’t.”

<I> tawwal
“Did he stay long?”

<G> ʔa al maafi da gide biheesibú leek a, šuqúl kan gulná leek kula hu maafi xaaḍir
da, gide fi a,
“What there isn’t how do they count it as something? What I told you is he’s not
around, he’s gone away, so is there anyone else?”

<I> tawa fi
“There used to be?”

<G> tawa fi humma iyaalna fi, mašó le s sangá, ha mašó le s sangá da gide fia, iyaalna
fi bigáru fi, mašó le s sangá,
“There used to be, our children. They went to a Quranic school, they went to the
Quranic school, so are there any [here]? Our children are studying, they went to the
Quranic school.”

<I> ween
“Where?”

<G> mašó le tiraab malmajja ke, bigáru, qaadi, (11:44)
“They went to Malmajja, and are studying there.”

<I> humma kam

“How many are they?”

<G> humma tineen, bugáru, humma tineen bas, humma bas bugáru humma tineen fi tiraab malmajja,

“They’re two. They’re studying. They are just two. They are just studying in the area of Malmajja.”

<I> tuwadda le tiraab yatu

“Where would you send him [to learn Arabic]?”

<G> rad’d’aani (12:15)

“A non-Arabic speaker?”

<D> kan ja šaarak, ana badoor bal'allam kalaam al arab, tiguul lea imši yeen dugo il'allam

“If he came and asked, I want to learn Arabic. Where would you tell him to go and learn?”

<G> ar rad’d’aani bidoor kalaam al arab a,

<D> wəi

<G> kan haala zeene ma bitallif da, kan mi?aaí hineen kula sai bil'ellama, fi hillinna hineen kula sei ma'aana bəgoot, naadum haalak di, hi bas sei kan inta zeen zeen da, haw ma t tisma šai kula kan geét miyá al arab ma t təgoot a, kan haalak zeene da, mi tisima bas a kan geét da, ha kan haalak di mi kalkal da, gidé kan waddock guul le an naadum igoot kula sei bixaram bixarrumú bas, ha kan haalak zeene da kan yeen kula tugoot, ha dugut al maqiib da kan naadum haala zeene da, mai jidá kab šaalak da dugut bas al ingilis tismá sei, mai jida zeen šaalak da, al inglis heel kula tisəmə (12:54)

“A non-Arabic speaker wants to learn Arabic; if he has a good character, if not here with me, he’ll learn it in our village here if he lives with us. A person of your stature, if you’re good (?? healthy) and even if you don’t understand a thing if you stayed with the Arabs, aren’t you going to understand if you stay? If your character is not good, if they send you [to anywhere] and say to the person he should stay, he’ll still just leave and they’ll kick him out. If you have a good character, you’ll stay anywhere. If you go to the South,¹⁹ if a person’s character is good, and an employer takes you, you’ll just learn English, if a good employer takes you in, you’ll even learn English.²⁰”

<I> fi l kaala bilkallamo saafi

“They speak good in Kaala?”

¹⁹ *maqiib* “west”, but it can also refer to the southwest region of Nigeria, i.e. Lagos area.

²⁰ The speaker sets up another comparison here, this time with learning English.

<G> najeriya di ile hineen da, cat kalaam hana al arab da bas, dugut jalsiti be jalsitak di bas, šaa kalaamna da bas, dugut kan mašcetū le l hille al giddaamiye tisámo kula cat šaba hanaana da bas (13:11)

“This Nigeria, just here. Everything is Arabic. Now my conversation with your conversation, like our speech, now if you should go on to the next village you’ll hear the same [language] like ours [here].”

<S1> amšū kaala, cat šald’ana haw cat aráb kalaam šaafi, arab nuḍaaf

“Go to Kaala, all the government and everyone is Arabic, pure, correct Arabic.”

<G> kaala da bəkaan ajá kula fi, lawaan kula fi, naas bəgáru magaranta kula fi

“Kaala is a place the district chief and the sub-chief and there are people who study in school.”

<I> al ajá arabi

“They district chief is Arab?”

<G> á ajá arabi aa

„The district chief is Arab.”

<D> kaala kan mi baʔiide nidoor nimši (13:25)

“Kaala isn’t far. We want to go [there].”

<G> kaala gariibe dugut bas timšu

“Kaala is near, you can just go now.”

<S1> wala ti'eegib kilomita tamaane tára

„It doesn’t even surpass eight kilometers.”

<D> kaala ma tiʔaagib kilomitər tamaane

“Kaala isn’t more than eight kilometers?”

<S1> kilomitər tamaane

“Eight kilometers.”

<G> ma teegib, awa wahid timšu, ma teegib,

“It’s not more; in one hour you’re there. Not more.”

<S1> fi l watiir awa waahid kula awa waahid [X]

“In the car one hour, just one hour.”

<G> kaala, a'a dugut bas timšu sei, hille dugut al gultuha hiil borno gultá di, kaala bi'eegiba a, ma biseeyi kula digé a

“No, now you can just go. The village you were talking about the Kanuri one, is Kaala further [than it]? It isn’t at all.”

<S1> a'a al bikaan da be kuraana nimši lea foog awa tineen haw nuš ba (13:54)

“No the place by foot we go to it in two and a half hours.”

<G> naadum be rijila yaabis kar kula awa tineen binši da, naadim be rijilé kaala bimši, kaala sei gariib dawa al lai abiyad kar waagi, kan inta maaši qaadi da cik, kaal mi šaak kula tara, (14:06)

“A person on bare foot will arrive in two hours and a person arrives in Kaala in two hours. Kaala is really near, right here’s the straight road stretched out to it. If you go there straight, it doesn’t branch at all.”

<I> kann sawwakta keef tamšu

“If you go to market, how do you go?”

<S> le s suuk ke hana al haaja da, a, kan ša naadum, wala be se?iite bibiiya miizé biwaddí bibiiya, wala ša dugut aj jidaat ad dugut an našát minna da, kula kan naadum be wudura da, mi bikurba biwaddí bibia fi s suuk bas a, baṛṛa da bé fi a, kan mi naadum ja kaat le nádiyēn ke da billagí, ille dadda da bas al biwaddiina, (14:28)

“To the market of ... some need, if like a person has his worldly goods and sells a goat he sends a goat, or like now chickens that you asked about just now,²¹ whatever a person’s needs are, doesn’t he just grab them and sell them in the market? In the countryside is there commerce? Unless a person comes and looks around purposely will he find anything?²² It’s only that that sends us [to the market].”

<S1> kaala dugut timšu lea

“Now you are going to Kaala.”

<G> dadda da bas al biwaddiina,

“So this is just what takes us [there].”

<I> keef timšu

“How do you go?”

<S> a'a bugo, an naaum kan inda bigoot le l watiir kula fi, kan naadum maafi leey biguul banši be rijilé buguul addariye bejí fu l watiir kula fi, dugut ša watiirku di, ha kan indina maafi, [X] watiir bijí be nahaar as suuk al faat jaat, be n naar al jim?e da, al lei da [X]

“... There’s a person if he has something [money] he sits in a car; then there’s [the person who says] if he doesn’t he says he’ll go by foot and afterwards I’ll come back in a car. Like this car of yours, if a person doesn’t have one, a car comes the day of the market, the one that passed, on Friday, on this road.”

<I> ma biján

„Aren’t they coming.“

<G> a'a bala yoom ke ma t tillíggi,²³ bala yoom ke da, aniina hineen ma tilliggi (15:05)

²¹ D has noticed there are chickens in the village, which he purchases, in a conversation set out below.

²² I.e. there’s no general market in the countryside, except if someone is looking for something specific, so you have to go to the market to sell goods. nádiyēn = Kanuri.

²³ The usual form is *tillage* or *tillaggi*. Very occasionally CaCCi(C) have ablauted CiCCiC alternates. These forms are only attested from speakers in the Bagirmi Arabic. Further examples can be found in GR22AEJH.

[X]

“No except on [market] day you won’t find any [chickens], you don’t find them.”

<S1> talaatiin haw waahid, hi abát kan dugut ja hu ša be talaatiin haw xamsa haw

[X]

“thirty one [naira] but she refused, if he offers like thirty five. [X]”

<S1> hu zaata kula mašá leha, ađđa naira talatiin haw wahid dugut ja kan gal sowo talatiin haw xamsa

“He himself went to her, and offered thirty one and now he offered thirty five [naira].”

<V> amíš guul laa sawwó leeki talatiin xamsa, kan abát kan xalaas

“Go tell her, they made it 35 [naira] for you. If she refuses that’s it.”

<G> hu sei mašá šaafa ala inta ma mašeet,

„Did he go and see her or didn’t you go?“

<V> amšu jamí

“Go together.”

<G> amšu jami šiifa haw taal (15:25)

“Go together and see and come back.”

<I> balá kalaam al arab tilkallam ayy luqa

“Besides Arabic what languages do you speak?”

<G> ʔa, anaʔ, ana da bala al arabiye waade tul šai aarfinne mafi, ille al arabiye al waade tul di bas (15:42)

“Me, except for this one Arabic I don’t know any. Just this Arabic.”

<I> šunu sawweet qaadi fi legos

“So what did you do in Lagos?”

<G> legos di xudumitha ad dugut gulta leek di bas , a'a al mai jida kula kan aarif kašeel leya, ja xaarim kula ad darb saddeeta, gide kula ja daaxil kula saddeeta gide buguul lei šunu, dedda al gaadi sai di bas xudumta, ha bubaarimni bədoor minni šunu kan aš šaar maat, kan ad'aani šuqulaaya kula xalaas, kan ma ad'aani kula yam a šaár maat da , tieegib leya yoomaat da ma bierfa a, sarti dugut bijú biguul leek ke, agoot fi l bikaan šabá daka da, sarti aš šahár da cub imuut kan bají bakaffiik maalak da, kan aš šahár da maat da, mi bají le bikaaní bas a, mi bajiik bas a, ha induku aš šahár al maat da, mi tieerif bas a, naadum geʔʔetta da, ha qaadi kula sei ke di bas, ha an naadum at tuhud'da da ša ar raʔi bas aš šahár da mi tikaffa maala bas a, kan ma šayattak²⁴ kan tixalla bas, (16:35)

“Lagos, work there was what I just told you. The house owner you know you open up [the house] for him, when he comes out you close it and when he comes back in you close it again. What does he say to me? So that’s all the guard’s work that’s it. If he

²⁴ *šayada* “what pleases you, is appropriate to you (šaad “hunt”).

doesn't give me anything at the end of the month and the days pass, won't he know?²⁵ When they come and he tells you, stay in like that place, exactly when the month ends, wouldn't I²⁶ come and pay you your money, when the month's over, so isn't it the case that I'll come to my place, won't I come to you. Wouldn't you²⁷ know when it's the end of the month, the person who you put there. So isn't it just like that there. The person you employed is like a herdsman and you don't pay him his money at the end of the month, if it's not to your liking you just leave him."

<I> kalaam hawsa maafi
 "No Hawsa?"

<G> a'a ana hawsa ma basmá, sale inta ma tisáma šiya šiya a,
 "No, I don't understand Hawsa. Sale don't you know it a little?"

<I> borno
 "Kanuri?"

<G> kalaam hana borno da mafi fiya ana fi kalaam borno da maafi, kalaam hana borno da, ana da fiya maafi, ma basma tilomi, borno da ši basama leim mafi, (16:54)
 "Kanuri no, I have no Kanuri. Kanuri, I don't understand it at all. Kanuri I don't understand them at all."

<I> kann sawwaktu keef tɔbarmu
 "If you market what do you speak?"

<G> be borno, haw, burnaay šuqulak da šunu, humma buguulu ma šabá da ke , ada an baguul a'aaa, anta bamudda lea da ambikaay bas, ambowaka haw nilbaaya, dugut fiya hidi di ad'd'eeta nairé da, biyaaba a, bišiiha ala ma bišiiha, sei ma biyaabá, ha hal leya an naira, ha bas kula sai bæqassid, hu sei dada albaayeena, ana ye šuqul nafsí raatta ad'd'eet, hu kula niita kan ligí maala hana halhaal²⁸ sei dada xalaas, dada da bas (17:26)

as suuk da ile al bisma kula tilgá al ma nisima kula tilgá, fu s suug da, naadum wahid bísəma, naadum waid ma bisima, bas tilbaayo, dugut šaba magatak di kan gul kaal ma babasma²⁹ kula, hu dugut al bisma da, ana beya nujulus haw tilbaařamo leek inte, ha kan mařeet tilbaayo šunu kula badeet tilbaařamo, ha da kan bibuřum le da, řa at turjumaan bitarjim leek bas kalaamku bissaama, kan agilak řaala xalaas kan agilak ma řaal kan tiguul leya ana ma bařiiila, ha sei heyyin ke bas al bé di heene tára, ambeen bayi ambeen řári da heyyin sai, da sei xafiif, (17:58)

"In Kanuri, what do you have? They say not like this. Then I say 'no'. When I stretch out [the money] to him I'm just dumb. Dumb people and we bargain. Now if I gave this one one naira and he refuses, will he he take it or not? He won't refuse. And I

²⁵ To this point, the speaker has no need to say anything to the person.

²⁶ Here there appears to be a shift in roles, where G puts himself in the position of the employer, hence "I", the person who is paying. This is perhaps to illustrate the situation from an immediate speech situation perspective.

²⁷ A third shift of subject in the segment, from "I" as the employer to "you" as employer. The dynamics of these person shifts requires more investigation.

²⁸ Unidentified.

²⁹ *ba-ba-sma*, perhaps indicative ba- prefixed to 1SG ba-.

give him the naira. He's agreed as well. So haven't we bargained? I want something, my soul wants it [so] I gave him [money], and his aim is to get money ??, So that's how it is.

As far as the market goes, the one who understands [language] will get something, but we who don't understand buy as well, in the market. The one can understand and the other doesn't. You just trade. Now like your situation if you said I don't understand at all, and now he the other guy can understand, I and him we talk and converse for you. And if you went to trade, whatever you began you bargain for, and that one bargains for the other one, like a translator translates for you so what you say is understood. If you accept³⁰ [what is offered] its finished if you don't you'll tell him I won't take it. Its simple selling is simple, between selling and buying it's easy, it's not a problem."

<D> inta indak mara
„Are you married?“

<G> a'a maafi, lissa ma lei mára, lissa ma lei mára
“No, I don't have a wife yet.”

<D> mm, dugut naas waadiin aráb haw ma bismao arab fi a
„Now are there are Arabs who don't know Arabic?“

<G> arabi ke ma bísəmo kalaam al arab da kaal mi arabi kula
“An Arab who doesn't know Arabic, can hardly be an Arab.”

<D> malaa (18.25)
“why?”

<G> ha inta arabi bas ma tisma,
“You're Arab and you don't understand it?”

<D> amma haw abú arab hau mášo wuldó fi l barki (18:29)
“His mother and father but they went [away] and he was born in the barracks.”

<G> yó, mašo ha da kan ma wuldó fi d daar, da kan wuldó fi lubbuhum humma sei, da fi, a'a dada fi, da kula dugut kan amma be abú bijulsu leya beya da, bismá sei, ha kan amma be abú kula ma bijulsu beya da, deda ma bisima,”
„Okay, they went and he was not born in this area, and he was born among them.³¹ That exists. But even that one if his mother and father speak to him in it, he'll know it, but if his mother and father don't speak to him in it, he won't know it.”

<D> ma bismá
„He won't know it.“

<G> da fi, arabi tal ma bisma kula fi,

³⁰ *agilak šaala* lit. “your mind accepts it”, an idiom meaning, “if you're agreed to something”.

³¹ One might expect an explicit reference to “non-Arabs” here, e.g. *rad'd'aana* or *ijam*. The use of a pronoun can serve as a politeness usage to avoid using these terms, but in this instance it is not clear why this should be appropriate.

“That exists, pure Arab but he doesn’t understand it.”

<D>arabi tal sei

“He’s pure Arab right.”

<G> arabi tal bas, amma ma bismá kula fi (18:49)

“Pure Arab, but he doesn’t understand it, they exist.”

<D> haw naas waadiin mahum arab, ajamiyiin, haw bismo kalaam al arab sei,

“And there are other people who aren’t Arab, non-Arabs and they understand Arabic?”

<G> fi

“There are.”

<D> šaba da (18:56)

“Its like that.”

<G> naadim waahid dugut hu da, naaum, da kalaam al arab cat simiya,

“A person now, this person, he understands Arabic completely.

<D> yawwa

“Right.”

<G> dá nafár da bas,

“That’s one case.”

<D> aha

“aha”

<G> ha naadum waahid kan inta arabi, timíš tilda leek waladak kan ma bisma al aráb, haw tildá fi lubbuhum humma bas ma bismá haw wahid kan bisma, dugut naas waadiin da, luqa ke ma bismooha kula fi a, kan fakko qašimhum da weenú kula cat bisamó sei, ha sei ašan bibaaruumu beya bas sei, (19:17)

“And the other person if you’re Arab and go and have a child and he doesn’t understand Arabic, and you give birth among others and he doesn’t understand it [the language], while the other [person] does understand it. Aren’t there these other ones, who understand any language,³² who just open their mouths and they understand everyone, because they just interact with them.”

<D> mhm

“Mhm”

<G> ha kan dugut naaum ma bibarmu ille geetta foog al wahid tul da, dugut goolti leek ma basma da geét foog al arabiye waade tul di bas,

³² *dugut naas waadiin da, luqa ke ma bismooha kula fi a* lit. “Aren’t there other people, like there’s a language they don’t understand?”

“So now a person doesn’t speak it but just speaks his one [language], what I said to you was I don’t understand it [Kanuri], but only Arabic alone (I just sit on Arabic).

<D> mm
 „mm.“

<G> ha kan basmá da dada mi baguul leek basma a,
 “And if I understand it then isn’t it the case that I’d tell you I understand?”

<D> da sahi
 “That’s right.”

<G> ha dugut sartiina da balá al arabiye al wahade tul di šai aarfinna mafi, (19:30)
 “And now in our case if he doesn’t understand anything except Arabic?”

<S1> [X]

<G> gaadiin arab tulomí ke bas
 “They are just simplyArabs.”

<S1> [X]

<D> ha kan naas tineen jook,
 “And if two people came to you.”

<G> mm
 “mm”

<D> wahid, juduuda arab,
 “One whose ancestors are Arab.”

<G> wəi
 “ya.”

<D> ha ma bifham kalaam al arab, haw wahid, ajami,
 “And he doesn’t understand Arabic, and one is a non-Arab”

<G> mm
 “mm”

<D> haw bifham kalaam al arab, jo bidooru bittak, tatha le yatú (19:56)
 „And he undersands Arabic. They came and want your daughter. Which one will you give her to?”

<G> da ejemi, ha ma bifham ma bifham tulomí [ma ši le kumá da ??]
 “That one is a non-Arab, and doesn’t understand at all ??”

<D> ajami haw bufham kalaam al arab, juduuda maum arab
 „A non-Arab and he understands Arabic, but his ancestors aren’t Arab.”

<G> mi arabi sei,
„Not Arab.“

<D> wəi
„ya“.

<G> da kan mi arabi sei, da mi arabi tulomí sei, ha kan inta niitak ke betidoor hana darbak hana alla ka da, beṭaatha al bisma al be kalaamku bissaama da bas,
„The other one is not Arab, not Arab at all, so your intention is that you want to do the right thing,³³ you'll give her to the one who understands your language, you'll understand each other.“

<D> mhmm
„mm.“

<G> ha an naadum al ejami min jam da beya tilkalamo³⁴ sei,
“The non-Arab, you all will be fighting with for no reason.”

<D> mhm
“mm.”

<G> kan hu fakat bisma kula tilkaləmo sei yom waid, ha ejemi kaal ma bisma ile inta tiguulha naḍiife
hu bitallifha [Y]
“Even if he understands Arabic, you may fight one day, the non-Arab won't understand, even if you talk properly about it, [Y] he'll mess things up.”

<D> aʔa [Y]
hu hu hu arabi,
“No, he's Arab.”

<G> wəi
“ya.”

<D> juduuda arab (20:25)
“His ancestors are Arab.”

<S1> haw ejemi
“And a non-Arab.”

<D> haw haw
„and and“

<G> ejemi, áðəram sei an naadum al áðəram bas sei
“A non-Arab, stupid , just a stupid person

³³ *darbak hana alla* Lit. „your way of God“.

³⁴ *alkaalam* “argue, fight with”, also *alkilim*, or here, apparently, *alkalam*.

<D> wəi,
 “Yep.”

<G> an naadim al adəram bas sei,
 “A stupid person right.”

<D> wəi
 “Ya.”

<D> ha adəram marra wahid (20:33)
 “And absolutely stupid

<G> kan inta t-i-lkallam ley-a bas b-i-door al kalaam, inta alkallám bas b-i-door al kalaam sei da bas al ádəram³⁵
 “If you speak to him, he will just want a fight, you just talk to him and he just wants a fight, isn’t that a stupid person.”

<D> a'a mi da, huh ille, da juduuda arab, šába mášo wuldó leya fi daar haw ma bilkallam arab, arabi haw ma bilkallam kalaam al arab,
 “No no, not that. His ancestors are Arab, like they went and he was born in some place and he doesn’t speak Arabic, and he’s Arab but he doesn’t speak Arabic.”

<G> yoo
 “Okay.”

<D> haw da kaniye mi arabi jaabó le daar al arab, wuldó fi daar al arab haw irf al kalaam, haw humma tineen jo bidoor bittak, tatha le yatu
 “And this other on the other hand isn’t Arab and they brought him to an Arabic region and he was born in an Arabic region and knows the language. And these two guys come and both want your daughter. Which one will you give her to?”

<G> bad’iiha le al iríf al geét miyaana da bad’iia leya, (20:56)
 “I’ll give her to the one who knows who has stayed with us, that one I’ll give her to.”

<D> yoo
 “Aha.”

<S> al geét iríf da bas wal naadumak sei, ha dugut sartiina da, maqatak miyaana di, kan magatak a dugut di, haw geét walaftina da, dedda aniina bas naasak
 “The one who has stayed around is the son of your relation (person), and as far as our time now, your staying with us, your staying now and you stayed and got used to us, then we are just your people.”

<D> wai da sahi
 „Ya, that’s correct.“

³⁵ To this point the assumption of G seems to have been that he is describing a non-Arab who doesn’t know Arabic.

<G> ha an naadum al geet waalafak da hu bas naadumak sei,
 “And the person who has stayed and become used to you, he’s certainly your relation.”

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<G> ha naadumak kula mašé³⁶ gyét qaadi al kalaam ma irfa da,
 “And your person went the stayed away there and doesn’t know the language.”

<D> wəi
 “Ya.”

<G> manfaata šunu (21:14)
 „So what good is he?“

<D> ha kan maani arabi da, kan maani arabi da, yoom waid sei biguul leek inta dikook wal filaana da
 “And if I’m not an Arab, if I’m not an Arab, then one day won’t he tell you, your grandchildren are the sons of so and so.³⁷”

<S1> [X]

<G> a'a da aloom kan bimaazunú da, ha dugut naasna min biladeega naas da, aloom da biyeesubú a, ha aloom dugut qaadi šunu irifna, da aloom naadum binšid minna, aloom nišide di,
 „No today if they don’t value it, and now our people from the countryside, do they take that into consideration? And today now those ones [in first case] what do they know about us? Today does a person ask about it [ancestry], today a question like this?“

<D> ha? (21:34)
 „ah“

<G> kan inta maalak haadi binšudu minnak, yaabis kar da, ma leek maal da, ha da haadi binšudu minnak, [X] ha dugut da fi l maqiib ma šiftahan inta kula, al binšan le al maqiib al biyaaxudanhum haw al bihaddisanhum da sei inta kula šiftahan, ha be nafarum a ile kan inta mafi leek, kan miyá axayyaanak kula inta bas mur leek, kan inta baleek da, haalak di bas dedda zeene, deda tilga al mará, ween kula, (21:59)
 „Rather it’s your money they ask about. Black and white. You don’t have money, it’s that rather they’ll ask about you. Now in the South³⁸ haven’t you seen them.F, you yourself, the ones who go to the South and they marry them [men] and they serve

³⁶ Note final imaala (á > é) of weak final verb. This is well attested in Tripolitanian Arabic (Libya), but generally is not common in Arabic. It occurs very occasionally in speakers from the Bagirmi area. G uses the form once more (below), though usually has final –a.

³⁷ I.e are not Arabs.

³⁸ See. n. 19 above.

them as prostitutes, haven't you seen them. So are these Arabs?³⁹ Only when you have no money, even among your relations, it's difficult for you. If your situation is good [wealthy], you'll get a wife, everywhere."

<D> mm
"mm."

<G> haalak di bas tilga al mará, ile weenu kula foog lagák da bas
"Its just according to your status that you'll get a wife, just according to your income."

<S1> awaan d'aaka fi katti kime wahid, wahid, kalaam an naas kula mi aarfinne kurdaay dige, mara nađiife ke, deda hi binaaduuha keellu da kan binaadiya kula kallu, axawaatha jin leeha, yanta jin xaad'eraat laha da, yamta xad'aran da dada hu kan ja, kallu kallu dada gaala laha keellu dugut min ba?arifki da baz raajilki, alhamdi lillaahi, lamlaman leena kareena aniina aloom miyaaki kula ma n ninaam, dada šaalan kareehan rabad'an mašán ragadan fi r raf, haw kirdaay dige (22:37)

"In those days someone in Katti Kime, he didn't know any language, a non-Muslim, there was a pretty woman, called Keellu, but this guy called her 'Kallu'. Her sisters came to her, and when they came visiting her, when they came, this guy also came, 'Kallu kallu', so they said to her, 'Keellu, I'm just learning that this is your husband, Alhamdulillah. They gathered up their belongings, 'we won't sleep with you tonight, then they took their belongings and tied them up and went and slept in the neighborhood. Because he was a non-Muslim.⁴⁰"

<S2> gaal ?? kareena

<G> a'a aloom da šai kula mafi
„No today anything can happen.“

<D> šaba hu da da katiir (22:51)
„There are many cases like that.“

<G> a'a aloom da kan naadum kaad, al mi kaad bil?ejjab, kan naadum kaad ka ma bilejjab fiya,
„Today if a person's traveled about. If he hasn't he'll be surprised, but if he has he won't be astounded.“

<D> ma bil?ajjab
„He won't be surprised.“

<G> an naadum kan gaid fi beet kan bil?ejjaba šaba al ejéb, aloom kan inta kaad kan tilejjab fiya (23:03)
"If a person's stayed at home he'll be really surprised; today if you've traveled around will you be?"

³⁹ *be nafarum a* "Do such type of people have a tribe?"

⁴⁰ The speaker makes two points. 'Kallu' married for money and abandoned her traditions, but the sisters maintained their ethnic solidarity by rejecting her choice.

<D> wəi
 “ya.”

<S1> haw aj jidaad mafi
 “And there are no chickens.⁴¹”

<D> ma albaayo a, yó, hi gaalat kam
 “They didn’t bargain?, Okay, how much did she say?”

<S2> murtala tineen
 “40 Naira” (two Murtalas)”

<D> yawa ha hu
 “Okay and this one?”

<S2> hu kan gaal talatiin haw xamsa
 “He said 35.”

<I> intu rašada kam
 “How many adults are you [in the village].”

<G> aniina ar rašada al gaadiin a, aniina da sartiina da aniina al gaadiin dool bas al
 gaadiin fiya
 “We the adults who live [here]? Now we are the ones living here, we are just the ones
 staying in it.”

<D> alfaddalo gabbalo ween (23:23)
 “Where did the rest go?”

<G> mm
 “mm.”

<D> alfaddalo gabbalo ween
 “Where did the rest go?”

<G> xaad’iriin,
 “They’ve gone away.”

<D> yoo
 “Okay.”

<G> xaad’iriin kula fi d daar hineen bas
 “They’ve just moved to this place here.”

<D> yo
 “Aha.”

⁴¹ Returning to D’s quest to buy chickens and bring them back to Maiduguri.”

<S1> mašó bicakkubu

“They went to look for something better.”

<G> naadum kan ma inda šuqúl da mi bifattiš dugó bijí a, baggo le tiraab yarwa ke dugó bijú,

“A person who doesn’t have work, won’t he go look for [it] then come back? They went to the area around Maiduguri, then they’ll come back.”

<I> maiduguri

“Maiduguri.”

<G> mhm

“Mhm.”

<D> mášo bufattišu , fataaš (23:43)

“They went to look [for work].”

<I> into bas arab a

“Are you just Arabs?”

<S1> aniina al gaadiin dool da cat aráb

“We the ones staying here are all Arabs.”

<G> a'a aniina al araba dool bas al gaadiin, dugut da, d’olaka kan baggo le l fataaš, dugut al qalla sawwat niijiđat da, gide mi bijú bas a, kina sum beet ke ma inda siid da mafi, catt bas be siyaathan,

“We are just Arabs, the ones staying here, now, those ones left to look for work and now the grain has ripened, so won’t they come back? Doesn’t each house have its owner? All have their owners.”

<I> be mure

“With their wives.”

<G> aha cat be muřeeyum aha muřeeyum kula mašán, bišukkan ad duxún da, ad duxún di igdaranha an nuswaan, duxún hana tiraab yarwa da sei šifta, (24:15)

“All of them with their wives, their wives as well went. They thresh the millet. This millet, the women can do it. Haven’t you seen the millet around Maiduguri?”

<I> binšu ween

“Where do they go?”

<G> a'a an naadum al xaddaami da, kan ... , kan naadum gal caal baxaddimak bas naaduma sei, dugut baggeet mašeet le l xudume, kan gul lei caal baxaddimak da sei dada xalaas, dada baxadam leek bas, xudumtí sawwaaha lei da baxadam bas a (24:37)

“A working person, if someone said ‘come I’ll employ you’ isn’t he just his person? Now they’ve gone out to work. If I say come, I’ll employ you, then that’s it, then I just work for you. My work that he gives me don’t I just do it?”

<D> mi tur be naadumak

“He doesn’t have to be your relative [to get a job].”

<G> tur be naadumak a,
“Does he have to be your relative?”

<S1> naadimak ween
“Where is your man?”

<G> deda ile al bikuɓbak bas naadumak, dugut kan gul leyi taal be xudumtí axadamha leyí bas baxadam leek bas, xaddaamí bas, (24:47)
„The one who employs (grabs) you is just your person. Now if you said to me ‘come I have work, do it for me’ I’ll just work for you. Just a worker.”

<S1> ke da da bas
„It’s just like that.“

<G> al be'erifha di mi baseyyia a, ha dugut humma kula, ad duxún di yam binšu da bixádumu da bas, deda al bilgooum bas bənaaduum, al bixaddumuuem bas,
„Whatever I know won’t I do it? So those ones as well. Millet when they go and they work, so they get them and call them and they just employ them.⁴²”

<I> axayaanak maafi
“You don’t have brothers?”

<G> haa? (25:02)
“What?”

<D> axayaan fi maiduguri maafi
“No brothers in Maiduguri?”

<G> a'a axayaan maafi, ana a,
“No, me, no brothers”

<D> mašeet yerwa
“Have you gone to Maiduguri?”

<G> a'a ana mašeet fi aagib ke bas kaamil fiha ma geét kula, šaageetaha ke bas aagib, ma wugúf, wugúf da ile kan akál, ha beet al akíl ile kan irfa a, naadum mašé šagga daxála akál da gade biyerfa a, ille daxál fi beet mamá⁴³ haw xarám da ma be irfe sei, di irfe a gide (25:35)

“No I just went in passing, but I didn’t stay permanently. I just crossed over it passing by, I didn’t stop, I stopped just to eat. Is a restaurant knowledge of it? A person goes and crosses through and enters it and eats, what else does he know? I just entered a restaurant and left, so I have no knowledge of it, is that knowing it?”

⁴² The explanation for where the rest of the villagers have gone, namely to work in millet fields around Maiduguri.

⁴³ *beet mama*, “restaurant”, southern Nigerian usage

<D> ana šift al hille da baasib hillit borno dige,
 “I saw this village and I thought it was a Kanuri village.”

<G> aaʔa
 “No.”

<D> fi ašaan al garu min tihit
 “Because of the wall around it.”

<G> a'a gide fi l bukaan da hillit borno maafi
 “No, in this area there's no Kanuri village.”

<D> al garu min tihit haw mafi zariibe kula, kan fi daarna da, ana nisiit aniina fi l balge, kan fi
 “The wall is around it and there's no kraal. If it were our area, but I forgot we're in the Balge area.”

<G> intu hillukku ween (25:52)
 “Where is your village?”

<D> angummaati,
 “Ngumati.”

<G> angummaati da
 “Ngumati?”

<D> kirenoowa
 “Kirenowa.”

<S1> ha inta fi kirenoa hineen bas a,
 “You're in Kirenawa over here?”

<D> wəi ha
 “Ya.”

<G> ha dugut iyaalku hine kirenoa kan naadum bitabi da, kan naadum ma bidiri mi hum ma biguul hawsa a, wal kiranawa da kan ligiit ile arabi tal bas ird'un leek be kalaam al hawsa, ha sai nafar da bas alla šunu, naas hine kirenawa da dige, wal kirenaawa ile aarfinna filaan filaan bas dige bird'un be hawsa ana gul ai,
 “And now your children of Kirenawa, if a person investigates (follows), if someone doesn't know its not them [Kirenawa people] won't he say they're Hawsa? The sons of Kirenawa if you meet Arabs only, they'll speak to you in Hawsa. Isn't it [often] like that or what. The Kirenawans! The Kirenawans know their genealogy, but they still speak in Hawsa.”

<S1> xudumutku šunu
 “What's your work?”

<D> aniina di bas xidiminna

“This is just our work.”

<G> tidoor tušuulu al kalaam fi r raadio bas (26:20)

“You want to record the language on the tape recorder (radio).”

<D> wəi?

“ya.”

<I> [X]

<G> humma gaadiin

“they stay ...”

<S1> ha tišiilu kalaam an naas ha gooro kula ma leeku da

“You record people’s language and you don’t have kola nuts?”

<G> dawa sei leeha

“Here they are.”

<S1> yó, al gooro jaabo sei tara

“They brought kola nuts in fact.”

<D> ad’d’a la, ad’d’a la

“Give it to him.”

<?> ađđ’a goro xalla imdux, xud’d’a qaadi

“Give it to him. Give him a kola nut and let him chew it. “

<S1> a'a gassima⁴⁴ leum dedda,

“Distribute it to them.”

<G> ha kan iyaalku hine kirenaawa da, duk da bas ile arabi tal geediin jamí,

And you the sons of Kirenawa, all the Arabs live together.”

<D> mm

“Mm.”

<G> bas burd’un be l hawsa, ana gul lehum intu dool da, arab haw tıraad’una be d’aaka da, amšu minnina qaadi yamta awaan bixarmu le c caad da sei cat nixaram jamí nillaaga jamí,

⁴⁴ -a refers to *gooro*, “kola nuts”. Mass nouns are of two classes for purposes of agreement. Nouns relating to larger objects and animals and to certain culturally significant referents take feminine plural, e.g. *al-bagar deela* “these.F cattle”, *al-miize j-an* “the goats.F came-F.PL.”, *al-wure wagaɗan* “the leaves fell.”. Nouns whose referents are small, tiny, and in some sense culturally insignificant take singular agreement, usually masculine but sometimes feminine, as *goora* here, or *an-namil da* “these ants” (cf. singulative *an-namil-a di* “this ant”), *ađ-đubbaan da* “these flies/the fly”, *ađ-duxun di* “this millet”, etc.

“They just speak Hausa. I told them, ‘you guys, you’re Arabs but you speak a foreign language [that one i.e. Hawsa]. Get away from us when they go to the Lake Chad area [for farming], don’t we all go out and meet there?’”⁴⁵

<D> mm

<G> fi bikaan al hiraata da, wal kiranawa kan ligiita ile birɗun leek hawsaay (27:06)
“In the fields, if you meet someone from Kirenawa he’ll just speak to you in Hawsa.”

<D> catta ke, iyaal lub yarwa kula ke, bird’unu hawsa, hawsa ahalá lehum min al arab
“Its all like that. And the young people in Maiduguri as well, they speak Hawsa. They prefer Hawsa to Arabic.”

<S1> inta sai šabá beneesan le kalaam falaata bas, dugut bani eesan ke mi falaati da fi a , ha ke šabá da bas
“You [Kirenawa] are like the Bani Hasan in terms of Fulfulde. Don’t the Bani Hasan have Fulani amongst them. And you’re the same way.”

<I> intu fi ş šeef kula tugoodu hine (27:40)
“Do you stay here in the dry season.”

<G> aniina kaal ma nisiir tulomí, hillinna kaal ma tugum, aniina kaal hillitna kal ma tiyeebas, mata kula naas fi, hillinna kal ma tiyeebas, šeef xariif cat be siyaatha,
“We don’t go anywhere at all. This village doesn’t go anywhere. Our village never dries out. There are always people. Our village doesn’t dry out. In the hot season and rains both it has inhabitants.”

<D> ha timšu le c caad (27:59)
“Do you go to Lake Chad?”

<G> nimši le c caad da, an naas gaaydiin, aniina ka ninši niheerit, awaan šabá dugut margitna le l xudume di,
“We go to Lake Chad, but [others] stay. We go and farm. Like now our leaving is for this work.”

<D> wəi
“ya.”

<G> timíš tilga leek šuqúl wudúr haw tij,
“You go get yourself something then come back home.”

<D> wəi (28:06)
“Ya.”

⁴⁵ The Lake Chad irrigation project in particular, which began in 1975, drew people from all over. Kirenawa was one of its centers. In the mixed population Hawsa became the lingua franca. This tape was made in 1991. The impression of the Kirenawa Arabs conveyed by G shows that the stereotype of Hawsa-speaking Arabs in a rural area had become well established by this time.

<G> kənya ke da ya dugut hillitna ke ma yibsat, xaraaba ke da ya dugut ma geedat, ile naadum binši bilga leya iširiin yoom, ille binši bilga leya iširiin yoom, al bilga lea ašara xamsaat haw bigum bijí, dugut šaba humma dool kan baggo,
 “Until now our village hasn’t dried out. There hasn’t been a nomadic⁴⁶ move until now. Maybe a person goes and works for twenty days, or fifteen days and leaves and comes back, like those ones who left [to Maiduguri, as described above].”

<D> mm
 „mm“

<G> aniina sei da gaadiin, (28:18)
 “Aren’t we around?”

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<G> haw gide al binši kula ile bitum iširiin yoom, ile an naadim ke al bitum šahár talaata arabá, kula mafi,
 “Otherwise those who go stay twenty days, but someone who stays three or four months, that you don’t find.”

<D> mhmm
 “mm”.

<G> ile šuqulna ille yoomaat bas naadum bijí, inta dugut šuqulna da kan nutum tušúr baṛra minna da,
 “Our practice is just days then a person returns. We spend months outside of it [the village].”

<D> mm
 “Mm.”

<G> duk ma ibaddidan a, blokna at tišiifa dugut an niki’a fiya da, šiftahan baniina šifta
 “everything would collapse (scatter). Our [mud] blocks that you see now, that we’re cutting, did you see them, our construction did you see it?”

<D> hi ran di be?iide a min hine
 “This Ran is it far from here?”

<G> a'a ran di tišiilu darb hana kaala sei, fi l watiir da be?iide ai, ran ba?iide sei, hi, fi l watiir da dugut bas timšu
 „A’a for Ran you take the Kaala road. By car it’s far. Ran is far. You need to go by car.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *xaraaba* refers to the practice of some villages to move during the dry season to search for water. Their villages have no water source nearby, so they are forced to pack up and move. (TV93/94) is such a village, where the nomadism is described). The etymological source is probably *xarab* “tear down”.

⁴⁷ Note the implicit measure of distance in the area seems to be how far a place is by foot.

<S1> ran kan naadum binši le kaala dugó bišayluu [Y]⁴⁸ ku darbaha sei
 “For Ran a person should go to Kaala then they put you on its road.”

<D> yó, dugó birud fookka (28:53)
 “Aha, then he returns on it.”

<G> timšu le kaala,
 “You go to Kaala.”

<D> mhm
 “Mm.”

<G> dada bikaṛṛubu ad darb hana ran, ran di gariibe sei
 „Then they take the road to Ran. Ran is near [on this road].”

<D> fi l xariif da kaamil wataayir ma bíjan hine sei
 “In the rainy season cars don’t come here at all?”

<G> martabaaya šif al buyuur⁴⁹ deel sei šiftahan dugó, (29:05)
 “It’s impossible. Look at these pools, did you just see them?”

<D> mm
 “Mm.”

<G> al beyér hana, al hille aj jiitu minha amboi di, aj jiitu fooga da tierfu sei,
 “The lakelets. The village you came from, Amboi, the one you came from you know?”

<D> wəi
 “ya.”

<G> baggeetu min gambaru kula sei al behér, fi, ha hinna deela da sarti al xariif da,
 binmálan kal, markaba bas tijí dige,
 “You left from Gambaru and there were pools. And here as well during the rainy season they fill up completely. Only a boat comes.”

<S1> bagitku min muudo jaay di
 “You came from Muudo this way?”

<I> yaa l kaala kula
 “Up to Kaala as well?”

<G> xariif da mafi, xariif da ya kaala kab watiir mafi, xariif da maafi, markaba bas
 anamool da jaat le muudo sei, xariif hana as sána da, xariif hana yamada da, markaba
 jaat ya muudo (29:36)

⁴⁸ Unclear how this clause ends.

⁴⁹ < buhuur, with the common h > y.

“In the rainy season none. In the rainy season, up to Kaala there are no cars. In the rainy season, none. A boat just came to Muudo last year. This rainy season, the recent one, a boat came to Muudo.”

<D> fi l alme ke ke ke yamta jaat
“Just like in the water it came?”

<G> yamta jaat, taabe al buyuur ke yamta jaat kaf ya muudo,
“When it came, it was following the pools when it came, clear up to Muudo.”

<I> alme budxul al hille
“Does water get into the village?”

<G> alme hana bišiil al hille,
“Water inundating the village?”

<D> a'a ma bišiilha
“No it doesn't flood it.”

<S> a'a ma bišiilha
“No it doesn't flood it.”

<D> ile al bahar, qaadi ke haw ke (29:51)
“Only the pools, here and there.”

<G> [X] biyeer⁵⁰ ad dugut gad'eetú šabá hana muudo da,
„The lakelets like those you crossed by at Muudo.”

<D> min ngala yaa hine
“From Ngala up to here.”

<G> ša naas, wəi min ngala yaa jay, ha dugut da hana muudo da, xariif gade kula da
alme ya hineen kula bijí, ha al watiir tušugg a
Like people ..., yep from Ngala in this direction, and now that of Muudo, in the rainy season the water comes right up to the village here, so how can a car cross it?”

<D> ma t tugdar,
“It can't.”

<S1> martabayitha wa
“Isn't it impossible.”

<I> le yá šahar al wataayir mumkin bimšan
“Till what month can a car go?”

⁵⁰ < *biheer* “lake, lakelet”, diminutive of *behér* “lake”, in the Bagirmi dialect.

<G> mʔm al watiir di foog al xariif sei, kan al xariif ʃagiił,⁵¹ biɗ'awwalan, al buyuur da mi biɗ'aalan a, ha kan al xariif ʃiya, kan al biyéer da mi biseyyi lea darb bingad'í a, dada watiir mi tułuuɗ a, al watiir kan laaɗat ke kula sei darbaha gaid (30:28)

„No, a car in the rainy season? If the rains are heavy, it takes a long time. Aren't the ponds stretched out? When the rains become light, the lakelets, isn't it that it makes a road that can be cut through, so can't a car circle around? So if a car can find a way, there's a road.”

<D> kan le kaala da tułuuɗ min ween gade
„Up to Kaala how can it find a way.“

<S1> martabayitha a
“Isn't it impossible?”

<G> le kaala, le xariif ke a,
“Up to Kaala the rainy season is like that?”

<D> wəi
“ya.”

<G> a'a le kaala ke ma t tieegib, ile qašimha da ile, ha aniina rijileena, watiirna di sei gaade, di di di
“No, it can't reach Kaala. Just up to the entrance [of Kaala]. So as for us, our legs, we have our own cars.”

<S2> aniina xariif kula nimši le gambaru nisowwuk ban hinna haadi,
“Even in the rainy season we go to Gamboru and go to the market on them.”

<G> aniina xariif le gambaru kula nimši ban hinna deel bas haadi,
“Even in the rainy season we go to Gamboru and go just with these.”

<S2> aniina xariif kula kan haajitna jaat nimši le gambaru, nitum yoomaat talaata dada nijí, nigum yoom al ahad, ninši nurgut fi gambaru, alitineen nisawwuk, haw yoom at talaata kan nigabbil kan nijí nurgut hineen (31:04)

“In the rainy season if we need something we go to Gamboru, we stay three days there and we come back, we leave on Sunday and go and sleep in Gamboru, Monday's the market and on Tuesday we return and sleep here.”

<D> allitineen tisawwugu
“You go to market on Monday.”

<G> aniina watiirna xariif da ile murakkiziin foogha hidi bas, foog di bas watiirna, amcár di bas

⁵¹ < *θagiil. While /s/ is the typical Bagirmi reflex of *θ, it is the only token in this text. Otherwise there is *t*, e.g. *tineen*. Noting this, at the end of the interview I asks the speaker to count to ten, to get the reflexes of “2, 3, 8”. None of them are given as /s/ (see below). From one interview it is impossible to know whether the variation is register-controlled (speaking to non-Balge people), or whether the northern area of Balge tends to *θ > t (see TV72b-rafa-ahbdella, n. 1).

“So in the rainy season, we just rely on these ones, on our own type of car, just on our feet.”

<S2> kan inta indak leek dooki ka xalaas,
“If you have a donkey then its okay.”

<G> himaar
“a donkey.”

<D> al himaar kula maššaay sai, kan naadum be humaara kula šiya ke axeer
“A donkey is for transport as well. If a person has a donkey it’s a little better.”

<S1> bimši siid al himaar kula binši
„He goes, the owner of a donkey goes as well.“

<G> siid al kooṛo kula binši (31:24)
“The owner of a donkey goes as well.”

<I> mumkin tiʔidd ley le ašara
“Can you count for me up to ten.”

<D> wan tu be l arab wahid
“one, two in Arabic.”

<G> beesib leya a, wahid, kan tineen, talaata haw araba'a, xamsa sitte, sab'a ṭamaane, tis'e, ašara
“I count for him, aa, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.”

<D> gide kula idda leya
“Count for him again.”

<G> baidde leya basey iširiin a
“I should count to twenty?”

<D> a'a ašara bas
„No, just ten.“

<G> ha ašara sei da bas ašara
„Ha ten, wasn't this just ten?“

<D> wəi, gide kula isamá zeen
“Yes, so that he can hear it well.”

<G> isama zeen, wahid tineen, ha inta tiʔibtini tára, sawweet kalaam hanayí katiir tara (32:11)
“He should hear it well, 1, 2, Wow, you’re tiring me! I’ve done a lot of speaking.”

<I> an naadim al xad'd' al hille di
“The person who founded this village.”

<S1> al xad'd'aha, abbahaanna maato, maato (32:40)
 "The one who founded it, our ancestors, they've died."

<D> gaal abbahaathum
 "He said their ancestors."

<S1> maato magajiina kula, fi bikaanum kula maato , yawa, filaan haw filaan, yó,
 jiina xad'd'eena al hille di ke da, bəlaama saaleʔ, yawwaʔ haw dugut da walada
 "They died, my older brother as well, the one who took their place died as well.
 Genealogy, so we came and founded this village, Bulama Sale, and now his son."

<D> da a, gaají (33:23)
 "This one, Gaji?"

<S1> ana kan emma, da kan wald axunna, d'aak kula waldaxunna, da kula dikoona, da
 abú,
 "I'm his paternal uncle, and this is the son of our brother and that one as well, and this
 one is our grandchild here, This is his father."

<D> inta bas al bulaama
 "You're the bulama?"

<S1> al bulaama mafi mašá le yarwa
 "The bulama isn't around; he want to Maiduguri."

<G> abuyí meyyit
 "My father died."

<S1> saale abú
 „Sale is his father.“
 [X]

<D> hu mi birnaay sei, mi birnaay (33:59)
 "He's not Kanuri, not Kanuri?"⁵²

<G> á, arabi sei
 "No, Arab of course."

<S1> al bid'exá kan ma iríf summaha
 "A watermelon, he doesn't know its name."

<G> huda biseeyha šunu inta gul, yó inzeen (34:08)
 "This one what does it do, you said, okay good."

<S2> al biḍexá ma iríf summa, ana gul intu tiguulu la šunu, gal ke aniina be l aráb
 nuguul leha be l aráb biḍexaaya, borno kan biguulu leha tambar fali

⁵² Asking the question, because people are speaking Kanuri in the background.

“A watermelon he doesn’t know its name. I said, ‘what do you call it?’ We call it bideexa in Arabic and Kanuri call it tambar fali.”

<D> hu muřř sei
„It’s bitter really.“

<G> řuqúl ma biyaakula da
„Something he doesn’t eat.“

<D> bifooru haw bæřarbú le d dawa, biyaakulú iyaala sei, [X] al kiridi da biřiifhum biyaakulu iyaala, agúsi, wala mi hu, (34:33)
„They boil it and drink it for medicine. They eat its seeds (children). The Christians I see them eating its seeds, agusi,⁵³ or isn’t that it?”
[X]

<G> hu bas, aniina kula kanfale da, ??
„That’s it. We as well call it (‘pumpkin’) ‘kanfale’.”

<D> kanfala
„kanfala.“

<S> ana gul kanfale da ankuun an naadum iyaakula, huda ambarí minna,⁵⁴ a'a gade gade sei
“I call it ‘kanfala’, maybe a person eats it. That one keep me away from it. That’s different.”

<V> gaři ??

<D> murr cax
“Very bitter.”

<G> á gade gade sei
“That one is different.”

<D> kan naadum řirba ma bizuruk kula, a inta, inta al muzuraak da, maala gal buřubbu fooga alme (34:56)
“If a person drinks it doesn’t get diarrhea? You now, the M snake, why did he say they pour water on it?”⁵⁵

<G> a'a řaná m ke, mafi leya řai wald al kalb, hu ka raayix fi lub an naas ke bas, hu min gamma cat be n naas jaarí biseyyi le n naas řunu, kan dugut dabiibe zeene biktuluua da tidúguř an naas a
“A tradition. Its not harmful, the beast. It was just wandering around around people. It’s always been running among people, so what can it do to them. If it’s a real⁵⁶ snake they kill it if it comes at you.”

⁵³ A type of pumpkin seed that is widely eaten in southern Nigeria and elsewhere in West Africa.

⁵⁴ *ambarí minna*, „protect from it“, perhaps, < *ana barii? minna*.

⁵⁵ Referring to the ‘snake’ episode above.

<D> ma t tidúguš
 „It doesn't go directly.”

<G> a šuqúl arif ma biktulú wald al kalb
 “It knows they won't kill it, the beast.”

<D> ja keee, inta ana bahasib šifta da ma šifta,
 “It came like this. I figure, did you see it or not?”

<I> ma šifta
 “I didn't see it.”

<D> ma billammas (35:24)
 „It doesn't bite (touch).”

<G> sim kan fi kula ma billammas
 “Even if it has point it doesn't bite.”

<D> sam gal,
 “‘poison’ he said.”

<I> sam yoo
 “Poison, okay.”

<D> ma bi'aḍḍi kula
 “It doesn't bite at all.”

<G> ana ka ya dugut ke bi'aḍḍi da ma simiita, kula
 “Me, till now I've never heard that it bit at all.”

<D> hu kan šaabo fooga al alme šunu al bukuun
 “So if they pour water on it, what happens?”

<G> aš šunúmma
 “traditions.”

<D> yó, aniina da nifuut,
 “Okay, we're moving on.”
 [X]

<G> yó (35:53)
 “Okay.”

<I> nigabbil
 “We'll return back [the same way].”

⁵⁶ *dabiibe zeene* Lit. „a good snake“, but in the sense, a good exemplar of its category, i.e. one with poison.

<D> nigabbil, a'a nimši ke, kan mašena foog kaala nišiil ad darb d'aaka axeer
 „We'll return, no, we'll go like that, like via Kaala then we take that other road. Its better.“

<G> sei ad darb d'aaka, sei
 “Ya that road.”

<D> xalla nimši le kaala, haw nišiil ad darb d'aaka
 “Let's go to Kaala, and then take that other road.”

<I> kaala kilomiita kam
 “How far is Kaala?”

<S2> ma bieegib kilomiita tamaana wala tis'e bas
 “It doesn't surpass eight kilometres, or nine.”

<D> ad darb daaka bas al wataair muwaaliftanna⁵⁷ sei (36:22)
 „That road is accessible to cars.“

<V> [X]

<G> dugut foog da da, hana kaala da,
 „So via this one, of Kaala.“

<D> aha
 „aha.“

<G> kan ma t tugiifu haw ma t titakkusu da,
 “If you don't stop and don't waste time.”

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<G> hu bas nađiif kula, haadir bas intu timšu təroowu inta kula,
 “It's a good one. You'll be able to return quickly.”

<D> le ngala
 „To Ngala.“

<G> dada lissa watiir ma dággata sei manša muṛ (36:36)
 “[the other road] no car travelled on it (hit it) so travelling on it is difficult.”

⁵⁷ There are two forms of the feminine plural of the active participle when an object pronoun suffix occurs. The ‘regular’ form is, using the current AP as a model, muwaalf-aat-an-ha <muwaalf-aat-n-pronoun object. The –n is the so-called ‘intrusive –n’ (Owens, to appear). Frequently muwaalif-t-an-pronoun occurs, as in the current case. This perhaps goes back to a 3FSG active participle form, AP-t-pronoun object, which is a common realization among Arabic dialects (Eastern Libyan, Arabian peninsular varieties), though this FSG does not occur in any dialect in Nigeria.

<D> le angala, ana kula da bas aš šifta, aniina ruuna min ad darb sei, xalleená,
 “To Ngala. I saw it as well. We got lost from the road, we deviated from it.”

<G> nađiif⁵⁸ šáral
 “Its very smooth.”

<D> hu d’aaka da al wataair walafanna, kunni yoom binšan bíjan binšan bíjan da huda
 axeer, amma huda makunuus,

[Y] iyiina ding dige

“That one, the cars are used to it. Every day they go and come go and come, so its better, but the other one is terrible. [Y] We really got tired.”

<G> alla isill barakaata, [Y]

da da bala wataayir hine muudo šai kula mafi, hana kaala da kan karabtú hu da, dugut
 bas tərow usura,

“May God take away his blessing [from the road]. [Y] ⁵⁹ This one, other than cars to Muudo there’s nothing [on it]. To Kaala if you take it, you’ll just get home quickly.”

<D> ana kula šif fi

„I see it that way too.“

<G> a'a da bala siyaat muudo da šai kula mafi

„No, this one other than those going to Muudo there’s nothing.“

<D> aniina ruuna al qalla di cat hi bas dahhabanna

„We got lost, all this grain got us lost.⁶⁰“

<G> al lai da mi meyyit bas sei (37:07)

“Isn’t the road finished?”

<D> mm

„mm.“

<G> al lai da mi meyyit bas sei

„Isn’t the road finished.“

<D> kan mayyit da sei naadum bišiifa, šuqul wahid da nitabá ke, yamta maani aarif
 gide kula nurud

„Even if its finished a person sees it. We followed this one lane like this. When we couldn’t recognize another we returned.”

<G> yowwa

“Okay.”

⁵⁸ *nađiif* lit. “clean”, is a versatile adjective which may mean “good, smooth, correct, well-behaved, pretty ...”, i.e. according to context representing a positive quality.

⁵⁹ *alla isill barakaata*, spoken as a curse.

⁶⁰ The village was visited just before the guinea corn harvest, so the fields of guinea corn obstructed the view.

<S1> huda aš šam di, tawaddiiku ya kaala haw ya angala kula sei
 “This one, the sun [follow the sun] sends you to Kala then Ngala.”

<G> ya angala kula naadum imši (37:23)
 “A person can go up to Kaala.”

<?> tiwaddiina
 “It takes us.”

<G> hi dugut bas bəré, al watiir di dugut bas timši sei, dugut foog d’aaka da dugut
 bas timši sei
 “It can just go home now. The car can just go now, now it will just return via that
 one.”