

TV44aMagonari-chari-final

mahammad = h= jidda hasan, C = Chari, sd = sayid drayba

<C> caari

“Cari”

<I> siniin-ak šaba kam ke

“How old are you?”

<C> sittiin, haw xamsa

“Sixty five”

<H> nzeen, xamšim beet-ak shunu

“What is your clan”

<C> himeedi,

“Himedi”

<H> himeedi, nzeen, amm-ak hau abuu-k kula himeediyiin bas a
Himedi, good. Are both your mother and father Himedi”

<C> cat himeediyiin bas

“Both are just Himedi”

<H> fi l hille di ke, kalaam tilkallamó, bala al arab ke gede fi ya

“In this village, the language you speak, besides Arabic is there any?”

<C> ille al arab

“Just Arabic”

<H> ille al arab, cattuku fi l hille di arab

“Just Arabic; all of you in the villages are Arabs”

<I> min zamaan ke

“For years”

<C> min zamaan ke, catt arab

“For a long time, all Arabs”

<I> inta wuldoo-k hineen kula,

“Were you also born here?”

<C> wildóoni hine,
“I was born here”

<I> kubur híne
“You grew up here?”

<C> kubúr híne
“I grew up here”

<I> intu fi l hille di xidimit-ku šunu (0:47)
“What is your occupation in the village?”

<C> al hiraata?, al hiraata?
“Farming, farming”

<I> keef tihertu
“How do you farm?”

<C> be l katanka?, niteerib at tiraab da, hau nihárta be l katanka?, al buriyye yam táji, be l bangaro?, naktul?, hau be ʔudʔa nádʔan gavgal, hau nicakka ad diga?, di bas xidiminna?

“With a hoe. We sow the soil, and were cultivate it with a hoe. When the wet season farming comes, with the machete, were cut [grass], and with a large stick we stick the planting stick [in the soil] and we stick in the sprouts. That’s just our work.”

<H> fi l hiraata di, tihertu yatu qalla fi,
“In this farming, what grain do you plant?”

<C> ad duxun,
“Millet”

<H> way
“ya”

<C> al meeré, hau al másar, di hiraatínna
“??, and corn, This is our cultivation”

<H> al meere di hi bas hiil al buriyye di ya (1:19)
“The guinea corn, it belongs to this wetland farming?”

<C> hiil al buriyye buguulu laha ad dura?, ad dura masakewa
“That of the wetland farming they call it ‘dura’, the dura of guinea corn”

<H> masakwa nzeen
“guinea corn, good.”

<C> aj jagama, tambuuna, hau qúnun,
 “Red guinea corn and ? guinea corn and ? guinea corn.”

<H> nzeen
 “Good”

<I> zer-ku ween
 “Where is your farm?”

<M > zerina, şabaa jaayye fi, maq̄iib kulla fi?, şabá ye fi, hau maq̄iib kulla fi?, mhm
 “Our farm is to the east in this direction. To the west as well; both to the east and to the west”

<I> keef taʔarfu d’aaka zarrina wa d’aak zar hana hille taani
 “How do you know that that is our farm and the other is the neighboring village’s?”

<H> keef tifannad ambeenaat az ziraaʔa da
 “How do you distinguish between the farms?”

<C> ambeenaat az ziraaʔa da, da gooz, al gooz be kalankiyáata¹ da zar filaan, da zar filaan, da zar filaan, da zar filaan, be kalankiihin, ambeenáathin, zarr-ak da ar raayida t̄teeriba fiya, titeerib meeré, titeerib dúxun, da agəl-ak intaʔ (2:15)
 “Between the farms? This is sandy soil; the sandy soil with its boundaries are the farm of so and so, this is the farm of so and so this is the farm of so and so, with their boundaries. Within your farm you can plant what you want. You plant ? you plant millet, according to what you want”

<H> xalaas kan al xariif jaa da gede ma indu-ku şaqał ille al hiraata bas
 “So when the rainy season comes you have nothing to do but farm?”

<C> ille al hiraata bas
 “Just farming”

<H> bágar ma indu-ku wa
 “You don’t have cattle?”

<C> fi?
 “There are”

<H> bagar indu-ku fi sai
 “You have cattle?”

<C> fi?, as sarha hiil al bágar, hau nankut al biyaar, hau nasill, min al biir naşubb fi hood, hinna bíjan bişarban

¹ Boundary markers, often a type of plant.

“There are. Daily pasturing of cattle, and we dig wells and draw out [water], from the well and pour it in a basin. They [the cattle] come and drink.”

<H> al bágár,
“the cattle”

<C> mm
“yes”

<H> yoo šuqul-ku kula gaadiin bikaan wahit kaal ma tanšaqo
“So your existence, you just stay in one place you don’t nomadize”

<C> kaal ma nanšaq
“We never nomadize “

<H> yo
“okay”

<C> ille di bas hillidna
“just in our village “

<H> mala ma tanšaqo da
“Why don’t you nomadize?”

<C> dahada min, kula be salú, an naššaaqi ye fi, al bugoodo fi l hille kula fi, amma aniina xidiminna fi l hille?
“So from, each has his own way of living; there is the nomad, there are those who stay in the village, but as far as we’re concerned, we stay in the village”

<I> min zamaan ma našaaqtu
“Since a long time you didn’t nomadize?”

<C> ma našaqəna?
“We didn’t nomadize”

<I> mine kullu fil hille di ma našaq
“No one in this village noamdized?”

<C> fi l hille di, mafi naadim nášaq
“In this village no one nomadized”

<H>

<C> ille gaadiin fi xidimínna di bas, gooz, buriyye, hau al bágara am tušaayif alme barra itəmm, nankut al biyaar, nasill be d dabbaaya hau naşuḅḅ fi l hood, hau al bagara tisəra táji hau taşərab, da bas, (3:14)

“[We] just stay doing our work, sandy soil farming, wetland farming, and the cattle when the dry season comes and water finishes outside, we dig wells and draw out [water] with vessels and pour it in a basin² and the cow goes out during the day and comes back and drinks. That’s all.”

<I> ma tawaddu bagar-ku le naas taniyiin
“you don’t send your cattle to other people?”

<C> a?a šuqúlna kaarḅínna índina?, [X] ma faat heelna
“No, our work we keep it to ourselves; it’s not beyond our powers”

<SD> kurut fi l biyuut, al maal al katiir indina mafi šiya šiya indina, waahid al ma l laa kula fi, al ma laa bagar kula fi, [X] al waahid al ligi da ma faat akil al hool, yaalle yaalla³ dugó akəl da, ha gade fi lubb hu da nanšiq bagara fiy a (3:42)
“All are in the houses; what cattle we have, the little we have. The one has some [cattle], the other doesn’t have any. The one who has got [cattle] still wouldn’t have enough grain to last a year [so he has to stay and farm]. Its only with difficulty he has enough food. So with all that how can we nomadize?”

<H> kaal hille di fiya barno mafi seí gul,
“In this village there aren’t any Kanuri at all you said”

<C> barno mafi, cat árab
“No Kanuri, all are Arabs”

<H> saínna assa di tilkallam yatú kalaam bala al aḅab te?arif kalaam borno,
“So now what language do you speak, besides Arabic do you know Kanuri?”

<C> maani aarif kalaam aa kalaam borno naárfa,
“I don’t know any language, wait a sec, Kanuri I know”

<H> ta?árfu sei
“You.PL know it right?”

<C> kalaam borno naárfa hana hausa ma na?árfa, hana fallaata kula ma na?árfa, amma kalaam borno na?árfa,
“Kanuri we know, Hausa we don’t, Fulfulde as well we don’t, but Kanuri we know”

<I> kull al arab fi l hille di biarfu kalaam borno
“All the Arabs in the village know Kanuri?”

<C> kalaam borno na?árfa
„Kanuri we know”

² Usually a circular basin dug in the ground with raised sides, covered with mud.

³ With difficulty < ya alla.

<H> al arab catt fil hille di
 “All the Arabs in the village”

<C> al arab catt fil hille di
 “All the arabs in the village”

<I> alallamtú ween
 “Where did you learn it?”

<H> kalaam borno wa, fi daar hine bas be borno mǝxalbǝtiin ke, dagut al yoom malá al wudur gǝná, kan haranna ke, jiina catt namši nigeyyil fi mubá , muba catt barno hau arab, nalkallam kalaam al arab hau nalkallam kalaam borno, wi? (4:30)
 “Kanuri? In this land the Kanuri are all over. Now today, why [are we here, because] there’s an occasion. Usually when we’ve farmed, we come and go and spend the day in Muba. Muba is all Arabs and Kanuri. We speak Arabic and we speak Kanuri, yep.”

<H> šabá dugut iyaal-ku ad dugaag kula saʔinna as saaʔa di biarfu kalaam borno a
 “Like now your small children now do they know Kanuri?”

<C> biʔarifú, waadiin ma biʔarfú, al ma bigdar bimši le mubá, da, ma biʔarifaaʔ, al bigdar binši le mubá, le dalaal le t tilile ke, kan bismáaʔa
 “They know it, some don’t. The ones who can’t go to Muba, they don’t know it, while the one who can go to Muba, for dancing and the like, he knows it”

<I> bala mafa halaal suqaar suqaar borno fi a, gariib min al hille di
 “Besides Muba are there small Kanuri villages near this one?”

<C> hallaal hine borno wa, agǝrǝb min hillinna diy a, ibraimti sei ligiituuha, ha di hillit arab, diya jambina jaai, babbaari, árab, hi kula ma laa barno, mábaší, nuşşaha aṛaḅ nuşşaha borno, kasasáiwá, nuşşaha aṛaḅ nuşşaha boṛṇo, wǝi
 “Kanuri villages? Nearer to our village here’s one, Ibrahimti didn’t you go to it?, and this one is an Arabi village, this one near in this direction, Babbari, Arab, it also has no Kanuri, Mabashi, half are Arabs, half Kanuri, Kasasaywa, half of it are Arabs, half Kanuri, yep.”

<I> juduud-ak kula min al hille di
 “Your ancestors were also from this village?”

<C> juduudi kula min al hille di
 “My ancestors also are from this village”

<I> amm-ak wa abuu-k
 “Your mother and father?”

<C> catt hine

“All are here”

<I> waladoohum hine
 “They were born here?”

<C> catt híne bas
 “All were just here”

<I> inta taʔaruf juduud-ak da joo mi tiraab yatu
 “Do you know where your ancestors came from?”

<C> baʔarifhum joo min daar aʃʃabáh
 “I know they came from the east.”

<I> ʃaba ween
 “Where in the east?”

<C> min tiraab hana atiya hana abašše amma ana saqayyir, buguulu be l aḏaan giná maani ʃaaifa? (5:47)
 “From Atia [Chad], Abbeche but I was small. They speak about it orally but I never saw them”

<H> ha min al bakaan be l d’aaka juduud-ak induhum bakaan gadé aj jo minna gabúl walla ille da bas al bakaan al gammo fooga
 “And from that place, did you ancestors have another place they came from before then, or it was just there they came from?”

<C> aʔa da ke da ma baʔalama, ille gaalo jiina min daar aʃ ʃabáah, goolit arabi hana tiraab nijeria ke da, kan kaššab gáʔara da catt, biji min daar aʃ ʃabá, amma tumfaar tumfaar qaadi kula (6:09)
 “No, that is just what I know, what they said is we came from the east. All Arabs in Nigeria are like that. If you dig deep for his roots all are like that. He comes from the east. But from different tribes there.”

<I> inta mašeet fi bikine taniyaat fi borno
 “Have you gone to other places in Borno?”

<C> ana yeen kula ma mašeeth, ana da wuldooni hineen, kubúr hineen ʃayyab kula hineen, yeen kulla ma mašeeth, yerwa kulla ma mašeet
 “I didn’t go anywhere. I was born here, I grew up here grew old here; I didn’t go anywhere. Even Maiduguri I didn’t go to it.”

<I> yeen kula ma mašeet
 “You didn’t go anywhere?”

<C> aʔa máxadʔar ke, arkaab fi l watiir ámiš ášəri leek, haaja ke, da mašeet, amma ámiš ágoot da, yoomeen kula ma gaʔát,⁴

“No, like a journey, get into a car go buy and sell, one thing or another, that I did. But go and stay, I didn’t even stay two days.”

<H> fi yerwa

“In Maiduguri”

<C> fi yerwa

“In Maiduguri”

<I> indu-ku ahala kulla mafi

“You don’t have relatives [there]”

<C> ah lna, fi

“There are our relatives”

<I> fi yerwa daaxal

“Inside Maiduguri”

<C> daaxal fi ahalna ke, naadim waahid misil, al heel tamma, bagara tamman, al hiraata mi gaadire bimši biseyy **cida cida**⁵, biyaakul, bibga gaadi, biyaakul, da fi, amma naadim gaadir nafáqata⁶ ke, maša dáxal yerwa da mafi, ille gaadiin naharit hiraatina hiil abbahaadna hiil juduudna, da bas, (7.00)

“Inside we have relatives. One person, he’s grown weak, his cattle have died, or he can’t farm and go and work, he does odd jobs, he eats, becomes a guard, he survives. That exists. But a person who can maintain himself, he wouldn’t go to Maiduguri. We just stay and farm our crops as our fathers and ancestors did, that’s all.”

<H> dugut saʔinna assaaʔa di, fi lubb l hille di birnaay kaamil ke bornaay ke maafi ille catt ke aʔab bas

“Now, in this village there are absolutely no Kanuri just Arabs?”

<C> birnaay kaal mafi

“Only Arabs”

<SD> kalp kula mafi

“There isn’t even a dog”

⁴ A counterfactual conditional, with the condition consisting of an imperative verb, either singular, as here, or plural. Similar to English, “go, travel to Maiduguri, that I’d never do”.

⁵ Note that the Kanuri word *cida* is used in the sense of “odd” or “menial” job, vs. *xidime* “(real) work”.

⁶ The nominal feminine singulative suffix is usually –it, and –t before a vowel. In Ca(a)CaCaCV-t words, however, very occasionally the feminine singulative suffix has the value –at, as here. The stress which is associated with this pattern requires further research. Here it is on the antepenultimate. In other tokens it is on the first syllable and on the penultimate. Unfortunately for the question of stress, this pattern is not frequent in texts.

<C> waahid catt arab zurr
 “All are pure Arabs”

<H> ha catta qašim beet-ku wahid
 “And all of you are from the same clan?”

<C> catt qašim beenna⁷ waahid, da wal amm da, da wal xaalid da, da jiddít-ku waahade,
 da kakayít-ku wahade, da ammu-ku waahid, catt da fi da mil?agdiin (7:26)
 “We are all the same clan, this one is the son of a FB, this one the son of a MS, this one
 your grandmother is the same, this one your grandmother is the same, this one your FB is
 the same. You’re all inter-related.”

<I> al arab bilaxado ambenaathum
 “Do Arabs marry amongst themselves?”

<C> benissaakal ambeenaanna
 “We marry amongst ourselves”

<A> bittaaxado ambeenaathum
 “They marry amongst themselves”

<C> aah bissaaxado,⁸ bitt ammak, mi taaxudha? wa, bit xaalak, mi taaxutha wa, yo
 waladak, támiš taaxud lea bitt axuu-k, mísil da
 “Yes, they marry, the daughter of your FB. Wouldn’t you marry her? The daughter of
 your MB, wouldn’t you marry her? Wouldn’t your son go and marry the daughter of your
 brother. It like that.”

<H> ma tittaaxad ambeenaat-ku be boŋo aŋaŋi biyaxuud birnaaye walla birnaaiye taaxud
 arab
 “You don’t marry among the Kanuri, an Arab man marrying a Kanuri girl or a Kanuri
 girl marries an Arab?”

<C> a?a hajira giná fi hillinna hineen da mafi, amma hajira fi,
 “No, other places, not in our village, but in other places that happens”

<H> yo al arab bittaaxado ke sei (8:00)
 “So the Arabs marry like that?”

<C> arab biyaaxudu barno, barno kula biyaaxudu arab, hajira da fi, amma fi hillinna hine
 mafi
 “Arabs marry Kanuri, Kanuri marry Arabs; elsewhere you find that but in our village
 here no”

⁷ < beet-na, with assimilation of /t/.

⁸ Note two variants, *bittaaxad*, *bissaaxad* “inter-marry”. Form V, both are irregular. *Bil?aaxad* is the regular form V.

<H> šabá kan birnaay ja ma taad’ú bittu-ku, wa intu hine ke
 “Like if a Kanuri guy comes you wouldn’t give your daughter to him, so you’re like you’re here?”

<C> ale qayittum, al yoom da húkum sei maafi, kan be agalak halaalak ke da, bittak le borno ma taatta sei, ha kan hi raatta, mi doola leeg a
 “According to their need. Today really there isn’t a system. Its just according to your own reasoning and wishes. You don’t give your daughter to a Kanuri, but if she wants him don’t you have to?”

<H> kan hi raatta⁹
 “If she wants him”

<C> kan hi raatta da, bala raayak, amma be agil-ak halaal-ak da, axuu-k wald al árab fi ke gaaid tašiilha taatha lee l birnaay wa (8:30)
 “If she want him, regardless of your opinion. But according to your reasoning and interest, your brother the son of Arabs, would you take her and give her to a Kanuri?”

<SD> šúqul wahid da al našiib kula sei biaşşarak,
 “Just one thing, fate might compel (squeeze) you”

<I> rijaal wa nisa katiriin xaramo min al hille di, mašo ga do fi bikinne taniyaat le yerwa au
 “Did a lot of men and women leave this village and go live elsewhere like Maiduguri?”

<C> fi hillinna hine wa, axármo ke ámšu agoodu fi yerwa wa, a?a mafi?, ille goolit áhal gina, fi hillinna ke, axármo amšu agoodu fi yarwa da, mafi¹⁰
 “In our village here? Like they leave and stay in Maiduguri? No, there isn’t, except for (other) Arabs. In our village, leave and go and stay in Maiduguri, no”

<I> ille tugoodu hineen
 “You just stay here”

<C> hineen bas, al maat, bisturuu-k fi təráab, aššayyab, kulla ga?ad híne bas, gina hajira ke siiru amšu le yarwa ke da, mafi fi hillinna hine ke da, amma hajira da, bimšu, wi? (9:18)
 “Just here. The one who died, they bury you in the earth, he gets old. [We] just stay here, but elsewhere maybe they go and move to Maiduguri. Not in our village here. But elsewhere, they go, yep.”

<I> inta gareet inta gareet fi sangaa

⁹ < raad-at-a. The feminine suffix of 3FSG hollow verbs takes the shape –t before a vowel, i.e. *raad-at-hum* “she likes them”, but *raad-t-a*, (cf. *jaab-t-a* “she brought it.M”). The final /d/ in this case assimilates in voicing to the /t/.

¹⁰ See n. 4 above for imperative verb as counterfactual condition.

“Did you study in a Quranic school?”

<C> ma gareeth, ma gareeth

“I didn’t study, I didn’t”

<H> ma šuqúl min al qurán ke tiarfa walla ma ti?erfa (9:29)

“Isn’t there something from the Qur’an you know?”

<C> a?a ma ba?árfa?

“I don’t know it”

<H> ille giráa hiil aš šala tigəraaha seí

“Just reading for prayers you read it don’t you”

<C> ha hiil aš šalá al hamda di, mine kula mi aarifha, wa muslimaai bigabbil al gibile ke, al hamdu di mi aarifha da fi wa

“Of course the prayer the Hamdu, doesn’t everyone know it, and a Muslim faces the east. Is there anyone who doesn’t know the Hamdu”

<I> fi l hille di mafi sangaa, wa ma tiwaaddu iyaal-ku le assangaaya

“In this village there isn’t a Quranic school; you don’t send your children to a Quranic school?”

<C> sangáa fi dugó, al xariif yam ja, al ba?uut, an ɲamuus, d’arad al faqara

“There is in fact a Quranic school. But when the rains come the mosquitoes chase away the teacher away”

<H> al faqara tawwa kulla mi naas al hille diya

“Isn’t the teacher from this very village?”

<C> bíju min hajira, mmm (10:05)

“They come from afar”

<H> yoo bíju šabá bišaayifu maa-ku

“So they come and like spend the hot season with you”

<C> haw bišaatu, bišaatu bəšaayfu, yam tabga xariif, an ɲamuus bəd’urúttəm

“And they spend the cold season, cold season, they spend the hot season, but when it’s the rainy season the mosquitoes chase them away”

<I> ha ween bimšu

“Where do they go?”

<SD> faɖdal waahid tungulun kula, al wahid tungulun kula ma bigdar bigarri

“There’s just a single one; a single individual can’t teach”

<I> binšu bišiilu al iyaal maʔahum walla keef
 “They go and take the children with them or how?”

<C> aʔ iyaal al hille bixalluuhum, iyaalhum aj joo bohum doola, bišiiluuhum bimšu
 behum
 “The children of the village stay. They children who came with them, they take them and
 go with them”

<I> iyaal al hille bigoodu
 “The village children stay”

<C> bugoodu fi hillithum, be nahaar tidaarit, al baʔuuḍ bígi mafi, gade kula bíju, hau
 humma búguru fi giraayithum, ha dahada gaaʔidiin (10:43)
 “They stay in their village and when the harvest time comes, when the mosquitoes go
 away, they come back again and they study in their studies, so they stay”

<H> iyaal-ku kaal ma tirsilhum le as sangaa barra kaamil
 “You never send your children to Quranic schools outside?”

<C> le sangaa, aʔa kan bígi da narassilhum, yam mafi da, gade bakaan al mamša fi wa
 “To a Quranic school? No, if possible we send them. If there isn’t any what can you
 do?”¹¹

 xariif da da bíherit, da bisəra, da ke gadé xariif da gira fi a (10:59)
 “In the rainy season this one farms, this one takes cattle out. During the rains how can
 there be studies?”

<I> inta ind-ak radiyo, tisannad arradio radio
 “Do you have a radio, do you listen to a radio?”

<C> nişşanḥad’a,
 “We listen to it”

<I> be ayit luqqa, barnaamic be aiyit luqqa
 “Programs in which language?”

<C> ar radio da goolit luqqa kula fiya fi, goolit luqqa kula fiya fi
 “A radio, there is every language in it, every language”

<I> inta tişşanḥad yatu fi hum
 “Which ones do you listen to?”

¹¹ Or, “If there are no children to send [for whatever reason], what is the point of thinking about it”.

<C> naşannad' da, an na?arfa bas, borno haw arab, da catt nasmaa, amma naadim al mi aarif kalaam al hawsa, al mi aarif kalaam fallaata, ma bi?erfa, kan ja kula ?aagib le d'uula,¹² amma tasmaa? da mi tasmaa bas wa

“What we listen to, just what we know, Kanuri and Arabic, we listen to both. But a person who doesn't know Hausa and doesn't know Fulfulde, he doesn't understand it, if you hear it you ignore it. For hearing, you can hear it but not understand it.”

<H> šába taşannad' radio hana yarwa da walla tişannad axir

“Like do you listen to Radio Maiduguri or do you listen to others?”

<C> hana yerwa bas

“Just of Maiduguri”

<H> da bas ar raadyo at taşannad'a

“That's just the radio you listen to?”

<C> da bas radióo

“That's the radio”

<H> inzeen (11:47)

“Good”

<SD> be nahaar aşşab haw al ahad da nakurub anjammena, min aniina al iyaal ad dugaag, amma humma al gurre gurre da, ille bəxud'd'u foog maiduguri bas, mahum arfiin
“On Saturday afternoon and Sunday we listen to (grab) Ndjamena, we the younger ones. But the older ones, they just set it to Maiduguri. They don't know [another one]”

<C> mana aarfiin sei gade

“We don't know any other”

<SD> mana aarfiin, hau aniina fi leel da, kan bəgat sa?a tamaane da n kuřuř garwa, hau nakurub yawunde fi acanji,

“We don't know. And we at night, when it is 8:00 PM we tune in to Garwa and Yaounde on the set”

<I> laakin masalan birtaaniya au saudia

“What about Britain or Saudia Arabia?”

<SD> aah dugo gaid nakurba foog acanji, amma humma al kubaar da ille işşanad'o maiduguri bas, kalaam borno yilgó foog tešan maiduguri, kalaam al arab kula bilgó foog tašan Maiduguri, xalaas dadda hanaahum humma şakkar (12:18)

“Then we tune in to them, but the elders, they only listen to Maiduguri. They get Kanuri on Maiduguri radio. Arabic as well you get on Radio Maiduguri then it shuts”

¹² Lit. “it passes to its height”, he ignores it.

<I> hineen fi borno al arab bilkallamo arab masalan fi tiraab mongono, tiraab bama tiraab balge, tiraab mafa kulu,
 “Here in Borno the Arabs speak Arabic like in Mongono, in Bama, in Balge, in Mafa as well”

<C> mm
 “ya”

<I> kan naadim arabi
 “If you take an Arab”

<C> kee
 “yaa.”

<I> jaa min misil ja min mongono aw bama hau damboa wa bilkallam inta taʔarif naadim da ja min tiraab yatu
 “Like he comes from Mongono or Bama or and he speaker, do you know where the person comes from?”

<C> ale lasana bas,
 “According to his language”

<I> aye min kalaama bas
 “Yes from the language”

<C> ale lasana min kalaama, kan jaabha arabiye, benasəmaahha, nugulba lea arabiyye, kan jaaba birnaiye, nasəmaa?
 “According to his language, if he speaks Arabic, I understand him and I reply in Arabic; if he speaks Kanuri I understand him”

<H> fi kalaama da šaba dagut naadim jaak šaba dagut naadim jaak, arab jaak min mungono, arabi jaak min damboa, arabi jaak min tiraab al balge da, kan šabá wahid jaa alkallam leek da, teerif kalaam təfunda wa, taguul da naadim jaa min balge
 “According to his language, like now if a person comes to you, an Arab comes from Mungono, an Arab comes from Damboa, an Arab comes from Balge and like if he comes and speaker to you, can you distinguish from his language and say that person’s from Balge?”

<C> da bafunda, bafunda
 “I can distinguish I can tell”

<H> tafunda sei
 “You can really distinguish?”

<C> ha min tumfaar wa, lasan waahid, áʔadal, lasan wahid, ajami, mi gadegade ya, dagut lasánna aniina da be hana al balge mi gade gade ya

“According to the clan? One language is more correct, one language, foreign. Aren’t they different? Now our language and that of Balge, aren’t they different?”

<I> keef bigi gade gade
 “How are they different?”

<C> hana al balge da, buguulu leya wuu,¹³ al šuqúl da, sawwá ke, wuu aš šuqúl da, misil ke, ha aniina wuu di mafi, al kalaam aʔadal benaguula,
 “That of Balge, they say for it ‘wuu’, this thing, he did it like that, ‘wuu’ this thing, like that. While we don’t have that ‘wuu’. We speak more correctly.”

<H> ha inta fi hanaak da, ha inta fi hanaak da, fi sainna assaa di, kan naadim ke bədoor bilallam kalaam al arab da, tiguul leiya imši le yaat bakaan, imši le yaat bukaan fi arđiina tiraab hiil borno di, bakaan ilʔallama fiya
 “And you in your [opinion] now, now, if a person wants to learn Arabic, what part would you say he should go to? Go to where in our country in Borno, a place he can learn it in it?”

<C> kalaam al arab ke da, al biʔallama fiya da, šaḃaah
 “Arabic, where he should learn it, the east”

<H> šabah yeen
 “Where in the east”

<C> šaḃaah da, ha dadda dugut al bikaan al gulta, hana, al ahal aj jo minna da
 “The east, and now the place I said, where the relatives came from”

<H> šaba fi najeria hine fi borno
 “But like in Nigeria here in Borno”

<C> yo aa, fi ɓorno hine fi najerya hine da,
 “Okay in Borno here in Nigeria”

<I> aiwa
 yes”

<C> a catt waahid kula waahid árab d’aka,
 “Oh its all the same, the Arabic “

<H> nzeen
 “good”

<C> arab da ka kulla catt waahid,
 “The Arabic is all the same”

¹³ Often cited as a prototypical Balge dialect trait. However, there are probably no tokens of the form in our data.

<H> ha kula kan waadiin gaal leek bidoor bil?ellem kalaam hana aṛaḅ zeen,
 “And still if someone should say he wants to learn good Arabic?”

<C> mhm
 “mm”

<H> intu tiwadda le yaat hille, tuguul leiya yaat hille ke z zeene leek amš laha fi t tēraab
 yerwa
 “Which village would you send him to? You’d say which village is good to go to?”

<C> fi t tēraab daa, al himeedi arabi, al xizaami, arabi, assarraari, aṛabi, wulad qaanəm,
 yoo ad dagana, dool catt arab,
 “In this area, the Himeedi are Arabs, the Xisaami are Arabs, the Sarraari are Arabs, the
 Wulad Qhanem, and then the Dagana. All of these are Arabs.”

<I> humma qawaalme sei
 “Aren’t these all Qawalme?”

<C> qawaalmi
 “Qawalme”

<I> fi nafar taani bala al qawaalme
 “Is there any group other than the Qawalme?”

<C> humma kula mi junuus wa, fi libbuhum, al qalmi fi, ad dagani fi, al xizaami fi, as
 sarraari fi, al himeedi fi, mi catt nafaraa
 “Aren’t these all types. There are among them are Qalmi, Dagana, Xizami, Sarraari,
 Himeedi ? Aren’t these all different clans?”

<H> ha šabá arab assalamaat doola, kula sei arab
 “And like the Salamat Arabs, aren’t they also Arabs?”

<C> kulla arab, amma lasánhem šik,
 “Also Arabs, but their language is different”

<H> lasanhum šik min al qawaalme
 “Their language/dialect is different from the Qawalme”

<C> lasánhem šik be d’oláaka gade gade
 “Their language is different from those ones”

<H> be d’olaka al arab al qawalme dool
 “From those Arabs the Qawalme”

<I> hassa sai waqit al xariif,

“Isn’t it the rainy season now?”

<C> waqit al xariif, sa?inna di wa, ha xariif, xariif,
“It’s the rainy season.”

<I> ma tiheertu
and you aren’t farming”

<C> naharit, naharit (15: 26)
“We’re farming we’re farming”

<I> wa wala ligiinaa-ku kullu-kum hineen fil hillit-ku di
“We found all of you in your village”

<C> al yoom seyyeena sadaqa, sadaqa le alme?, ha dadda ligiituuna fiiha?
“Today we made an offering, an offering for water, so you found us”

<I> sadaqa da šunu, keef bisauwuha
“What do you do in the offering?”

<H> tisadduqu šunu šunu
“What do you give as an offering?”

<C> eeš, d’aaka buşuud’u eš bijiiibú, d’aaka bişuud’u eš bijiiibú, doolaka buşuud’u eš
bijiiibú, kádar da kan an naas al gaádiin kan bukuřbu, as síphe, wa s sallím, binšado allah,
le ijiib al alme?, wi?
“Food, that one they cook meal and bring it, that one they cook meal and bring it those
ones cook meal and bring it, until the people who are present grab hold of the rosary, and
say ‘allahumma šalli wa sallim’, they ask God to bring rain, yep”

<H> nzeen
“good”

<C> wi?
“yap”

<SD> nabatna duk ařsaan
“All our plants are thirsty”

<I> mata tisowu ke da
“When do you do that”

<C> al yoom bas (16:11)
al yoom bas, al yoom bas
“Just today, just today”

<SD> al yoom at talaata da bas,
 “Just Tuesday”

<I> kulli yoom taḷaata walla kulli sana
 “Every Tuesday or every year”

<C> aʔa, aʔa al ʔeš biʔallifú da, fi s sana,
 “No no, the meal they , once a year”

<I> kunni yoom talaata
 “every Tuesday”

<C> fi sana, amma as sadaqa di, mi ale gaḷbakʔ, kan kulli jimme tissaddaq kula, šuqul-
 ak hana beetakʔ, amma aš şadaqa hiil al eš al alf di, al hool bġji dugó bisauwuha,
 “In a year. But this offering, whenever you want. You can do it every Friday, in your
 house. But this offering with food, [you wait] a whole year then you do it.”

<H> tisawwuha le šunu aš şadaqa di
 “Why do you do the offering?”

<C> le alme
 “For rain”

<H> le alme bas
 “Just for rain”

<C> le alme
 “For rain”

<H> yo, ha xalaas yoom da ma tixarmu min al beet yoom attalaata da
 “So then on that day you don’t leave your house, Tuesday”

<C> ma naxaram, di gaʔidinna, yamta ašam wágat ambaakir mən ašşabáh, kan mine
 kulla binši le xidimta
 “We don’t leave. This is our place. When the sun falls, the next day in the morning,
 everyone goes to his work”

<I> tisraho bel bagar wa al yoom
 “You take the cattle out today?”

<C> mm
 “yes”

<I> tisrahu
 “You take the cattle out”

<C> be l bágárah, nasrah, al bisëra da mi fi wa, mi naas catt fi, al bágárah ra?ayittin mi tineen a, ha dadda humma bisraho, an naas al fađđalo gaaidiin fi l beeth (17:07)

“We take the cattle out; the ones taking the cattle aren’t here, right? Not everyone is here. Aren’t there two who take the cattle out, and they take them. Those remaining stay at home.”

<H> indu-kuu šuqúl fi seí ðaan ðaaneen ke fi a

“You have a few [cattle] one or two herds?”

<C> fi

“There are”

<H> yoo, catt kan ke da bagar-ku lamminhan bakaan wahid

“So, if you’ve joined them all together in one place”

<C> laaminhin bakaana wahade

“We’ve joined them together”

<SD> gariib da laaminhum bakaana wahde ašaan haam, ba?uut kooma, xariif da, a le da bas

“Recently we’ve joined them in one place because of the flies, a lot of mosquitoes, in the rainy season. That’s why.”

<H> da bas tulummuhan bikaana wahade, ha fi aš šeef (17:27)

“That’s why you put all of them in one place; and in the hot season?”

<C> fi aš šeef da bišaggugúuhin, finšan al bágara, taakul tašiba min aj ju yee išiiha,

“In the hot season they divide them up, because of a cow, so that it can eat and get filled up and not suffer from hunger”

<I> laakin fi š šeef da ween tilgo alme

“But in the dry season, where do you get water?”

<C> alme dawa mubá

“Water is here, in Mafa”

<I> min fomfom walla šunu

“From a pump or where?”

<C> tawwa famfam, al famfam maat, nankut al biyaar

“Before there was a pump. The pump broke down (died), so we dig wells”

<I> al famfam mata maata, al hakuma jaabat al famfam

“When the pump broke down, did the government bring another?”

<C> al hakuuma jaabta hau tílif, hau gade ka ábo ma iwaasú,

“The government brought it originally and it went bad, but they refused to repair it”

<SD> tífif (18:02)

“It went bad”

<C> yam naguul loum waasú, gaal, al hakuuma ma indaha maal, muwaasá sul ma tabga, yo al maskiin ma yigdar iwaasi famfam, wi?

“When we told them, ‘repair it’, he said, the government doesn’t have money. A repair for free won’t happen. So poor people can’t repair a pump.”

<I> ween tunkutu

“Where do you dig?”

<C> al biyaar wa, mubá , muba

“The wells, in Muba, in Muba”

<H> tamát, walla biyaar kuḅaar (18:26)

“A shallow well, or deep ones?”

<C> aah támat, támat

“No shallow shallow”

<H> guṣaar ke bas sei

“Just shallow ones”

<C> guṣaar

“Shallow”

<H> mala šuqúl-ku da, kan tauwa lammeetu raas-ku ke hau famfam-ku addaltú mi axeer wa le tirajju al hukuuma haadi tijí tieddila lee-ku da (18:37)

“So your problem, if before you’d joined together and repaired your pump, wouldn’t it be better then to go to the government for it to repair it for you?”

<C> aah gide yeen, an naadim ad dugut alʔaddalú ke, algo lee-ku abu, ilimm ajmaaʔa kurut, isowwi jiiibu al maal jiiibu al maal ke yamta iwaasu al famfam da, tariid leeha naadim, ábu

“Give me a break. For a person to repair it, you get yourself a leader, he joins everyone, he gets them to bring money, bring money; till they repair the well, you need someone as a leader.”

<SD> al famfam da walá hana miskiin

“A pump is not for the poor”

<H> dugut šaba šaba ... (18:59)

“Now like”

<C> ha ma sawwá, kan sawwá da mi niseyyí a
 “And he didn’t do it; if he had done it wouldn’t we do it?”

<H> ɣaʔidna assaʔa di kan ke gaalo lee-ku cattu-ku, limmu gurus ke da tulummuua
 tijuubuu sei lei bieddilu lee-ku famfam
 “No if they said to all of you, collect your money and you collected it and brought it
 wouldn’t they repair your pump?”

<C> nalimma, ha sei le bagaraanna hau le ruuəna
 “We’d collect it. Isn’t it for our cattle and for ourselves (souls)”

 kan hineen da, kan šiif wahaalinna da tilajjab al hamiir deel da goolit beet inda
 hamiir tałaata tałaata inšaana le alme (19:19)
 “Here if you look at our problems you’d be shocked; every house has donkeys, every
 house has three donkeys [to bring] water.”

<C> kan mi ke da, alme suf kula fi a, alme suf kula mafi, našiila foog al himiré, dugo
 našərab,
 “If it weren’t like that, is there even a little water? There’s not even a little water, so we
 carry it on donkeys and we drink it”

<H> ha dugut fi l xariif kan tišárbu
 “And [even] now in the rainy season you can drink it”

<C> barra
 “outside”

 barra, da alme hana rubb al alamiin aj jaaba
 “Outside, that is water from God who brought it [i.e. from the rain]”

<H> tišarbu alme al buuɗa hau ke bas,
 “So you just drink water from the standing ponds and the like”

<C> aha alme al buɗa?
 “Yes water from ponds”

<A> ha intu ma tuguulu leiya ilumma an naas iwooriiəm
 “And you don’t tell him to get the people together and show them”

<C> lee l hakuma a, lee l al lawaan a,
 “To the government? To the Lawan?”

<A> le lawaan
 “To the Lawan”

<C> yam gulnaa leiya, gaal al hakuuma gaid indaha maal mafi, al gumnaay gaal maal mafi, al maal tamma hana beet al maal, al famfam budoor laha maal kooma, ha al miskiin birkis yeen,

“When we told him, he said the government doesn’t have any money; the government said it doesn’t have money, its finished the treasury. A pump requires a lot of money, so what are the poor going to rely on?”

<I> indu-ku fi l hille di bulaama

“Do you have a Bulama in the village?”

<C> al bulaama, dawa da bas al bulaama

“Right here’s the Bulama.”

<I> keef taʔazilu al bulama (20:09)

“How do you choose a Bulama?”

<C> aniina al axayaan ke yam nalumm da, an naadim aʃ ʃabuur

“We the brothers get together, a patient person”

<I> intu axaiyaan bas, al rujaal al kubaar walla

“You brothers, elders right?”

<C> rijaal kubaar hau dugaak, catt bittaafaqo, filaan da, ʃabuur, kan ayyarta kaal ma bilkallam, kan dawwár min šúqul biyad’diik deen, kan ʃahátta ma biyaaba, filaan da hu da biháfaḍ al aʃara daada, hu bas bilaamaana, (20:39)

“Old and young, everyone agrees, so and so, is patient. If you insult him he hardly replies. If you ask something from him he gives you a loan, if you beg him he doesn’t refuse. This guy keeps the community, so he’s our Bulama”

<I> laazim al bilama abu kula bulama abú kula bulama

“Does the Bulama have to be the son of a Bulama?”

<H> kan abu mi bilaama kaal ma bilga al bulaamaaye

“If his father is not a Bulama, he hardly becomes a Bulama”

<C> aʔa bilgaaha, kan naʃiiba fi da

“No, he’ll get it if his chance comes”

 kula kan bilgaaha be maala kina, kan naadim ille abú bulaama da, dada hu kula bilgaaha, amma, al bilgaa abu mi balaama da, ille kan be maala

“He might get it with money. If someone’s father is a Bulama, he then becomes Bulama. Anyone who becomes a Bulama whose father isn’t, just with money”

<C> be maala, aʃ ʃuld’aan biyaakul, al aʃara hábbata, filaan da zeen, dahada xalaas, amma kan be maal-ak kula kan inta fásil, al aʃara gedinna di catt ma nidoora ma nidoora,

ma bilgaaha, al ašara bas catt, filaan da, aniina raaydinna, bihafaḍḍa, aniina raaydínna bihafaḍḍa, da, dada xalaas

“With money. The Shehu takes a share, the community likes him, this one is a good person, so that’s settled. But even with money if you are bad, and the community says we don’t want him we don’t want him, he won’t get it. Its just the community [who says] we want him, he’ll protect us, we want him and he’ll protect us. That’s it.”

<H> ha intu saʔidna assaʔa di bašiif, iyaal-ku dugaag dugaag da ma sowwo lo-ku magaranti ye hine ya (21:44)

“So you now, I see children among you and you didn’t make a primary school”

<C> buguru fi mubá bíju, mmm, hine magarantiye mafi, binšu buguru fi muba, hau bíju, “They study in Mafa and come. There is no school here, they go and study in Mafa and come back.”

<H> ka da iyaal-ku kula catt binšu buguru qaadii a
“So all your children go there and study?”

<C> al iyaal ad dugaag sei, aha
“The young children, yes”

<I> buguru fi mubaʔ a
“They study in Mafa?”

<C> fi muubáaʔ, fi muubáʔ
“In Mafa, in Mafa”

<I> al banaat kula a tuwadduuhin
“Do you send girls as well?”

<C> al banaat kula, al ad dugut tawa bəgiran bəgiran deela, catt kúburan sallamoohin, hau rahhaloohin, wi, (22:13)
“Girls as well. The ones who just now studied, they’ve grown up and they’ve been discharged and married”

<I> al yaal doola kula, madrasa ibtidaʔiyye hineen
“Are these primary school students?”

<C> al iyaal kula, al alfaqqar, dagašo al xala kula fi, assallamó,¹⁴ kula fi
“The boys as well, one who became a Quranic teacher, there are those who just wandered off, there are those who were discharged [from school]”

<I> kan walad bidawwur bigiri fi madurasa at tanawiya¹⁵ wu fi jaamia kulu, tiwaddú

¹⁴ “Discharged” for unspecified reasons. They may have graduated, gotten married, grown too old for school ...

“If a boy wants to study in a secondary school or university, do you send him?”

<H> kan naadim bigiri fi magarantiyye kabiire, da, tixalla yimši wa
 “If a person studies in a big school, would you let him go?”

<C> dugut sei maafi, waddoohum, wálad fi a, sei catt sallamóohum,
 “Now in fact there aren’t any. They send them. If there is one, they discharged all of them”

<H> sei cat sallamoohum xalloohum (22:44)
 “They discharged them all and left them”

<C> yam íguru sabʔa šahar da, dada buguulu lea sallamnaak, sabʔa sana bədoor, dada, buguulu leek sallamnaak, [X] dugut al yoom yoomna hana al yoom da, inta naadim-ak bəgiri, gade, al maskiin yalla yalla biyaakul, ha iguulu leek jiiib maal, nəwaddíi ya giddaam, zaadiik mi gaadira, tiwaaddaa
 “If they’ve studied seven months, then they tell him, we’ve discharged you, he needs seven years, then they say we’ve discharged you. Now today in our time, you are a person who’s studied. Otherwise, a poor person just needs to eat and they tell you to pay money [for fees], so are we going to send him forward, while you can’t even make daily ends meet. Would you send him [to school]?”

<SD> dada al walad túluf le abu kula tilíf lehum humma kula ma náfa, yowa
 “Then the child goes bad and that doesn’t help anyone”

<H> inzeen ha dugut šuqul-ak da, saaidna assaa di inta tišiif ke, kalaamna hana al ɾaɓ da, min hine ya giddaam da, maaši bizeyyit zeen walla maaši naagəş haadi (23:35)
 “Good and now, your opinion, now how do you see our Arabic in the future? Is it increasing well or is it rather receding?”

<C> al aɾaɓ gade zamaanhum seí kímil, al yoom an nungo sei bígi in borno, in hausa, dugut geedinna di be nanguuna induhum, sei nanguuna šiya
 “Hasn’t the time of the Arabs finished? Today the status has accrued to Kanuri, to Hausa. Now they have the status and ours is little”

<H> sababa šunu
 “What’s the reason for that?”

<C> aa allah yiarfa, ad diniya axxarat
 “God knows. The world’s changed.”

<V> gil al ilim, gil al girá bas
 “Lack of learning, lack of studying “

¹⁵ Words which have entered most varieties of Arabic via Standard Arabic (especially in the wake of the nahḍa of the nineteenth century), are often not understood in Nigerian Arab villages.

<SD> finšaan šunú, as sawwa gilt al giraaya da kula, humma hineen naasna al faaytinna al gurra gurra bugo rad'd'ána, kaassínna aniina yáwara, yam kaassinna aniina kula ruuna al kabiire ¹⁶ma xallanna abeena ma nuduxul, dugut fi l hille di duk walad wahid tul bigəri mangarantiye mafi, maqadna siifha dugó be iyaal al kirdi kan lammeena faaytinna be naɗaafa walla faaytinna fi zurugiyye walla humuriyye, da aniina ma ʔaarfinna faatoona be hu da, ille il hilu bišiiłú, al murr bixallú (24:25)

“Why? Lack of studying, our people our elders have become uneducated and they’ve pushed us backwards. Once we’ve been pushed our pride didn’t allow us and we refused to enter [school]. Now in this village there’s not a single child who has studied. Now if you compared us with non-Arabs, are they cleaner than us or better than us in color. We don’t know how they are better than us. They take the best of life and leave the worst.”

<J> ha šoorut-ku šunu fi, dugud ma lee-ku nanguuna da šorut-ku šunu šunu šoridna
“And what is your advice? Don’t you have a status, what is your advice ??”

<SD> aš šoora šunu
“What advice?”

<C> šunu šoorinna an naadim al šayyab da gade mi fi l kalaam mi mafi ya (24:36)
“What is our advice? An old person doesn’t have a say.”

<H> wai kula kan be šoraa-ku ke taad’uuhin lee l iyaal ad dugaaga da
“Yes as far as your advice goes give it to us for the younger ones”

<C> kan le iyaal ad dugaag a, aʔa mana aarfiin laha šoora,
“For the younger ones, no I don’t have any advice”

<J> iguul lehum ille ahártu bas,
“You tell them just to farm”

<C> ihartu bas
“They should just farm”

<J> hau anšadu allah bas, ahártu bas
“And ask God, farm”

<H> ihartu inšidu alla bas
“They should farm and pray to God”

<C> ha gade (24:48)
“And what else”

<J> an naadim gade giddaam alla maafi
“There is no one before God”

¹⁶ Lit. “our big soul” = pride or pomposity < Kan. *ro kura*

<C> dugut saa inna di jiitu zurtúuna cat fi si?aalna da, suld'aan fi wa, sei mafi, sei, ille našhad allah baş, aş şald'aaniyye kula bikaanha wahatha, al qáni kula bikaana wahada, al maskiin kula kan biseyyi fi ɓambal maskanat hiil bəwaddi raasha

“Now you.PL came and visited us doing our prayers. Is there a government order? There isn't really. We can just supplicate God. The government has its place, the wealthy have their place, and the poor also”