

GR167 (partial)

4,800 words; 42 minutes; Oct 6, 95

Translated, 1-24, 49:15-56:30 minutes

The current text was recorded in 1995, one of the final texts recorded. The venue was the Dikkeceri compound, which is treated in greater detail in (Owens 1998: chapter 12). The residents of the compound, still inhabited by the same family up to 2019, are from the eastern NA dialect area. The mother, Asta, deceased in 2016, was from the northern area of Balge, Kumaga, and the father grew up in Cameroon, Waza, which is probably an extension of the southern Balge area. No research has been done in this area. The idea of the recording is that up to this point only speakers older than twelve years old had been systematically recorded, either in individual recordings or in group recordings (e.g. IM144, IM151, GR155). Here the intention is to record children in an extremely informal group recording. As it turned out, there was much going on in the compound during the recording, and the two microphones picked up two conversations. The main one is among the children. Some of the background adult conversation is also clearly audible, and to the extent that it is audible, everything was transcribed. All in all a great deal of background information is needed to understand many of the utterances, hence the copious notes.

Information about participants

Ibrahim

Saʔiida (Saide) (Neighbor's child)

Dannaya (neighbor's)

Hawwa (neighbor's)

Bilakarima (neighbor's) Maryam (neighbor's)

Mohammad (neighbor's)

Salaam: (Emm) half brother of Ibrahim, grew up in Waaza

Abba Kaaka: (xaal) brother of Ibrahim's mother

Asta: wife of Ibrahim

Kaltuma: older lady, now deceased (about 2010), wife of brother of Asta, Algoni Gujja

All of children of Arab-speaking neighbors from near Am Buudha. Bilakarima and Mohammad children of different Kanuri neighbors do not understand Arabic.

Abba kaaka died 15 years ago, grandparents generation; brother of Ibrahim's father;

His son Jidda father of Saʔiide; died 2013, killed by thieves in Banki

Salaam half brother of Ibrahim, different mothers, grew up in Waaza, died about 2008

Birth dates (Ibrahim's children and relations)

Abbagana 1981 = 17

Adamu 1982 = 13; ; son of Ibrahim and Asta

Ibrahim 1984 = 11; brother of Umar

Saide 1986=9; daughter of Jidda, son of Abba Kaaka

AlHaj 1991= 4; daughter of Ibrahim and Asta

Al Gooni 1994 = 2 son of Ibrahim and Asta

Angujja: 1991 = 4, neighbor, friend of Hajje Mariam, sister of Udaaya

Udaaya: neighbor, full brother of Angujja, Yamiina

Yamiina: neighbor, Hadiza's friend, of same age

Mariam: sister of Yamina, Udaya; about 6. Friend of Hajje Mariam

Modu: brother of Mariam, about 13 at time of recording.

Udaaya, Yamiina, Mariam, Modu, father Kanuri, mother Arab

Hajje Mariam 1989 = 6; daughter of Ibrahim and Asta

Hadiza 1986 = 9; daughter of Ibrahim and Asta

Abba Karuu 1985 = 10; son of Ibrahim and Asta

Umar 1981 = 14. Grew up in Kaduna (knows Arabic better than brother Ibrahim)

During the first half of the recording there are two conversations recorded on two different microphones going on at once, one between grownups and one among children. The nearer, clearer recording is that among children, so that among the grownups stretches of speech are lost. There are a fair number of extended stretches of Hausa. Only some of these are transcribed. Hausa is in italics.

From 24:00 to 44.51 the audio is untranscribed.

<Said> ana maani aarfe kula

‘I don’t know either.’

<Had> nilkallam ke, inti miyaana, gaal ke ana maani aarfé

‘We’ll just talk. You (Saide) are with us. Didn’t he say, “I don’t know”.’

<Said> ana maani aarfe kula (0.45)

‘I don’t know a thing.’

<Said> adama and’iini yanki, mariyam inti and’iini

‘Adama give me a doll, Mariam give me.’

<H Mar> alkallami, ana maani aarfe l kalaam a?a, guuli mariyam and’iini yanki

‘Talk. I don’t know how to converse. Tell Mariam to give me a doll.’

...

<H Mar> a?a agiifi digé

‘No wait a second.’

<Said> Mariam waasi la nadiife mana inti

‘Mariam, fix it nicely now.’

<Asta> alkallaman mana,

‘Go ahead and speak.’

<Had> mariyam

‘Mariam’

<H Mar> yawwa, waasi lei kubbi (1.42)

‘Fix me a heart-shaped henna pattern.’

<Said> mariyam waasi lee kubbi n nadiife mana¹

¹ *mana* < H *mana* ‘indeed, well, for sure’ is a frequent DM which expresses the speaker’s view that the proposition or wish he or she is expressing is an obvious one. It is often paired with imperative verbs

‘Mariam fix her a nice heart-shaped henna.’

<Mar> iyó, bawaasi laa

‘Okay, I’ll fix it.’

<Had> waasi laa ajala

‘Fix it quickly.’

<Mar> da le bawaasi laa ana maani aarfe tara

‘This one, me to fix it, I don’t know how see.’

<Had> aarfe tam, šuqúlki fusúx, kalaam bas hai

‘You do know! You’re lying. You’re making it up.’

<Asta> waqít zamaan ligiina xadiija gaayde

‘At that time we found Xadija there...’²

<Had> inti fusuxki fusuxki

‘You’re lying, you’re lying.’

<Said> ana maani aarfe

‘I don’t know how.’

<Had> aarfe tam (2.01)

‘You do know’.

<Mar> ana šuqulku da maani aarfe

‘I don’t know that thing of yours.’

<Had> aarfé?

‘You do know!’

<Said> inti maryam sawwi lea ejala sawwi ejala

‘You Mariam do it quick quick.’

(in this text, 4 of 5 tokens) where it alleviates the force of the command and often has the sense of ‘just do it’ (without fooling around or asking questions).

<Alh> sawwi ejala niraa?í dada gaade nikit nikit

‘Do it quickly so we can see it; let it be slow.’

<Said> ana maani aarfe

‘I don’t know.’

<H Mar> wəi mana

‘Yes (do it slowly).’

<H Mar> di šinu min hinne

‘What sort of henna is this?’

<AK> salaam aleekum

‘Hello.’

<Said> hajje tara bittí kula maafi (2.16)

‘Hajje (Mariam) my daughter³ isn’t there.’

<Had> dissi le ejala

‘Put it (hinne) on me quickly.’

<Mar> ana tara maani aarfe

‘I don’t know how.’

<Said> hajje tara bittí kula maafi

‘Hajje my daughter isn’t here at all.’

<H Mar> dambalaakki

‘Don’t bother me!’

<Mar> ana maani aarfé, ana maani aarfé (2.22), sai ammaama

‘I don’t know I don’t know,

<Had> aa

² Part of the grownups side conversation.

³ Said is looking for her doll and doesn’t find it.’

‘Aa’

<Mar> ana maani aarfe šay

‘I don’t know anything.’

<Said> bittí kaal ma jibtuuha lei kula

‘You didn’t bring my daughter (doll) at all’.

<H Mar> bittiki weeni, bittiki weení da

‘Which daughter of yours, which one?’

<Asta> laale adderamaan

,Hello Abdel Rahman.’

<Abdul> keef haalki

‘How are you?’

<Asta> aafe aḅuí (2.32)

‘Fine.’

<H Mar> bittiki weeni da

‘Which daughter of yours?’

<Asta> aba kaaká inta aafe

‘Aba Kaka how are you?’

<Asta> sai tič daaxil

‘Don’t you want to come in?’

<Had> minnaqaadi bas wa bisima kalaamna

‘Way over there it records us?’⁴

<Said> minnaqaadi bas ha bisama kalaamna

,Way over there is records us.’

<Had> wəi

‘Yes.’

<H Mar> aš šuqúl da šinu

‘What is this thing.’

<Said> kan ja da, niddaalal ke

‘When he comes, we’ll play.’

<Said> inti mariyam sawwi laa mana inti šinu

‘You Mariam just do it for her. What’s with you?’ X

<H Mar> ana maani miseyyi (2.50)’

‘I won’t do it’

<Asta> alfaḍḍalu abuí

‘Welcome’⁵

<Said> wəi daggaani fa

<Had> abba kaakaana ja

‘Abba Kaaka came.’

<H Mar> Mariam maalá ma tisawwi leha ajala

‘Mariam why don’t you do it quickly?’

<Had> abba kaaká taal agoot bisajjulu kalaamna (2:58)

‘Abba Kaaka come and sit; they’re recording our conversation.’

<H Mar> wəi

‘Ya.’

<Said> kan nilkallam kan nilkallam, *da ʔalla* kan nilkallam, bisajjil kalaamna

‘If we speak, if we speak, *I swear* if we speak it records our conversation.’

<Had> *ka gani an kawo ta za* asajjin⁶ kalaamna

⁴ Asking about whether the recorder can pick up voices from a distance.

‘You see if they have electricity it will record our conversation.’

<H Mar> *alla alla ši ne asta ne tafad’a mana*

‘Asta just told me.’

<Had> *aba karu fa, abba karú alkallam*

‘Abba Karu, Abba Karu, speak.’

<Asta> *abba kaaká ašbeetu aafe, aafe abba kaaka*

‘Abba Kaaka how did you.PL⁷ sleep/good morning. Are you fine Abba Kaaka?’

<H Mar> *abba karú ma tilkallam wa*

‘Abba Karu, you aren’t speaking?’

<Said> *ana xalaas maani aarfé (3.23)*

‘I don’t know (how to apply hinna).’

<H Mar> *assannad’ú millit millit*

‘Listen carefully carefully.’

<Said> *yoo xalaas maani aarfe.’*

‘I don’t know that.’

<Had> *yo ana aarfe la*

‘Okay, I know it’

<H Mar> *yo ana jiibi awaasiye leeki, haay šiifi*

‘Okay, bring.F it and I’ll fix it for you, go and look at it!’

<Said> *kassi jiiibiiya kubbi sei*

‘Move over, bring the heart-shaped henna pattern.’

<H Mar> *haay haay, šiifi ana baseyi leeki ke ke (3.31)*

⁵ Abu-í ‘my father’, conventionalized term of address that can be used to address both older and younger interlocutors.

⁶ As Arabic one expects the indicative *bi-sajjin*. However, the codeswitch occurs between the Hausa future marker *za* and the Arabic verb.

⁷ Plural because she is asking about everyone in Abba Kaka’s household.

‘Hey, hey, look, I’ll do it for you like so.’

<Had> badawwur kubbi kubbi inti kan abeeti

‘I want a heart-shaped henna pattern and you refused.’

<H Mar> hay šiifi

‘Look, watch out’

<Salam> aloom da ma šif martí waallaay⁸

‘Today I didn’t see my wife at all’

<H Mar> diya laha⁹ martak jaat

,Here she is right here your wife, she just came¹⁰

⁸ Irony. Salam in fact is not married. He is joking that Saʔiide, a nine year old girl, is his wife. The other participants understand the play.

The joking relation is restricted to non-relatives or far relatives of Salaam. Salaam is the half brother of Ibrahim whose children Hajje Mariam and Hadiza are major interlocutors in the conversation.

However, because they are considered close relatives (Salaam is the paternal uncle, *emm*) he would not call them his wife in jest. Saʔiide, on the other hand, is the daughter of the son (Jidda) of an uncle of Ibrahim (Abba Kaaka), related but via a generation above the father of Hadiza and Hajje Mariam.

⁹ *di-ya la-ha* (or *lee-ha*) a demonstrative and existential presentative rolled into one. It might be paraphrased as *fi da* ‘there this is’. Functionally it is equivalent to, e.g. Egyptian *ahu, ahi* etc. The first element, here *di* is a demonstrative which agrees with the referent being pointed to in number and gender. The proximal demonstrative is used. The consonant in suffix *-ya/-wa* varies with the preceding vowel. Its etymology is open, though one might think of a relation to *-wa/ya m* (or perhaps *-w/y*) in the independent pronouns found in many other varieties of Arabic, *hu-wa/hi-ya*. In NA these are *hu/hi*. *Le* is the preposition ‘to, for’, and the suffix pronoun again references the referent being pointed to. The paradigm is regular and has both a proximal and a distal contrast, *da-wa le* ‘Here he is’, *di-ya la-ha*, *d’aaka ley-a*, *d’iike le-ha*, *doola lee-hum* ‘Here they are’, *d’oolaka lee-hum* ‘There they.M are’, *d’eela lee-hin* ‘Here they.F are, etc. A nominal can be added afterwards, *d’oolaka lee-hum ar-rijjaal* ‘There they are the men’ and in the singular in particular, the preposition can be left off, *da wa* ‘Here it is’. Except in the proximal singular, the final *-wa/ya* may neutralize in favor of *-a*, as in the examples, probably because the plural and distal demonstratives all have allomorphemes ending in *-a*, *dool ~ doola* ‘these.M’, *d’eelaak ~ d’eelaka* ‘those.F’ etc. However, they may also occur, *d’aak-wa ley-a*, *~ d’aak-u ley-a*, *d’iik-ya la-ha*.

An alternative construction also attested in this text is based on: demonstrative + independent pronoun. In this case in the plural forms a single phonological word forms:

da hu = *da-wa leya*

di hi = *di-ye la* (or *di-ya*)

d’aaku hu = *d’aaku leya*

d’iike hi = *d’iike la*

doolúmma < *dóol húmma* = *dool loo-hum*

deelínna < *déel híinna* = *deel lee-hin*

The construction is common in everyday conversation, though in the texts, because of the immediate deictic meaning, is relatively rare. It is hardly surprising that it should appear in this very informal recording of children bantering with one another. In the transcribed portions of this text alone, the construction occurs 13 times, 6 *da-wa le* or *di-ye le*, 4 *da-wa* with no complement and three times *deelínna/doolúmma*.

¹⁰ Pointing to Saʔiide.

<Salam> allaa¹¹

‘Indeed’

<H Mar> wəi diya laha

‘Ya, here she is’

<Had> salaam dowā bišajjin leena kalaamna (3.43)

‘Here he is recording our conversation’

<Salam> alla

‘Really!’

<H Mar> iyoo, dedda xalaas

‘Yep’

<Salam> raajilki ween

‘Where’s your husband?’

<Had> inta xalaas

‘Are you finished?’

<AK> aloom da aafe sei¹²

¹¹ ‘You’re right, indeed’. *Alla* lit. ‘God’, indicates that the state of affairs is indeed as was stated.

¹² *Sei* < ultimately *ṣahiiḥ ‘correct’ a very frequent DM (38 tokens in current text) which indicates speaker assumes existence of state of affairs expressed in a proposition. It thus has many individual nuances, examples from the current text giving a flavor of its usage. In the current case it is used in a simple greeting, ‘I take it for granted that you are well’. Running through other occurrences in the text: Ad has used the term *sawwa yaawo* ‘make wander’, *yaawo* being Hausa, and he is corrected to the Arabic *kudaada*. Ad replies by repeating the sentence with the Arabic term then adding:

bimši le l kudaada, wəi ana sei nisiit

‘He was going wandering, didn’t I just forget?’ (the Arabic). See n. 82 below.

AKar responds to a question whether they are being recorded by pointing to the tape recorder and saying

bisajjunu mana, sei dawa le kašá leeku ille bisowwi

‘They are recording of course; isn’t it right here turned on and running’.

Ad trying to get his younger sisters to play using Arabic, the children having already been instructed to use Arabic, politely orders them:

addaalalu wai da bas sei

‘Just play (as has been made clear you should do).’

Saide at the start of the recording (see 2:58) had propounded the theory that the tape stops when there is no one talking and it runs when the conversation starts again. Though others told her otherwise, at the end of the recording she sees her theory validated. In three of the five clauses she underlines her conviction with a *sei*:

maryam šiifī ana sakat da, hu kula biskut sei, šiifī sei alkallám kan hu kula bilmalmal sei

‘Today are they well?’

<Asta> aafe, mun mašeeet jiiit da, gede yaqiinhum da ma ligiita

‘They’re well. Since you went and returned, you didn’t get any confirmation from them?’

<AK> mašeeeti sei

‘Did you go?’

<Asta> mašeeet ana

‘I went.’

<AK> mašeeeti lehum wa¹³ inti

‘Did you go to them?’

<Asta> mašeeet aná

‘I did go.’

<Had> nigoot

‘Let’s sit down.’

<Salam> ambaakir kula

‘Tomorrow as well.’

<H Mar> axeer Maryam, aad’í le sa?iide tisei la (3:52)

‘Mariam, look. As soon as I shut up, it (recorder) went quiet. Look I just began talking and here it began moving too.’

Because it flags the reality of the proposition, it frequently functions as a tag Q marker, in both negative and positive propositions.

AK asks Asta:

mašeeeti sei

‘You went didn’t you?’

And the answer as expected turns out to be *mašeeet* ‘I went’.

Had is irritated by her sister:

axutki di ma t tisima l kalaam sei, ad’urdiiha min hineeni,

‘Your sister didn’t understand what was said did she? Send her away from here.’

¹³ Normally the yes/no Q marker *wa ~ a* is utterance final. The repetitive pronoun *inti* (badal in the Arabic tradition), whose overall function remains to be described, could also be placed after the verb here, *mašee-ti leehum inti wa*. However, perhaps because the dative in *le-* tends in NA to occur immediately post verb, the “next best” position for the repetitive pronoun is utterance final. See also IM101Fa1 n. 8.

‘It’s better Mariam, you give it to Saʔiide to do.’

<Salam> aa dugut ma tuguulu mariyam tijiini a

‘Just now didn’t you.PL tell Mariam she should come to me?’

<AKar> aʔ dugut kaša tisajjunú

‘Now he started (the cassette) and are you recording?’

<Asta> magaji hu dada ummati¹⁴

‘He (Ummati) is the magaji (older brother) (to Abba Gana).’

<Saide> hu wa bisajjin-e¹⁵ tára

‘Can’t you see he is¹⁶ recording it?’

<Had> wayye wayée

(speaking nonsense) (Song sung at a wedding)

<Asta> malam Mahammad dool al baare da as saraariik daxalo dabazoohum tulub,

lamlamo kaareehum, čat eggeboohum dugut fi l asibiti¹⁷

‘Malam Mahmmad, these ones yesterday, thieves broke in and , they gathered up their goods and made off with all of them and now he’s in hospital.’

<AK> naʔam

‘Ya‘

<Said> da bisajjinuua ammi

‘Look they are recording it X‘

¹⁴ Ummati is the older brother of Abba Gana. We do not get the whole conversation which Asta is engaged in.

¹⁵ -e 3MSG object allomorph after front vowels, in classical dialectological terms a feature of the southern Balge area. Waaza in Cameroon where Saʔiide’s father grew up is a continuation of the southern Balge area and probably an –e region, though there is no hard data. Saʔiide grew up in Maiduguri. The current household traces its rural origins to the Balge and western Cameroon.

¹⁶ *Tara* DM (< *ta-raa ‘you see) here roughly gives ‘can’t you see’. It highlights attention to an ongoing event or situation, which the listener (or speaker, see below) to the point of utterance (or shortly before) did not know or is assumed not to know to have existed. It might be paraphrased at length as, ‘so that (X) is what’s going on; now I’ve got it/now you should understand’. *tara* can indicate a new realization on the part of the speaker, e.g. if I thought that Abba Gana was in Abuja and I saw him in the middle of Maiduguri I might say, *ja tara* ‘So he came (that’s new to me)’.

<H Mar> kalaam bas tara

‘It’s just conversation (as should be apparent to you)’

<Said> jiibi awaasi¹⁸ leeki

‘Bring it so I can fix it for you’.

<AK> kan alkallám bimumug min jaay fa (4.19)

‘If you speak it (the sound?) comes out from here.’

<Said> bimumuk min jaay

‘It comes out from here?’

<AK> bíduxul min jaay bimumuk min jaay, bas gaal ke

‘It enters from this side and left from the other; that’s just what it (recorder) said’

<Had> haay mariyam and’iha laha mana, sa?iide di ma aarfe šai *da alla* jiibuua

¹⁹asawwi laha usurá sa?iide di (4:29)

‘Hey Mariam just give it to her (to Sa?iide). This Sa?iide doesn’t know a thing X

bring.PL it so I can do it for her quickly (for) this Sa?iide.’

<Said> jiibi ana aarfe, ille bargud’a, bad’d’a²⁰ aš šoot, bagd’a leeda ²¹baseyyi kubbi ke

bas ana aarfe, ma kubbi kula šuqúl waaid ke ana aarfe

‘Bring it. I know it, I’ll just tie it, I cut the rope, I cut the plastic and I make a heart

shape like this; I do know. It’s not only a heart alone that I know.’

¹⁷ In background.

¹⁸ *Jiibi a-waasi*. *a-waasi*, marked by lack of indicative *b-* prefix, is in the classic position of the NA subjunctive. The NA subjunctive expresses an act or state of affairs which the speaker does not have control over. By the same token, the subjunctive suggests that the act or state of affairs should be under control. Here though the speaker wants to fix it, she cannot unless she has it in her possession, which at the time of utterance she does not. In this it parallels CA, *likay* + subjunctive, etc. The indicative, *jiib-i b-a-waasi* ‘Bring it and I’ll fix it’ carries the subtly different implication that there is no compunction or expectation that the addressee will bring the object, though if they happen to, it will get fixed.

¹⁹ Subjunctive again. Had at the time of the recording was 9 years old, an indication that at least in the 1990’s Arabic was being fully and “correctly” transmitted.

²⁰ < *bagd’a* ‘I cut’

²¹ To underscore the sequence of indicatives or subjunctives, in this case Sa?iide is narrating the steps she takes to make apply a henna pattern. She cuts the plastic then makes the pattern. By not using the subjunctive here she shows she is speaking about the steps in making a doll, not an intention to do so.

<Had> leedaayí bas

‘It just my plastic bag .’

<AKar> haadi²² kan tusawwu kula tijjǝdu (4.42)

‘Look, if you.PL do it you’re just blabbering.’

<H Mar> ee mana wǝi xallina kan nijjǝd kula

‘So what, just let us, even if we blabber.’

<Had> inti miné dassá leeki mana

‘You, who put it (hinna) on for you anyway?’

<H Mar> ana haadi dasseetaa ma xalaas a, saddeeta

‘I’m just the one who put it on (myself). Isn’t it ready, you closed it (the hinna).’

<Had> ambadalat kala wad gadé

‘A different color came out.’²³

<Said> intu ma bisajjinu kula tara

‘You.PL guys, see they aren’t even recording.’

<AKar> bisajjinu mana, sei dawa le kašá leeku ille bisowwi

‘They are in fact. Didn’t he turn it on for you and it’s running.’

<Said> uumh fa, sei dawa ley fa

‘Right, isn’t it just right in front me?’

<AKar> kan hadiiza tisawwi šiifi bileeb, agiifi ke hadiiza (5.10)

‘If Hadiza is doing (= speaking) see it’s running.’²⁴ Stop now Hadiza.

<H Mar> agiifu leena agiifu leena

²² *Haadi* DM ‘on the other hand, rather’. This DM contains the idea of contradicting explicitly stated or implicitly assumed assumptions. Had’s question implies that just anyone could have applied henna on H Mar’s, but H Mar picks up this implication pointing out that she herself not just someone is the one who did it.

²³ I.e. Hadiza is implying that Hajje Mariam’s handwork is not good. A different color came out than what was intended.

‘Stop for us, stop for us.’²⁵

<AKar> agiifu agiifu agiifu agiifu, ayyaal

‘Stop, stop, stop, stop children.’

<Had> čaačaaha jaapha be neera čaačaaha jaapha

‘He cheated her and she brought it for a naira. He cheated her and brought it.’²⁶

<H Mar> hadiiza agiifu hadiiza agiifu

‘Stop (singing) Hadiza, stop Hadiza’

<AKar> al haač, al haač, al haač (5.28)

‘Al-Haj Al-Haj Al-Haj’

<H Mar> Al haaj alhaaj

‘Al haaj alhaaj’

<Asta> abba kaaka awwal ba naar²⁷ xadiija jaat da al haač, aniina kaddeena leek ke
ma irfna bakaanak

‘Abba Kaaka, when Xadija first came (from Banki), Al Haaj,²⁸ we wandered over to
you but didn’t know your place.’

<AKar> kay dambulaakku dambulaakku²⁹

‘Watch out, watch out.’

<Asta> ar raajil maana arfiin şumma mei gidak da (5.35)

‘The guy we didn’t know his name, of your landlord’

<AK> xadiija jaat wa

‘Did Xadija come?’

²⁴ This refers back to Said and previous discussion. The children thought that if the talking stops, the recorder stops, and here Abba Karu corrects this: it continues to run even if no one is talking.

²⁵ Hadiza is singing. The others want her to stop.

²⁶ Hadiza is singing another popular wedding song.

²⁷ < *awwal be nahaar* ‘When first’, lit. ‘The beginning of the daytime’.

²⁸ Probably telling Al Haaj to be quiet.

²⁹ An open hand; an insult in northern Nigeria.

<Asta> wəi xadiija jaat

‘Ya, Xadija came.’

<AK> yo jaat wa ma iriftu bikaaní

‘So she came and you didn’t know my place?’

<Said> keda kan nilkallam dugo tara bisowwi

‘So we speak and it is running (lit. it is doing).’³⁰

<Said> alhaaj alhaaj(5:48)

‘Al-Haj Al-Haj’

<AKar> wəi mana

‘Yes what?’

<H Mar> intu ma tuwaasu leena beebí a

‘You guys aren’t going to play dolls?’

<Had> maryam hadiiza

‘Mariam, Hadiza’

<AKar> dambulaakku dambulaakku (5.43)

‘XX’

<Had> mariyam

‘Mariam’

<H Mar> ma tuwaasu leena beebi a

‘You.PL aren’t going to fix our baby (doll)?’

<Said> aa ngujja and’iini aš šuqulá d’iike

‘Angujja, give me that thing.’

<AKar> ma t tuwaasú, addaalalu dalaalku hana d’aaka

‘You shouldn’t get it (the doll game) ready; play your game of that one’

<Said> hei agiifi duko maryam, hei

‘Hey, just stop Mariam, hey!’

<AKar> tintintin tintintin (6.01)

‘tatata’ (sound of drum)

<Alh> haami kan naadum lammaasa bikurba biyaakula³¹

‘It’s hot. If a person touches it [the recorder] it will grab him and hurt him.’³²

<AKar> wəi mana

‘That’s right.’

<Alh> kan naadum lammaasa bitiš iida

‘If a person touches it, it will sting his hand’

<H Mar> al hu da bas, kaam³³ ma bilkallamo fa, and’uuna bas kam ille buguul leena

yo yo

‘This thing (I want?) no one speaks to me; (I say) give me but all people say is ,okay

okay.’

<Alh> ad’iini da, iyyo iyyo

‘Give me this, okay okay.’³⁴

<Said> hay waladiin de (6.15)

<AG> al haaj mahammad inta ge?éd hineen fa

‘Al Haj Mohammad did you stay here?’

<Asta> aha, yoo

<AK> al konfleen al foog at tijaani banki da biqannu fooga

‘The complaint about Al-Tijani Banki is still being talked above?’

³⁰ Said is still concentrating on the recorder.

³¹ A general meaning of *akal* lit. ‘eat’, metaphorically gain the upper hand against (e.g. *akalnaahum fi l bool* ‘we defeated them in the football game’; see Owens 2015 for discussion of idiomatic meaning.

³² Al Haj is trying to figure out the recorder.

³³ < kaal ‘at all’.

<Asta> wəi

‘Yes’

<AK> aniina al gaaydiin

‘We are just here.’

<Asta> yoo (6.31)

‘Okay’

<AK> yowwa, at tijaani banki da

‘So this Tijani Banki...’

<Asta> wəi [...]

‘Ya...’

<H Mar> angujja ad’iini da

‘Angujja, give me that’

<Ang> aa sawweet leeki šinú tafiršini da

‘What did I do to you that t you that you hit me?’ (to Hajje Mariam)

[hausa]

<H Mar> hay angujja ad’iini la, hai ngujja ad’iini, da ad’iini da aš šuqúl d’aaka da,

guuli iyó, guuli iyó (6.53)

,I say Angujja give me it. Come on, give me. Give me that thing. You keep on

saying³⁵ |iyo iyo” (but never give it, so that’s why I hit you).

[Hausa]

<AKur> *ana* sajjin kalaamna fa

‘I’m recording our conversation.’³⁶

<Ad> haay intu dool da, ma t tusuktu wa (7:12)

³⁴ Perhaps mimicking H Mar.

³⁵ Lit. “Say okay”.

‘Hey you guys, don’t you shut up?’

<Had> sakkanna

‘We shut up.’

<H Mar> sakanna

‘We shut up.’

<Ad> askutu (7.15)

‘Be quiet!’

<All> sakkanna

‘We’ve quieted down.’

<Ad> hajje haaki

‘Hajje, take them (something he is giving out, sweets)’.

<H Mar> iyyo

‘Okay’.

<Alh> šatanna³⁷

³⁶ To remind the children that they should speak Arabic.

³⁷ This is an interesting sequence. The verb repeated five times in this brief passage is *sakat* ‘be quiet’, imperfect –*skut*. In two tokens this phonological form appears, and in three tokens it appears in the allolexical alternative *sakan-na* < **sakat-na*. The assimilation of word-final /t/ across morpheme boundaries is common in NA, e.g. *beet-na* > *been-na* ‘our house’. –na ‘we, our’ is a very frequent pronominal suffix, and less frequently can also cause assimilation of /b/ and /d/ *darab-na* ‘we hit’ > *ḍaram-na*, *axad-na* ‘we took’ > *axan-na*. It is an assimilation attested in all NA dialects among all age groups. The geminate /kk/ in the second token is probably because the three are speaking more carefully and emphasizing that they have quieted down. The three tokens of *sakan-na* are spoken by three speakers, H Mar six years old at the time of the recording, Had nine and Alh four. Already by this age it is clear that the speakers know the basic verb morphology: the perfect verb, basic stem, CaCaC (wazn faʿal) forms the 1PL suffix with the suffix –na. More than this, they know that before an –n, the /t/ can assimilate to /n/. They know the basic morphology, and the basic allomorphy associated with it.

The interesting form, however, is Alh’s token of ‘we shut up’, *šatanna*. This is a nonce innovation. In general there is no regular variation between /s/ and /š/ in NA. As in other dialects of Arabic, they are basically contrastive, *salla* ‘remove, take out’, *šalla* ‘open, unfold’. It appears that Alh is trying to figure out what the word is he is pronouncing. In the second token, /sakkana/ all three are speaking together, and it is difficult to confirm that each is saying [sakkana]. It appears, however, after listening carefully with consultants that among the three Alh says [satanna] at this turn. In his next rendition he clearly says [šatanna], which in NA is a nonce form (*šatan). Perhaps working away from his previous [satanna], his next “guess” is [šatanna] (maybe it is the /s/ that is wrong).

‘We shut up.’

<Had> agoodu saakit ke (7.21)

‘Just stay quiet.’

<Said> čat agoodu saakit ke mana

‘All should just stay silent.’

<AKar> aadum doolúmma doola³⁸ kula fa ma lugó

‘Adam, these ones here as well; they didn’t get any.’

<Had> guul abba karú

<Ad> haaki hadiiza

<Had> iyoo

<Ad> haak abba karú

‘Take Abba Karu.’

<AKur> iyó

‘Okay.’

<Ad> haak-i inti di

‘Take it you.’

<Said> iyo

‘Okay.’

<Ad> haak al haj maamad da, haaki amiina, haaki inti kula (7.36)

‘Take Al Haj Maamad, take Amina, take you as well.’

<Said> angujja šiilia

A general takeaway from this is that all of the variation can be understood within the framework of standard Arabic structures. There is no tendency here towards simplification. Most pointedly, it is clear that the children, nine being the oldest, have either acquired broad NA norms of speaking, or, in the case of the four-year-old, are trying to figure out what they are within the context of NA phonology and morpho-lexical morphology.

‘Angujja, take it.’

<Ad> haaka uudá, haaki inti di, udá haaka

‘Take Uda, take it you there, Uda take it.’

<Ad> naas mine maa lugó (7.40)

‘Who didn’t get one?’

<AKr> udá

‘Uda.’

<Had> udaaya³⁹ wa ba di, wai ba l wileet al jin jamii

‘Udaya, and this other one, with the child they came together with’

<Said> ana kula

‘Me neither.’

<Ad> yo zeen

‘Fine, good.’

<AKar> askutu (7.49)

‘Quiet!’

<Had> yuri yuri yuri

‘yuri yuri’⁴⁰

<Said> mid’ayre, subaana minniki

‘You witch, God protect us from you’⁴¹

(hausa)

<Asta> hay guul lahan alkallaman be l aráb (8.03)

³⁸ < *Dool humma dool*, reference to other relevant ones, who should get sweets. Note that [doolúmma] is single phonological word created from two independently stressed words.

³⁹ Note alternative forms of F singulative, *-á* and *-aaya*. Both are common in NA. That both are alternatively acceptable on a proper name reinforces the observation that they are alternative, productive morphological forms, not fixed to single lexical items.

⁴⁰ Sound of wedding ululation.

⁴¹ Said is bothered by Had’s ululating.

‘Hey speak to them speak in Arabic.’

<Kalt> da faddal leum xalaas waade waade

‘The remaining ones (sweets) one by one.’

<AKur> haay alkallaman be l aráb

‘Hey, speak.F.PL Arabic.’

<Had> iyó

‘Okay.’

<Ad> hai alkallaman ba l aráb

‘Hey, speak.F.PL Arabic.’

<Had> yoo (8.06)

‘Okay.’

<H Mar> inti di and’iini lei šuqúl da⁴²

‘You give me the thing.’

<Ad> haak, minni inti bas ma ligiiti a

‘Take it; from me you didn’t get it (a sweet)?’⁴³

<H Mar> Maryam

‘Mariam.’

<H Mar> ana kula ma ligiit

‘I didn’t get any either.’

<Said> yalla faasxe ligiiti al ezaba

‘Okay liar, you got the prostitute.’⁴⁴

<H Mar> fanne

⁴² Unusual doubling of indirect object, *-ni* ‘me’, *-í* (to) me’.

⁴³ Adam is distributing sweets here, first to a male, then to a female.

⁴⁴ *Ligiiti al ezaba* ‘You got the single woman’. *Ezaba* (azaba) < *?ezaba* ‘single woman’ (whether by divorce, widowhood or never married). Here it is a conventionalized insult, *ezaba* ‘prostitute’. Said insults H Mar jokingly.

‘Fanne.’

<Had> axuwa saʔiir da maafi ley

‘Her younger sister⁴⁵ doesn’t have one.’

<Ad> wal fallaata (8.25)

‘Child of a Fulani.’

<Had> hamaada da

‘Hamaada da’ (personal name)

<Ad> bariidu⁴⁶

‘I want ..’

<Had> amaada da

(refrain)

<Ad> ma basiidu⁴⁷

‘I won’t leave him.’

<Had> amaada da

<Ad> ma basiidu kasár galbi fi iidu,

‘I won’t leave him, he’s holding my heart in his hand.’⁴⁸

<all> amaa da da

<Ad> wal fallaata

<all> amaa da da

<Ad> wal fallaata

⁴⁵ Speaking about Mariam’s brother.

⁴⁶ *Ba-riid-u* ‘I want him’. Ad is singing a Sudanese song, which has the Khartoum Sudanese form of ‘I want him’. NA would be *ba-riid-a*.

⁴⁷ A song from the early 1990’s sung by the Sudanese singer Hanaan Buluubulu. The original song is *ma ba-šiib-u* ‘I won’t leave him’. This is Ad’s interpretation, *basiidu*, ‘they become nice’, which has no sense in this context. He apparently reinterprets the –u 3MSG object suffix of Khartoum Arabic as the –u 3MPL imperfect verb of NA.

<all> amaa da da

<Ad> wal fallaata, yowwa use use, use useeku (8.53)

‘Fulani child, okay hello hello hello to you’

<Had> yo at teemé da

‘Okay, the sieve.’

(H)

(song)

<H Mar> alkallamo b al árab (9.21)

‘Speak.M.PL in Arabic.’

<H Mar> inti di jiibi lei šuqúl da

‘You.F there, bring me the thing

<Salam> adum

‘Adum’

<Said> haay gaalo nilkallam be l aráb

‘Hey, they said we are speaking Arabic.’

<H Mar> inti di jiibi lei aš šuqúl da

‘You.F there, bring me the thing

<Said> ma bajiiba

‘I won’t bring it.’

<H Mar> šilti inti di haadi tarassiliini wa

‘ you rather the one who sends me.’

<Said> šiifi la digeni ač čallaayye

‘Just look at that little joker.’ (referring to H Mar)

⁴⁸ This is the translation of the song as it originally is sung, *ma ba-šiib-u da šaal galbí fi iid-a*. In Ad’s interpretation, *bašiibu* becomes *bisiidu* and *da šaal* becomes *kasár* ‘break’. Even as a nonsense filler,

<Had> nilkallam be l aráb (9.43)

<H Mar> ač čaala ba l hausa iriftuua

‘Ač čaala is house, do you know it?’

<Said> guuli alla

‘Say by God (whether that is the truth).’

<H Mar> ya amiina ya amiina, (H)

‘Ya Amina, Ya Amina’⁴⁹

<Ad> alkallamu b al aráb, an naadum haak *ka je ka ba ali*

‘Speak.M.PL in Arabic. The person take it. *Give it to Ali.*’

<H Mar> ya amiina jiibi lei yanki

‘Amina, bring me a strip of cloth.’

<Ad> dambulaakki, tiseyy šinu b al yanki

‘What are you doing with the cloth?’⁵⁰

(H)

<Ad> Ibrahim, ali, *ka saya ka ka mana ali, na Ibrahim na umar, yalla amšu* (10.14)

‘Ibrahim, Ali, give Ali (sweet) and Ibrahim’s and Umar’s, go!’ (speaking to AK)

<Had> tara makká

‘But he just swallowed (it) whole’⁵¹

<Said> tara makká, akál tineen hu dada, tow kula fokko l leeda da ma biyaakul tineeni

a

‘‘But he just swallowed (it) whole; he ate two of them. Just now they opened the

plastic and didn’t he eat two?’

Ad has the ultimate stress typical of the estern (Balge) dialect area.

⁴⁹ The child’s name is Ya Amina.

⁵⁰ Dambulaak-ki is a indication that Ad doesn’t want the children to play with dolls.

⁵¹ I.e. he swallowed one without sucking it and has a second.

<Ad> yawwa,

‘Okay!’

<Alh> gassam leena ma biyaakul tineen a (10.30)

‘He distributed (the sweets), didn’t he (Ad) eat two?’

<H Mar> biyaakul iširiin kula, taali agoodi, hineeni taali agoodi

‘He can even eat twenty. Come stay here, here come and sit.’

<Ad> alfaddal alfaddalu

‘Welcome, welcome.’

<Had> alfaddalu alfaddalu (10.40)

(Hausa)

<Ad> intu, aš šúqul an nisawwí da, ille hassa ke nidowwur

‘You guys, what we are doing now, we just want....’

<H Mar> wəi

‘Yes.’

<Had> seme,

<Ad> waayit fiiku da

‘One of you ...’

<Had> aye (10.54)

‘right, aye.’⁵²

<Ad> iji, iʔanni,⁵³ ma nidawwur at tihik

⁵² *Seme* ‘good’ < samah and *ayé* are more typical of Chadian than Nigerian Arabic (*zeen* and *wəi*)

⁵³ Ad consistently has the correspondence *y > q > ʔ, *iʔanni > iqanni > iʔanni, except in the word *šuqul* ‘thing’, with /q/. Generally NA does not have the inherited *y. It may surface post-vocally, and some speakers appear to use it more than others (see e.g. IM50XAMS). By far the most widespread reflex is the second, /q/. In fact, *y > q is quite common among Arabic dialects, occurring inter alia in Gulf dialects and some Syrian dialects (see Behnstedt 1997). The further shift to /ʔ/ is less common, though it does occur. No systematic study exists. While I originally thought this was a Maiduguri innovation, it turns out that it is already noted by Kaye for his NA dictionary informant, who, he reports, was from the village of Kumaaga. Kumaaga is also the home village of Asta, who child Ad is.

‘should come and sing. We don’t want any laughing.’

<H Mar> inzeen

<Had> iyo

‘Okay.’

<Ad> alfaddal taal

‘Please, come.’

<Had> iyó

‘Okay’.

<Ad> taali gummi hadiiza (11.07)

‘Come get up Hadiza.’

(Hausa)

<Ad> xalaas agoodu, xalaas agoodu

(Hausa)

<Ad> mʔm šíqul an nidowra da

‘The thing that we want ...’

<Had> ayé

‘Ya.’

<Ad> hassa ke dugut intu tugoodu, ana baʔanni leena, ʔine hana s sudaan

Asta’s other children, e.g. H Mar on the other hand have the /q/ reflex, which is also the reflex of the father Ibrahim.

In this as in many matters pertaining to historical linguistic interpretation in Arabic, I would withhold judgement as to whether the *ʕ > q > ʔ development is an independent development in the eastern (Balge) NA region. Diem (1973: 77) notes that in some Yemeni dialects (e.g. al-Hadiyyeh) the change *ʕ > *ʕ > ʔ is attested, as well as *ʕ > q in the neighboring (former) South Yemen Dathinah. Diem gives the example *yi-ʔassil* ‘he washes’ which perfectly matches Ad *bi-ʔassil*. Whereas in the interpretation of Arabic language history there is a strong tendency to assume parallel independent development in the case of parallel or identical phenomona attested at widely-separated geographical distances, the historical linguistic judgement of Lass always needs to be given precedence as a methodological first step: “parallel innovation (convergence) is to be avoided in favour of single innovation pushed back to an earlier date” (1993: 163).

Note in this same sequence the “correct” usage of the subjunctive (non-b imperfect).

‘Now you guys sit and I’ll sing for us, a Sudanese song.’

<Had> aniina nid’agd’ig edeena

‘We’ll clap our hands together.’

<H Mar> iidí waade bas

‘My one hand.’⁵⁴

<Ad> ašaan da, aniina da, al muslimiin (11.42)

<Had> aye

‘Ya.’

<Ad> intu l iyaal, dugut da, tisámu helú bas

‘You children, now listen well.’

<Said> maalá ma bijiib balheel walla ma dasso n naar

‘Why doesn’t he bring it strong or put on more?’⁵⁵

<Ad> ha mine bijí bi?anni bi?anni leena (11.58)

‘And who is going to sing for us?’

<Had> anaa

‘Me’

<Ad> aa agoodi agoodi agoodi, agoodi saakit, agoodi saakit bas gul

‘No, sit down sit down sit down, sit down quietly, just sit down quietly I said.’

<Had> ?ann leena

‘Sing for us’.⁵⁶

<H Mar> al bijí naadum bi?anni gaal agood saakit

‘A guy comes and sings and tells (us) to stay quiet’.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Because her other hand has henna on it.

⁵⁵ Here we can’t exactly reconstruct a 24-year old text. Said is referring to the recorder, which apparently is being repositioned or reconnected.

⁵⁶ Obviously addressing Adam. ?ann is the MSG imperative form for the verb ‘sing’.

⁵⁷ H Mar is complaining about her older brother Ad, who is imposing his agenda on them.

<Ad> yoo baʔanni diká⁵⁸

‘Okay so I’ll just sing.’

<H Mar> wəi

‘Okay.’

<Had> ayyé (12.14)

<Ad> iyoo, habiibí ana

‘My lover’

<all> hajarní sanaa

‘He took responsibility for me for a year’.

<Ad> hajaraní⁵⁹ sanaa

<all> hajaraní sanaa

(song continues one and half pages)

<Ad> ʔannu ʔannu (14.23)

‘Sing, sing!’

<Asta> ajilsan jalsa ke,

‘Just converse.’⁶⁰

<Kalt> aʔa humma ille bijiddan ke

‘No, they’re just blabbering’.

<Asta> bijulusu jalsa ke, ajilsan jalsa ke, ajilsan jalsa haadi

‘You’re having a normal conversation. Converse normally, a normal conversation.’

<H Mar> bijulus ba l aráb intan kan tijulsan

‘He (Adam) speaks Arabic if you.FPL converse.’

⁵⁸ Probably for the more common variant *digé*.

⁵⁹ A Sudanese song. Hajar here would correspond to NA *hajjar* ‘entrust to, give responsibility to’.

⁶⁰ Asta is monitoring the conversation knowing that conversation is wanted, not singing. Note that the construction *ajilsan jalsa* is the classic *maffuul mutlaq*. Ad obviously likes Sudanese songs.

<H Mar> he intu dool da tijazzizuuni ke da, (14:50)

‘Hey you guys are pushing me about.’

<Had> intu doola gaadiin tijiđđu

‘You guys are sitting blabbering.’

<Ad> hei askutu, alébu alébu (14.57)

‘Hey be quiet, play, play!’⁶¹

(h)

<Kalt> he al moobiya dool da hu tara walá gaalo looku tiqannu wala gaalo looku ke tugoodu tuhajju bas, tiddaalalu šaba maafi šai bas, amma wala gaalo looku tiraššašu wa footo bišiilku wa hu (15.17)

‘Hey these silly idiots, they didn’t tell you to sing. They just told you.PL to sit and converse. Play as if there is nothing (i.e. no recorder). They didn’t tell you line up like you were posing for a photo.’

<Ad> ana badowwur baguul leum isawwo leena hijé humma kan dool wawaye⁶²

‘I want to tell them they should tell us a story but these idiots’

<Kalt> an naas bidowru kalaamku da bas tara, bisamó walá gaalo leeku qannu

‘The people just want your conversation to hear it. They didn’t tell you sing.MPL.

<H Mar> iyo haw hijji leena

‘Okay, tell us a story.’

<Kalt> mišod’d’inaat bihajji lean da sei tigoodan tiddaalalan fi dalaalkan ša mafi šai, ke bas,

‘The idiots,⁶³ he told them you should just sit and play at your game like it is just normal.’

⁶¹ Ad with his own agenda.

⁶² Wawaaye H waawa ‘idiot’.

<H Mar> nisey fi yanki yanki sei gultu abeetu

‘We were playing with dolls, and you said you refused.’⁶⁴

<Umar> maafi naadum aarif hijé a ma aarif hijé a (15.42)

‘There’s no one who knows a story, no one knows.’

<Ad> wəi, ana aarif

‘Ya, I know.’

<Had> iyo ana aarfe

‘Okay I know.’

<Umar> taal agoot sow mana

‘Come and tell it.’

<H Mar> minjaatku minjaatku⁶⁵

‘Minjatku minjatku.’

<Said> jiibiya

‘Bring it.’

<Had> fi mará wade

‘There was a woman’

<Ad> aa ma ke

‘No, not like that.’

<H Mar> ana aarfe

‘I know (it).’

<Kalt> ma ke, tara ma gaalo looku tisawwu injaani mijaakku tara kalaam árab ke gide
maafi a (15.57)

⁶³ FPL, referring to the girls.

⁶⁴ H Mar seems to be suggesting they should have followed her advice and played with the dolls/strips of cloth.

⁶⁵ The traditional opening to announce that a story or riddle is coming. There are many close phonetic versions of this. In this text *minjaatku minjaatku* and *minjaani minjaakku* are used.

‘Not like that. They didn’t tell you to tells stories; isn’t there something else in Arabic?’

<Umar> addaalalo ille kalaam ke

‘Just play (speak) normally.’

<Kalt> tiddaalalo ša d dalaal ke da maafi wa

‘Can’t you play like the game?’⁶⁶

<Ad> addaalalu wai da bas sei

‘Just play.’

<AKar> iddaalalu bas kula

‘They should all just play.’

<Kalt> gummu mine kula ifattiš ley yanki

‘Get up; each one should look for a piece of cloth’.

<AG> iddaalalu

‘They should play.’

<Said> bašiil yankiiyí (16.13)

‘I’ll take my piece of cloth.’

<Had> ana kula

‘Me too.’

<H Mar> ana kula ad’d’etki yankiyí

‘I gave you my piece of cloth as well.’

<Alh> abbagana

‘Abba gana’

<AG> xalliini axaay

⁶⁶ Kalt suggests that the girls should play with their dolls and speak as they normally do when they are playing such a game.

‘Leave me alone.’

<H Mar> albaariki

<AG> alkallamo aš šuqúl išiiil fa, kan ma t tilkallamo kan ya inši išiiilú emti (16.28)

‘Talk the thing (radio) is recording. If you don’t speak it shouldn’t run and record empty.’⁶⁷

<Said> maryam da hanayí fa

‘Mariam, that’s mine!’

<Ad> alkallamu

‘Speak’

<H Mar> da hanayí da ma hanayí hadiiza

‘That’s mine, that’s mine Hadiza.’

<H Mar> al kaaseet da

‘The cassette box.’

<Said> la illa hadiza, al kaaseetaatí yeen, talaata kaamil

‘Really Hadiza, where are my cassette (boxes),⁶⁸ three in all?’

<H Mar> hadiiza, hadiiza kaareena

‘Hadiza, Hadiza our (play) objects.’

<AG> kai amuruk amuruk

‘Wow, get out of here get away.’⁶⁹

<Mar> kaaseetaatí talaata fa,

‘I have three cassettes.’

<Said> hadiiza deelinna hinna, maryam deelinna hinna (16.49)

⁶⁷ *emti*, < E empty.

⁶⁸ Kaaseet, cassette, but in this case, the boxes that contain them. She is referring to the old video cassettes, which the girls used as beds for their dolls.

⁶⁹ Talking to Ibrahim, brother of Umar, 9 years old does not know Arabic well and here is simply humming.

‘Hadiza here they are, Mariam here they are!’

<Had> kaseetaatí talaata čat ligiitiiyan

‘My three cassettes, did you get them?’

<Said> wəi

‘Ya.’

<Alh> inti tarmini ma t tigdári ánzili

‘You’re going to throw me down; you can’t, get away.’⁷⁰

<H Mar> bagdar

‘I can.’

<Had> al waahid alfađđal (16.57)

‘There’s still one (missing).’

<H Mar> da bas hu, alyoom and’aani leya

‘This is just it (cassette); (the one) he gave me today’.

<Asta> xadiija

‘Xadija.’

<Had> mmm

‘mm’

<Said> da ma hanayí

‘This isn’t mine’ (cassette)

<Alh> ma tigdári (17.11)

‘You can’t’

<Said> da hanayí

‘This is mine.’

⁷⁰ The situation seems to be that Alh is sitting on something and suspects that H Mar is going to get him down, ut he says she can’t. Note stress on *tigdári* and /í/ instead of /a/.

<AG> alkallamu

‘Speak.PL’

<Ad> yo nilkallam dukk kula

‘So we all speak.’

<AG> faasax

‘A lie’⁷¹

(H)

<Mar> saide keda walaahi alla faddal lei kaaseet waaid fa ya dugut

‘Saide, as it is really I still am missing one cassette until now.’

<H Mar> hadiiza, hadiiza (17.29)

‘Hadiza, Hadiza.’

<Ibr> yowwa alkallamu zeen

‘Right speak well.’

<Said> wallai kaseetaatí mine kasara dugut kaaseetí waait

‘I swear my cassette, who broke it; now I have one (only).’

<Alh> jiibí

‘Bring it!’

<H Mar> ana kan da hanaayi bas ma hanaaki tára

‘Me this is mine, not yours.’⁷²

<Ad> šiifa šiifa šiifa

‘See it see it see it.’

<Alh> šiifni šiifni šiifni da ?alla

‘Look at me look at me look at me really.’ (17.45)

⁷¹ Calling Adum a liar, since he hasn’t been speaking at all.

⁷² Addressing Said.

(h)

<AKar> da bas sei

‘That’s enough.’⁷³

<Ad> da bas sei, aniina dugut da nidoor al hijé bas,

‘That enough. Now what we want is a story.’

<Ibr> aniina dugut da al niyoora⁷⁴ (17.58)

‘We now want (?) it’

<Ad> wəi, kan bišiil kan ma bišiil

‘Whether it records or doesn’t.’

<Ibr> wəi, kan bišiil kan ma bišiil

‘Ya, Whether it records or doesn’t.’

<Ad> bišiil zeen bas, yo dugut da, alfaddal taal, aš šarra da,

‘It will record it well. So now, come.’

<Ibr> mine, raas al miizé da, [X]

‘Who is this goat head?’⁷⁵

<H Mar> haaki al marabá da

‘Take the blouse.’

<Ad> aniina al bilkallam be l aráb

‘We who are speaking Arabic.’

<AKar> aniina al bilkallam be l aráb

‘We who are speaking Arabic.’

<Said> hadiiza doola, kasartu leí fook beetí, haw sakatat siri

⁷³ Reprimanding the children fro speaking Hausa.⁷⁴ Probably intended *ni-door-a*. Ibrahim grew up in Kaduna and does not have perfect command of Arabic.⁷⁵ Insulting Alh.

‘Hadiza and your friends,⁷⁶ you’ve broken my (play) house, then she hid the fact.’

<Had> aadum taal dissa leyya (18.28)

‘Adum come and put it on for us.’

<Ad> haaki dissí inti

‘Take it and you put it on.’

<Had> asta bas gaaláta

‘Asta’s the one who said it.’⁷⁷

<Ad> *hadiiza zan mareki*

‘Hadiza I’m going to slap you.’

<Had> taal adissa leek

‘Come, I’ll put it on for you.’

<Had> *ina zuwa*

‘I’m coming.’

<Said> *hadiiza bittí kula tara čat rijileehal kasaran*⁷⁸

‘Hadiza, my child all of its legs got broken.’

<Ad> taal adissa leek hu kula zaggá

‘Come let me put it on. He⁷⁹ threw it away.’

<Had> anaa di ana di ma ana da alla

‘Me, me, it wasn’t me I swear.’⁸⁰

<Ad> gooni, amiš idissú leek fa (18.49)

‘Goni, go and they’ll put it in for you.’

⁷⁶ Use of demonstrative as a generic type marker, Hadiza and everyone associated with Hadiza (probably Mariam, Hajja Mariam).

⁷⁷ I.e. for Adam to put on, probably clothes on a doll.

⁷⁸ Form I is normally transitive only. One would expect *ankasar-an* here, form VII passive. However, the FPL agreement is as expected. The –l from the previous word is left hanging, so perhaps *alkassaran* was intended, which would be a normal intransitive form V verb.

⁷⁹ Referring to Alh.

<AKar> jiiib al bool

‘Bring the ball.’

(h)

<Had> bajiiba leeki

‘I’ll bring it for you.’

<Ad> gooni

‘Goni.’

<Ibr> taal

‘Come.’

<Had> agiifi bajiib lee-ki

‘Wait I’ll bring for you.’

<AKar> intu malá tinaadu ille gooni weeda bas

‘Why are you only calling Goni?’

<H Mar> hadiiza hadiiza

‘Hadiza, Hadiza.’

<Ad> al gooni, taal haak

‘Al Goni, come and take it.’

<AKar> al gooni taal haak, adissa leek sirwaalak,

‘Al Goni come and let me put on your trousers.’

<Ad> minjaatku minjaatku

‘Minjatku minjatku.’

<Ibr> jiiibha (19.05)

‘Let’s hear it.’

<H Mar> ille ligiit marabaata bas

⁸⁰ Had says she isn’t the one who broke the legs.

‘I only found his shirt.’

<Ad> fi maṣṣaaṣa waade

‘There was a witch.’

<Had> wəi

‘Ya.’

<Ad> ašámu, fi maṣṣaaṣa waade, fi wuleed waid be abú be amṃa

‘Listen! There was a witch, there was a small child with his father and mother.’

<Alh> and’iini le badissa⁸¹

‘Give it to me so I can stick it in.’

<Ad> al wuleed kan hu dedda mašá le amma gal binši, le l yaawo ke,

‘The child then went to his mother and said he was going, to wander about.’

<Ibr> aʔa binši le l kudaada⁸²

‘No, he’s going to wander.’

<Ad> bimši le l kudaada, wəi ana sei nisiit, bimši le l kudaada,

<Had> wəi (19.31)

‘ya.’

<Ad> dedda amma kan gaal,⁸³ amma kan gaal lea dedda, inši inšit abú, mašá našát
abú da (19:39)

‘Then his mother said, his mother said to him, you and ask your father and he want
and asked his father.’

<Had> wai

‘Ya.’

⁸¹ The subjunctive *adissa* is expected here.

⁸² Ironically, Ibr whose Arabic is not as good as Ad’s correct Hausa *yaawo* to Arabic *kudaada*.

⁸³ *Gaal-at* F. expected. One of few clear “mistakes” that Ad makes.

<Ad> abú kan gaal lei gal ke, yo inši, mašá le l jawaad, šaal al jawaad, jaariin ke
jaariin ke jaariin ke jaariin ke jaariin ke

‘His father told him, told him, okay, you should go. He went to his horse and took his
horse and ran and ran and ran and ran.’

<Had> wai

‘Ya.’

<Ad> dedda xalaas

‘Then okay.’

<H Mar> al mad’ara šaalat⁸⁴

‘Rain clouds appeared.’

<Ad> al mad’ara šaalat zarga čil katiir, ke dedda šaaf beet hana mikarrime waade
(19.53)

‘Rain clouds appear very black a lot of them, and then he say a witch’s house.’

<H Mar> haay gummi le min beetí, gummi da min beetí

‘Hey, get out of my house, get out of my house.’⁸⁵

<Said> ana ma bagdar alla, ana bafaasi dalaal beekki

‘I swear I can’t. I’ll leave off playing with your house.’

<Ad> al mikarrime hi kan,

‘This witch,

<girls> dadda uudá, ana ma, alla azim alla an bapaasi dalaal al bas gide yalla⁸⁶

<Ad> al mikarrime hi kan, dedda, beeta nadiif, wa inda naar, inda naar, hiil al
elektriik, dedda xalaas al wileed kan šaaf al beet, deda mašá, aad’ó sariir, wa geʔéd,
(20.22)

⁸⁴ H Mar knows the story and tells it in advance here.

⁸⁵ To Said.

‘The witch, her house was nice and had light, light from electricity. So then when the child saw the house, he went (to it) and they gave him a bed and he stayed.’

<Alh> ya tugarřuřuuni, dugut ma haar wa

‘Don’t pinch me. Isn’t it hot.’

<Ibr> hay, ye tiddaasawu, řuufuuhum dugó

‘Hey, don’t fight, look at them (fighting).’

<Ad> hay intu dool da, aniina ma nidoor ad duwaas, xalaas (20.26)

‘Hey you guys, we don’t want any fighting. So.’

<Kalt> kula tigarribiini bal hed da ke da ma haara ad’á fariin hana nayra išəriin⁸⁷

<Ad> xalaas, dedda ad’ó leya sariir, how ragát, how ragát da, how dadda ragát, al wileed dedda jawaada bisawwi bin’am leya

‘So, then they gave him a bed and he slept and then he slept, then he, slept. So then the boy, his horse whinnied to him.’

<Had> inta ma tugoot saakit wa, bidissu leek sirwaalak da, řiifú abu řunne

‘You won’t sit still. They put on your trousers for you. Look at this big-eared child.’

<Ad> bin’am ille bisawwi uum uum, uum uum, dedda xalaas, al wileed kula, gamma (20.48)

‘He whinnied neigh neigh so then, the boy finally got up.’

<Ang> intu intu yaa titallifu lei beetí

‘You.PL you don’t spoil my house.’

<Ad> yanta al wileed, gamma da, haay intu dool askutu ana balkallam kula intu gaaydiin ille bittuwadduruuni⁸⁸ bas (20.57)

⁸⁶ Not entirely audible.

⁸⁷ Unclear.

⁸⁸ On use of *bi-* before *t-* of second person, see Owens 2018.

‘When the child got up, Hey you guys shut up I’m speaking and you’re sitting there getting me lost’.

<Had> abagana

‘Abagana.’

<Ad> ana ma nidoor ke

‘I don’t want that.’

<Had> ana čat sir minnuku kula (21.04)

‘Me too I’ve moved away from you.’

<H Mar> ille gaaydiin bisawwu leyi wasáx ke

‘You are just dirtying my house.’

<Ad> xalaas, šaaló, al mará,⁸⁹ al mikarrime da šaalat sakkiinha

‘So they took it, the woman, the witch took her knife’

<Had> hajje, amši ttaawagi lei bitti haadi tara, gadduumaa

‘Hajje, go look at my child, her mouth.’

<H Mar> sei jib leeki jeegaay, dawa leya, gammeeti zaggeetí lei

‘Didn’t I give you a cornstalk. Here it is. You got up and threw it at me.’⁹⁰

<Ad> asúktu asúktu as subiyaan, asúktu ya s subiyaan (21.08)

‘Be quiet.MPL, be quiete children, be quiet children.’

<Ad> xalaas, al mará, šaalat sakkiin, bitid’arrin bitid’arrin, tijí tijiib al wileed taakula

‘So the woman, took the knife, and sharpened it and sharpened it, and came to get the child to eat him.’

<Had>wəi

‘Ya.’

⁸⁹ Ad appears distracted by the commotion around him, beginning with the wrong verb form, then referring to the witch as the “woman”, before getting on track.

<Ad> xalaas, aj jawaad bas ja d'agga d darb xalaas, al wileed kula gamma, máša rákab foog jawaada, jaari jaari jaari jaari ke, dedda yanta wassal al hille, al maşsaasa kula şaafra, dedda şaalat sakkiinaha, wa jaat, zaggat al jawaad, dedda ligát, ʔaalat rijilá, rijil aj jawaad waaid, dedda xalaas, rijil al jawaad waaid kan (21.49)

‘So the horse came and hit on the ground⁹¹ (with his hoof) and the boy got up and went and mounted on the horse and ran and ran and ran and ran until he reached the town. The witch saw him and took her knife and came and threw (her knife at) the horse and the knife found its mark. It hit his leg, one of his legs, so then one of the horse’s leg’

<Had> gooni

‘Goni.’

<Ad> kan angalám, wagá tiit, illa aj jawaad da jaari jaari be rijilé talaata jaari jaari jaari ke, xalaas d'aggat ar rijila al waade kula

‘It was cut of and it fell down, but the horse kept on running with three feet running running so then she struck a second leg of his as well.’

<Umaru> bigí tineen

‘So there were two.’

<Ad> bigí tineen, dedda halaas,

‘There were two. So then.’

<Had> tammat

‘It’s finished.’

<Ad> dada tammat

‘So it’s finished.’

⁹⁰ I.e. Hadiza didn’t accept it.

⁹¹ *d’agga d darb* lit. ‘he pounded the road’.

<Ibr> tunkurus⁹²

‘It’s over.’

<Had> yo taal jaay

‘Okay come this way.’

<Ad> dedda tammat (22.10)

‘It’s over.’

<Had> jiibi lei lafaaytí

‘Bring me my scarf.’

<AKar> jakku

‘Minjani minjakku’

<Ad> jiiba

‘Bring it.’

<H Mar> jiiba

‘Bring it.’

<AKar> biirí d’awiile geera mur

‘My well is deep and its bottom is bitter’.

<Ibr> geer al aḍaan

‘The canal of the ear.’

<Ad> aʔa nisiitta ma tammat, aa agiifu intu asúktu ana kan xilís hanayí, ma t

tilkallamu ana kula bafukka leeku sei, xalaas dedda gammat, gammat ,anta al wileed

mašá gaala le š šeex, aš šeex rassala rassal naas, mašó karabooa ho katalooha, al haaj

inta da, inta gaayd ille saakit bas da askut bas iyoo agoot, dedda, xalaas, dedda, xalaas,

⁹² *Tunkuru kus* signals end of story in Hausa.

dedda gammo dafanooa, kataloa ho dafanooa fi beet š šEEK, dedda gammat, gammat
laha d'iike (22.51)

'No, I forgot it's not over. Wait, you guys be quiet till I've finished mine. Don't speak.
I'll solve your riddle. So then she got up she got up, and when the boy went and told
the sheikh, the sheikh send his people. They went and grabbed her and killed her. Al
Haj you there, you stay quiet just shut up, sit. So then, so then, they went and buried
her, they killed her and buried her in the Sheikh's house. Then she rose up, she rose
up (again)

<Had> aleefo, aleefo

'Alefo leaf'.

<Ad> aa šunú summaha, karaasi gammat karaasi,

'No, what's its name, hibiscus grew up. Hibiscus.'

<Ad> xalaas anta gammat karaasi

'Then when she grew up as hibiscus.'

<H Mar> abeet abet

'I refuse, I refuse'.

<Alh> abeet

'I refuse'

<H Mar> saide tallafu leeki beekki

'Said, they spoiled your house.'

<Said> mine

'Who?'

<Had> ya tidaamiini

'Don't bother me.'

<Ad> dedda xalaas gaalo ya mine kula igad'dí,⁹³ igd'a l karaasi da, halaas deda, amm al wileet, alla rakáb foog al jawaad mašá da, dedda gammat gád'at al karaasi, dedda halaas, hi kula bigát maššaasa, hi kila bigát massaasa, xalaas alkallam

'So then no one should cut it, should cut the hibiscus. So then, the mother of the child, who got on the horse and rode away, she got up and cut the hibiscus. Then so, she became a witch as well. She likewise became a witch. Okay, speak.'

<Ibr> inta ma tilkallam min min tawwa ha (23.22)

'You haven't spoken since a while ago'.

<AKar> minjaani minjaatku

'Minjani minjaaku.'

<Ibr> gum alkallam

'Get up and speak.'

<Had> minjaani minjaatku jiibuwa

'minjaani minjaatku, speak it'

<Ad> halas deda ašan kula saad'at, akalat, deda halaas al abú kula ja, bidawwur

biyaakul bas biguul leya hai abi ya ihangik,⁹⁴ xalaas al abu xalla l eš, gamma mašá laha bas hi šaalat al emuut, jaat le tidawwur tidugga, xalaas al abu jará, al wileed kan akád da maafi

'So then she cooked it and ate it, then his father came as well and wanted to eat but it (the stew) told him, my father. So the father left the food and went and to her, but she took the pestle and came wanting to hit him. So the father ran away. At that point the boy wasn't around.'

<H Mar> guuli alla

⁹³ The more common order would *miné kula ya igad'd'i* 'No one should cut', but *ya* 'not' before the quantifier is also deemed acceptable.

‘Swear’.

<Had> alla and’ini šiqulki da inti

‘Give me that thing of yours.’

<Ad> al abú jará, al abú jará bas allal l beet, hi kila gammat mašát taakul naas, lenšan,
akalat al karaasi, akalat al karaasi (23:54)

‘the father ran away he ran away and left the house. She also went to eat people,
because she ate the hibiscus, she ate the hibiscus ...

<Said> hadiiza ana kula ma ligiitaa

‘Hadiza I didn’t get it either.’

<Had> yo, amši agd’i gedé

‘Okay, go and cut some more.’

<Ad> tunkuru kus xalaas hiilí tammat

‘It’s over, mine finished.’ (24:00)

(24:00-44:51 untranscribed, 44:51-49:15 untranslated)

... <H Mar> amiš agoot qaadi, bikaan maafi fi l birš da (49.15)

‘Go and sit there, there’s no space on this mat.’

(H)

<Alh> rijilki

‘Your.F foot.’

<H Mar> ha ke sa?iide araa?í sawwí araa?í sa?iide

‘So Saide let me see it, do it, let me see it Saide.’

<Ad> xalaas, inta mammadu da, ya tisawwa mana

‘So you Mammadu, don’t do that.’

<Haw> ana kula be?erifa, waaseeta dadda xalleeta (49.34)

⁹⁴ For i-xang-ak, with h < *x.

‘I also know it, and I fixed it and left it.’

<Alh> ma t tiseyyi šabá

‘Don’t do like that.’

<Ad> ween al iyaal, al yaal čatta mašó min al bikaan, haw ille aniina tineen bas
nilʔannas a

‘Where are the children. All the children left the place and there are only two
conversing.’

<H Mar> intu talaata

‘You three.’

<Ad> walla mašó biyaakulu, akíl hana ʔadaahum⁹⁵

‘Or did they go to eat, lunch.’

<H Mar> wəi

‘Ya.’

<H Mar> yoo xalaas (49.50)

‘So good.’

<Ad> aa, ma simiit, šinu gul, inzeen yo inzeen zeen, mafi šay, agood saakit bas

‘So you didn’t hear. What did you say? Good, good, don’t worry, just sit quietly.’

<Modu> ana mašēet

‘I’m leaving’.

<Ad> yo towwa sei tič (50.14)

‘And you just came.’

<H Mar> intu tara tineeni

‘You are two now.’

⁹⁵ Qadaa-hum ‘their lynch’. Ad has the his usual reflex of /ʔ/ for /q/.

<Ad> ha dugut da hejju bas

‘And now just converse.’

<Had> iyo

‘Okay.’

<H Mar> minjaattu minjaattu

‘minjaattu minjaattu’

<AK> minjaattu minjattu

‘minjaattu minjaattu’

<H Mar> jiibu fi mara wade,

‘Bring it there was a woman.’

<Had> minjaani minjaakku,

‘minjaattu minjaattu’

<H Mar> fi mára wade

‘There was a lady ...’

<Ad> abbakarú (50.27)

‘Abba Karu.’

<H Mar> mašát le z zar daxalat fi l gaš, hi di di

‘Who went to the farm and entered into the grass, this one.’

<Ad> taal barassilak⁹⁶

‘Come, I want to send you.’

<H Mar> ligát laa gaššaaš saqayriin ke

‘She got herself small brooms.’

<Had> alhaač fa

‘Al Haj.’

<Ad> amíš, hay intu dool da, kan ma nazaltu geʔettu kídik, anzulu agoodu kídik ša d'oolaka, agoodi kídik inti kula halli⁹⁷ dalaalki da, agoodi kídik

‘Go, hey you guys, if you don’t sit down and stay quiet, sit down and stay quiet like those ones. Sit quiet you.F as well leave off your game, sit quietly.’

<H Mar> seme geenna kídik (50.52)

‘Okay we’re sitting quiet.’

<Ad> abakarú, sei naadeetak ana beesib,

‘Aba Karu, didn’t I call you as I recall?’

<Haw> danna gal tijí tugoodi

‘Danna said you should come and sit.’

<H Mar> tufá iyo

‘Be protected.’⁹⁸

<Ad> haak nayraay al hamsiin da

‘Take this 50 naira of mine.’

<H Mar> wəi

‘Yes.’

<AKar> iyoo

‘Okay.’

<Ad> haaka, haaka leya

‘Take it, take it.’

<Had> iyo

‘Right.’

⁹⁶ Subjunctive arassilak is the expected form, ‘let me send you.’

⁹⁷ Ad usually has /x/ for *x, but occasionally slips into /h/.

⁹⁸ *Tufá* is said to protect a person against the “evil mouth”. Unclear why H Mar said it here, but perhaps Danna was nicely dressed.

<Ad> inti, ana barassilki inti a, amíš ašír lei da, šinu summa

‘You, I’m sending you, you, go and buy me this, what’s its name.’

<Had> aa ma ana

‘Not me’

<Ad> čoko miilo bas jiiba (51.18)

‘Choko Miilo, just bring it.’

<AKar> hana kam

‘For how much?’

<Ad> čoko miilo

‘Coko Milo’

<Had> wəi

‘Yes.’

<Ad> amíš jiiib, paaket waaid bas be kam

‘Go and bring, how much is one package?’

<H Mar> talaata talaata

‘three each’

<Ad> kan be kam kula ašira, alfaddal šiila (51.27)

‘Regardless how much buy it and what remains take it’ (take the change)

<AKar> iyó

‘Okay.’

<Ad> nayraay miye dugut faddal lei nayra xamsiin, amíš!’

‘My one hundred naira now I’ve got fifty, go.’

<H Mar> gumm amíš

‘Get up and go.’

<Kal> kinni šiqúl kan zawwadó

‘They’ve made everything more expensive.’

<Ad> amíš

‘Go.’

<H Mar> gum amíš

‘Get up and go.’

<Ad> afkur be l watiir fa (51.36)

‘Be careful of the cars.’

<AKar> iyo, mašeet

‘Okay, I’m going.’

<Ad> ajír

‘Run.’

<AKar> iyo

‘Okay.’

<Had> ana badis hinne miné kula beeta da ma ja aawanni sei

‘I’m putting on hinne and everyone is playing with their toy house and no one is helping me.’

<AKar> dawa čoko miilo

‘Here’s the coko milo.’

<Ad> maalá raddeet, maalá raddeet (51.54)

‘Why did you come back, why did you come back?’

<H Mar> da bas sei

‘That’s just the question.’⁹⁹

<AKar> dawa le jibta

⁹⁹ Lit., ‘that’s just it’. H Mar has been echoing Ad in a number of turns now, and here she’s supporting him because she wants the sweets that haven’t been delivered.

‘Here it is, I brought it.’¹⁰⁰

<Ad> iyo agoot agoot, kan tixaaf *dan alla n!ay*, al bikaan ba?iid a, ?ad’eetak al kofo kula timiš

‘Okay okay sit down. If you’re afraid *just forget it*.¹⁰¹ Is the place far? I gave you the money and you go.’

<H Mar> yanta ad’ook kofo inta kan

‘Even though they gave you money.’

<AKar> yo jiiba bajiri bamši

‘Okay bring it. I’ll run and go.’

<Ad> abeet, gade ma tímiš, bamši le l koston, bamši le s suuk (52.11)

‘You refused so don’t go now. I’ll to the customs area. I’ll to the market.’

<AKar> baduggiki fa, dowā at tišiif bud’uggu inti di bad’uggiki bad’uruški fa

‘I’ll beat you.¹⁰² That thing (there) they’re pounding (with),¹⁰³ I’ll beat you. ‘I’ll slap you.’

<Alh> ma tiguuli wa ma tuguuli ya

‘Don’t you say (it), you don’t say it.’

<Ad> amfalám (52.19)

‘Gap-toothed one’¹⁰⁴

<Alh> amfalam amfalam kawai

‘Absolutely gap-toothed one’

<H Mar> balummak be hadiza, taad’iik l falam,

‘I’ll put you with Hadiza. Hadiza will give you her gapped teeth.’¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Contradicting Ad.

¹⁰¹ *dan alla n!ay*, with an alveolar click. Used in sense of ‘forget about it’.

¹⁰² Addressing H Mar, who has irritated him.

¹⁰³ Probably referring to an instrument which is being used to pound food in the background. AKar is threatening H Mar saying he’ll beat her in the way the food being pounded in the background is being beaten.

<Said> hadiiza kasarar, kasarar tineen, kasarar tineeni deela¹⁰⁶

‘Hadiza she broke, she broke two (teeth). She broke these two.’

<H Mar> kasarar tineen

‘She broke two.’

<Had> at tineeni doola badó bubzur

‘These two have begun to come out (again).’

<H Mar> arba arba

‘four, four.’¹⁰⁷

<AKar> ana kula arəba

‘I’m (in the) further as well.’

<Ad> hay ma tusuktu (52.30)

‘Hey you don’t shut up.’

<Had> ana sitte

‘Me six.’

<Said> ana araba

‘Me four’

<AKar> siid’ikki bas

‘asshole’

<Alh> siid’ikki bas siid’ikki (52.35)

‘asshole, simply asshole’

<Said> ke da faddal la arbaa, ana kan tineen deela

‘So then he still has four. Me two (teeth are coming out).’

¹⁰⁴ Ad also is insulting H Mar, saying she has a gap in her front teeth. She has lost two baby teeth.

¹⁰⁵ Hadiza is the one with the gapped teeth, and H Mar says she will give them to Alh.

¹⁰⁶ *kasar* here is in the sense of baby teeth falling out.

¹⁰⁷ Apparently talking about teeth, but meaning is unclear.

<H Mar> haay deela arbaa hineeyí tara

‘Hey these four are mine.’

<Ad> hay, yo aniina l kasarna čatta fa, yalla, yalla šiifu, dugut da, al šiqúl da aniina

ille nidowwuru bas

‘Hey, so we’ve lost all oof them. Okay, look. What we want now.’

<Alh> ana kan ma kassár¹⁰⁸

‘I haven’t lost any.’

<Ad> alkallamu (52.53)

‘Speak.’

<AKar> jiibu neerá neerá

‘Bring one naira each.’

<H Mar> jiibu neelá neelá¹⁰⁹

‘Bring one naira each.’

<Said> nairaatí sile xamsa da bas katalta

‘My naira are five schillings and I spent them.’

<Had> asúktu asúktu mana, bišiiluuna footó

‘Keep quiet, keep quiet. They’re going to take our photo.’

<Said> mine gaal bišiiluuki footó, raajilki a

‘Who said they are going to take your picture?’

<H Mar> mine da gaal ke

‘Who said that?’

<Alh> kataltiya fi alalé

‘You spent them on alale.’¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Form II, but considered correct as alternative to *kasar*.

<Had> saide

‘Saide.’

<Ad> mine bi?anni (53.13)

‘Who is going to sing?’

<AKar> ana

‘Me.’

<Had> ana

‘Me.’

<H Mar> habiibi anaa

‘Habibi ana.’

<Had> ana, ani mijaakku, aa,

‘Me, me mijaakku (a story),

<Said> ha ana baqanni

‘I’ll sing.’

<Ad> abeena

‘We decided against it.’

<Said> habiibi ana di ana beerifa tara (53.25)

‘But “Habibi ana” I know it now.’

<Ad> hay fa

<H Mar> ma habiibi ana tara mašeena le waade ke ana beerifa

‘Not “habibi ana”, rather, “We went to the bush”, that’s what I know.’

<Ad> abbakaarú, amíš jiiib lei alme bašarab (53.30)

‘Abba Karu go and bring me water to drink.’

¹⁰⁹ /r/ > /l/ not a particularly common substitution in NA. /n/ for /l/ (e.g. *sajjan* for *sajjal* ‘record’) is more common.

<H Mar> mašeena mašeena mašeena

‘We went and went and went.’

<Ad> amíš mana ?a?a

‘Just go.’

<H Mar> mašeena mašeena

‘We went and went and went.’

<Had> mašeena waaza (53.39)

‘We went to Waza.’¹¹¹

<H Mar> saide fi n naas ke tiguulíy aa

‘Saide are there people you said to ...’

<Alh> waddiini waddiini

‘Send me send me.’

<AKar> ana kan

‘Me ...’

<H Mar> mašeena le waaza (53.43)

‘We went to Waza.’¹¹²

<AKar> hay inti ma tiguulí aa,

‘You aren’t saying (singing) it?’

<Said> ana maani aarfe

‘I don’t know (the song).’

<Had> ti?erfiya tam mašeena le waaza ...

‘You know it very well, we went to Waza...’

¹¹⁰ A Hausa food made of beans.

¹¹¹This is not a part of the song. Hadiza keeps hearing ‘we went we went’ and adds ‘to Waza’. Waza is one of the ancestral homes of this family.

¹¹² H Mar, who is younger than Had, has now assumed Had’s version of the song.

<H Mar> ligiit al (54.07)

‘Did you get the ...’

<Said> guuli kan bittuku bit makka

‘Say if your daughter is a daughter of Mecca.’

<Had> mašeena le waaza

‘We went to Waza’

<Ad> hay, ma nidoor al halbaat¹¹³ (54.21)

‘Hey we don’t want confusion.’

<Alh> man nidoor al xalbaat fa

‘We don’t want confusion.’

<Said> mašeet le waaza, ligiit al kalb ba usaada¹¹⁴

‘I went to Waza and found the dog with his pillow.’

<Alh> wa ušaada

‘and his pillow.’

<Ad> ha anaamu

‘and sleep’¹¹⁵

<Alh> ha anaamu, anaamu kan ligiitu¹¹⁶

¹¹³ < xalbaad’.

¹¹⁴ The actual words of the song.

¹¹⁵ Not part of the original song. Ad adds it as a joke.

¹¹⁶ Note the consistent usage of the imperative plural *anaam-u* across three speakers, the youngest of whom is four years old. The form deserves comment on two grounds. First, the preservation of weak medial verbs with the vowel /aa/ preserves a proto-structure with contrastive /uu/, /ii/, /aa/, *bi-guul* ‘he says’, *bi-jiib* ‘he brings’, *bi-naam* ‘he sleeps’. In many dialects the /aa/-medial conjugation has fallen together with a high vowel, *bi-nuum* ‘he sleeps’ (Baghdadi). Secondly the imperative form of the /aa/-medial verb conjugation is innovative in Nigerian Arabic, as the following illustrates. Jordanian Arabic, which has not undergone the innovation but maintains medial /aa/ is listed for contrast.

NA	Jordanian Arabic
<i>guul</i> ‘say’	<i>guul</i>
<i>jiib</i> ‘bring’	<i>jiib</i>
<i>a-naam</i> ‘sleep’	<i>naam</i>

The NA has generalized the a- from strong trilateral roots.
a-ktub ‘write!’

‘And sleep, sleep if you found it.’

<AKar> kan ligiit al kalb be usaada

‘If I find the dog with a pillow.’

<Had> mašeet la wa ligiit al kalb ba usaada

‘I went and found the dog with his pillow.’

<Alh> yo anaamu (54.36)

‘Okay sleep.’

<Had> yo anaamu,

‘Okay sleep.’

<Said> ligiit karé

‘I found its (dog’s) clothes’

<Ad> bir sawwí, haʔa, intan tijú wallaahi tisawwu keef,

‘Stop doing it. You.FPL came and look how you’re behaving.’

<H Mar> kayya al aruus aloom, mašad’ooha kal kal,

‘Boy the bride today, they did her hair perfectly.’¹¹⁷

<Had> miné and’ooha eenak

‘Who gave her your eye?’¹¹⁸

<Alh> jiibi leek (54.51)

‘Bring it to you.’

From a comparative perspective, the noteworthy development is that it is only the weak-medial low-vowel stem which has innovated the imperative form. It thus represents a complication, both in formal paradigmatic terms and in historical linguistic terms. From a formal, paradigmatic perspective, the change breaks the /aa/-medial verbs away from the weak-medial paradigm, which otherwise is fully consistent across all conjugational classes. From an historical linguistic perspective the innovation creates a single, new “hybrid” verb class, whose stem belongs to the long-vowel stems of weak-medial verbs, but whose prefix *a-* belongs to strong tri-literal verbs.

From a sociolinguistic perspective what is noteworthy is the agreement with which the three young speakers replicate the use of the innovative NA form. Whenever the innovation occurred, it has spread throughout the community and is part of the normal acquisition process of native Nigerian Arabic.

¹¹⁷ Referring to the doll.

¹¹⁸ Referring to the doll.

<Said> kayya gaal ana aruus

‘Wow he said I was a bride.’

<Ad> taalu jaay kan tidooru tujulsu kula, taalu jaay agoodu, ?aadi allaspiika ma bišiilak, taalu abgu ke abgu ke (55.05)

‘Come this way if you want to converse. Come this way and sit down. There the loudspeaker (microphone) doesn’t record you. Come and be like this and like this.’

<Had> hay, bafiriški fa kan gulti ana l aruus hineen

‘I’ll beat you, if you say I’m the bride here.’

<Alh> inti amši ke, amši ke mana

‘You get away, go that way.’

<H Mar> ma banši, ma banši

‘I’m not going, I’m not going.’

<Had> wayyo raasi kataltiini kula (55.16)

‘Ow my head you hit it.’

<Alh> inti mará ammí aniina raajilaay, yalla amši qaadi

‘You’re a woman my mother, we’re men. So go sit over there.’¹¹⁹

<Had> min tawa abeet ma nadúxulu¹²⁰

‘Just a second ago I refused to stay forbade us from entering.’

<AK> aa,

Hausa

<Had> aa šunu

‘What?’¹²¹

<Alh> xadiija hineen hanaaki awwaará

¹¹⁹ I.e. invoking a general custom. Alh is four years old.

¹²⁰ Very unclear. She could also have said *bagood* ‘I stay’.

‘Hadiza here yours a sore.’¹²²

<Said> ween az zaabaloona di

‘Where’s the crazy one.’

<Alh> hadiiza

‘Hadiza.’

<H Mar> hay angujja inti maaše le š širgaaniyye qaadi

‘Hay Angujja, you go to that mat over there.’

<Alh> hadiija hadiija hadiija

‘Hadiza, hadiza, hadiza’

<Had> naama.’

‘Yes.’

<Alh> hineen hanaaki awwaará

‘Here yours, a wound.’¹²³

<Had> laa illaa

‘Oh wow.’¹²⁴

<Ad> mine bisawwi (55.42)

‘Who will do it.’

<Haj> angujja

‘Angujja.’

<Ad> aa, di inti sei, sawwat šinu angujja, aa

‘You really. What did Angujja do?’

<H Mar> kayin angujja kaaya (55.51)

¹²¹ Addressing AKar.

¹²² Pointing out that she has a sore.

¹²³ One instance of broken syntax. A correct version would be *bikaanki da ewwaara* ‘You’ve got a sore on that place.’

‘What are you doing Angujja.’

<Had> haa

‘Ha.’

<Said> yalla gummi waasí

‘Okay get up and fix it.’¹²⁵

<Ad> xallí (56.06)

‘Leave it.’

<Had> axutki di ma t tisima l kalaam sei, ad’urdiha min hineeni, ma minn al birš fa, tud’urdiha

‘This sister of yours doesn’t listen to what they say to here; chase her away from here, not from the mat, chase her (younger sister of Ngujja) away (from there).’¹²⁶

<Said> kan gultu kudúb da *mamman faari* leena šahaada,¹²⁷ (song) gummi mana

‘If you spoke a lie *we aren’t beginning* to recite the Shahada, just get up.’

<Ang> gummi mana

‘Just get up.’

<Ad> m?m hai, xalluuha, ya tusawwu ke hai

‘No no, leave her. Don’t do that.’

<Said> hi bas sei tallafata (56.26)

‘She’s¹²⁸ just the one who ruined it,’

<H Mar> xalliiha, yalla gummi

‘Leave her. Lets go get up.’

<Had> xalaas

¹²⁴ She is surprised at discovering something.

¹²⁵ Speaking to Angujja, who apparently has ruined something.

¹²⁶ It seems Ang has been playing with the tape recorder. They want her to stay on the mat, not next to the recorder.

¹²⁷ i.e. ‘La allah illa allah wa muhammad rasuul allah.’

<Said> albaaraki¹²⁹ čat xarratiiha xalleetiini albaaraki šiifu laha dugó

‘So why did you remove it (henna). Really just look at it.’

<Kal> yunavasiti

<Alh> o inti bas (56.33)

<Said> inti koofooki da tidaalili beya le šunu, šiifi kan sakát da, maryam šiifí kan sakát da, mariyam šiifi kan sakát da, maaši giddaam

<Ad> ween almeyí

<AKar> alhaaj jaaba (56.48)

<Alh> inti di ti?assiriini a

<Had> čat sayyide kan dasseta

<Said> inti sei bají bas (57.01)

<Ad> gum amíš

<AKar> iyoo

<Haw> mašcet

<Ad> abbakarú

<?> gaayd fa

<Said> subaana minku naadum gad’á sal

<Ad> um, faseetu sei (57.19)

<Said> ana kula bawaasi simi

<Ad> d’an buruquba

<Alh> inti baš

<Said> m?m ba?ammiđ dønneeyí

<Ad> al fasá da, kan ma gaala da (57.28)

¹²⁸ The younger sister of Ngujja.

¹²⁹ *albaariki* ‘please’, but here as a reproach along the lines of ‘why don’t you pay attention?’.

<H Maj> nifurša

<AK> ana kan balá ana

<Ad> al fasá kan ma gaala

<AK> aarfiin raajil imar, aarfiin raajil

<Ad> ana aarif al fassaay fasai

<Had> wəi

<Ad> mine kula iseyyi eedé ke, isawwiian ke ilumman ke, agiifi, ha dugut mine fása

(57.54)

<Said> ana ma ana alla ma ana

(Hausa)

<Said> ana kula balá faseet, bala šinu amfani

<Ad> xalaas

<H Mar> xalaas, šiifi eedeey (58.08)

<Alh> di mine

<Ad> xalaas hai, yo ankassu mana

<Said> šiifu, kan aniina sakanna da, aš šiqúl kula bigiif

(Hausa)

<Alh> maalam mahammat (58.22)

(Hausa)

<MM> salaamu aleekum

<Ad> salaam aleekum

<H Mar> hay aleekum salaam

<Ad> taalu kissu

<H Mar> taalu agoodu leena ar rafagaat, taalu agoodu leena fook (58.36)

<Said> al aṛuus

<H Mar> ar rafagaat imšu ke

(Hausa)

<Ibr> al aṛaayis (58.43)

<M Mar> as sayde waafke saiide

<Said> šifna, silla min al beet da

<Ad> hai,

<Said> hai sawwi ke, ya tirmiiya hai šiifuuha

<H Mar> šifná hay šifná

<Ad> ya tirmiiya, sawwi ke

<H Mar> hay inti di tiddaalali beení a (59.02)

<Said> say ke, eeneeki buyuṭ tal bas tiseyihin ke

<Alh> abbakarú and'eetha

<Said> šiifa digé, hi ille tijiiban čat zurúk, seyyi ke (59.16)

<Ad> ha šunu

(Hausa)

<H Mar> taali seyyi kileri

<MM> ween iise ma ja

<Asta> ma ja amma gaal lei bijí

<MM> ana ba kan wa?anna fi l

<Asta> wa?adtu sei (59.33)

<Had> yaa dugut ma tamma

<H Mar> gayyala fi

<Ad> abbakarú ámiš gul leya, maa loəm kalaam, gade bijílsu (59.46)

<H Mar> mine mine

<H Mar> maa leena kalaam niskut širu halaas

<Had> hay

<Ad> d'aak al kaaseet kan maaši (59.59)

<Had> abakarú amíš, guul xalaas tamma

<Said> maryam šiifi ana sakat da, hu kula biskut sei, šiifi sei alkallám kan hu kula
bilmalmal sei

<H Mar> fusuxki tara

<AKar> min daateen ma lkallamtu kula bilmalmal išiiil al makurufuun

<Alh> abbakarú

<Said> al iyaal bilkallamu haadi sei dawa (100.23)

(X)

<Ad> guul íju išiiilu l makurufuun

<Had> maalum mahammat

<Alh> maalum mahammat

<MM> kay ya tijiđđu ya tijiđđu n naas

<Ad> ašiilu l makirofoon gade humma ma loum kalaam al biguulú kula, ana bas, alla
čat nus al kaaseet čat ana bas sawweeta (100.39)

<AKar> čat nuss al kaaseet aniina ba adam bas, hinna ma waasan šai

<Had> fusuxhum fusuxhum fusuxhum, aniina

<MM> ana bas, alhaaj ma tilkallam inta (100.45)

<H Mar> saakit širu

<Ad> alhaač ma gaal šay,

<MM> ma gul šay, tudoor baabá alla ma tudoor abuuk (100.50)

<Alh> badoola

<MM> abuuk, ma bijí min kaduuna dugut gide

<H Mar> ana badoor, baaba

<AKar> tammat, tammata

<MM> ma tamma

<Ad> alhaač, inta tidoor mine, tidoor asta waala baabá (101.04)

<Alh> baabá

<MM> ana ma tidoorni a

<Alh> badoolak intu tineen

<MM> hawa ma tidawwuriiaa,

<Alh> hawa kula badawwula

<Ad> al laaspiika lanšaan gaayde fa al kalaam gade ma binšaal

<MM> haba

<Ad> alla, sawwa ke, a?a map wagá tiit fa, sawwa ke (101.17)

(Hausa)

<Asta> abbakaaka wakkalta ma ligiit maryaama mašát ween, yo aloom ŝumman
gijeeje

<Ad> maafi gaarab kula bitum, kan tamma da dedda xalaas

<Said> kan tamma da, mine kula bišit xalaas (101.41)

<Ad> intu kaal ma leeku kalaam kula, hed itum da, ila ma

<Said> maryam (101.46)

<Had> fi ji jiiya

<Said> ke gaal ma bišit

<H Mar> anta gaalo jiiib loum

<Had> ke da sei naam ma bisimá bas, dambulaatak (101.57)

<AKar> akuliiya, mine kula aš šaal šiqúl fi iida da, iyaakúla, akulu eeš

<Had> fi eed al yaal akulu eeš

<Ad> hay inti di (102.07)

<Had> hay yawwa gaal akuliia eeš, ma timši le l eš, akuliia eš akuliiya eš

<Ad> simiiti sei

<Said> al hinne ana makarrime wa baakúla eš

<AKar> inti kula

<Ad> walla ma simiiti, yalla (102.14)

<AKar> dissiya fi ʔašimki

<Ad> aa

<Said> maala tisey šuqulki da

<AKar> inti

<Ad> ámiš jiiib lei ana

<H Mar> akuliya akuliya hay

<Ad> abbakarú hay amiš jiiib lei almeí bašarab mana, ha min tawa barassilak ma t

tirrassal

<H Mar> inti šabbeeti foogí təraab

<Had> hud'd'í