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The current file contains basic summary notes of the interviews as they were made at the time of the interview. They contain basic information about the interviewee, place and time of interview, and interviewers. They summarize the content of the interviews. It should be emphasized that the information presented here is in the form of basic field notes. There has been no systematization of the data. It is presented here for those who may want to make in depth comparison with any further research on Arabic in NE Nigeria. It is also unedited as far as orthography, typos and formatting go.

1. Maiduguri Interviews (IM)

Interviewers: Allamien or Lamin, assistant in Dept. of Lang and Linguistics, University of Maiduguri. Chadian, native speaker of Kanembu

Khalifa: assistant in Dept. of Lang and Linguistics, University of Maiduguri, Chadian, native speaker of Kanuri

Danna Al-Lamin, nephew of Musa Daggash, graduate of History Dept, Univ. of Maiduguri, native Nigerian Arab. Biographical note at end of Group 1.

Fatuma Musa. Graduate of Ramat Polytechnic. Native speaker of Nigerian Arabic, interviewed in IM23

Jidda Hassan. Interviewed in IM40

Ibrahim. Interviewed in IM41

Format of basic personal data: date and place, name, age, clan, father, mother (with clan), interviewer,

1.1 Group 1: Men, -30

02, 8-89, 0020, Gwange, Hamed Idris, W. Him, 26, NA W. Abu Ise, NA W. Abu Ise, also interviewed tape 43

tape 2 interviewer: Allamein, Interviewer tape 43: me

Maid, Arab dpt.

born and grew up in Maiduguri, Gwange. 3 yr university student unimaid, Arabic dept, Arabic lg.

Also in tape 43 and in 55, 57, 58, 64, 65, 67. Accompanied us on trips to

villages in 9-90. After finishing university became businessman. In 1993 when I was there he was in Cameroon (Yaounde?).

tape 2. Married to Arab. Mother from Nigeria from Ngala, now in Gwange with him. Father from Mitene.

Speaks E, H. A. Arabic spoken at home. Wit Arab friends speaks Arabic, with others Hawsa. Writes E and A.. There isn't a big difference between colloquial Arabic and Classical. If one prayers in either variant, its not a big difference. An uneducated Arab won't understand classical Arabic, but will understand some without knowing that it is classical. Emphasizes that there are Arabic poets among Shuwa, similar to the classical patterns.

Mixed marriage (wife Kanuri): depends on circumstances where couple lives. In Kanuri area, children and couple will speak K, in Arabic Arabic. There are different dialects, but all are equally good. Arabic is second lg of Borno, but does not answer question about whether Arabic should be national lg. 50 years ago Arabic was more used officially, but today it is better taught as a subject. Kanuri most difficult of 3, but all are equal as far as goodness goes.

Cannot describe games and dances because he did not grow up in village. Questions about virginity. Girl not a virgin is a shame. Husband does not meet wife beforehand. To question that Arabs prefer father's brother's children, replies that any society is like that.

Tape 43.

Does not go to village often. Does not have time.

Two dialects, Balge and Qawalme. (Kondiga, Mongono) Can recognize dialects: Mongono *ta'aal*, Balge *caal*

There is an Arabic club, to further Arab interests and rights. Arabs are scattered throughout Borno; they do not have a center. Club will centralize them. To give scholarships, organize meetings. Cannot give date of its founding, but not old.

Does not have a building.

Arabs marry from among selves. Since becoming mixed up with other tribes, now marry from others.

Lg. use of mixed couples depends on area they live in..

Has traveled to Lagos, Gongola; did not travel to Cameroon or Chad.

Uses *amaakin* in interview. When asked why says that it is influence of CA; should say *bikinne* he says.

Arabs are those whose ancestors are Arabs. Not a question of lg. Even if people take lg and customs of Arabs they are not Arabs. Has no opinion about whom he would give daughter to. Some people who are very religious only use religion as criterion; others use tribe.

Arab men like to marry arabs so the lg. does not get lost. However, lg. at present time not threatened. Arabs will continue to increase.

Does not know why father came to Maiduguri to live; he never asked and says it is not their custom to ask parents questions.

1994 began doing business in southern Cameroon (Yaounde and Doula); buys goods from Nigeria and sells them in Cameroon. Still working there in 1995.

04, 8-89, 0041, Ruwan Zafi, Abdu Rahman Saleh, 19, Chadian, Chadian, Interviewer: Lamin.

Born in Ngumati. Grew up Maiduguri and Ngumati

Univ. student, chosen president of Haya youth wing at its founding in 1989. Has since resigned because the club did nothing. Older leadership not dynamic enough. Did not go to university. 1993 working with police, checking whether cars are working correctly.

Mother born in Maiduguri.

Not married. Will marry when he graduates from university. Attends Arabic teachers college, Maiduguri.

Speaks Hausa, Arabic, English, Arabic at home. Hawsa outside and with friends, English at school. Writes Arabic, English. Did not attend sangaya.

Would not call s.o. who speaks Arabic an Arab. If father Arab, children of mixed marriage would learn Arabic. If mother only Arab, children would learn it if she taught it to them. Mother has greater influence because she is always at home.

(p. 3) Gambaru best place to learn Arabic because it is closest to Njamena. Egyptians could understand Chadian easier than Nigerian. Multilingualism better than Mono. City Arabic better than village because city is exposed to more forms of Arabic. Kanuri most difficult lg. One reason because Kanuri are very jealous people and don't want other people to understand them so they don't let them learn Kanuri. Hawsa much easier to mix with.

Education his favorite subject in school.

Hobbies: football, played for school team. Speak about national football team, death of Sam Okwariji in game against Cameroon. Also played for school handball team. Favorite music: American, but not Michael Jackson. Like Bob Marley, Black Uhuru, Jimmy Cliff.

Practice teaching time difficult because students aren't supported and they have to travel a lot.

05, 0050, 8-89, Maiduguri village, Abubakr Mohammad (AM), 30, Salami/wulaad himeed, Interviewer: me/Lamin. also in 29

Speaks K, H a little E. Learned H from street and school; K learned in Kukuwa, home area. H is closer to A than is K, because of lexical similarities. Born Shuwari on Baga rd. married to Arab, speaks Ar with her. Studied for 8 years in Sangaya, and he is considered a faqiir. Spent a number of years as itinerant student. (Kirenawa, 1 year village near Cameroon where they found little food, back to Kir, Malum Fateri). Was with Arab, Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani students. Teachers similarly from different groups. Secondary education in Arabic and

islamic studies, primary school teacher at Maiduguri army school, lives in Maiduguri village where he has a small shop; wife Arab, one child. Friend of Kabir = 07. In shop uses Ar K, H, E -- the lg which stranger uses. In market K or H. Monday market, mostly K, Maiduguri local market, A and K Says non-Arabs send children to learn dialect. Arab woman will speak K 90% of time because it is easy to learn K but few K know Ar. In mixed marriages with other tribes, H will be used. Mixed marriages relatively rare. Says Ar children in city are losing Ar because they speak H all the time when they play. Best Ar spoken in Gambaru, Kirenawa, village Ar is better. Mother and relatives live in Shuwari, travels to them perhaps once a year. Herded when he was young. Liked the life. Describes games: samka, cardi, baktul. Other tribes comes to Arabic celebrations. When greeting a stranger, opens conversation in lg according to skin color of person. Some people learn Ar. dialect in Maiduguri, teaches a few words to friends. Lamin suggests that Chadian arabs raised level of culture in Maiduguri, which Abub. agrees with. Shuwari, his village settled 60 years ago from Kirenawa. It is 50 km. from Mongono

07, 0070, 8-89, Maiduguri village, Kabir (Kab), Asal'e, 30, NA Asal'e, NA Walad Amiire, Interviewer: me. also in 29 grew up Maiduguri, Kalmari (near main market). Came with parents to Maiduguri village. H, K, a little E; learned H, K from people. Ar best, then H then K. H most frequently-used lg and prefers H to K. Ar most beautiful because it is his own. In mixed group does not speak Arabic but at home does and also with Ar friends. If anyone, even non-Arab knows Ar., they cannot say that Ar is less than his own lg. His father insisted that Ar be spoken at home. Primary teacher, also student of Arabic at Borno College of Islamic and Legal Studies, completed course in 1990; lives in Maiduguri village. Friend of Abubakr Mustafa = 05. Few Arabs marry non-Arabs. In mixed marriage, Ar. speak other lg since Arabs know other lg. Went to Kor school for 10 yrs. Did not memorize Quran. In Kor school teacher was Arab but spoke K because Arab students were minority. Reads and writes Arabic. An Arab who does not speak Arabic is an Arab; would marry daughter to Ar non-speaker of Ar. Can tell areal differences between dialects; Maiduguri has no dialect. Has not visited Arab Club. Arabs gather for special occasions -- naming, wedding etc.

09, 0090, 8-89, Gwange, Emma (Em), 31, CA (Hammadi), CA, Interviewer: me Hammadi; Grew up in Chad; 12 yr Maid; graduate in Arabic from Kanemi institute and unimaid, Arabic dept., Arabic teacher at Unimaid, will do postgraduate work in Islamic studies at Kano univ. Also in tapes 21, 22.

From Dhaama in Chad, S. of Ndjemena,, till 7 grew up there, then father sent him to Gambaru to study in Sangaya, stayed there 2 months, went to Ndjemena, went back to home village for a few months, cousin (of FB) brought him to study in Maiduguri in 1970, Gwange. 1970 studied sangaya, 1971 began Nahda school, 1977 joined Kanemi Colege, 1982 college of legal and islamic studies (diploma), 1985 Univ. of Maidiuguri 1988 finished in arabic dept. did NYSC in Sokoto.

Has brought parents to live with him in Maiduguri. He left Chad because of religion, to get religious education.

Did not herd cattle nomadically, parents have none; earlier they did but they got sick and died. Herded in day and night.

Married, wife is Arab (Sherifiya); speaks Arabic with wife, she is from Balge. She did not know other lgs. when she came ot Mai, now is learning Hawsa. He speaks K, H. K learned from street, H from street and school, can write H, not K. Most difficult lg depends on surroundings where one is. Gives example of Ibo who learned A. in Gwange. With friends speaks A, H, E. In mixed group common lg usually H. If everyone knows A and K, K will be spoken.

Arabs mostly marry among selves. In mixed marriage will speak the common lg between them; children will also learn common lg. Gives example, if both know K and A, both lgs will be spoken, if wife only knows K, K will be. Brother lives in Sokot, wife A (Fulani originally, knows A), speak A with each other; children spoke only H, though could understand A. Then moved to Mai where children learned to speak A.

In Sokoto children teach Koran in H.

Can identify dialects. E.g. Balge say "caal", "iske", Bama people use special words. People could not identify him as chadian because he has picked up local dialect (p. 12). Balge best place to learn Arabic, Balge and Cameroon because Arabs are majority, not mixed. In Marte, Mungono, Damboa, Bani Shex Arabs mixed with K.

Qawalme and Salamat are not names of tribes; each contains many tribes.

Qawalme in Maiduguri, Damboa, Bani Shek, Mongono, Marte. Does not know where Salamat are centered.

People come to Gwange to learn A, zawiya known for A. and for islamic studies. Arabs better at Arabic in formal education. In NYSC he was teaching A. at secondary school and students wondered how he could speak such good Arabic. They were surprised to learn that there were arabs in Nig. (p. 16).

At time of interview was looking for job. Since then got job teaching A. at univ. of mai. then took up MA in islamic studies in Kano. Was offered job in Sokoto, but did not want to leave Mai because he has to look after brothers and sisters and parents.

Knows about Haya club, to help arabs. Arabs gather only for standard occasions -- naming, marriage. He travels frequently to such occasions, even to Bama.

In Maidguri Arabs in Gwange, Dikeciri, Gamboru, old Maiduguri

11, 0110, 8-89 Gamboru, Mohammad al-Bashir, 28, Hausa, NA, me,
 Interviewer: me, Danna, interviewed at Maid (Gambaru),
 friend of Danna, grew up mostly in Maiduguri, but also lived for a few years
 when young in a camp; also in tape 47
 civil servant, agricultural worker, brother of 68b
 Born in Hausari, Maiduguri, father Hausa, mother Dagana from Jeere, Nguddo
 Lawanti. Grew up in Maiduguri. 4 brothers and sisters, all arabs. Speaks H, K,
 some E. Learned H , K from street. Arabic most difficult lg., H easiest
 Studied in Sanga, but doesn't read or write arabic. Studied at Hawsari
 primary, Yarwa` practising, Borno teacher's college, Federal Agricultural training
 center. Works in Bodap agricultural institute.
 Considers himself an Arab. Father Hawsa trader with many wives. At that time
 there were few arabs in Mai (all were herders, now they've settled in city). Hajje
 Battula found an Arab wife for him.
 Arabs in Lamisula, Gambaru, Gwonge, Maiduguri, Nimeeri.
 He hasn't been to village in a while. While he was in secondary school he would
 go often, every vacation. Rode there on a horse.
 Formerly Arabs never married others. Now women marry non-arabs but men
 marry only arabs. Lg of mixed marriage H or K, because Arabs are ones who
 are bilingual.
 Speaks of non-arabs, black -- Zuruk- who became arabs when they lived with
 arabs and lost their lg, e.g. Kanuri cattle herders who worked for arabs and
 married among them.
 Speaks H at work, school or E; among his neighbors K because all are K, at
 market K.
 Arab club, hayya. Other groups had their clubs; arabs decided they should have
 one also. Knows a good deal about club: Chairman is AlHaaji Grema
 Mohammad. Club has been in existence for only 2 years, so it is just getting
 started.
 Traveled to Chad, Cameroon (6 months with relatives, in Duala).
 Listens to Saudia, Cairo, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria.
 Can identify clans (arabic tribes) according to accent

12, 8-89, Gwange, Saleh, 16, NA?, NA, me, his Sanga, Maid village
 10 yr student at Sanga in Maiduguri
 poor interview, attempted to speak CA. father and mother dead, grew up in
 Maiduguri, lives at mosque.
 Not used in study

13, 0130, 8-89, Gwange, Abdu Rahman, 26, (NA), Me, Gwange
 Interviewer: me.

Primary at Nahda. Secondary education at Kanemi Inst. Married to Arab, two children who only speak Arabic. Helps in Gwange mosque

Born in Balge, Bani Bakr clan (mother and father, now both dead).

Speaks K, H, E. Learned K in Gwange and in Banki, where he lived with his aunt (FS). Lived in Gulmade in Balge. Relatives from there come and visit him. Never herded nomadically.

Does not write K, but does H. Learned H in school.

Studied 6 yrs at Nahda, 5 yrs secondary, 3 yrs for diploma. Arabs understand more than other tribes in Arabic classes.

Best arabic Gamboro and Ngumati; west of Maiduguri arabic influenced by K. In maiduguri arabic influenced by other lgs (p. 3) (says that this is an old historic pattern that urban arabic influenced by other lgs. Can identify other dialects, but not maiduguri arabic, except where child has grown up in non-arab area, where he will use a lot of non-arabic words.

Most arabs in Ngala, Bama, Mongonu. In maiduri Ruwan Zafi, Dikkeciri, Gambaru, Ngarannam, Mabanii, Gwange.

p.5 how arabs came to nigeria

Formerly arabs married among selves, now in city more mixed marriage.

Children of mixed marriage would speak lg of area they live in. In Gwange non-arab women learn arabic if married to arabs.

Prefers city life.

Non-arabs who don't speak arabic are arabs (p. 9). Would give daughter to arabic. Perhaps arab was driven out of community for a crime, so needs to be helped to come back to arabic community.

Listens to arabic broadcasts from nigeria, London VOA, Kuwait, Libya

Non-arabs come to Gwange to learn arabic (p. 11) (gives example of a child from Benue state.

Dances: korokoro, kaarú, bandiil

No central arab meeting place, only gatherings for special occasions.

Speaks arabic at home.

14, 0140, 8-89, Gwange, Ibrahim Jidda, 20, Jilbe

Interviewer: me

studied at Nahda and at Falla islamiya. teacher. Father Bani Salim or Banu Mijadd; mother Salamat

Emphasizes with some incoherency that Maiduguri is more civilized, islamized and educated than is Balge.

Came to Maiduguri to study. Studied Koran, sanga. Began in Jilbe, studied there for 6 years. Traveled to Am Buda,. Only Arabs in sanga.. Now he teaches Koran. hadis, fiqh.

At first does not commit himself as to best dialect, then decides on Jilbe because few non-arabs there. In Maiduguri people put in too many non-arabic words.

Speaks Kanuri a little, Hausa. learned H from older brother in Maiduguri.
 p. 10. Arabs marry non-arabs. In village some arabs don't marry non-arabs. (p. 13 describes how marriages are arranged). P. 17 Islam is only criteria for marriage as far as he is concerned.

Mixed marriage H would be spoken. Children speak Ig of father, although surroundings where child grows up would be deciding factor.

Genealogy only criterion for Arabness, not Ig.

Does not commit himself on daughter question.

Knows about Haya. (p. 20) ; to further education and life of arabs

Listens to Mecca, Kuwait, Cairo, also local Shuwa program. In village people wouldn't understand standard Arabic, would not know what "Zahaab" means. But they would learn it.

15, 0150, 8-89, Gwange, Adam al-Hasib, 18, Bani Sa'ad

Interviewer: me

secondary education (Kanemi inst.), Arabic Ig.

son of Mohammad al-Hasib (nr. 10); also in tapes 21, 22, 62.

Finished Kanemi in 1991. Did not get admitted to university. In 1993 was staying in Kouseri with relatives.

Speaks Hausa, a little K. Learned H. from streets. Non-Arabs in Gwange learn Arabic

Studied at Nahda, Kanemi, in Arabic.

Best place to learn Arabic is Jilbe or Gulumba because it is the original Ig. In Maiduguri the zawiya (Gwange) is good place.

Balge say caal, isineen vs. taal

Visits relatives in countryside for a month or 15 days. He prefers city life.

Preparing food is too difficult in villages. For those who live in village life is not difficult. Children come to village, study, establish themselves, then go and get their relatives. Once they migrate to city it is difficult for them to return to country.

Would prefer to work in Borno, teacher.

Arabs marry between selves. Now in cities much intermarriage

Arab who doesn't speak Arabic is an Arab. He would marry daughter to Arab.

Only genealogical Arab increases arabs.

Knows about Haya Social Club. Branch in Gambaru Ngala. Purpose is to unite and help arabs. Meetings at no fixed dates.

Listens to BBC Arabic, Kaduna, Legos, Maiduguri.

Did not study in Sanga. Big difference between Sanga and school. Sanga is a way of living. "al walad gamma ke fi gerát al qur'aan ma bittallaf"

Says he does not speak like his father, though differences are minimal. His father, who did not study, puts in Hausa, K words; he who studied Arabic does not.

1993 finished secondary school and moved to Kouseri in Northern Cameroon where he has driven a taxi, hauled good.

18, 0180, 8-89 Gwange, Saleh Abbas, 28, NA, NA,

Interviewer: me

Secondary teacher in Arabic at Govt. Sec school, Maiduguri, post-secondary education; graduate of Nahda and Kanemi (?)

writes and performs in Shuwa plays for Radio Borno, has part of Jabir in tape 66; also in 63, 67.

Born in the area of Gulumba in Kilimrii. Jabuur clan (mother and father), Hijazi sub-clan. Kilimri had 32 heads of household and about 200 head of cattle. At about 11 began studying in sangaya, then Al Nahda in Gwange, Higher Islamic College, now teaching at govt. day secondary school in Maiduguri. Taught a few years in Mongono, then returned and took present job. Teacher at first sangaya came from Chad, stayed in his village at Gulumba, then went to Maiduguri and Saleh followed him. In morning studied at Nahda, in afternoon with his sangaya teacher.

In sangaya, they would study at night, in daytime they helped their teacher, farming.

Speaks K, H, E, Classical Arabic. Learned K in Mongono. Few K in his home village. H learned in school and streets. K most difficult lg for a foreigner.

Unless one grew up among K, one doesn't learn lg.

Can identify dialect. E.g. Balge say caal, "here" they say ta'aal = kondiga, Damboa, Gujiba, Maiduguri. But Balge people have begun to say taal because it is closer to classical. Balge say salaasa, here in other places just mentioned, talaata, samaane/tamaane. In Maiduguri most say tamaane.. He has farm in Kondiga and lived on Mongon and could observe these differences. (p. 5).

They say Balge not correct and Balge say theirs is not correct. If one uses taal etc. in Balge area, people say he speaks like qaalmi person.. Njammena people have their differences, etc. gaayid bimSHi, etc. (for imperfect). But in rural areas they speak same as in Balge, or in Cameroon.

Among friends speaks Arabic, or H, with children and wife, Arabic. Children haven't started speaking much, but know no K. In town they are more likely to learn H. (p. 7). He knows K whose children speak only H. K try to encourage K language via media programs. At work writes examples in Arabic, but explains in Hausa. From JSS 1-3 Arabic, SS1-3 Arabic is elective (with French and H). In market H, E with southerners.

Arabs tend to marry among selves. If intermarriage, then daughters to K. ("al arab bilaaxado mbeenaatëm , aw be l luqqaat al uxëra). If others (H, Y, Ibo, then because daughter chose so, not because father wanted it. Mixed marriages H most commonly used lg, or K if to K. If father Arabic, then children generally do not speak arabic (p. 9).

Arab no arabic still called arab. Officially considered an arab, but not completely accepted. If non-arab speaks arabic, is not considered an arab. Would leave choice to daughter; personally would give daughter to one who knows arabic, in order that the children won't loose arabic. (p. 11).

Club (did not understand "naadi") is Arabic cattle breeders association. Encourage arabs to study, dig wells for them, encourage arabic culture. Meet irregularly. Officially registered in 1987. Want to build building. There is an office with 3 or 4 employees. Want to have branch associations in outlying areas.

Arabic easier for arabs. If one knows dialect, then 40% of classical lg would be understood. People in villages knows arabic better than in city. E.g. arab scholar from sanga would be able to take any arabic book and be able to understand it. Kano people often send their children to Gwange to learn arabic, because if one learns dialect, it is easier to learn classical. He found arabic easy for fiqh, tafsiir, tawhiid, but not for sarf and nahw and balaagha (p. 15).

Person herds nomadically only if he has c. 100 or more. Often gives them to fulani or to a brother.

Both city and village have problems. In vilage food, firewood cost nothing. Even if you don't have money, you get by. In city one needs money. He prefers city because he's used to it. His wife prefers it here too.

Listens to radio and television. H (BBC), Arabic (BBC), Cairo. Network news in K, H, E.

Arabs gather only for special occasions, naming, marriage, visits from relatives. Sometimes goes and sleeps overnight at such occasions.

20, 0201, 9-89, Gamboru, Mohammad Harun, 25, Salami, Salaami,

Interviewers: me, Danna

businessman; quranic school education, spent three years living in Saudi Arabia Born in Mongono, grew up in Maiduguri. Both parents salamat. Unmarried, lives with parents, works at Texaco. Attended Sangaya. Can read and write arabic. Did not memorize koran. Did herd nomadically. Lived in Kirenawa 5 years, then Malamfatari 7 years, and rest of time in Maiduguri. Also Wulgo All 12 years in Sangaya. Then worked as trader in madiguri

First learned alif ba ta, Wrote chapters from Koran. Quit sangaya because he didn't see its value. His parents simply sent him there when he was young. Other relatives in sangaya. His elder brother taught them. Every 12 or 13 months one would go visit parents. Parents do not visit them. Sometimes one went without food (p. 4).

Best arabic spoken outside of Maiduguri, where they aren't mixed with other tribes. However, the ones in the city have opportunity of learning classical arabic.

Speaks K, H, a little E. Learned lgs from contacts since he was small. K and H also with him in sangaya. In sangaya H first language, then K. Not a large number of arabs. Teacher was arab.

Arabs marry among selves and with K. Women marry non-arabs not men, because arab women are pretty. Arab men don't find others pretty. Mixed marriage woman speaks lg of husband. Wife would teach children arabic. Would marry daughter to one who speaks arabic. Arabs who don't speak arabic still called arabs.

Balge people are not understandable. Say "iske", (p. 8)

Traveled to Nijer, Cameroon, Sudan, Saudi Arabia. Studied in koranic school in saudi arabia. Koran and tafsir. Saudis don't like foreigners. The Hajj people they treat very well, but don't let you go beyond hajj. Could understand them without problem (p. 10). Big difference between Nigeria and Saudi. Life very good for Saudis but bad for foreigners (p. 13). Without iqaama, one always risks being deported. Nigeria is better because one has freedom. Lived in Madina. Many nigerians in Saudi, some sent by Nigeria, others illegal. Many Shuwa. Could understand saudi dialect. Didn't like Sudan so well (p. 15). (D says there are 8 million nigerians in Sudan and Harun says he could be correct).

Arabic club (does not understand naadi) in Maiduguri. Where arabs can gather, to unify arabs, help rural arabs (water, wells), gather money for marriages, naming ceremonies

Arabs found all over nigeria. Center of arabs is Maiduguri and Borno

Listens to BBC arabic and H.

At home arabic spoken. In market H, or K if meets K. With arabic friends A, with Kanuri K. (p. 13)

It is better to learn arabic in school than among Shuwa so that one can be understood in any arabic country.

D asks why arabic men know H and K more than women. Because arabic women not allowed to go outside of home. Can only learn these lgs if another woman speaking these lgs lives with her. Men study, go to market. (p. 17)

Visits his village often, every 3 or 4 months; many of his relatives live in maiduguri now. People like the place they grew up in, city for city people, village for villagers. A girl who has studied in school can't live in village.

Arabs in Legos have joined together (p. 20). Arabs in Awka, might marry local girl and stay there. He would marry an Ibo if she were Muslim

30, 0301, 7-90, Gamboru, Mohammad Al-Lamin, 31, NA, NA, Asaal'e,
Interviewers: me, Danna

Quranic school teacher; spent 15 years studying Quran

Nephew of Mohammad Al-Lamin Sr. (no. 32)

Abbasiya clan, aSal'e abbasiyya

22 years in Maiduguri. First in Mafoni

Speaks Hausa and Kanuri; learned them in Maiduguri from other children. Kanuri more difficult than Hausa. Kanuri does not distinguish gender (my brother, my sister are same). Kanuri also more difficult than Arabic, Arabic more than Hausa. (p. 23). At home they speak only Arabic. In market Hausa; in mosque, Hausa, on street Hausa. He reads and writes arabic. Studied in sangaya, in Mafoni. Studied sangaya c. 15 years His sangaya was mixed, Hausa, Kanuri, Arabic. Teacher was Arab, and Kanuri. Hausa were few in number. Now Hausa are many in sangaya; before they were few. Kanuri teachers do not know arabic. Says Arabs learn Arabic of quran more quickly than do other tribes. Did not study in govt. school.

He understands all dialects in Nigeria. Balge say *caal*, vs. *taal*. It is all Arabic though. Hew can distinguish an Ngala person from Mungono. His dialect is best because they say *ta'aal*, as in Saudi arabia.

Wife is Arab. Speaks arabic with wife and children. Children know Hausa but not Kanuri.

In mixed marriage, with Kanuri wife one would speak Kanuri, with Hausa or other tribe, Hausa. Similarly if arab woman maries non-Arab.

Has traveled to Cameroon one month, Saudi Arabic one month. Saudis are surprised to learn that there are Arabs in Nigeria. He can understand Saudi arabic and they him. Visited Kaduna, Kwara, Oyo, Ibadan, Legos, Jos, Bauchi, Makurdi, Enugu. Speaks Hausa and English in those places.

Listens to Nigerian radio, london (Hausa), Saudi, esp. programs on *Koran*, Gives his profession as farmer, though he is also an islamic scholar. Has a farm s. of Maiduguri. Has sangaya. Has no certificate to teach sangaya; if you know the *Koran* you can teach sangaya. If s.o. knows you know *KORAN*, they send children to him. Koran is learned on board, just as Koran was revealed to Mohammad on a slate. He has students up to 25 years old (p. 35 ff. description of how he teaches). His students Arab, Kanuri, Hausa. Arabs learn Koran fastest.

Life in city is easier. You teach children then go home and rest. In village you have to go farm after teaching or herd cattle. He has no cattle. He sarah cattle. Life in city btter. More freedom in city. In herding life too hard for freedom. In country children hardly have chance to learn Koran.

There are one million arabs in Nigeria.

44. ff. describes herding: Gubio-Gajiganna, Maafa, Yare.

Non-arab speakers of Arabic are not arabs. arab non-speaker of Arab stil Arab. One would help him in trouble (diya). Tunjur are Arabs. Some Arabs became Kanuri.

40, 0401, 8-90, Gwange, Hassan Jidda, 27, NA (Isaal'e), NA (Bani Waayil),
Interviewer: me

Born in Miteeni, village near Mafa, at 7 moved to Maiduguri to study. Has finished university Maid (Arabic) and one yr. service at Katsina. Helped in

some of recordings (45)

0402, 40a with Musa Adam, 28

helped in recordings 44, 45, 57, 58, 65

Father Isaay, mother Bani Wayil. Bron in Miteeni. Arab village, one or two K. Came to Mai at 7 to study. Stayed with uncle (FB) in Gwange. Studied in Nahda, Kanemi INstitute, Mai University, NYSC in Katsina. Majored in Arabic. Knows H, K, E. Learned H, K from streets. H easier than K. Most difficult lg depends on where you stay.

Among arabic friends uses A. Sometimes 50% of time put in E, H. If no arabs, then H used, market H. If you know person is K then K, if K are present, don't speak A for fear that person might think they are insulting him. K don't know arabic much.

Arabs marry among selves. Lg between mixed marriage depends on area where lived. If children grow up in K speaking area, they will learn only K. If husband arab, children will also learn K because husband doesn't stay at home with children.

Africans can become arabs if they learn arabic, marry arabs, and live with them. When they die, their children will be considered arabs. Arabs want to increase their numbers.

Would give daughter to whomever she wants. He would give daughter to arab because perhaps daughter would teach him arabic and bring him back to arabs, and her children.

(Tunjur are tribe between K and Wulaad Salim, arabs but they speak K.

Can recognize Balge and Ngumati dialects. Same differences outside Maiduguri also found in maiduguri, except in maiduguri more H and K used. Best arabic where neither K or H spoken, not Maiduguri. Kirenawa god arabic, Gambaru Ngala. Balge is a little like Gambaru-Ngala.

Ngumati is Mongono, mostly qawalme, nomads. Also Kaaga, Damboa, Damturu

When he was young would visit village for 2 or 3 days. Did not herd nomadically. He prefers city. Knows ways of city, does not know village life. But herders have easy life, only traveling from place to place is difficult; no problems in getting food. Knows people who come to city in hot season, then return to camps during rains, or go and farm. However, he knows no one who came and settled in city then decided to go back to live in country.

Traveled to Gongola, Kano Katsina, Jos where he worked for a company, Legos visit. Cameron, Chad (in Njamena everyone, even non-arabs speak arabic).

Listens to E and A programs, H. VOA, radio Nigeria, Monte Carlo.

Sangaya is only for learning Koran, not arabic. All over Nigeria one finds Mulsims who have memorized Koran but who cannot read arabic. Sangaya teachers have no relation to arabic teachers. Arabic teachers are govt.

employees, sangaya teachers get no money from govt., only donations. Agrees

with Musa's account of attitudes towards sangaya. Anything connected with arabic as such is considered "falsafa hiil ad duniya".

Musa Adam:

agrees with Jidda about marriage. Nowadays girl will marry whoever she wants. Did not study in sangaya. Studied at Nahda, Kanemi, Higher islamic college 2 yr diploma, 3 yr arabic degree at unimaid.

People in countryside, even arabs, don't care if you studied arabic or something else in school. Important difference is sangaya or govt. school and they prefer sangaya.. Prefer to send their children to sanaagi, not to govt. schools. A child who has studied the Koran won't go bad.(p. 16). Even if they studied Koran in Madrasa, it doesn't count until one has learned it in sangaya. "shuqul hana alla".

41, 0411, 8-90, his house, near university, Ibrahim Jr., 34, Kanuri, NA (Beneesan, Bani Hasan),

Interviewers: me, Danna

5 years in Maiduguri (1990). Born in Kumshe (Bama), lived years in Kaduna. Studied primary school in Cameroon, where he learned some French. Studied primary school in Maiduguri (?). Went to Jos where he got job in security, from 1975. In Kaduna trained as a carpenter. Rejoined Niger Guard. Worked in Peugeot factory in Kaduna (as guard?). Stayed in organization and became head of Maiduguri branch of Niger Guard. Married to Arab (Asta). At first in Kaduna was not married.

Niger Guard has offices in 19 states, 18 regional directors. He says that they control thieves. They work everywhere, work with police. Manager collects money from people, goes around to see that everything is ok.

Speaks English, French a little, Kanuri, Fulfulde, Hausa. Prefers Arabic to Kanuri. Does not like Kanuri. Learned Fulfulde in Cameroon. Arabic is most difficult. Hausa is easier because a lot of people speak it. Not so many speak Kanuri.

Herded cattle when he was young with relatives. Would go 2-3 months in bush. Between Cameroon and Nigeria. They had horses. If he had a chance he would return to herding. Milk in camps is better than that in city. He has a few cattle. Not more than 10, in Wulba. He keeps goats at home. Cattle need too much food to be kept in Maiduguri.

Manager of Niger guard in Maiduguri. Born and grew up in Wulba. Spent time cattle herding, 3-4 years in primary school in Cameroon and again primary school in Maiduguri. Moved to Jos, then Kaduna where he began working for Niger Guard. Worked there 8 years. Moved back to Maid 3 yr. ago. Moved back to Kaduna, but quit Niger Guard when he quarreled with owner. Owner wanted to move him to Zaria, he refused. He blames the Yoruba wife of owner (Hailam), who wanted to put one of her kinsmen in directorship of Kaduna. Arabs used to marry only among selves. Now anyone marries arabs in city, depending on money. In country still marry only arabs. In city everybody is

mixed up. Wife will take lg. of husband, whichever lg he speaks. Children take after father. Would give his daughter to Arab. But would not give daughter to a slave origin.

At home they speak Arabic, in market A, Fulfulde, H, according to lg of speaker. In work he speaks H and English. Writes English but not Arabic. Did not attend sangaya. Teacher hit him once and he left the sangaya and never returned.

Can distinguish dialects, but does not give examples of differences. Best place to learn Arabic where there are a lot of Arabs. Bama, Gambaru Ngala, Kirenawa, Gulumba. Kirenawa and Gulumba Arabs speak the same way.

On one occasion reprimanded his son for speaking Hausa in the compound. Traveled to Cameroon, Paris two weeks, all over Nigeria. Every 2 months or so visits Wulba, his home area.

There is an Arabic club in Maiduguri. He doesn't go often because he doesn't have time.

Most Arabs in Gwange, Dikkeceri. He doesn't have time to visit Arabs often in Maiduguri. Only on holidays.

Prefers Kaduna to Maiduguri. Weather is better. Maiduguri is more expensive. In Kaduna he can live with his family; in Maiduguri too close to home area so he has too many other family responsibilities.

Danna asks if he helps arabs in Kaduna without work. He says he would help them a bit, but everyone should look after himself. A self-respecting man would not let himself stay without work. In Kaduna Arabs help one another. But he preferred it in Kaduna when there was a Borno club. Later Bornoans there split up and Arabs had own club.

At end asks me questions, who pays me, what my work in Nigeria is, family status, name, offers to show me Wulba. Since I speak Arabic I have become like Arab; mutually obliged to help.

In new home in Dikkeceri (moved in c. April 1993), has television, video, freezer. In evenings a few Arab neighbors gather to watch video and chat every night. Stays with mother.

He does not know his clan of wife, only that they she comes from Kumaaga. The others in the cattle camp he lived in were from Hunjumba, near Banki. He was born in Bwonderi, attended primary school in Waza, Cameroon till 6 grade. Then he went to Kaduna. In Kaduna the other Arabs he lived with were from Ndjamena and Gulumba.

42, 0421, 8-90, Ruwan zafi, Hasan, 26, Kanembu, Kanembu,
Interviewers: me, Allamin

Born in Chad. Began learning Arabic 18 years ago. Spent 5 years in Sanga in Bulmaturi (near Konduga) and 2 yr at Malari, but with Kanuri speakers. Has

been in Maid 12 years. Lives with a Kanuri (?) who has an Arabic wife and uses Arabic at home. Allamin did not know that he was not a native speaker of Arabic, but Shuwa (Adam) immediately recognized it from tape.

43, 0431, 8-90, Gwange, Hamid Idris, same as nr. 2

46a, 1271, 8-90, Ruwanzafi, Al-Hajj Saaleh Mohammad, 23, Tunjur, me, Allamin

Born, grew up in Chad (Mondo). Speaks Kanembu, Tubu. Speaks Ar. at home. Studied Ar. a little in Quranic school; reads + writes only a little Arabic. Worked 2 yr in Saud Ar, shop keeper; went originally for Hajj. Did not like SA; felt discriminated against. Listens to VOA, Monte Carlo, Saudi, Njamena. Likes music on VOA. Trader who comes with other Chadian traders to Maid (cows), buys goods, and returns to Chad. Says Tunjur are Arabic tribe.

79. 0790, , Ahmad Jidda (also 29a, grp)

Interviewers: me, Mustafa (tape 5)

Recorded at Mustafa's, 6-10-91

c. 25-30, Dagani. Guard at slaughterhouse. Lives in Mai village. Father Dagani, mother Imsari, married to Arab (her father Isali, mother Fulani Kaasuujji). Has 4 children. Born Amdhaalu (Dikwa lg) near Kissi, Kace, Miteene, Doole, Gujulé, Gwaddabe, Sigageelo, Badaad, Kaltaram. 18 yrs in village, then 4 in camp. Father sold his cattle and moved to Amdhaalu where he built a house. 8 yrs in Lagos as guard. Now 3 yrs in Mai.

Lg of home Arabic. he speaks K, H, English, Akërka, Ibo; wife speaks Fulfulde. At work H and K, H most difficult of 3

Spent 6 yrs in Ndjamen. Father sent him there after his sister was married to Chadian. Studied at Sanga, but did not learn to read or write. Learned 4-6 verses (ayaat). All Arabs at Sanga.

First said would marry D to Arab, but thought it was a brother; when he understood question, said would only marry daughter to s.o. who speaks Arabic.

Arab man marries K woman, first 7-8 months would speak K, then Arabic; children would speak A.

80. 0801 , Annayi, c. 30. Wulaad Abu Ise (mother Maharbi).

Interviewers: me, Danna

Born in Ngala. Shop owner. Former cattle trader. Used to get cattle from as far away as Abbeche. From 7-17 lived in camps, then went to Ndjamen and stayed there c. 5 yrs. 1979 came to Mai (Gamboru).

Husband of Xadija (68a). Relatives in Ndj, Gamboru-Ngala, Mai, S. Gongola (Anambara). All cattle traders.

Attended Sanga but can't read or write Arabic. Speaks H, learned it in Mai.

Would give D to one who speaks A (if Muslim).

Gamboru-Ngala best place to learn A in Nigeria. Can tell origin from way people speak

Balge *heyaw, caal, waalfaanna*

Born in Gambaru-Ngala, grew up in Njamena and Nala. Came to Maiduguri 1979.

82c. 1240, Mey, c. 22 Father Asal'e, mother Serajiye (Kanuri clan).

Interviewers: me, Danna

At first called her Wulaad En, which made everyone laugh since no such clan exists. Father from Mairi in Mai, originally an Arab settlement. Father born in Angaariri, near Mai on Giwa Barracks rd. Mey born in Daala Yamani, Dambua rd. Finished Sec school and 1 yr teacher's training. Quit to take job in "Whole trade air services" Mai airport. no married. 10 yrs or so in Mai in Gamboru, 3 yr school in Ngala, 2 yr school in Mai, 1 yr in Bani Sheix. Finished in Mai. Speaks to sibs in H and A, whichever lg they begin in, to older generation in A.

Speaks K, H, E. H learned at school because everyone from a different group. K learned from residence in Gamboru, E at school. Brothers and sisters all know A, H, K. Taught himself to read A but did not attend Sanga. Speaks H in market.

H easiest, A + K learned only if you stay with them. Kirenawa and Gwange best places to learn A.

D to A, though would give her choice. Then changes mind, to non-A, then to A again if the husband speaks a lg other than A as well.

Can recognize dialects. Balge say iske.

Has farm on Dambua rd; goes for 2 weeks to farm there and comes back.

Traveled to Kaduna, Kano

Danna says Mey's family former slaves. A used to prevent others from understanding (secret lg).

(a) Danna , 27 Asaal'e Asaal'e

assistant and transcriber; appears in various tapes (34, 37, 38, 47, 52-4, 61 68 as interviewer or participant)

son of Moh al-Lamin sr. (32), nephew of nr. 1 and 8, grew up in Maiduguri.

Secondary education and Univ. degree from unimaid (history). Teacher at govt. secondary school, Maiduguri. Half brother (through father) of 17a,

Hausa, English

1.2 Group 2: Men, +50

01, 0010, 8-89, Gamboru, Musa Daggash, 71, Cam Ar, NA Asaal'e,
 Interviewers: me, Allamin, Khalifa
 grew up in Kirenawa, studied at Katsina, Oxford univ. (forestry), original career in forestry service. worked in Yola and in other places, became permanent secretary, federal govt (defense ministry) at time of 1967 civil war. Returned to Maiduguri, head of Chad Basin Development, then of Borno civil service. full Brother of 08 and 32. Reads and writes Ar, learned it in govt. school Kanuri, Hausa, English, Fulfulde. Non-Arab who speaks Arabic is not Arab; s.o. whose ancestors are Arabic who does not speak Ar is not Arab. Best Ar. in villages and esp. herdsman. Lg. has become mixed up. Ar of Nigeria worse than Iraq or Saudi Ar. because of this. Formerly marriages were with relatives, especially within herding camps. Now marriage with any tribes allowed. Mixed marriage outside Maid K and Fulfulde used. Mixed marriages in city H used. He is married to a Bura and his children speak H among themselves. One son who lives in Lagos married to non-Arab and children speak no Arabic; one daughter in Maiduguri married Ar and children speak Ar. He uses Ar at home, unless there are guests or if s.o. does not know Arabic. With children or wife (Bura) uses Hausa. Speaks English with younger children, Arabic with older ones. Salamat speak a different dialect. They are black, Qawalme red (humur). Qawalme and Salamat have different dances, drums. In schools E learned because it is more useful than Ar.

03, 0031, 8-89, Ruwanzafi, Abu Bakr Mohammad, 49, NA, NA,
 Interviewer: Alamin
 primary teacher, islamic education, from Ngala, primary education + short teacher training degree
 49 years old, born near Ngala in Njammeena. Village of arabs, Wulaad Muhaarib mostly. Came to maiduguri to attend course and has been in city for 6 years. Previously was in Ngala. Teaches at Njamena primary school in Gambaru (maiduguri). Studied in Kaduna. Taught them 6 months crash course in 1972. Taught in Kaduna 6 years, returned to Borno in 1978. Says there is no difference between teaching in Kaduna and in Maiduguri.
 Married to arab, no children, married cousin (MS's child). Says arabs marry relatives because arab women are haughty. If they married other tribes they would boss people around. Speaks arabic with wife. While living in Kaduna she began to forget arabic, at least to complete sentences in H rather than in A. At time of marriage she knew only arabic, then learned H.. He speaks H in Nguru where he visited an uncle (MB).
 Studied in sangaya. Began in village called Mintina', near Marte, Kulti, Kablaawa, Maiduguri, Awno (Shatimari), Gooniri, Gajiganna, returned to home

village. Did not memorize koran. Learned 10 hizib so he can teach children. In his time sangaya life was good, there was much food, rains better and crops, Arabs are not cultured people. Have only koranic school education.

K more difficult than H. Must be learned from time one is young.

Mixed marriage, if father arab, children do not learn arabic, if mother he will understand it but not be able to speak it.

Tells story of one man who was Bade who lived among arabs and came to be considered an arab.

p. 8 story of Manawaji (in K means village of trouble), origin of village (jagarawaji after sultan jagara who lived in Cameroon in daar Makari, Kuttwaaji). Njammena named after place where people could rest from persecution of Sultan Jagara. Labado = place where people hid (allabbado) from Sultan.

(p. 9) Qawalme are 12 clans (qushuum al buyuut). He is Maharbi, naas ash sheex, naas 'iise, amjawda, tarjo', could not remember more sub-clans among Mahaarib. Today young people don't know and care; slave and free all the same. Don't know more than qawalme and salaami.

Types of games: jokkor, faralaa?, libbedú, laska <lammastak "I touched you", baara, samka a type of dance (women wave hair; today everyone is black so dance doesn't have same effect), baktul (with drums).

Arabs eat esh.

06, 0060, 8-89, near West End, Lawan Badawi, 55, NA Mahaarib, NA,
Interviewers: me, Khalifa

secondary education, worked in education ministry in Borno as teacher, then inspector. Now a politician.

Born in Kirenawa, lived there for 9 years. At 9 went to school in Marte for 2 years, then studied in Mongonu for 3 years, then Maiduguri at 14 for 3 years, then Bauchi for 4 years. Trained as teacher. Taught in Ngamdu one and half years, then Damasak 9 years, then returned to Bauchi to study, then taught in Damaturu for 3 years, then Maiduguri. Taught in Maiduguri 7 months, then studied 1 year in Zaria. Became inspector of schools in Maiduguri, then after 1 year became principle in Mongonu, after 1 and half years went to Damagum, then after 1 year quit school service and entered politics (about 36 years old).

(He rarely answers a question directly)

Salamat and Qawalme have different dialects. Qawalme are nomads. Fulani live with some of them and ruin their good arabic. Salamat say *iske*; influenced by Kotoko.

Speaks H, K, English. Learned K from school, with Kanuri children. Was also taught in Kanuri. Also taught 2 years in H. He knows K better than H, because K is main lg of Borno.

Best Arabic spoken by Himeedi.

Karda, half Kanuri, half Arab.

Arabs who don't speak Arabic are arabs. Their cattle may have died and they settled in one place.

People who speak Arabic (e.g. some tribes in Chad and Sudan) can call themselves Arabs if they want. He would call them Arabs, if only to make them happy. In Nigeria Arabs who don't speak Arabic are Arabs.

Best Arabic is by learned people. Arabs who live with other tribes put words from other lgs. in their speech. Qawalmé speak best Arabic of dialect because they aren't mixed with other tribes.

He did not study in sangaya. Does not read and write Arabic. In market speaks lg of person he is dealing with. If doesn't know lg, would use H. With K friends speaks K, with Hausa H. Sometimes speaks K with arabs. He tries to speak A to children, but they like to speak H. Children don't know K. In politics uses lg. according to group he is addressing. K most frequent lg. Arabs in crowd would understand K. Only in western part of state would use H.

Mixed marriage, K man, children would speak K. Today in Borno many K have married Arabs; their children look Arab, but when you talk Arabic to them, they don't know the lg.

Arabic could not be a national lg. of Nigeria. Earlier Arabic more important. After colonial rule, Arabic became less, people became lazy about using Arabic. Yoruba, Ibo do not know or use Arabic. Arabic could be a second lg. in parts of Nigeria.

Arabs only game is horse riding. Bandala are musicians; Arabic slaves. SuFFaara, gangaaya, qaitaaya not Arab but rather Kotoko or Gamargu. Shilashila esp. Gamargu.

Formerly Arabs did not give daughter to other tribes. Life was too dangerous; clans fought with each other and with other tribes. When he was young when Kanuri came to his village, children would be scared and would go and hide. Origin of word shuwa is Kanuri, but he doesn't like it because it is disparaging word, like Afuno. When he was in school, Kanuri classmates would call him "shuwa, come!" He objected and said it was a disparaging term.

08, 0080, 8-89, Gamboru, Abdul Qadir, 65, CamA, CamA (Asaal'e both),

Interviewer: me

Watchman; grew up Kirenawa, moved to Maiduguri with his brother Musa (nr 1) c. 15 years ago; full brother of 1, 32; father of 50

Born in Kirenawa. Father born in Cameroon, grew up in Nigeria. Mother also, married in Nigeria. Most sibs born in Kirenawa (not Musa, but him, Xadija, Haliimata, Yenaba, Habbaaba). Works as messenger at insecticide company He grew up in Kirenawa. Has lived in Maiduguri for 17 years, prior to that in Kirenawa. Came to Maiduguri to eat. In Kirenawa farmed sandy soil (gooz: libiya, kolci (peanuts)), after rains the firkiyye (swampy land: jaqama, qalla beeda, tambuna).

In Maiduguri most arabs in Gwange, Maiduguri, Gambori.

Life in Maiduguri is expensive. A sack of millet for 160 naira vs. 100 in Kirenawa. Fish in Kirenawa. At time he left Kirenawa things weren't so difficult (dunya hilwe, ma bigat murra). Came to Maiduguri went Musa Daggash did. Older brother Allamin came first, and he said, why should I stay in Kirenawa. Speaks K, H. Learned K in Kirenawa, from K in neighboring villages, played together. K there speak little A. H learned in Maiduguri. Speaks A at home, H in market, or K if person is K, A with arabs. Within compound speaks A, though children now speak a lot of H. In house children are forbidden from speaking H. Outside of house, however, they speak H. p. 9 Few K learn arabic. In Gambar-Ngala some Kotoko learn A.

Studied only a little while in sangaya, 3 hizib. Does not read or write arabic. When his father died he was made like a slave and had to do all the work at home, tend horses, cut wood, bring fodder, milk cows. Did not herd nomadically. If there are 3 children, eldest watches cattle from in front youngest goats from behind. Fallata Mare are herders for Arabs. Mbororo travel separately.

Does not travel a great deal. Visits relatives in Cameroon, Legos whom he visits occasionally.

In former times arabs married only amongst selves, cousin marriage. Nowadays can give arab daughter to K, Margi, anyone, so long as they are Muslim. Would give daughter to whoever she wants.

Mixed marriage depends on area; if arabic one then arabic will be spoken, if K then K.

Arabic stronger 50 years ago, except through mixed marriages children are learning arabic through mothers (p. 10).

Rabeh was good to arabs. Called for arabs, send them to live in various places.

Allamin: father of Danna, brother of Musa Daggash

Arabs did not marry smiths and hunters

Rabeh stayed 7 yrs, 7mos. 7. days. Solders called Banda Krej, Banda. His father was a youth in Rabeh's time. Rabe killed Sultan Cari, arabs and banda (ujum ja beehum), Arabs from Nigeria, CAmeroon, Chad. Rabeh came from Kordofan, Abbeshe, Atiya, Cikana, Bagirmi, Nigeria. Arabs were already present in Manawaji, Ngala, Gamboru. Banda were zuruk, and slaves. When Rabeh died, Banda and Bazingir went back to their homeland.

p. 14. history after rabeh. Rabeh was good for arabs but bad for K; Rabeh spoiled relations between A and K.

Arabs who don't know arabic. E.g. west of Maiduguri, called sons of the Arabs. they look like arabs, but don't know arabic.

10, 0100, 8-89, Gwange, Mohammad Al-Hasib, 70, CamA, CamA Bani Sa'ad,

Interviewer: me

Moved to Gwange in 1925 from Cameroon (Madina n. Cam). Since then lived in Gwange, carpenter. Early member (founding member?) of the Arab social club, Gwange. Father of (15). House opposite Saleh Ibrahim's mosque.

Born in Madina, Bani Sa'at. Cameroon, came to Gwange in 1925. Came by himself. Married to arab. Speaks A at home. One son studying in Saudi Arabia. Goes back to Cameroon rarely, 3 times since coming. Did not herd nomadically, p. 3 describes cattle nomadism. Each tribe has their own camps. Has not traveled to Legos. Does not travel a great deal.

Gwange in Fulani name.

In Nigeria arabs live in Kaga, Gulumba, Bama, Malam Fatari, Dikwa, Gubio, Gaidam, Sigil, Ran, Kaala, Damboa, Marte, AmBuda. In Maiduguri Gambori, Gwange, Hawsari.

Gwange largely arabic spoken. Does not say where best arabic is spoken.

Did not study, does not read or write arabic. Worked as carpenter.

Arabs marry among selves, now other tribes marry arabs. Women will speak lg of husband. Children will speak K, A, but K better.

Arabs who no longer speak arabic are considered K. Someone who speaks A is not an A. Would marry daughter to A because she would return him to arabs, like a herder returning animals.

First arabic club was in Gwange. He helped found it. Helped arabs in need. Now there is a new club, moved out of Gwange.

Listens to radio in H and A.

Life in Maiduguri used to be very cheap. Bag of millet is now 180 Naira, a cow (abore) used to cost 30 or 40 cents, a chicken for 1 kobo, a carpenter's dook for 12 cents

Today arabic has increased in Nigeria because everyone likes arabic

How arabs tricked sao. Sao became interested in arabic hinne. Tied together feet of sao and of a cow in a leather bucket over which they poured hinne. Cut up a leather bucket into strips and tied their feet together with the strips, told them to keep them in the bucket for a month, after which their hands would become red. The strips dried and killed the sao and the arabs took the land.

16, 0160, 9-89, his office, Lake Chad Basin office, Gambaru rd., Harun Husayn 50, NA, NA,

Interviewer: me,

civil servant; high position in Lake Chad Basin authority. Father a cattle herder, and he remembers his days spent in the camps, during school vacations, with great fondness

Nomadic arabs have three areas, one east in Dikwa area, Gambaru. These are especially Dagana and Bulwa. In rainy season go to Lugun and Yaare in Cameroon, summer return to Gubio. West of Maiduguri are Tawabt and Bulwa, part of Qawalme. Travel between Yare and Konduga in Uturo, Wurga or

Gombole, Awno to Magumeri in rainy season. Dry season they go to keesaa, sandy land where the water doesn't collect. Herders dig wells. A DHa'an is over 100 head of cattle. Hut is made of diliyaat = tanned skins, tanning with oil, madhaarik = upright posts,. Women would take raaba = curds and leben = sour milk to market and trade it for grain = qalla. Cattle usually not sold unless there is a special need. Nowadays arabs have become cattle salesmen (saffaara), women travel to market by truck, go with 30 or 40 liters of curs/yoghurt. Koyam do not stay with arabs. Their center is in the north, Gubio, Magumeri, Gajiram. Stay near towns and have sheep and goats. Fulani and Arabs travel together (darbum waahid). Fulani also farther west near Damaturu.

He is a nomad, mother from Marte, father a nomad (Gombole, Wurga, Magumri, Gubio). Grew up in Maiduguri lived with aunt (FS = Hajje Batuula). Every vacation so long as his father was alive he would go live in camps. Studied at Maiduguri central primary school, Borno Middle school, TCE Potiskum, clerical course at Zariya institute of Administration, now known as Ahmadu Bello University. Worked for Northern Govt, then for Northeast State, in 1979 for Chad Basin. Did not study in sangaya, does not read and write arabic. When he came to Maiduguri there were hardly any arabs in city. So he learned Hawsa in city. Wife is arab. She speaks A and H and a little K. Lives in Senior Staff Quarters at Lake Chad Development Association cite. Mixed ethnic groups, H common lg.

At home A, outside of home H, at work E.

Best arabic in Saudi Arabia and Egypt because they speak lg of Koran (kalaam hana al kitaab). Calls Nigerian Arabic like borken English = galgaliya.

Qawalme best arabic, nomads. This arabic is a little different from Balge and Gambaru.

Nomads do not intermarry. Other tribes now marry from arab women. 90% of arabs in Borno know K, so in mixed marriage K will be lg. If wife is arabi, children will understand A but not speak it well. If father is arab, then children will speak even less arabic.

Arabs who don't speak arabic are arabs. Would give daughter to arab. Now it is difficult to judge family of person whom you are giving daughter to.

Listens to BBC H, Kaduna H, relies mostly on BBC for news about Nigeria and world.

Traveled to England for a course, Cameroon. Never went to Chad.

19, 9-89, Gamboru, Gursa Bashir, 50, NA Wuleed Himeed (father's mother = Saalmiye), NA Wulaad Himeed, Maharbi,

Interviewers: me, Danna.

Businessman; grew up outside Maiduguri, herdsman, settled in Maiduguri c. 10 years ago. Has political aspirations. Speaks H, K, learned from environment.

Has traveled to Kano, Port Harcourt, Lagos, Kaduna, England, Paris,

Switzerland, Saudi Arabic 3 times for Hajj. Does not read or write Ar or English. Arabs marry cousins, don't marry other tribes, though other tribes marry Arabs. If Ar woman intremarries, children will speak othre lg. In Borno K and H are main lgs. so Arab women will speak lg of other. He married Kanuri (father Fezzani, she spoke only K); she + her children speak Ar at home. Arabs who do not speak AR are not Arabs, though they may call themselves that. Does not answer question to whom he would give his daughter, avoids question. Can identify areal dialects: Ngumati, Herdsman, Chad border, Bama/Gulumba: shorten their speech and speak quickly. E.g. of Balge: baaliik beya shunu abi, inta l-baaliik beya shunu. Balge also identifiable by scars. People speak lg according to where they grow up. Herdsmen Ar. = Qawalme is best, vs. that of Gulumba. Speaks lg according to what others speak; in market especially K. If only 1 K with group of Arabs, K insists on speaking K. Occasionally listens to Radio: Chad, a little to Caiso, but doesn't understand Cairo dialect well, though can make himself understood. Like life as herder better than that of city. Haya club formed to benefit Arabs in countryside. Arabs gather for special occasions (naming, wedding) and other groups also invited).

32, 7-90, 0321, Gamboru, Mohammad Al-Lamin, NA Asaal'e, NA Wulad Abu `Ise (?),

Interviewer: me

Born and grew up in Kirenawa, came to Maiduguri are Arabs and he would marry his daughter to them (not non-Arab arabic speaker). 1965, Older brother of Musa Daggash (01) and Abd al-Gadir (08). Father of 17a and Danna (a). Mother from just across border in Cameroon. Trader. Speaks Ar K, H. K learned in Kirenowa, H learned at work. Thinks that K is simpler than Ar (e.g. no m/f distinction). In market uses lg. according to whom he is addressing. Can differentiate Ar, K, H by sight, addressing them accordingly. In mixed group uses all 3, but H if very mixed. Does not write Ar, did not go to Koranic school. No strong opinion about where best Ar. is spoken but can tell where Nig Ar comes from by his pronunciation. In mixed marriage children would not speak Arabic. No matter how well non-Arab (e.g. K) speaks Ar., cannot be considered Arab. Arabs who do not speak Ar (e.g. Seraawii) are Arabs and he would marry his daughter to them (not non-Arab arabic speaker).

35, 0351, 8-90, Ruwanzafi, Karim Abdul Bakr, 58, CA, CA (Tunjur),

Interviewers: me, Allamin

Businessman, traveled extensively. Came to Maiduguri when young, went to school there. Lived with brother. Lived first in middle of city, then in Ruwanzafi. Studied in Hawsari primary school. Studied in sangaya. Did not learn all Koran. Can read a little Arabic. Cannot write Arabic. Africans can get along without extensive formal education.

Came to Maiduguri when he was 7. Born in Dagana, near Mondo. Lived with older brother. Parents stayed in Kanem and are now dead. Married to Arab from Nigeria from Dikwa (Qawalme, Seedi ?), one from Kanem (tunjurawiya).

Relatives in Kanem and Ndjamenena.

Speaks English, French, Kanuri. Learned H and K from streets. H is easy.

Kanuri hardest of all languages. Speaks Arabic at home. Speaks whatever lg other people speak in public. H most common lg, because it is international. In S. Nigeria speaks English.

Is a businessman. Has traveled all over Nigeria. Outside to Togo, Niger, Cameroon, Congo, Chad, Paris, Lebanon. In Lebanon spoke Lebanese. Never needed a translator there. Does not work with brother whom he lived with. Ndjamenena Arabic is better. Arabs in other countries can understand Ndj. Arabic, but can't understand Nigerian. When he first came to Maiduguri, Nigerian Arabs couldn't understand him, but now that they have become more urbanized, they can. Nigerians say *walaMMi*, *amseet aafe* vs. *correct Sabaah al xeer*, *Sabaah an nuur*, Nigerians say *dadda* for *yaani*. Shuwa use a lot of Kanuri words, like *kina*.

In mixed marriage, if Arab man marries Kanembu and woman does not speak Arabic, at first they would speak Kanembu, then she would learn Arabic.

Children follow lg. of mother, or lg. of neighborhood if that is different.

Many Tunjur in Chad. Tunjur have cattle. He does not have any and did not herd.

Arabs give daughters to cousins. Tunjur to Tunjur. Now they give them to any tribe. He would give daughter to Arabic who does not speak Arabic, if he knew the family he came from. Daughter would teach husband Arabic.

Shuwa are Arabs who learn other lgs., esp. in bush. They may forget Arabic and take on another lg. Arab who does not speak Arabic is still an Arab.

Listens to radio Kaduna.

Has now become a Nigerian. Accustomed to Nigeria. Married to Nigerian Arab as well as to Chadian from Kanem (Tunjurawiya).

When he was young, Ruwan Zafi was separated from Maiduguri. Chadians settled in Ruwan Zafi because it was nearest to Ndjamenena. At one time Chadians in Maiduguri got along well together; they had an informal club.

When 1980 civil war came, they began splitting according to Hisen and Goukouni factions. At first he participated in Arabic club (Gwange social club?). Only Arabs, no differentiation for national origin. Then Nigerians began singling out Chadians as foreigners, particularly during Shagari regime. Niger, Chadians, Cameroonians were treated as guests. Did not want Chadians to participate in their politics. At end of interview appears to want to hide his criticism, and describes the founding of al-Haya club, working in concert with Nigerians.

37, 0371, 8-90, outside Unimaid (Nigerguard), Ibrahim, 65, NA, , NA, Jum'aay (Abu Jime),

Interviewers: me, Danna

Lived 6 years in Maiduguri; works as Nigerguard. Grew up in Wurbo, worked 10 years in Kaduna as Niger Guard before Maid. Lives at house of 41, who is his boss.

Cousin of Kellu (nr. 1381)

Born in Wulba, N. of Kumshe, near Cameroonian border. Six years in Maiduguri. Before Maiduguri stayed 10 years in Kaduna. Did not visit other country

In village sara with cattle, all nashaq as far as yare. Now has no cattle. In nomadic herding most difficult part is finding water. Sometimes necessary to dig well. They would get their food from market. Buy qalla by the sack, according to size of their camp

Speaks K. , H a little. Learned K in village, village mixed with K. Does not read or write arabic, did not study in sangaya. Arabic is easier than Kanuri, because no distinction between m/f. (*are* "come" is same for both)

Married to an Arab. Speaks Arabic at home, in market Kanuri

Prefers city to village. Life is easier, and he can rest. Visits relatives in vilage, e.g. for births, deaths.

Formerly each tribe married from itself; today anybody marries anybody. he would give daughter to one with most money. An Arab whose mother and father are Arabs but who does not speak Arabic is like the modern urban Arabs, comparing them with Danna. He would not consider them Arab.

Arab man and Kanuri woman, after 3 years woman would learn arabic and become an Arab. At beginning would speak Kanuri. If Arab woman marries Kanuri man, she would learn Kanuri, children would learn both lgs. If they go live outside Borno, would learn lg of area they live in. Arab who has forgotten Arabic would not be called Arab. Non-Arab who lives with Arabs and knows their *agil* would be considered Arab if you heard him talking. If you asked about his tribe, however, he would keep his original one (Kanuri or whatever).

Clan = wulaad Raama. They have a diya with Fallaata Angaraajan (Ngaraaji). Abu Jime and Bani Seed and Baneesan largest clans in his area. Considers his clan also close to Wulaad Himeed and Shideera. These marry amongst selves and have common diya

Does not listen much to radio

He can identify area person comes from according to his dialect

Ibrahim Jr. asks him, if someone says *taal* , and we say *caal*, where would you say *taal* person comes from. Ibrahim Sr. Answers Njamena, but Kanuri would say something else (i.e. does not understand question well).

Qawalme and his people are all one; Qawalme are like Fulani, very reddish.

Balge best place to learn Arbic, because there there are majority Arabs. Old or young all speak Arabic. In Balge you find exclusively Arabs.

59, 0591, 8-90, Sabon Lain (next to Gwange, towards univ.), Old Hamid, 102 (!), CamA, CamA, Wulad Himeed,

Interviewers: me, Musa Adam (IM 40)

Worked as musician. Born in Cameroon 5 years before Rabeh came. Lived 18 years in Ndjamena before coming to Maiduguri 13 years ago. Before that in Xunsina, near Alele/Amshook. Says he speaks only K, but apparently knows some K. Wife Ar, Ar. spoken at home. Children pick up lg. of place they grow up in; his daughter speaks K with him but H with neighbors. No fixed idea about best Ar spoken. Says everywhere is mixed up (argat argat ke bas). In market takes K translator with him. First said would give daughter to Arab, but when explained that Arab does not know Arabic, says would give daughter to one who speaks Arabic, because otherwise H will take over. Lives in largely K part of Sabo Lain, next to 2 other Ar households.

62, 8-90, Dikkeceri, Hajj Ayoub, 65,

Interviewer: me and Musa Adam

This recording was not used

131. (1310) Sept. 1993. Al-Hajj Abu Bakar. 70 yrs. old. Bani Hassan

Interviewer: me

Presently head of security at Lake Chad Hotel

Bani Hassan. Married to Nig. Arab from Xaddaamri, near Jeere. No children.

Lives in Gwange on Ahmadu Bello way.

Grew up in KurDHa, 220 km. from Cam-Nig border. 16 years in KurDHa as farmer, never herded. At 16 drafted into British army (taken in handcuffs) in 1939. Came to Nigeria with brother, who was in army. Sent to Asia, India and Burma to fight Japan in 1943.

Every 2 years he visits Cameroon. Served as warden in Kaduna prison. 17 yrs ago came to Maiduguri. Speaks Fulani, which he learned in KurDHa. Majority there are Fulani. Speaks Hausa, does not like Kanuri and Ibo, so he did not learn the lgs. Learned English in army. Arabic most difficult of lgs he knew. Does not read or write it; did not attend sanga. Writes and reads Hausa. Not sure where best Arabic spoken in Nigeria; in end decided his wife's Arabic the best, Jeere. Cameroonian Arabic not so good because Arabs are relatively few. Would marry daughter to Arab; Arab his best friend. Prefers city to village life. Immediate neighbors are Hausa and Kanuri.

1.3 Group 3 Women, -30

17a, 0170, 8-89, Gamboru, Amine , 18, NA, NA (Asaal'e),

Interviewers: me, Danna

Sister of Danna. second year secondary school student. Studies in. Wants to be a lawyer, though father (nr. 32) wants to marry her to s.o. in Kano. Also interviewed in nr. 51; appears in 61a. Half sister (through 32) of (a).

Born in Maiduguri, Asal'e. Does not often go to Kirenawa. Studies at Gajiganna. Did not study sangaya and doesn't read or write arabic.

Speaks H, K, E, learned K, H from friends, E in school. A most difficult lg of 3 because there aren't many arabs in Nigeria so it would be difficult to learn it. Kirenawa best dialect and Gambaru because many arabs there, Bankii would also be good because arabs are majority.

Formerly arabs married among selves, whether in village or city.

Arab man + non-arab would speak H, children also would speak H, unless husband understands A in which case children would learn A also. If mother speaks a

A to them, children would also learn A.

Arab who doesn't speak arabic is an arab, non-arab who speaks arabic is not arab. (p. 5). Would give daughter to arab. Because of blood.

Listens mostly to H radio, some arabic from Maiduguri.

In sangaya one does not learn arabic. Islamiyya school for learning arabic.

In Maidguri most arabs in Gamboru, Maiduguri, Dikeceri, Gwange

Balge arabic different from hers. They say "caali", They say "mesér", we say "máasar".

She prefers city life because she is used to it and grew up in it.

Marriage in former times less expensive than today. Before everything arranged by father

17b, 1210, 8-89, Gamboru, Fadume, 16, NA, NA (Asaal'e),

Interviewers: Me, Danna

Student, finished JSS. Cousin to Danna, daughter of nr. 8, 1989 married to Arab man from Gamboru-Ngala (Bashir in no.)

Born in Maiduguri, Wulad abu 'iise.

Village life more difficult because women have to carry wood, water.

Speaks K, H, E. Learned k from street. K most difficult lg of 3

Mixed marriage, arab woman would teach arabic to children.

Games: bandil

Speak arabic at home, A, H, K with friends, H in market.

Doesn't listen to radio much,.

Studied up to SS1, would then work.

p. 6 describes marriage customs. First arranges with father, then groom brings present for mother in law, sisi, money, goods of various sort for the mother in law. Nikah, party with dancers and slaughtered cow.

23, 0230, 9-89, Unimaid bookstore, Fatuma Musa, 30, NA Baniseet from Ngala, NA Mahrabiyye from Mungono,

Interviewer: me

Grew up in Maiduguri. Has higher national Diploma and is assistant bookstore manager, Unimaid. Husband Arab, has 2 children. spent 4 years in Scotland with husband and visited W. Germany once. 1989 reported that her son spoke no other lg. than Arabic; 1990, at 4, she now fears that he is picking up too much Hausa from his kindergarten.

Grew up in Mafoni.

Studied in sangaya 6 years till she was 14, went to Govt. school. and in secondary school had no more time for sangaya, attended TSS, then Ramat Polytechnic. In sangaya learned what is necessary for Islam, without book. Copied what teacher wrote. Some teachers Hausa, some Kanuri, some Arab. She learned some Arabic with "teach yourself Arabic",. Now studies at Islamiyya school. She understands 15-20% of radio Kuwait. Also says that half of Shuwa Arab is the same as classical arabic.

She speaks Arabic, H, Kanuri. Learned lgs from street. Writes H, not Kanuri. Hausa easiest, then Kanuri; Arabic most difficult. Arabic difficult because of letters (difficult sounds). People of Borno find these sounds difficult. In market speaks lg which others speak, or English with southerners; In market people take her for Fulani, so they speak to her in Fulani. English at work (and Hausa, observed).

4 years in England with her husband, Scotland, one year in Kano as NYSC; visited Germany with a German friend.

One child (at time of interview, since another). Speak only Arabic at home. 4 year old son does not know H or K.

Works in university bookstore, describes work

Says Arab women work publicly more than Kanuri do

Arabs marry among selves, now women marry other tribes. Of 8 sisters, only 2 have married arabs (5 kanuri, 1 hawsa; 5 in Maiduguri, 1 in Baga). She says because Arab women are very proud and do not take orders from other tribes; they can comand other tribes but not their own men. Of her sisters, 3 have children who speak Arabic, 3 have children who do not. If wife is alone, she does not have chance to speak Arabic. If they send them to grandparents, grandparents will speak H or K with them.

Non-arabs who speak Arabic are not Arabs. She would give daughter to non-Arab who speaks Arabic. Lg. is more important than iSil. Many people like to say they are Arabs because ARabs have iSil, but they are not necessarily Arabs.

Listens to radio Borno, but does not have time to listen to news in Arabic. Best place to learn Arabic is BOCOPS, better than among Arabs. But Arabs learn standard Arabic faster. She finds Arabic easier than do her Kanuri classmates. In Maiduguri Arabic could become lost, but not in rural areas. Can understand dialects. Kaala people have original pronunciation. She laughs at their pronunciation, however. She says "leyy" for road, which is a Kanuri word, but they don't know it. Arabs from elsewhere would understand Kaala people easier than Maiduguri because Maiduguri Arabs use H, K, English words. She knows Kaala because her father has Balge relatives who visit her.

Kaala We here

caali taali

Arabic club, haya. To help herders with cattle, schools.

Does not visit relatives in country often, but they visit her.

At end describes marriage

34, 0341, 9-90, Gamboru, Xadiija, 33, NA Isaa'i, NA Asaal'e,

Interviewers: me, Danna

1 yr. Sangaya, otherwise no lg. Has lived in Maiduguri for 12 years, including 10 at Chad basin authority housing compound, 3 years in Gamoru, 5 at Chad basic (p. 11). Previously spent 8 years in Lagos living with uncle Musa Daggash (1).

Born in Kirenawa, Father Asaal'e, mother Wulad Abu 'Ise, both from Kirenawa. Has been in Maiduguri for 12 years. Prior to that lived in Lagos for 8 years. Married to H man but does not live with him. Married for first time when she was 13 (p. 3), but she could not stand husband who was older than and a slave (abiid) her so she ran away from him. Danna asks why relatives didn't return her, but she says she simply refused to live with him. Herded cattle for 2 years (p. 6). 1 week in a camp. When too much shit accumulated went to another one. Has 1 daughter who understands H and A, not K.

Speaks H, understands K but does not like to speak it because does not like K. Learned H from street. Speaks a little Ibo and Yoruba. Does not think K is difficult (p. 8) but does not like speaking it.

Speaks A with daughter. Daughter prefers to speak arabic. Husband does not speak arabic. Daughter speaks better arabic than herself. Does not let her speak H in house, tells her she is arab, not hawsa.

Would marry daughter to one who knows arabic because arab who doesn't know arabic has taken on foreign customs and won't behave like an arab. He would sit around like a guest.

non-arab who speaks arabic is not an arab.

Traveled to Chad. FS lived in Bahar al Qazal in Chad and she visited her there when she was 10.

Balge Ngumati arabic different, though all of it correct. Balge arabs pull the language (bijuRRuuha), say "ikse"inti di taali ke, iske inta ma tantini gorooya",

"iske hu inti maashye ween". Best arabic in Mecca. Kirenawa best arabic (not Gulumba). Njamena arabic is different from Nigeria. She says their arabic is better because it is not mixed with other lgs. E.g. they say "taali hassa battaan". D says Nigerian is better, she says no. He says because of other tribes, but she says that their arabic is not true, correct arabic.

p. 8 listens to Kaduna, Chad, mecca radio.

Did not study in sangaya except for prayers, or govt. school. Can write her name in arabic.

Prefers city live. In country people are troubled, tired, though recently country has become better because food and water are easier to get. Only nomadism is difficult. She wouldn't return to nomadism even if offered a lot of money (p. 6). Too much work gathering wood and water.

p 10 speak about Daggash's sons who don't know arabic. Only one does, who studied in Cairo.

Has not traveled to Kir recently. Aunt FS lives there, but not a lot of other relatives. Has not visited there in a year.

Kirenawa arabs live in Gambori and around Shex Jarma.

One cannot compare I=Legos to Maiduguri; Legos much better place. When she was in Legos she had money. Dana says Maiduguri is good because one lives among relatives, and in the end she says that is an advantage because she can always depend on them for food and things.

50, 0501, 8-90, Dikkeceri (opposite Gwange), Xadija Amsigine, 30, NA (Asaal'e), NA (W. Saalim),

Interviewers: me, Danna

Daughter of nr. 8. Born, grew up in Kirenawa. 10 yr ago moved to Maiduguri. Has 5 children. All speak Arabic. Illiterate in all lgs.

Born in Kirenawa; went to Lagos for a few months, then came to Maiduguri at 10. Mother Wulaad Salim, Father Asaal'e. Husband Arab originally from Cameroon but who came to Maiduguri when he was small. He is Hemadiya. Speaks H, K. Speaks A at home and children speak A to each other, H, K in street.. Did not study in school; studied in sangaya for 2 years, one in Lagos, one in Maiduguri. Learned basic prayers. Does not read or write arabic. K more difficult than H and A. Children speak H with neighbors (one set is Kanuri). Lg. will not get lost in city

Does not visit K. often. Only if s.o. died or is sick; most of her relatives in Maiduguri. Did not herd nomadically. Maiduguri better than Kir. Too much trouble in country.

Her children study in primary school morning and afternoon in sangaya.

Formerly Arabs did not intermarry, now they do in city, but not so much in countryside. Lg. of mixed marriage other lg. Gives examples of her female relatives married to H they also speak H. Children do not learn Arabic correctly. If man is Arab, Arabic learned better.

Her dialect is same as that of Am Buda. Different from Gulumba and Balge. Their language is twisted (milwiyye) while hers is correct.

Hers Balge
adiil milwiyye
taal caal

Has not traveled much. Only Kirenawa, Maiduguri.

Listens to BBC, Kaduna (H), local shuwa arabic news.

Would give d. to Arab; non-Arab who speaks arabic is not an Arab, unless he marries 2 or 3 arab women and he has children. Then they would influence his arabicness.

Reminisses about dances in Kirenawa

Knows about al-Haya club, but she as woman is not in it. Club for helping other arabs. Women only go to naming ceremonies, wedding.

51, 8-90, Gamboru, Amine = 17a

68b, 1261, 9-90, Gamboru (Danna's old compound), Xadija Jr. Abu Ise, (mother himeediye),

Interviewers: me, Danna

Born in Mai, grew up in Mai, parents from Kirenawa. Married to Annnayim (nr. 80). 4 yrs. primary school and 3 yr. Quranic but cannot read or write A.

Housewife, has never traveled with husband but would do so if asked.

Speaks H, K. learned K in school

Ar lg of home, in market speaks lg of trader, speaks Ar to son, so when he does on to street he will speak A already. If she spoke to son in H, he would not know A.

Best place to learn A is Kirenawa and that area. A most difficult of 3, K easiest for her, for foreigner H because it is lingua franca.

D to A

Has heard of Haya but never gone there. its purpose is to bring freedom to Arabs, so they will respect themselves.

She would only marry an Arab, does not like other groups. Will educate son first in Sanga, then govt school..

68a, 9-90 (681) Gamboru, Hawa. Hausa, Daganiyye.

Interviewers: me, Danna

Born in Maiduguri, grew up in cattle camp (6 yrs). Full sister of Bashir (11).

Lives in Gwange, married to Bura

Speaks K, H. Studied in Sanga 3 or 4 yrs but does not write A, can read it.

Speaks A with her children. They know H and A.

Would give D to A

In market speaks lg addressed in

A hardest of 3 lgs, H easiest. Danga have best lg, lg of camps.

Traveled, lived in Kano, Kaduna, Zaria. Prefers Kad to Mai. Says people are very nice there. Only came back to Mai because Maternal Uncle was there.

Continues to visit camps, one of her children there now. Prefers camps to Mai.

Knows about Haya club, approves of it, has never visited it. Strongly identifies with Arabs. Doesn't want A customs to be lost, especially by A women.

77 (771), Gamboru (Danna's compound), Hajje Habsa, c. 30. Asaal'e,

Interviewers: me, Danna

from near Jeéré, Wahattiini, 12 miles from Jeere. Married to Kanuri whose parents are Arab but who does not speak Arabic. Lives at Tasha Kano. 17 yrs in Maiduguri. No children

Attended Sanga, does not read or write English or Arabic. Speaks K, some H, learned K from husband. Did not know it in Jeere. Speaks more A than K around her home. At home K and A.

Visits her village often; has traveled to Kano, Lagos, Mecca. Never herded nomadically, only sarha.

Arabic most difficult lg of 3 (K has no gender). Jeere and camps best places to learn A, because no K there. Can tell Balge dialect. Balge speak with heart (galb) vs. Qawalme who speak with mouth (qashim). Galb = throat. Balge twist (lawlaw) their tongue from inside. Qashim = above tongue, jaw. Each Arabic place has dialect, Sudan, Qawalme, etc. Balge speak like Koyaam, immediately recognizable. Qawalme is better.

D to non-A. Example of her husband; she has taught him Arabic. If she hasn't know it, she couldn't have taught it to him.

Discussion of marital behavior. If wife runs away from husband, would I father, protect her? In Shuwa custom father would send her back to husband.

82b. 1250, Amiina, c. 25. Father Himeedi, mother Asal'iyé.

Interviewer: Danna

Parents divorced. Father living in GRA, mother in Gwange. Mother from Kirenawa, father from Makari. Parents grew up in villages. Studied in Damaturu and Dabei for 3 yrs in govt school. After 3 yrs had a child and came to Mai.

Married K then divorced. Husband in GRA.

Speaks K and H. H learned at school, K from husband. At home speaks A to elders, H + A to sibs. Outside of compound H, market H.

Mixed marriages speak H. She speaks H with her husband. Children speak H. If mother is A, children will learn A. If mother K, children will not learn A -- F 3 disagrees, saying that even if mother is A, children will not learn A.

K most difficult of 3. Best place to learn A is Kirenawa. In Mai it is Gwange.

Has not traveled. If she had money she would travel beyond Mecca.
 Would marry D to whichever D wanted. would prefer A. Amiina says wife would teach A to children. F 3 says lg would be lost because children would not speak A. F 3 cites example of children of Amiina's mother living with non-A, who do not speak A. Amiina says it depends on mother. D says H and K can be learned foog ad-darb, on the street, A only at home.
 Prefers Mai to village (where she has never lived).

110b Amiina (1200, University = 110amuni). 1991, at University, a Qawalme. Does not know her sub-clan. Mother is Hausa, Father Arab

Interviewer: me

Amina,. Does not know clan because she grew up in city, not country. Lives in Bulabilin, opposite from Gwange. Teaches H in school, girl's JSS in Maiduguri; taking time off to get BA in H. Will return to teach H in school. Learned H and K in Maiduguri; biggest group in Bulabilin are K. Learned K from them. Mother took her to Nguru (home village) for 10 years when she was 2 or 3; father was in Maiduguri, so she learned H better than A. . Returned to father and learned A as 2nd lg.

In Maiduguri she still spoke mostly H, some E and K, Arabic only at home. With sibs speaks mainly H. Her father always spoke A with them and tried to prevent them from speaking H between selves. Father's second wife (step mother) also Arab. Second wife does not speak H, K, only Arabic (from Ndjamen). Her father from Jiddari Shuwari, S. of Maiduguri (near Mule Shuwari).

Visits father's village occasionally.

Married to Gwoza man. At home speak English, H. One child, 2 yrs old. Wants to speak Arabic with her children, but with 2-yr old speaks H only till now. In her area few arabs. Her step-mother in area; visits them occasionally and speaks Arabic. In market H, K, A according to lg of seller.

Arabic easiest lg. of 3, then H, K most difficult.

Can tell some different dialects, Ndjamen vs. Maiduguri but not Bama vs. Ngala; not within Nigeria. Best place to learn Bama or Banki because taht is where most Arabs are.

Did not study sangya, only western school. Studied a little bit at Nahda school, but has forgotten everything.

Knows about Haya club. If given choice between Arab and Gwoza club, she would choose Arab. Goals of Haya education, advance Arabs. Did not know word "mashruu" (for Arabic club). She does not have time to go to club.

Would marry daughter to Arab. Does not think Arabic is Maiduguri will die out. Her own daughter will learn Arabic eventually.

Has traveled to Potiskum. Studied secondary school there. Visited Kaduna, Kano, not outside Nigeria, not Gambaru

141. Chad x.. Oct 1993, Amne Asaale. Born in Gombori Maiduguri. Mother Tunjur, father Kanembu from Dagana.

Interviewer: Allamein, me

Father's relatives in Dagana, where they work in cattle trade, going as far as Lagos.

Speaks Arabic, H, no Kanuri, but later says she understands it but cannot speak it. At home Arabic. Hausa most difficult lg. Chadians speak best Arabic in Nigeria. If Nigeria, Gambaru. Rural Nigerians like Ambuda don't speak correctly. Mix it up with Kanuri.

Stayed for 5 years in Njamena with her sister, who is married there. 4 yrs. since she returned from Njamena. Prefers Njamena to Maiduguri; more discos, more fun. Listened to Congolese, Egyptian, Sudanese music.

Did not study in sangaya. Studied a bit at home, but they mostly played while the teacher taught. Cannot read or write arabic.

Spends p. 2 talking about food. She helps her mother make it.

Has never heard of Haya.

Would prefer to marry non-Arab from Maiduguri than a wealthy Nigerian Arab from outside.

Would give daughter to Arab who doesn't speak Arabic

Best friend Arab from Marwa.

143. (1430). Oct. 1993. Chadian x, the more talkative one. 17. Ruwan Zafi

Interviewers: Allamein, me

Father Kanembu, mother Arab (Ngala area, nomad). Does not know her mother's clan or even where she comes from. Has relatives in Gwange near Moh Shitta. Mother grew up in Maiduguri (RZ). Father learned Ar. in Dagana. Born in RZ and has lived her whole life there. Speaks Arabic and H, no Kanuri. With half-brother's and sister's speaks H, with full sibs and with mother Arabic.

Outside of home, H. Spoke A. with father. Kanuri most difficult lg, H easiest.

Does not know where best Arabic spoken, but Njamena A better than Nigerian. Studied sanga but does not read or write A. Can recite some patrs well (example on tape). Only her male sibs study in govt. school. Has not traveled in Nigeria. Visited her married sister in Nj for 1 and half months. Food is better in Nj, but otherwise show would prefer to stay in Nig. Would not marry someone who is a nomand (even if rich). Would rather marry Hausa from city than Arab nomad. Has heard of Haya at MOh Shitta's house, but does not know what it is. Assumes that any tribe can belong to it. Would marry daughter to Arab. Best friend is Arab.

144. =IM144, Oct. 1993, Gwange, kellu-jr (1441). Kellu. Isaay (Iweesiye). 27.

Gwange, next to mosque

Interviewers: Jidda Hasan, me

Born in Salaasa (Gulumba). At 7 came to Gwange to study. 27 yrs. old. Married to Arab who works for state security, also from Balge. Lived 2 yrs in Biu (1978-80). Eldest son is 14.

Studied in Nahda, then Bocolis. Now teaches in Nahda, for 1 year. Wants to continue on in Univ. but does not want to return to teaching. Would prefer working as secretary for a company. Studied sanga 6 yrs with Jiida hassan. Difference with Islamiyya education is in letters (e.g. qaaf).

A number of relatives live in Gwange near her. Has visited Salasa only 3 times. Arab vilages near Salasa: AmboRooya, Adamari, Kilimiri, Amcaka, Geegeri, Amciqo. c. 6 hrs. to Gulumba walking time (hard walking). Markets: Gulumba, Walooji, Banki, Sigal

Speaks H, a little E, and K and Bura. K most difficult. In market K and H mostly, according to lg of person. At home, H and A. Does not prevent children from speaking H. More A than H used at home. Best place to learn A is Gulumba area because no other tribes live in area (she's never seen a Hausa in her village or in neighboring ones).

Has traveled to Biu, Yobe, Cambaru, Dikwa, Baaga; never outside Nigeria.

Would marry daughter to Arab.

Has heard of Haya, but did not know anything about it or what it did. Thinks it a good idea after JH explains what it does. She would join Haya before club of any other tribe.

She says she's changed her dialect since living in Maiduguri. Differences:

Maiduguri	Balge
haw	huu
agood saakit	agood kidik
taal	caal
tineen	iSineen
talaata	SalaaSa

If she goes to Salaasa, her Ar is considered deviant; she thinks her own is correct. Defends her own (Maiduguri) dialect by saying that it conforms to orthography. taal, no c for caal in arabic orthography. When I point out that s for usineen is closer than t to classical ithneen, she and people with her jokingly agree that they should start using s forms again. If she used usineen, people in Maiduguri would laugh at her.

She is Tijaniye, best friend a Hajaraay (Cameroonian or Chadian who grew up with her.

151 = IM151asta (1511). Sept 1993. Asta, wife of Ibrahim (411). Abu Jime, Formerly lived near Maire, now in Dikeceri. 30. Six children

Interviewer: me, Ibrahim

born in Kumaaga (= 174, 5), near Sigal. Father died shortly after she was born. They moved at age of 1 to Waza in Cameroon, married Ibrahim and lived 7

years in Kaduna, then Maire 1 year then Riverside 7 years. % months ago they came to Dikeceri in 1993.

Did not study. Prefers Maiduguri to country life. Speaks H, not K. Learned it in Kaduna. K most difficult lg. Kumaga best place to learn ARabic.

Works as seamstress, work which she learned from an Ibo in Kaduna.

Would give daughter to Arab. Children would learn lg of mother. In mixed marriage, if Husband K, family would speak K and children would learn K, not Arabic (Xadija of same opinion).

Knows about Haya.

Can tell difference between dialects; Balge say caal, others taal; otherwise dialects are the same.

Xadija her twin sister grew up in Kumaga, then lived 15 years in Maiduguri in Shuwari where she married a Qawalme. Did not herd nomadically. Has same answers as sta on questions of lg use. In discussion about differences between dialects.

Asta: Nj: battan, hassa, afe taybiin (we say afe only). Notices that Ibrahim speaks different dialects, different at home than with strangers.

Xadija: bataan is Nj only, not proper Arabic. afe Taybiin is correct Arabic
Ibrahim nyammaq = ejjan

Discussion ends with video films (women prefer dances, men action films). Car color: Asta does not like red, likes dark yellow

In their compound.

Ibrahim, married to Asta (second wife in Kaduna). Xadija, who recently quarreled with husband. Jidda, son of Ibrahim's maternal uncle (xaal) with his wife Xaalta.

Ibrahim's children (he did not know their ages): Adum, Keelluu (in Women's teacher's training school 15, Maiduguri) 13, Ali, Abbakaru, Xadija, Hajje Maryam, Al-Hajj Mohammad

Jidda's children Fanne and Zaara

Others:

Umar, son of maternal uncle who lives in Kaduna. Sent to Ibrahim to learn Arabic. When he came ot them in Maiduguri, he didn't know Arabic. Born in Waza, at 4 went to Kaduna, 1985 came ot Maiduguri

Ibrahim ?

Deejeri = normal name for Dikkeceri. Mashoomari is part of Dikeceri where they live.

107. 1071, Sharafiya. Dec 91

Interviewers: Danna, me

110a= 1200. Amina from University

Interviewer: me

1.4 Group 4 Women +50

31, 0311, 7-90, Gamboru, Am Abuuha, 60, Himeedi, Daganiyya,

Interviewers:me/Danna

Housewife, nomad. Grew up and lived most of her life in cattle camp in Dambua area. Then lived 10 years in Lagos and now has settled in Maiduguri for the past ten years. Has house down the road from Danna's father's compound, next to the railroad tracks.

Mother Dagani, father Awlad Himed, Lived 10 years in Lagos, then 9 years in Maiduguri.

Life in camps: she lived in camps, not in village. sold yoghurt in markets.

Describes path: Dambua, Ganga, Kubuttawa, Sanbudi, summer in Kukaruk, in south as far as Cubuk, Gwoza. Herders are pure Arabs, free Arabs, unmixed.

send cattle to Lagos. Hire Fulani herders. "We" found life too difficult and moved to Maiduguri. Fulani all speak arabic. Qawalme are: Dagana, Wulad Himed, Maharib, Bani Wayil, Xizam, Sarrar, Bani Badr, Hawarte, Asaal'e, Abu ?Ise, Sarajiye. Sarajiye are mixed up (makunuus). Likens Sarajiye to Koyam

Understands Kanuri, no Hausa. Later (p. 9) says she undertands Hausa badly (makunuus). Kanuri learned from trading in market. Does not read or write. Arabic only for prayers. Did not attend sanga. Speaks Kanuri in market. Arab woman in Maiduguri married to Kanuri will speak Kanuri, children Kanuri. If wife is good, she'll teach children Arabic. But children will never learn Arabic completely. In Nigeria Arabic has begun to get lost.. Small children speak only Hausa. Her grandchildren speak Hausa between selves. In camps Arabic remains strong.

Parents are from area. She liked Lagos. Life in camps was good, with galloping. Salamat are not Nigerians, are Chadian

She distinguishes Njamena from Nigerian dialects, but confuses differences between dialects (Mecca, Nigeria, Njamena) and languages (Chinese, French) (p. 6).

sarajiye say *caal waLaMMi, biTTaMMwi*,

she says dumba, sarajiye say dagalee (basket for carrying material for bartering). She says DHasaa for cup, they say kooRaa, she says burma, they say dimbaa

2 children in Lagos

Non-arabi who learns Arabic does not become Arab. Remains tribe of his *ga'ar*.

Gives example of a man whose father and mother arabs, but he did not learn Arabic, only Kanuri. He still calls himself arab, but one who did not learn language. If you were once a slave you remain a slave. Mala Garba was a former slave (his family), but became very rich but she still considers him a slave. A person born elsewhere keeps tribe of where he was born.

Formerly one gave daughter to one's tribe, people one knew. Today to those who have the most money.

Does not listen to much radio, nor television.

Traveled to Garwa, Lagos, Mecca

38, 0381, 8-90, Maiduguri village (just across RR tracks), Haajje Habbaaba, 55, Himeedi, Himeediyye,

Interviewers: Danna/me

Born and grew up in Jerrey, village N of Maiduguri, c. 25 km. also lived nomadically. Married a Kanuri and moved to Bama. Divorced, then moved to Maiduguri 8 years ago. Live in compound with mother, the only other Arabic speaker among c. 15 people.

Grew up in Jeere, married Kanuri man and moved to Bama, her husband died and she then moved to Maiduguri where she has been for 8 years. In Jeere herded cattle. Went from Gubio to Yare via Dikwa (Gubio, Gamgalo, Muba). Winter in Gubio. Spent 6 years in nomadism before going to Bama.

Nomadism difficult. Daily putting up house. Water rains in one you. Life is difficult, and she gave it up. A woman gets old quickly in camp. Building house: Buruush, Leeda (black plastic), Cattle hides inside, then buruush, then plastic on outside. Everyone in one house. A man with two wives and his mother would have 3 houses. Camps consist of relatives; only Arabs, or sometimes Fulani herder. Before Kanuri did not herd, now they have started. Prefers Maiduguri to camps. Better houses, toilet, showering place. Now many people come to Maiduguri because they find country life too troublesome. Arabs sell cattle and come settle in city.

Speaks Kanuri. Does not know H. Learned K with her husband's other wives. In market speaks Arabic, Kanuri. Young children speak K and H; give up Arabic. In camps only Arabic, no K or H. If she speaks H, people laugh at her. In Bama there are few Arabs. Near Bama, Gulumba, all are Salamaat, the ones who say *wu wal aMMii*

Balge say *wu wal aMMii* Arabs here say *bët aMMi*. She recognizes Balge dialect, but does not speak it. Best Arabic in Ambudha area, because there are only Arabs, not mixed up with Kanuri; Gambaru also good for same reason. Did pilgrimage twice, when she was 20 and 30. Did not travel to Cameroon or Chad. On return trip from Mecca she lost a lot of baggage, stolen in Ndjammena.

Arabs used to marry between selves, now only money: will give daughter to Kanuri, Yoruba, Hawsa. In mixed marriage everyone speaks Hausa. Children might understand arabic, but wouldn't speak it.

Arabic is more difficult than kanuri. Her 3 co-wives never learned Arabic, nor did husband.

Did not study in sangaya or school.

Non-Arabs who learn Arabic do not become Arabs; only took Arabic. She would marry daughter to whoever she wants, but in her own opinion, there are none better than free Arabs.

Kanuri vs. Arabic culture. Main difference in marriage; parents of groom give goods in kind to bride, but Arabs give money. Kanuri give presents to groom (because bride is not pretty). In camps, groom used to give bride a cow (*kilfe*) 2 years before he would take bride, to show he could maintain her. Also would give malaafi and jingulee for building house, then would take girl.

Last 2 pages describes wedding customs, galab al xeel

46b, 0461, 8-90, Ruwanzafi, Haajje Zeenaba, 55, Tunjur, Tunjur,

Interviewers: Allamine/me.

Born in Chad, Dagana (Massakori, near Mao. speaks a little Kanembu, Teda.

Married, 3 daughters with her, husband in Njamena. Ar. Ig of home

Housewife, grew up in Njamena. Moved to Maiduguri 8 yrs. ago with husband. First lived in Gwange 8. Husband now has gone back to Njamena.

Would return to Njamena if circumstances allowed. In intermarriage both Ig would be spoken, but mother has greatest influence. Did not study, does not read or write. City life better than country life; looks down on Nigerian Arabs as uncivilized. Would give daughter to non-Arab who speaks Arabic; Arab who lost Ig. is not Arab.

82a., 0820, Fadhme 3, c. 45. Maharbi (Tarjo)

Interviewer:

Born in camp, never lived in village. Her husband divorced her and she came to Maiduguri (Gomboru). Married to Abdul Gadir.

Did not study anywhere, illiterate. Speaks only A. In market speaks A. H easier than A. 4 daughters, 1 son, all speak H. She speaks A to them.

Prefers camp life to village, people dance, gather firewood, fetch water. In city you sit around, nothing to do.

Has never traveled outside of area (Bama, Dikwa, Mai)

People marry daughters to those with money. Would marry daughter to non A.

Person who lives with Arabs can become Arab, even if a slave.

D says many K in market understand A.

96. 0960, Oct. 91, Hajje Asmain Ngamdu, c. 50 Father Falata Mare, mother Harbiye

Interviewers: Fatuma Musa, me

Born Ngala in Shooguri, a K village. Moved at very young age to grandmother (mother's mother) where she grew up. Father now living in Njamena (cattle trader). married to K, works as matron at girl's sec school, Maiduguri. Has had job for 4 yrs. Attended school for 3-4 yrs. Husband works in education dept.

Speaks K, H (no F). A her best lg. Reads and writes H , K only, not A or E. At home speaks A with children, K with husband. He doesn't speak A. Son speaks A with mistakes.

Traveled to postings with husband, Yola, Gombe, Kaltungo, visited Lagos, visits father in Njamena.

Kirenawa best place to learn A or camp, but Arabs in Nig too scattered. K most difficult lg, can only be learned if you grow up with it.

D to A because of blood (Fat Musa does not agree), but now everyone marries anyone, because of Islam.

A men do not marry other groups, A women do

Very strongly supportive of Haya club and its activities. Given choice of joining K, F or A club, she would choose A. Has not yet gone to Haya meeting, but will do so.

Her son also considers himself A before K.

Differences in marriage customs with K. A have higher bride price, 12 gold pieces vs. 3 or 4, parents of K girl give gifts in kind to husband and their daughter, A do not.

97. 0970, College of Agric. Oct. 91, Hajje Xadija, c. 50. Mahaarib (both)

Interviewers: Fatuma Musa, me

Born in Gambaru area in cattle camp. Grew up in Mafooni with her parents. She herded nomadically as well, attended Sanga in Mai. Mother wanted her to attend govt school, father did not. She listened to father. Moved to Lagos with husband (A) for a long time, divorced recently and came back to Mai with daughter 9 months ago. Works as matron at agricultural college, Mai. Attended A club in Lagos, has not heard of Haya in Mai.

Did Hajj 10 yrs ago.

Speaks K, H. Daughter speaks broken E (pidgin), Y, A, attends govt primary school. She uses H, Pidgin at work

Would give D to non-A because of lg.

Best place to learn A in East, Chad, in Nigeria not sure.

Balge A: *iske, waldammi*, but all varieties understandable.

98. 0980. Oct. 91, Ashe

Interviewers: Fatuma Musa, me

c. 45. Full sister of 96. From Shooguri, Makari near Ngala. At 7 brought to Mai, studied in school till 10, married at 14, lived in Fiizaan, Hawsari (marriage), Gwange, Ruwanzafi, 7 yrs in Ruwanzafi. Married to A. Father Fulani, mother Hammeedi (divorced). Fathre lives in Ndjamenana. Visited father occasionally.

Visits Gamboru occasionally. Travels to Gombe (visited sister), Mubi, Bama, Banki.

Speaks H, K, learned them from Mai and H from school. Does not read or write A, did not study in sanga.

In market uses H and K, A only with Arabs (al-arab da maafi katiir). Gamboru-Ng best place to learn A, but everybody would say their own dialect the best. Can tell dialects apart. Ndjamaena A a bit mixed up with Saara, Nj people say Nig A not understandable because mixed with K. She has trouble understanding Egypt, Libya, other Arabs because doesn't understand lg of Quran. Her children speak H, K, A, A at home. She doesn't let them speak another lg. Children speak A to each other at home. K man + A = K or H.

A most difficult because it must be learned at home. H easiest because it is lingua franca. H will be learned on streets, so best to learn A at home. her children studied first in Sanga, then sent to makaranta.

Would give D to whoever she wants; her own preference to A so long as she knows the *isil*.

Listens mainly to tafsiir at Ramadan in any lg.

Knows about Haya club, but never went to it and doesn't know about its activities.

101a , 1011, Oct. 91, Fadhuma 1, Father Himeedi, mother Bani Waayil.

Interviewers: Fatuma Musa, me

59. Born in Koshiri, 25 miles from Jeéré. At 10 moved to Maiduguri, 15 or 16 married and went to Bama. After 10 yrs moved with husband to Mai, 7 yrs near central market, then Gw. Co-wife of Fadhuma Gw 2. Husband died 16 yrs ago. 3 children born in Bama

Illiterate. At home speaks A, children speak K, H, E, between themselves H, to parents A. In Bama children spoke K to each other. She speaks H, K. Learned K as child. K most difficult. Speaks lg of other people, if didn't what lg they spoke she would say sannu. Best A spoken in Koshiri.

Can tell Cameroon, Ndj speakers. Balge say caal, bitammi.

Travels to Kosheri prehaps 3 times a year, when occasion demands. Has traveled to many cities in Nigeria. Daughter's husband a judge and she visits them.

Would give D to any honest man, leave choice to daughter. Prefers Arab, even though grandchildren would not speak Arabic. Nothing can be done to save A when woman lives in non-A household. Cites example of one granddaughter of daughter married to Hawsa. Granddaughter lives with them and so speaks Arabic, but her sibs speak no A because they live with father.

Prefers city life to village, life is easier. Koshiri market = Mai, Angoom.

Co-wife with IM101b, Fatuma

101b. 1231, Oct. 91, Fadhuma Gw 2

Interviewers: Fatuma Musa, me

c. 60. Born in Gamboru, in a fulani village. At 14 went to Bama with husband.

Sarrariye (Qawalme). Married to same husband as Fadhuma IM101a.
 Speaks K, H, F. Learned F from her own village. It is hardest of the 4 lgs.
 Best place to learn A in Maiduguri area of Mai.
 Traveled in places around Borno and Ilorin, when mother died there.
 Would give D to whoever D wants, but prefers non-A, otherwise could not understand
 Listens to local radio, H, K mainly, al-waajib le n-naas
 Difference between A in K in wedding customs, holding of feasts. Arabs better at it.
 Best Arabic is Qawalme, esp. the Arabic of Maiduguri village in Maiduguri.
 Balge and Kiraenawa have strong (gawi) Arabic as well.

1101 Hawa. 48 yrs. Old, Her nafar is Balge, Salamiye, Baniseed (gives answers in that order). Father Salami, mother Asal'e.

Married to father of 23 (Ambashayir = Fatuma Musa)
 Born and grew up in camps. Father Balge but lived in Alo area. Father born in Kilingilaya. Was in cattle trade, and moved out of Balge. Went to Kano, Umafia. 12 years in camps (Magumri). In rains leave Magumri (Konduga) and go to Awno. They would stay in Awno in camp until it became smelly, then move to another one. Until 12 she did not go to city. Mother would bring yoghurt to city though. Brought it on bull. Her camp is Nawala, head of it Zakariya. She was married and brought to Maiduguri at 14 years. First lived in Mafoni, then to GRA area, on rd. to Dambua. 9 yrs. on Dambua rd. More than 20 years in Mafoni; about 23 or 24. Has never visited father's village. She wants to visit them. Has relatives there (amaam). Also has relatives in Sabba (Dikwa area?), which she has visited.
 Describes making zibde from ruwaaba.
 At home they speak Arabic to children. In neighborhood Kanuri main lg. In market speaks lg. of seller.
 Best Arabic Kirenawa, Balge also have strong tongue (lisaanhum gawi), qawaalme also good. Would send s.o. to Qawaalme to learn Arabic in Nigeria. She can tell nafar of Arab by their dialects (lasanhum). Does not give examples, however. At end of tape they discuss an Arab family only some of whose members speak Arabic (Ashe, married to a Hawsa man.) Someone (V) notes that Hawsa don't prevent wives from speaking Arabic, but Kanuri do (p. 41). But Hawa gives example of a woman (Adama Angamdu (= 96?) married to Kanuri whose children speak Arab, husband does not (if you insult him he wouldn't know). Hawa thinks its not good for parents not to teach ARabic to children, whatever tribe of husband.. Arabs are best tribe.
 She understands a little K and H. Learned them in Maiduguri. At first was shy to speak them because children laughed at her. Did not study in sanga, does not read or write arabic or other lg. Her husband taught her some Arabic.

One son studies in sangaya. Eldest studies in Islamiya.

Would marry daughter to Arab.

Prefers city life. In camps kuzi is too small for everyone, not enough room to work in; when it rains it leaks. Get wet when traveling from campsite to campsite; camps smell. Hot traveling. City better. She wasn't afraid of it when she came because she had visited it with mother and mother.

Qushum buyuut of Mahaarib: amSulTaniyiin, Jileefi

Qawalme: Mahaarbi, ASaal'e, Tawaabte, Bani Wail, , Sirajiye (does not remember well, tries to think of different people and associate them with clan).

Has not heard of HAya. Arabs only get together on weddings, etc. Other tribes (Kanuri, Hausa, Yoruba) also come.

Arabs have better invitations than Kanuri; K do not give much food. Now K have Arabs prepare their food. Another person notes that Chadian Arabs are best cooks, have more types of food.

At end SV2 comes; young man who wants to speak standard Arabic with me.

138. (1381) Dikkeceri, Kelluu. 71. Lives with Ibrahim, Abu Jime,

Interviewer: me, Ibrahim

born in Banki town. Mother Dawudiye. 10 yrs Kaduna, 8 Maiduguri. Speaks Kanuri, some Hausa. Did not learn H, though 10 yrs. in Kaduna. In market speaks lg of seller, at home only Arabic. Grandchildren speak A at home, H outside, A amongst selves. Cannot tell difference between dialects.

Once visited her soldier son in Port Harcourt. Travels occasionally to Banki, but ha not close relatives there. Has not done pilgrimage.

Did not study in any type of school.

Prefers Kaduna to Maiduguri; in Kaduna Arabs mixed with other groups. banki has more K than Arabs. Gulumba best place to learn Arabic.

Did not herd cattle, only sara.

Would marry daughter to non-arab so daughter would learn 2 lgs, Arabic and his own.

They speak about child practices, about a man who died leaving 56 children from 3 wives. Europeans don't like children but Africans do. Her grandchildren study in primary school.

Does not listen to radio.

2. Villages

Interviewers: Jidda Hassan (IM40)

Musa Adam (IM 40)

Adam Al Hasiba (IM15)

Hamid Idris: (IM2, 43)

Alamin: (not interviewed separately), Gwange resident

TV36, 0360, Aug 90, Ibrahimti,

Yaramti/Ibrahimti (near Mafa), mixed village of Kanuri/Arabs. Kanuri majority, with Kanuri headman. People were very wary of speaking with outsiders and the tapes were not particularly long or good. About 1 km off Mafa rd, right hand side (visible from rd.). Accessible by a track.

TV36, 8-90, Othman, c. 60, Uthman, Father and mother both Himeedi.
me and Adam

Farmer, born and grew up in Yaramti. Then worked for 20 years as herder and returned afterwards to Yuramti. Father and mother both Himeedi. Has one son of 4 who speaks only Arabic. Illiterate, no education. 0360 = othman

TV44, side 1, 8-90

TV44a. ?, 26, Jowdi. Young man who was born and grew up in the village. Illiterate, no education.

TV44b. 0361, Old Lady, 60,

Old lady who was born in Yuramti, lived many years as cattle herder. Cows died, husband (Himeedi) died, and she returned to village. Illiterate, no education.

0361 old lady (w), 0362 jowdi man (a), 0363 jidda hassan (h1), 0364 voice (v), 0365 adam (ad)

45 Magonori (near Mafa, about 2 km. E. of Yuramti), 8-90

Village only of Arabs. People were very cooperative and talkative. About 2 km off main Mafa-Dikwa rd, right-hand side., accessible only by track.

TV45, side 1

TV45 Aug 90, Sayyid Dreva, 25, Father Shideri (Chad), mother Asaal'e.

Me, Adam Musa, Adam, Jidda Hasan

Speaks K, H E (a little). Wife Arab from Abun Sakin, N. of Magonari (same Lawan). He was born in Dagana, Chad, but grew up in Magonori. Worked for a number of years in Lagos as a driver. Has traveled to Njamena. Illiterate, no education. Listens to disco music, radio Nigeria. Generally is not happy about his situation and that of his village.

S = Sayyid Draba 0454 (M), H = Jidda Hassan 0455 (Has), B = Bulama Jidda 00453 (not used), A = Adam 00454 (Ad) (not used), V = voice 0456

Bulaama Jidda, 40 Father and mother both Himeedi.

TV45, 0451, Aug 90, The headman of the village, or acting headman. His father is the official headman, but is too old to carry out the duties. Farmer, no education. Born and grew up in Magonori. Only visited Maiduguri.

0452 = voice, 0453 = jidda Hassan

TV44, side 2

TV44 Aug 90, Mohammad, 65, Father and mother both Himeedi.

Farmer, born and grew up in Magonori. No education. Rarely goes outside village, having only visited Maiduguri. died in 1994

0441 jidda hassan (j), 0442 mohammad (m), 0443 sayyid drayba (r), 0444 bulama jidda (b), 0445 adam (a)

1995 visited Magonari; words lists

451 Bulama Jidda, 455 Jidda wal Kano 455, old man c. 65; Ramat Jidda 456, about 40

TV52, TV53, TV54 Kirenawa, 8-90,

Interviewers: me, Danna

Near Lake Chad and center of Lake Chad Development Project, now largely defunct. Recent village, older villages in the area having had to be moved because of the project. Accessible by a tarred rd. that is rapidly falling to pieces.

TV52 Malam, 25, Father Amariyye.

Housewife who grew up in Balge near Aysari (market village where they took mild to). Married to Bashir and then settled in Kirenawa 4 yrs before. Has visited Ngala once recently, otherwise has not traveled. Prefers Kr. to her village; water, good available, stores are huge.

Lg. of home Arabic, she is monolingual Arab, does not read or write Arabic or any other lg. Says in Kirenawa Arabs are majority. In mixed marriage, Arab wife would speak H, Arab lady + K would speak K.

Would marry daughter to Arab.

Balge twist (*bi'awwaju*) their lg, like foreigners.

Habibe

Born in Kamzamo, 8 yrs in Makurdi with sister, 10 yrs Kirenawa. Wulad Imaar

Spoke mostly H in Makurdi, began to forget A. Speaks H learned from street, K is rusty. Illiterate

K more difficult than A or H, A more than H

has seen Makurdi, Mai, Ngala only. Kir best place because that is where family

is

TV53, Dahiyye Mustafa, (0534) 60, Father Tunjur from Chad, mother Maharbiyye.

Born in Gamaka, one of the pre-Kirenawa villages in the area (about 3 km. south of Kir). A farmer and herdsman. Formerly had some contact with Chad while his father was alive, but no more.

student 0533 (s1)

TV54 Mohammad Al-Gooni, 55, Father Wulaad Abu Ise, mother Wulaad Ghanem.

Interviewers: me, Danna

Born in Dubawa, village about 5 km. S. of Kir., and has lived in Kirenawa for eight years. A Farmer, no education.

G = Mohamad al Gooni (0541 (M), C = Chadian 0531, D = Danna 0532

TV57 Mule Shuwari, 8-90, me, Musa, Adam, Hamid

Interviewers: Musa Adam, Adam Al Hasiba, Hamid Idris

Village about 5 km. S. of Maiduguri directly on Dambua Rd. (right hand side going S.). Village Arab and Kanuri, with Arab majority. Founded by grandfather of present Bulama (Ibrahim) who is about 65 years old.

recorded in lists: Bulama, Anno c. 25, Ibrahim 15

TV57a. 0571, Yusuf, c. 45, Father Bani Waayil, mother Asal'e,

born and grew up in village. A farmer and herdsman, occasionally tending family cows that are kept in Mafa area. Son of the Bulama. Explains how nomadic houses are made. Distinguish cattle by brands, marks, e.g. ears cut. In village farmer. Married to Arab. Speaks Arabic with children. Children speak only Arabic. He speaks a little H, K a little. Studied in Sanga for 2 yrs. Cannot read and write arabic. Went on hajjar from Daala to Fulka to Ashamri to Xadamari, Has two daughters in primary school. Listens to Maiduguri radio, Kaduna, Ndjamena. Arabic from radio Ndjamena. Kaduna listens to Hausa. Prefers village to city life, life is easier. Would give daughter to Arab
Mixed marriage, children would speak Ig of father

TV57b. 0572, Hawa Malaram, ca. 45 Bani Waayil,

parents having been former slaves. Born and grew up in the village. She married a Kanuri and lived 25 yrs. in central Maiduguri (Hausari) before moving back to village. Speaks Kanuri, not Hawsa. Her Kanuri husband did not learn Arabic. Farmer. Did not herd cattle. No children. Would give daughter to Arab, even if offered a lot of miney by non-Arab. (non-Arabs have bitter intelligence). Did not study anywhere, no written Arabic.

0575 = umar, 0573=, = voice

TV58 Dalá Xudeerí, Aug 90

Interviewers: Musa Adam, me

Village about 4 km S. of Maiduguri about 1 km off Dambua rd. on right-hand side (going S.). Village all Arabs.

TV58a. 0581, Yemini Mohammad, c. 45. B. Waayil. (only native quantified)

Born and grew up in Dalá. Father and mother Bani Waayil. Wife Arab (B.

Waayil). Farmer and Bulama of the village. Has 2 children, one son attending Federal Govt. College, Maiduguri. Owns a house in Gwange, (bought by his own father), though prefers to live in village.

Lived 5 yrs in Legos (1972-77), returned when father became weak.

Can neither read nor write Arabic; speaks K, some H, did not attend school

Every day goes to cattle market in Mai but prefers village to Mai; says people from his village are returning to it because Mai too expensive

Arab women get married by other tribes but not vice versa; lg of marriage K.

Lg of his home A; listens to A, H, K programs on radio

Would give D to Arab

Daala is mainly Arab village, c. 200 inhabitants. K in village to not know

Arabic, unless their children grew up in village and then they learn it.

Xaderi 2 yrs older than Yerwa. Founded by his greatgrandfather. Left Mabari in Monguno and founded village with Rabeh's blessing. Village named after Hamid Axadeeri, his grandfather, because of his dark complexion.

Arabic villages nearby: Mølei Shuwari, Mecuari, Ashamri, Jiddiri, Angubdoori, Bajoori, Daala, Allajari, Abagooni.

0582 Musa Adam

TV58b. Mohammad Annuur, 21. Bani Waayil

Born in Axadari

Student at Sanga in village with about 20 others; others came from other places and nearby farms

Went on Tajawwul to Banki, Dambua, Kireenawa, Konduga, Bama, Gubio for 5 years

Visits friends, relatives in Gwange, Dikkeceri, Ruwan Zafi

Speaks H, no K, learned H in Banki because there was a H Sanga nearby them.

At home speaks only A, married to A

Can understand different dialects, e.g. *caal*

Would give daughter to Arab

Arabic women do not know othre lgs because they don't travel

Best place to learn Arabic is with B. Waayil, his village
Listens to Shuwa program on radio, only one he listens to.

TV58c. Mohammad, c. 40, Bani Waayil,
born and brought up in village; wife Arab, he is farmer
understands K, cannot speak it well. Knows H in same way. Cannot write
Arabic, reads a little, studied in Sanga
Travels to Mai, goes by taxi, also to Dalwa where there is a market where he
sometimes sells grain, c. 10 km away
Prefers village to Mai, Mai too expensive
Sends his children to school

TV65 Ambuuda, 9-90,
Interviewers: me, Musa, Adam
Village about 20 km. N. of Maiduguri, accessible only by dirt rd, then track.
During heavy rains, accessible only with 4-wheel drive vehicle. Market town
(Sunday), mainly Arab population. Bulama is Arab.

TV65a. AlHaj Abakar 0652 amb65bul
Bulama, 45, born in Ambuudha. Grew up there. Asli (both parents) Farmer,
wife Arab
Speaks K and H; reads + writes Arabic. Arabic lg of home. Buudha best place to
learn Arabic, but says there aren't many Arabs in Nigeria.
D to Arab
A women married to K, K would be lg of home and of children. K lg of
Ambuudha market. Arabic children speak A amongst selves but H in mixed
group.
Studied a little in Sanga. Traveled with older brother to Alo, Dambua, Gaoua,
Gambaru, 9 yrs in all
Never herded, never worked in Mai (too many mosquitoes)
Market was in place at time of his grandparents
Arabic villages in area: Heelmari, Dagam, Alhimeet, Makilwe, Alkidyaw,
Fajaqa, Addumaan, Anjammeena, Hasanari, Dimge
K try to get A to speak K.

TV65a. Malam Usman 0654 amb65us, 21. Father Dawud (most Dawud in
Balge), mother Xideeri.
Born, grew up in Ambuudha. Farmer, has no cattle. His father was faqir in
village and now he has become the faqir. Student at local Arab Sanga. Spent 1
yr traveling then returned to his village. Acts as the village Imam.
Reads and writes only a little A, knows a little K, H.
Stayed in Guduram near Konduga for his travels.
Balge best place to learn A because that's where most Arabs are.

Would speak to person in whatever (K, H, A) lg person spoke .

A lg of his home

His paternal relatives have gone to live in Balge (), maternal live in Mallis nearby

D to A.

0651 musa adam (ma), 0652 bulama (s), 0653 hamid diris (h), 0654 usman (u)

TV65b. Bulaama Adum Tijaani, 43, Abu Xideer (mother and father)

Bulaama of Mallis (interviewed in Buudha), (Clan = Ali Ajjamur). 4 yr

pastoralist. 2 yrs in Sanga, went to Chad, Kirenawa, Bëtëri, Mai, Kalkaala.

Went when he was 7. Can read and write Arabic. Speaks K, H. Listens to radio

Borno, Lagos every day, Saudi ARabia.

Owens house in Mai but prefers village, city too hot.

Came to Buudha for shopping Ancestors (juduud) founded Mallis

0641 bulama (s), 0642 musa adam (ma)

TV64 Mallis, Sept 90, Village near Ambuuda, 5 km S..

Interviewers: me, Musa, Adam

We interviewed people from there at the Ambuuda market.

TV64a, Bashir Bishara, c. 40. Wulaad Salim.

Married to an Arab and speaks Ar. at home. Speaks K (learned in Mallis) and H (learned in Gwange). Stayed 3-4 years with relatives in Gwange. Interviewed at

Ambudda but from Mallis. Only Arabs live in Mallis. Born in Isaari (near

Mallis, with same Bulama). Came to Sunday market with c. 10 others. In Mallis only Arabs. In market sells grain, sheep, cattle, buys kola nuts, leaves (?). He

formerly herded in area near Gubio, but now a farmer (describes farming and cattle herding). Says that wherever God puts you is the best place to be. Listens

to radio Njamena, Nigerian radio. Married to an Arab and speaks Arabic at

home. In market speaks lg. of the other person, in Maiduguri mainly H. He

personally would give daughter to Arab, even if he doesn't speak Arabic,

provided he was sure person was an Arab. However, would give daughter to

whomever she wants.

Does not read or write any lg. Spent couple of months in Sanga in Maiduguri

then quit. Learned H in Gwange where he stayed 3-4 yrs with relatives, K in

Mallis. Formerly herded in area of Gubio; now a farmer.

Listens to Njamena and Nigerian radio. Has traveled to Part Harcourt, Ooka,

Warri.

TV64b. In Mallis Arabic mainly spoken, though younger ones will speak H as

well, older only Ar. Best Ar is wherever one is from. In market speaks whatever

lg. others speak. In Maiduguri mainly H. Traveled to Kano, Port Harcourt,

OOka, Warri to sell cattle (ends tape with description of trip). Reports about Arabic children in Port Har., family of cattle traders, some of whom know Ar. others not.

TV69 Mingilé (Sept. 1989)

Interviewers: me, Adam, Alamin

a. Umar (c. 16). 0691, Xizaam, mother and father Xisaam.

Born in Gulduba. speaks only Arabic. illiterate, did not study at all though a friend taught him how to pray. Has never been outside of Gulumba area. Listens to Hausa, K, R. Njamena (Ar). Goes to Gulumba market; says Kanuri do not understand Ar much. Arabs and K do not intermarry much in area. His family recently in area and before there were no Arabs. Thinks that if they had to, or if they stay longer in area, Arabs would intermarry with Arabs.

Angar. 0692, saay, parents also Isaay.

Born in Damari. He speaks K, a little H, E. Learned K from people, also H. Studied a little in Sanga, though does not write Ar. Uses mainly Ar, and a little K and E. Only goes to market in Gulumba and Walasá. Farmer and Sara herdsman. Has a relative in Gwange. Has traveled to Maiduguri and Kano. Says best place to live is where one has relatives. All Arabs in his village. Kan. marry Arabs but not vice versa. In mixed marriage, partners would learn lg. of other. If Ar. woman marries K father, children would speak lg of father.

0693 Alamin

0694 adam

TV70 Gulumbá (Sept. 1989)

Interviewers: Interviewers: me, Adam, Alamin

TV70a. 0701 Ajá

Born in Kundiye, 8 years in Gulumba as Ajaa. Before was Ajaa in Kaala for 3 years. Stayed in Maiduguri for 2 years. City or village life can be better, depending on circumstances. If there are no rains, people go to city. Village Arabic better than Maiduguri, because of mixture. In market Arabic, Fulfulde, Ngaarmargu spoken, Kanuri.

Explains his duties: represent government (after the Shehu). Has 11 Lawaan under him. Has police, soldiers.

Nearby Arab villages: Rafea (3), Felatari, Bulabulin, Allammoo, Gulduga, Dagilii, Koorii, Jillii, Daelehe, (3), Mogoo (3), Anciqo, Dagilii, Andonli, Digiira (3), Dhuggiye,

TV70b. Abió

TV71

Interviewers: me, Adam, Alamin

TV71a. Guldubá (Sept. 1989) 0711

Maamad Abba, born in Ardo, near Gulduba, an Arabic-speaking village with only Arabs. He speaks only Arabic. 25 yrs. old, a farmer. Has some cattle but does not herd himself. Stayed 7 years in Gulumba, uneducated, neither read nor write Arabic. In market uses Arabic. Says that Gulduba is 30 years old and that his ancestors came from East (not more specific).

0712 alamin

0713 Jama

0711 Mamat

TV71b. = 0714 Raafá,

Abdallahi, Jubur clan, mother and father Jubuur.

Born in Dagala, less than 1 km away from Rafah. Lived 30 years in Rafah. A farmer, speaks K, has visited Lagos but did not stay there. He does not write Arabic, reads a little. Studied in a Sanga; all students were Arabs and teacher was Qalmi. Villagers keep cattle. Would give his daughter to Arab, even if husband knows no Arabic.

Gave list of Arabic-speaking villages within one day's walk from Rafah: Gulduba, Alloodi, Allamuudi, Rafa 2, Rafa 3, Fuladari, Katakori, Jilli Cidesi, Xasaara.

TV71c. 1282 Raafa

(Faadhume) Born in Gulduba, has lived 30 years in Raafa. Only speaks Arabic. Illiterate, attended no school. Has no children, has never traveled outside Raafa.

TV74. Doole, Sept 91

Interviewers: me, Danna

TV74a Mohammad Kajim.

c. 50. Wulaad Imaar. Born in Amdhalu or Amgán, near Gajibo, near Kawa. 11 or 12 yrs in Doole, not married, farmer, never herded. 16 yrs in Lagos. worked for Ministry of housing, Cabinet Office, retired and worked for Anglican grammar school.

speaks E, Yoruba, K, H. Illiterate in A, never studied in Sanga.

Best place to learn A is in camps, only A there. Can tell difference by hearing speaker: Balge say *wuu*, Cameroon: *oxora*, Chad: *Tuk ke*. Kajim said *oxora* was Chadian; corrected by s.o. to Cameroonian feature. *la taala gale* is Qawalme.

Listens only a little to radio.

Would give D to A, she would teach her husband, then changes mind and says non-A so as not to lose Ig.

Mixed marriage, K would be spoken, children K. K main Ig of market.

Y, K harder than H

Esala biggest clan in area. About 20 houses in Doole, all Arab
Nearby villages: Kisse Barra 1, 2, Kireekër, Doole, Angijule, Gooldabe,
Wulsime, Miteene, kilme, Duzgerger, Amdhalá, Kacce, Goona, Salanye,
Mandagó, Faltawá, Kardiile, Jiddari, Anjammeena12, 2, Koko. All 5-10 km
away.

mohammad kajim 0752 (mk), danna 0753 (d)

Kisse Barra, Sept 91, Gooni

Amonnalah (from Dizgerger). Born in Kisse Barra, father born in Wulsime,
grandfather born in Wilsime, died in Kisse (near Dalarge). Spent his life in
Kisse, MuSaari, Andhaaliu. Farmer, 3 yr Mai (Mafoni) in Sanga.

Best place to learn A in village; too many Fulani in camps.

Would give D to A, non-A would take her away

Km + A = K, K f + A = K first, then A

A most difficult lg

14 houses in Kisse

gooni 0741 (g), mohammad kajim 0742 (s1), danna 0743 (d)

TV75/1 Doole (29-9-91)

Interviewers: me, Danna

a. Xadija, c. 50, Wēlaad Imaar (Amjaabir), mother Qawaalme (Wulaad Qaanem,
BaaBa)

Divorced, was married to a Fulani (Kesuuji). He spoke A, her sons speak only
Arabic. Herded 2 yrs when she was young between Gadadaayda-Muturum. At
least 10 years in Doole. Grew up in Mandago then Kamzamo (relatives have
gone to Kirenawa) then Alhakka, then Amdhaaluu then Doole

Illiterate, only Arabic

Dikwa their market town.

Would give daughter to the richer one.

S. o. who lives among Arabs and is Muslim could become Arab.

gaji 0751 (gaj)

TV75b Ibrahimti, Oct. 91 (me, Braukämper, Danna)

c. 50. Mohammad. Wulaad Himeed (father and mother, Amkileebe)

Born in Angubdoori, herded with father, then alone with husband for c. 40 yrs;
came 4 yrs ago to Ibrahimti. Wife Arab (Wulaad himeed, cousin, D of FB from
Jeree far away place). Herded Gubio-Mafa, camps mixed up with floating
populations. Perfers herding to farming, but left it because he had no cattle for
self. Has never been anywhere else.

Speak A, says only understands K, but probably knows it well. Children know
K.

Mixed marriage, K m would speak K at home, children would speak A
Best place to learn A in camps

In 1990 this man refused to speak when I went with Ad Hasib. Danna got him to speak by telling him that it was a shame not to publicize presence of Arabs in Nigeria.

mohammad 0765 (moh), danna 0766 (d)

TV76b, Oct 91 Ibrahimti women

Interviewers: Danna, me

Old lady (= 36). 20 yrs in village, born in Juru (near Anguwám). Herded (Gubio-Magumri) with husband 20 years, 20 yrs ago came to Ibrahimti. Husband now dead.

3 Amne. Born in Manawaaci, a mornings walk away. Herded, married, hsbnd brought her to village. Wulaad Himeed.

Neighboring villages: Muxdhari, Manawaaci, Furuuri

Himeed clans: Manawaaci, Muqtari, Kooya', Amkileebe, Bashaari, Ambaddiri. old lady 0761 (s1), lady 2 0762 (s2), lady 3 0763 (s3), young lady 0764 (?), danna 0766 (d)

TV87 Tuba Musarí 7150, Oct 91

Interviewers: Danna, me

Near Gajiganna

a. Mohammad al-Hafiz, Aslaa'i (father and mother, Wulad Sherif).

40. Bulaama, Traveled to Umafia, Port Harcourt, Waari, Buri, Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Calabar, Cameroon (once to buy cow). Once briefly traded cattle along with Bulama of neighboring village, herded nomadically once, otherwise always in village. Village cattle kept in north

D to A

A lg of home. Does not read or write A; H largely forgotten, understands K
Tuba founded by his grandfather. At one time village was bigger, up to 70 grown men working sickles. Now 31 houses, all farmers, no cattle because they would destroy crops, tsetse flies. There is a H faqir in village with K students.

Nearby A village: Tuba Ajuuz, Tuba Jiddari, Tuuba Saala, Zubo, Jigáf,

Makarmal, Makilwe, Karafi, Wahattini, Tuba = "place of the plain, goos"

Market = Gajiganna, Dungushe (we went there are found to Arabs), c. 15 km S of Gajiganna on main rd

To N, NW only K villages

Garba (quite dark), father Asal'i mother Xideeriye, wife Xideeriye,

c. 45. Born Kacce (Dikwa), now in Mai. Has been in village 1 yr, lives in Mai.

Came to village during farming season but plans to build permanent house in Tuba. Previously was herdsman, then 15 yrs in Lagos as guard for a Yoruba

firm. Children stayed in Mai, wife was with him.

Illiterate, speaks A, K, no H or Y.

Prefers Lagos to Mai because in Lagos one got paid for doing nothing (min jam). Attended Arabic club in Lagos (Moh Shitta, Greema). Worked with other Arabs in Lagos who explained things to him

Dillaahi (rather reddish), 44, Asal'e (mother and father)

40 yrs in camp, herded, then 4 yrs ago came to Tuba. He did not have cattle and got tired of herding for other people. Married, wife A, daughter of the man whom we interviewed in Jungulari

Illiterate, speaks F, K (F learned from camp, K from market). A lg of home.

Life in villages better than herding. One has plenty of food. Herding one goes hungry (*Raaba* is urine). Has built house in Tuba. Gets crops for a year from farming. Has himself never heard s.o. whose ancestors are Arabs but does not speak A. Thought the idea rather gruesome, but Garba told him that he knew of such in Lagos, Arabs who drank and took drugs.

Would give D to A, even if he was a drinker and drug addict. Garba objected to this, saying that the man would beat his wife, which prompted Dil to change his mind.

0871 (S) = mohammad al hafiz, 0873 (DI) = dillahi, 0872 (G) = garba, 0874 danna (d)

TV90 Kinyande (8 km. N. of Dikwa-Gulumba rd.) interview in Oct. 1991.

Interviewers: Danna, me

Collection of 9 huts

902 = Abu Amma (m), 901 = uncle Bakar

Wulaad Masaayit, both parents (D had never heard of them), one of the Salamaat. Some of sub-clans according to old lady: Kiseebe Beeda, Kiseebe Hemra (they belong to hemra). According to old man Bakar the area was settled by Arabs before Rabehe came; clans according to him: Kiseebe Hemra, Kiseebe Zyrga, Wulaad Muraa', Wulaad Abu Duno. They are Salamaat. When Rabehe came, Bakar's grandfather was Lawaan (Emad, Hamjaa). Bakar founded Kinyande; He left Magirta where the children of his older brother are. Two other villages founded from Magirta after that.

Nearby villages Magirta, Damri. Only arabs in village. Dikwa is nearest market. Get ride from the road

Born and grew up in Magirta, neighboring village which has the lawan of area; 3 years ago they came to (established?) Kinyande. Farmers, have some cattle and goats (explains how they put cattle (not goats, sheep) in house during day, because of tsetse flies)

No education. Married to arab, daughter of ms (Kamaliye clan). speak only arabic at home.

Daughter to Arab

Best place to learn Arabic where there are a lot of Arabs

Visited Lagos, lived there 2 yrs. Worked as guard. Returned to village because his children and mother there. Did not like living in Lagos

TV93 Warbasa, Oct 91

Mohammad Dumbulaat, Wulaad Himeed (Bulwa Zarga).

Born in Wulsine (near Dikwa), father brought him when he was young to Warbasa, which he founded.

Father died in Warbasa,
farmer, illiterate

Speaks K, not H

travels rarely, visited sister in Buní, near Gujuba. Worked 1 year as herdsman

The best is best place to learn A. In Nigeria Warbasa is best. K easiest for outsider because they learned K from surroundings. To s.o. who travels, H would be easy.

Would give daughter to A, even though he cites case of his sister who married a H and now has 2 daughters who don't speak A.

Only a few K in their village. When we were sitting with them in diglaaba at beginning of visit, an Arabic came and greeted the Bulama in K, thinking that his visitors were govt. officials.

Bama their market

Nearby A villages (all Wulad himeed): Shalamtiin, Ajiri, Garno, Bartak,

Wurbasa 2 = Karaati, Garberí, Taabaana, Shalamtiini, Falafala (last 2 far away, both Bulwa Hemra)

Mohammad Kasra founded Warbasá

Balge (Salamat) say wuu', caal

15 yr old boy, born in Warbasá, Bulwa Zarga

K, traveled only to near Dikwa, where he studied at Sangaya with his teacher whom he picked up on way to the village

2 months herdsman, Gajiganna

Would give D to A

bulama 0831 (bul), boy 0832 (b), danna 0833 (d), voice 0834, (v)

TV93b Garbari, Oct 91

Interviewers: Danna, me

Ahmad, born in Kashmiri (Gulumba). W. Himeed Bulwa Hamra, father W.

Himeed, mother 'Isaa'iiye from Miteene 1

Farmer, previously herdsman,. Father born in Kashmiri. Parents moved first to SaBará, then Suddowaala, then Barooshe (near Kashmiri), then Garbari for 20

years, then 7 yrs herding, then Garbari for last 10 years because their cattle died.
Father died in Garbari

Adam founded Garbari. Adam had no sons, Abbeel ---> Musa ---> Musa's son
present Bulama

Garbari was the name of the Bulama of a K village; Arabs came with their
cattle wanting to settle down in a village. K Bulaama Garbari told them to move
away so their cattle wouldn't destroy crops

Nearby villages: E of Bama: Taabaana, Abu Surra, Aajiri, Shalamtiini, Garno,
Warbasá, Kasraarí, ABu Zaari, Kalyaari, Toburi, Karnawa

W of Bama: Kijelli, Hasana, Barderi, Bakkoora, Barderi (Madani), Donkiya,
Kidaarí, Sandaarí, Laamino, Cukolta, Ajjooro

Gashim Buyuut of W. Himeed: Bulwa Zarga, Hamëra, Amkileebe, Manawaaci,
Dingeesëri, MuxDHaari

Musa, from Kidaari

married to woman from Garbari, words in Bama, visiting the village, sold cattle,
now works at hospital. D to A, though would give her the choice.

ahamad 0931 (ah), musa 0933 (mu), voice 2 0934 (v2), danna 0935 (d)

TV94. Mbewa. Oct 91, 21 Km Bama-Gulumba rd. then 2 km west in bush.,
Wulad Himeed (?)

second speaker, c. 25.

Interviewers: Danna, me

Born in Guduusú (near Mbewa). Arab, would not specify clan (first speaker also
would not). 3rd speaker identified himself as Wulaad Himeed. Wife is Arab,
says that he could consider himself K or A. If asked he would say he is K,
though mother and father are A.

Traveled only to Bama, goes walking maybe 4 times a year, c. 4-5hrs. on foot
speaks K + A, neither reads nor writes

speaks more K than Arabic; speaks whatever lg people address him in
would give daughter to Arab

best place to learn, first says his own village, then says Ngumati, because people
use only A there but in his village K and A.

Bulaama Adam founded Mbewa (also founded Garbari). Adam ---> Malam
Daayu ---> ? ---> his son = present Bulaama

c. 500 in village. Village lives by herding, farming. In dry season they move to
another place for water, then come back. dry season called 'emuud. 20 Arab
heads of household in Mbewa.

nearby villages: Taabaana, Abu Suda, Bakkiye, Kashilaram, Kashimri, (all W.
Himeed). Says there are many Arab villages on rd. to Gulumba.

B = Bulama 0941 (M1), T = teacher 0942, M = M2 0943 (second speaker), D =
Danna 0944

TV95. Mbewa, Adum, c. 25, Wulaad Abu Hoosha

Interviewers: Danna, me

Born in Balge (Goosama). When 5 or 6 yr old moved to Mbewa with his father and mother. Farmer and herdsman, for 2 years traded cattle from Bama to E Nigreia, quit to look after his farm

neither reads nor writes

Qawalme speak best Arabic

Arabic more difficult than K; genders distinguished; if you mix genders, people laugh at you. Danna says K more difficult, *bëri* has 5 meanings. Adum replies: context disambiguates meanings, *wageet fi bëri* = "shit only", not *kudub* "lie". In Arabic, each word by itself, *al-kilme al-waade wahatta*.

Prefers herding to farmer, but farming more necessary.

Danna is surprised at isolation of village, no Sanga, no tailor, no stores.

A= Adam 0951 (M), T = teacher 0952, D = Danna 0953

TV 111, Dec. 1991, Kirisikata and Kinembago

No summary, but translation of TV111a, Kinembago available

TV112 Mada Dec 1991

Interviewers: Danna, me

Small village of c. 5 huts; only 1 family, 2 grown-ups living there. (people do not abandon village during dry season) Others have left to Yerwa and will return. People in Mada: Gaaji (young man), his uncle (MB), 2 cousins (children of sister), one grandchild

Gaaji, Bani Seed. (Bani Seed only clan in the area)

Does not know who founded village. Not married

They are farmers, no cattle, only goats. Formerly there were a lot, but now they are finished. Market is Kaala, 2 half hours on foot, 8 or 9 km. Pickup takes them in dry season. In rainy season village is cut off by water. Can reach Kaala only by foot. In rainy season they go to Gulumba (monday) market. They spend 3 days there then come back).

Nearby villages: (W to E) Kolme, Amkinduwe, Ambiliya, Kaala, Mada 2 (originally from Mada 1)

Gaji spent 9 months in Lagos 4 or 5 years ago, only 2 of them working, nowhere else. Did not study in any school. Some children in their village study in Sangaya. Speaks only Arabic. In Lagos it was not necessary to learn another lg. If he buys from Kanuri, simply puts out money like a blind person, or gets s.o. to translate.

Mada is as good a place as any to learn Arabic. Uncle says Kala is a good place. The Ajaa there is Arab and Lawaan as well.

D. days there are Arabs who don't speak Arabic. G replies that they can't be Arabs then. D gives example of s.o. born in barracks and G agrees there are

such. G would give daughter to the one who is ready to come and live with them, i.e. could give her to non-Arab. Ancestry not important, what is important nowadays is money.

If s.o. has traveled, one isn't surprised at what one finds.

When G hears D is from Kirenawa, he remarks that everyone from Kir is Hausa.

Mada founded by Bulama Sal'e. His son has gone to Maiduguri.

1121 = gaji (g), 1122 = his uncle (s1), 1123 younger speaker (s2) 1124 = danna (d)

TV140 Aajiri (Sept. 1993)

Interviewers: Jidda Hasan, me

Small village about 6 km from Banki on rd to Kumshe. 1 Arab family (Bulama); Eleyan Clan

other villagers are Kanuri

bulama 1401 (b), his wife fatuma 1403 (f), jidda hassan 1402 (j)

Born and grew up in Aajirii. Did not live or work elsewhere. Wife is from area. Arab. Has 3 in all. All from same clan. Eleyan have the same Sharr.

Describes farming. Have some cattle. Too few for nomadism.

His forefathers founded village. Does not specify which. Kanuri have been majority for long time.

Speaks Kanuri, no Hawsa, a little Fulfulde. Kanuri in area do not speak Arabic. in market speak Kanuri

One of his sons studied in Bama. Did not find job. Came back to village to act as Bulama since he has eye problems Complains it is difficult for Arabs to get job. Others did not study.

No games, dances, galab in village because there are no horses

Has relatives in Maiduguri.

Market is Banki.

Fanne, wife of Bulaama

works as hairdresser. Kanuri and Arabs have same style. Learned it as child.

Farms, lets children do sara.

daughter to arab

In area Arabs and Kanuri don't intermarry. In other places (unspecified) they say they do. She has sister married to Arab in Gulumba

TV1404 , Sept. 93, Yunus in ancidhee, 1405 father Jabuuri from Ancidhe, mother kaamilaaye from Waqala.

Interviewers: Jidda Hasan, me

80 years old?, Born in Cameroon, 40 years in Ancidhee, Came to present ancidhe from one in Cameroon, visible, just across the border. altogether 5 Ancidhe's, 3 in Nigeria, 2 in Cameroon. Arabs founded all five. More Kanuri than Arabs in Banki. In two Ancidhe's near him, one has 9 Arab households, the other 8

Farmer, does not herd because there aren't enough cattle. Does not do buriye now because he's not strong enough. Claims not to speak Kanuri well, though before answering 3 questions discussed answer with son in Kanuri. No other languages. His nephew knows Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanuri. Never traveled outside of area.

Married to Arab women, Beneesan form Walooji. from villages of Lammenni and Biske. 3 children. One studied in Maiduguri and Nguru, but didn't find work and came back to Banki. Do you think that an Arab can get a job anywhere? Other two did not study. He did not study in sanga. Jidda asks formerly there were no teachers in his village,. There was a teacher in his village of course, but he didn't attend.

170 Nov 28, 1996. Muduba, with Jidda Hassan. Abdala 58, Buuba c. 65, Hasan, c. 30. All Fulani. Hasan's wife daughter of Buuba, knows Arabic. Resident in Maiduguri. Their two children speak Fulfulde and Hausa, not Arabic.

TV174 Saaba, Kumaaga, Dec 17 1996

Interviewers: Jidda Hasan, me

TV175 Kumaaga, Kurd'ala Dagale, Gushumri Dec 17, 18 1996

Appendix summary of Maiduguri interviews and availability of audio and transcriptions.

The appendix gives a summary of the availability of the basic set of Maiduguri interviews, which served as the original corpus of the study. The purpose of singling these out here is that should a trend study be made, a comparison could include the basic set of original texts.

Symbols in tables:

X = available on website in transcription and audio (36)

Text only: available only in transcription (13)

Pending: audio and transcription available, but not yet given a final check, and not on website. (6)

Blank: not available (2)

In total 39 texts are now available, which can serve as an adequate comparative sample for against any future sociolinguistic study.

-30 m N = 20 (21)	
02, 43 Hamid Idris 0021	pending
04 Abdu Rahman 0041	Not used
05 Abubakr Must 0050	X
07 Kabir 0071	pending
09 Emma 0090	X
11 Moh Bashir 0110	X
13 Abdu Rahman 0130	X
14 Ibrahim Jidda 0140	X
15 Adam Al Hasib 0150	X
18 Saleh Abbas 0180	X
20 Mohammad Harun 0201	X
30 Mohammad Al-Lamin 0301	X
40a Jidda Hasan 0401	pending
40b Musa Adam 0402	pending
41 Ibrahim Jr 0411	pending
42 Hasan M 0421	pending
46a Saleh Mohammad 1270	
79 Ahmad Jidda 0790	X
80 Annayim 0801	X
82c Mey 1240	Text only
105 Miftah 1050	X

Danna	
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-30 f n = 15	
17a Amine 0170	X
17b Fadume 1210	X
23 Fatuma Musa 0230	X
34 Xadija 0341	X
50 Xadija Am Sigine 0501	X
68a Hawa 0681	Text
68b Xadija Jr 1261	X
77 Hajje Habsa 0771	Text
82b Amiina 1250	Text
107 Sharafiya 1071	X
110b Amiina Univ 1200	text
143 chad 1 1431	Text
141 Amne, chad 1411	Text
144 kelu jr 1441	X
151 asta 1511	X
+50 m n = 12	
01 Musdag 0011	X
03 Abu Bakr 0031	
06 Lawan Badawi 0060	X
08 Abdul Gadir 0081	X
10 Mohammad Hasib 0100	X
16 Harun Husayn 0160	X
19 Gursa Bashir 0191	X
32 Mohammad Al Lamin 0321, 0082	X
35 Karim Abdul Bakr 0351	Text
37 Ibrahim 0371	X
59 Old Hamid 0591	X
131 hajj abubakar 1311	text

+50 f n = 11	
31 Am Abuha 0311	Text only
38 Haajje Habbaaba 0381	X

46b Hajje Zenaba 0461	Text only
82a Fadhuma 3 0821	Text only
96 Asmain Ngamdu 0960	X
97 Hajje Xadija 0970	X
98 Ashe 0971	X
101a Fadhuma Gw 1 1011	X
101b Fadhuma Gw 2 1231	X
1101 Hawa 1101	Text only
138 Kelu 1381	X