

IM09emah, 25 years old, immigrant from Chad

9.1 Introduction, the person, his family, 0-5:43

9.2 The language of Emma's household, 7:25-8:40

9.3 Arabs in the Nigerian diaspora: what happens to their language? 17:05-21:10

9.4 Where is the best place to learn Nigerian Arabic? 23:45-24:51

9.1 Introduction, the person, his family; 0-5:43

<I> ismak mine (0.45)

'What's your name?'

<M> uşummí emma ahmad

'My name is Emma Ahmad.'(0.44)

<I> inta min ween

'Where are you from.'

<M> ana min cad, aṣəlí mən cad, fi fi hillití uşúmha d'aama,

'I'm from Chad, originally from Chad. My village is called d'aama.'

<I> ween

'Where?'

<M> d'aama, fi cad, wuldooni hinaak, kibír hinaak, šaba sabʔa saná, abuí rassalni le l gəraaya, jiiit gareet fi gambarú šahareen, xarám mašeet le l ɓalge, gareet šáhar, haw xamsiin yoom, baad da gabbál mašeet njammena, mašeet le daarna, geʔéd leyi šuhuur ke da, baʔad da abuí, lígi axuí wal ʔemmí, mašá leena ziyaara, ha gaal leí be waladí, badoor bajjiiba maʔaak le š šeex, binši maak le š šeex igoot hinaak yigri (1.48), ha xalaas šaalni jaabani maʔá, jiiit hineeni fi nayntiin seventi, gareet qurʔaan fi s sangaaya sána waahide, ma bágəri mádrasa, bagəri qurʔaan bas fajúr wa ɗuhúr wa fi l leel catt qurʔaan, baadeen tafatteet ligiit, šeyya bagdar bagəri, dassooni fi l madərasa fi l fáṣəl al awwal, fi nantiin seventi wan, (2.12) tammeet al ibtidaaʔiyya, an nahada, madərasat an nahada le šeex aš šariif, tammeetaha, fi nayntiin seventi seven, baad da, iltahág be kulliyat al ikonomi, le diraasaat al islaamiyya, fi maidúguri, min nayntiin seventi seven le nantiin eti tu, baad da taxallás, altahág be kulliyat aššariiʔa wa l qanuun, wa d diraasaat al ʔislamiyya, fi maiduguri diploom, min nantiin eeti tu, le nayntiin eti fayv (2.48), yam taxallás nayntiin eeti fayv, ilthág be jaamiʔat maiduguri, min nayntiin eti fayv le eti et, amta xallás, nayntiin eti et

'd'aama is in Chad. I was born there, grew up there for like seven years, then my father sent me to study. I came to Gambaru to study for two months, then I left and went to Balge where I studied a month and fifteen days, then I returned and went to Ndjamená, I went back to our country. I stayed there two months, then my father found my brother the son of my uncle (father's brother) and I went to him on a visit and he said, along with my son, I want to bring you to the Sheikh.<sup>1</sup> He's

---

<sup>1</sup> Sheikh Ibrahim Saleh (see below, same paragraph), a well-known Tijani Arab cleric who lived in Gwange and who founded the Nahḍa Islamic school. It belongs to a genre of school, the islamiyya school, which follows a western (i.e.

going with you to the Sheikh to stay there and study (1.48). So he took me and brought me with him, and I came here in 1970.<sup>2</sup> I studied the Koran in a Koranic school for one year. I wasn't studying in a western school. I was studying the Koran morning and evening and at night. Then I advanced, and I was able to read and they enrolled me in a western school, class one in 1971 (2.12).<sup>3</sup> I finished primary school at the Nahḍa, the Nahḍa school of Sheikh Al-Sharif. I completed<sup>4</sup> it in 1977, and then joined the College of Economy for Islamic studies<sup>5</sup> in Maiduguri from 1977 up to 1982. After that I joined<sup>6</sup> the Diploma program at the College of Shari'fa and Islamic Law in Maiduguri,<sup>7</sup> from 1982 to 1985 (2.48). When I finished in 1985, I joined the University of Maiduguri.'

<I> fi ayy maadda (3.01)

'In what subject?'(3.01)

<M> fi arabi, diraasaat arabiyya, amta xallás mašeet le enwayessi fi sokoto stet, wa hasa xallast al enwayessi wa jiiit, gaayid, bafattiš, leí fi xidime, naam

'In Arabic. Arabic studies. When I finished I went on the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC) for a year in Sokoto State, and now I've finished my NYSC<sup>8</sup> and returned and am looking for work. Right.'

<I> inta arabi nafar yatu

'What is your clan?'

<M> ana himaadi, nafartí sumha himaadiyye, amḥwi wa abuí kulluhum árab

'I'm Hamadi. My clan is called Himadiyye. Both my mother and father are Arabs.'

<I> gaadiin ween

'Where are they?'

---

Nigerian GCE) curriculum, but with an emphasis on Islamic subjects as well. He is well known for his book on the history of Arabs in the Lake Chad region.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the lower numbers are NA, e.g. *šahar-een* 'two months' in dual form, or *sabʔa* 'seven'. The years are all given in English, e.g. *nayn tiin seventi*. This complementary division is typical of NA.

<sup>3</sup> This brief biography illustrates two prominent themes in the social fabric of the Lake Chad region after about 1970 (roughly the beginning of the first oil boom, which did much to transform Nigeria generally). First, the speaker moves freely between Chad and Nigeria. Among the ethnic groups in the region, not only the Arabs but also the Kanuri and others, the political boundary between Chad, Cameroon and NE Nigeria is all but non-existent as far as personal mobility goes. Networks of relatives, friends, a general cultural homogeneity facilitates movement.

Secondly as western education expanded it linked up with the traditional Koranic school system. While certainly very different from it, transitioning from one to the other is common. Alternatively, students may study both in parallel.

<sup>4</sup> *Tammeet-aha* 'I completed it', and earlier *jaab-ani* 'he brought me'. In both forms the /a/ in bold is an epenthetic vowel (as in nearly all varieties of Arabic, the object suffixes are *-ha, -ni*). There are a number of rules of epenthesis in NA (see ) but this one is interesting in recalling various Najdi Arabic dialects in which the context VVC- C (here e.g. *eet ha*) triggers epenthesis. Speaker 1 (Musa Daggash) also has many tokens of this usage (see Owens 1993: 31-7).

<sup>5</sup> A part of BOCOLIS, Borno College of Legal and Islamic Studies, in Maiduguri.

<sup>6</sup> *taxallás, Iltahág*. Note the SA stems, *taxallás, iltahag* < \*iltahaq. NA as noted has no stem VIII verbs and the stem V reflex has *al-* instead of *ta-*. The two verbs, however, have the NA person inflection, which in this context is marked by the stress shift to the final syllable, without the 2MSG suffix *-t*.

<sup>7</sup> Popularly known as BOCOLIS, Borno College of Legal and Islamic Studies.

<sup>8</sup> *Xallas-t al enwayessi wa jiiit*. Same remarks as in n. 5, though note that the 2MSG suffix occurs overtly according to the rule that if followed by the definite article (*al-*) marking an object, the *-t* must be overt.

<M> awwal gaadiin hinaak fi daarna, laakin hassa ana jiptuhum kulluhum gaadiin maʔi hinee  
(3.35)

‘They used to stay there in our place, but now I’ve brought them here and they are staying with me here.’(3.35)

<I> malaa xaram min cad

‘Why did you leave Chad?’

<M> xaramna min ac cad, jiina ašan, le d diin, jiina ašaan ad diin, ašaan hinee ni magadna hini nistafiid, jiina hini ašaan, le faayit ad diin, ašaan ana jii abui awwal kulla misil ma gulta leek jaabni ašaan agri, yamta gareet, (4.06) haw karab xidime, ana wagut ašaan waqet tammeet al ibtidaaʔiyya aa, al kulliya hiili, gaad bagəri fi diploom, naasi dool šaalooni baxadim maaum, naas al kenemi dool da, šaalooni bederris, wa bagəri fi diplooma, ašaan amta ligiil lei xidime, mašcet šil ammwı wa abwi jiptuhum gaadiin maʔi hinee ni, (4.27) šaan da bukaan ad diin, bistafiidu min ad diin, bilgu bišallu maʔa an naas wa bугuru wa bilgu fawaaʔid diiniyya, ašaan da jiina hini, le faaʔit ad diin, le šugul aj jaabna, (4.42)

‘We left Chad, we came because, for religion. Because here, our stay here to benefit from ... we came here for the sake of religion. Since I came, my father, as I told you, he brought me in order to study. When I had studied and gotten a job,<sup>9</sup> ... me because when I finished primary school, my college where I was studying for a diploma, these colleagues of mine<sup>10</sup> took me to teach even as I was studying. So then I went and brought my mother and father to stay with me here. Because this is a place of religion, so they could profit from religion; they could get facilities to pray with people and they could study and benefit from religion. For this reason they came here, for religion. It was what brought them.’(4.42)

<I> naas katiiriin biju min caad le najeriya, al arab

‘Do a lot of Arabs from from Chad to Nigeria.’

<M> al ʔarab min caad, da gaḅuḷ da aḅunna ma katiiriin, gaḅuḷ, gaḅuḷ as siyaasa, siyaasa hiil ac caad hassa al harb hiil ac caad di, (5.04) al aḅab al biju hini ma katiiriin, al biju kulla šweyya ašaan misil aniina da, niiji le garaaya, xalaas waahid dugut, hini aw waahid biiji le s suuk, bisaawig bisaawig, kan al bakaan da ajaba bugoot hini, laakin hassa waqet an naas addaawaso miin tambalbaaye maat, wa min zamaan maalum, wal hassa, ad duwaas da sawwa naas katiiriin jo gaado hini, (5.25) hassa an naas dool da waadiin gabbalo waadiin, [...] gade gabul doora da bas, ana ana šif fi demokraat, nayn handrəd and twanti walla šunu madəri caadiin, baag tu cad wa ma ašbaha dʔaalik, fa hassa bəgabbəlu, lakın kan bəgubbulu ke kulla fi naas gaadiin, ma bəgabbulu waadiin, (5.43)

‘Chadian Arabs, previously I don’t think there were a lot. Before, before the political problems. Chadian politics, the current civil war in Chad.<sup>11</sup> Arabs who came here weren’t a lot. The Arabs who came were few, like us, we’d come for here studying. So now someone, he might have come to the market, market for business, and if he liked the place he’d stay here. But now since people

<sup>9</sup> The discourse becomes a bit disjointed because the speaker needs to backtrack to explain that he was working and studying at the same time, something he had not explained in the previous text.

<sup>10</sup> *Naas* ‘people’, here probably ‘colleagues’.

<sup>11</sup> After the ousting of the first president, Tombalbaye (see below) in 1975, Chad saw a series of military dictatorships, any one of whose legitimacy was a constant source of contention. Between 1975 – 2001 Malloum, Oueddi, Habré, Déby succeeded one another. The occasional civil wars which often preceded the succession from one ruler to another often had the effect of setting off a wave of migration to Cameroon and Nigeria.

have been fighting ever since Tombolbaye died, since the time of Maalum<sup>12</sup> and now, war has cause a lot to come and stay here. Of these, some of them have returned. Just recently this week, I saw in the Democrat,<sup>13</sup> nine hundred and twenty or whatever Chadians “back to Chad” and now they’ve returned. But even if they return there are others who don’t.’<sup>14</sup> (5.43)

## 9.2 The language of Emma’s household, 7:25-8:40

<I> indak mara

‘Are you married?’(7.25)

<M> naam indí mara

‘Yes I have a wife.’

<I> arabiyye

‘Arab?’

<M> naam martí kaman arabiyya, arabiyya šerifiyye,

‘Yes, my wife is Arab, of the Sherefiyye clan.’

<I> tilkallamo luqaat yatu ambeenaatku

‘What language do you speak together?’

<M> naam nilkallam be l árab, ambeenaadna

‘Yes, Arabic between us.’

<I> indak bitt

‘Do you have a daughter?’

<M> naam indi bitth (7.51)

‘Yes I do.’(7.51)

<I> hi tilkallam

‘She speaks?’

<M> hi kula tilkallam be l árab, ma tilkallam ma taʔarif ayy luqa hasa da ašaan hi saqayyre,

‘She also speaks Arabic. She doesn’t speak or know any other language, from the time she was young.’

<I> martak taʔarif luqaat gede (8.06)

‘Does your wife know any other language.’(8.06)

---

<sup>12</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>13</sup> Probably a newspaper, information which has not yet been confirmed.

<sup>14</sup> Settlement patterns in Maiduguri confirm Emma’s observation. For instance, the area of Ruwan Zafi in Maiduguri, which is located on the road to Ndjamena, is dominated by individuals of Chadian origin. The speakers from this area interviewed for Owens 1998 (see pp. 146-50) were either born in Chad or Cameroon and immigrated to Maiduguri or have an ancestral affiliation to Chad or Cameroon.

<M> mar̄tí, mar̄tí kulla ma teʔérif ayyi luqa taanya, waq̄et jaabooha min ana axattaha, min daar bar̄ra hiya, (8.12) yaani fi l balge, ma tiʔirfa ayyi luqa, amta jaat híne hassa gaadiin maaha fi beenna da, fi hausa wa ke da, hassa badát tiʔerif hausa šiya šiya ke, amma bornu ma tiʔarif šeʔ, ašaan benna al gaadiin fiia mafi fiha bornaaye waahide kula, amma fi hausa bə̄sowwu aṛəba xamsa ke, fa been an nuswaan hausa deela bilkallamo, bilkallamo dugo ʔirifat ina kwaana haw ke, azbeeti aafye šunu, šiya šiya ke kalaam, badát tiʔirif hausa (8.40)

‘My wife. My wife as well doesn’t know any other language. When I brought her, when I married her, from the countryside, from Balge<sup>15</sup> she didn’t know any other language. When she came here and others are staying with her in our house, Hausa and the like, now she’s begun to speak a little bit of Hausa. But she doesn’t know any Kanuri at all, because in our house there isn’t a single Kanuri. However, there are Hausa like four or five, and among the women they speak Hausa. They speak, so she knows basic greeting (ina kwana, i.e. ‘Did you sleep well?’), little by little she’s begun learning Hausa.’(8.40)

### 9.3 Arabs in the Nigerian diaspora: what happens to their language? 17:05-21:10

<I> ha gabul inta alkallam foog axuuk

‘Before you mentioned you spoke about your brother.’(17.06)

<M> ahaa, wəi, di hassa indí axwí fi sokkoto, hineen be a kibírna jamiiʔ hine fi z zaawiye hiné bas, gamma, mašé hinaak sokkoto, gára wa kulli še, gára al kolej wa l diploma wa, daxál xidime hassa gaayd bə̄xadim hinaak, (17.25) huʔ, aṛabi mar̄ta aṛabiyye, marta ašálha, yaani fallaatiya laakin tierif aṛabi, tiérif aṛabi bilheen bas mísil aṛabiyye, bilkallamo ambeenaatəm be l aṛabi, laakin hassa yaala, ma biʔerfu al aṛabi, an mašeet leeəm geʔéd maaəm sána, ána zaatí hassa balkallam loəm be l hausa, aṛabi buguulu leeəm taʔal bijú, ámiš bimši good búgod gum, amma afta gadduumak alkallam ma bilkallam, amma hausa da, ašaan bə̄xármu bar̄ra fi šaari maʔa yaal al hausa wa ke da, hausa da hu bas al bilkallamo, ma bilkallam be hausa, kan budooru šuqúl min amməm abuəm kulla bilkallamo loəm be hausa, humma kan bilkallamo leí be hausa, walla kan be l aṛab, humma kula bakaan bilkallamo le yaaləm be l hausa (18.06)

‘Ya. I have my brother in Sokoto. We grew up together here (in Maiduguri) right here in the Zawiya<sup>16</sup>. He left and went to Sokkoto<sup>17</sup> He studied and everything, in a college and he did a diploma and now he’s working there. He’s Arab and his wife is Arab – actually his wife is originally Fulani, but she knows Arabic, she knows it very well like an Arab. They speak speak Arabic between them, but now his children, they don’t know Arabic. I went to them and stayed a year with them and I myself speak to them in Hausa. If you should tell them in Arabic “come, they come, go he goes, sit he sits, get up, but “open your mouth and speak” he doesn’t say a word.<sup>18</sup> But Hausa, if they go outside on the street with the Hausa kids, Hausa is what they speak. He doesn’t speak Hausa.<sup>19</sup> If they want something from their mother or father they just speak to them in Hausa. They just speak Hausa with me, and as far as Arabic goes, they just speak to their children

<sup>15</sup> I.e. his wife is a Nigerian Arab from the Balge region, the region bordering directly on Cameroon. As documented on the translated interviews from this area, many Arabs from this region are monolingual Arabic speakers.

<sup>16</sup> Zaawiye. The name given to a center of Tijaniyya learning. Emma and indeed many of the Arabs who I have gotten to know in Maiduguri, were associated with the Zawiya of Sheikh Ibrhaim Saleh in Gwange, Maiduguri (see Owens 1998:chapter 12.2 for linguistic study of this area).

<sup>17</sup> Far NW Nigeria.

<sup>18</sup> To show that the children have a passive knowledge of Arabic but not an active one.

<sup>19</sup> Intended here is *arabi* ‘arabic’.

in Hausa.’(18.06).

<I> bugoodu marra waahid fi sokkoto (18.11)

‘They stay permanently in Sokkoto?’(18.11)

<M> humma la, ma saakniin marra waahid, mašo le xidime bas, u bəxadim fi l hakuuma, máša hinaak gára kulliya, kolej, wa gára diplooma, wa baad da daxál hakuuma, gaaʔid baxadim hinaak, wa hassa gaadiin fi l xidime bas, xidime hiil fedəral gavment, (18.25) mumkin bakaan waahid išiiiluəm iwadduuəm anambaa mumkin bakaan waahid ijiibuuəm, laakin fi waahid aaxar, ‘Them, no. They aren’t living there permanently. They went to work and he works for the government. He went there to study in a college, and did his diploma, and after he entered the government, he stayed and worked there, and they are just working there, a federal government job. It could be they’ll be sent to Anambara State<sup>20</sup> or anywhere else, another place.’

<I> al yaal biju hine (18.40)

‘Do the children come here?’

<M> ha al ʔyaal da, kan jo híne, suqaara, kan jaaphəm hiné suqaara da, xalaas bilʔéllimo, amma kan kíbəro qaadi, bigó kubaar masalan, amta tamm al kolec, dugó ja hiné da, min aš ʔaab, amm min aš ʔaab da dugó alʔillim gadé kalaam al árab da, mumkin biʔerfú, laakin kan ʔirfó kula, (19.01) naadim bišiiifəm kaʔana yaani, ma biʔerfú zeen, ha hu nafsá hu da, axú, axú al gul leena gaad qaadi axú, ʔyaala wulúttəm hinaak, hu gaal baxadim fi bidarris tamma yunavasiti wa gaad bədarris hinaak, hu kula fi sokoto, mášo jamí humma tineen, yaala ma biyerfu šeʔ illa hausa, laakin hu šaaló fi yunivəsiti av maiduguri hine mudarris, xalaas šaaló fi yunivəsiti av maiduguri mudarris, lekšara, ašaan da xállá sókótó ja gaaʔid hine, hassa yaala, hausa aa, gábul illa hausa, (19.34) hassa al waahid kan ilkallam lea ʔarabi da, təguul hausa az zool kula ma biyérifa, hausa al gabuɫ da xalaas da xalaas, xallóoha hassa hine bugó aʔáb xalaas, catt, humma suqaara, wa hassa kulla hausa kula kan ma biʔerfúua, (19.46)

‘The children, if they came here they were small. He would bring them here when they were little. So they’d learn. But now that they’ve grown up there and gotten big, when he finishes the college, and comes it will be difficult to learn Arabic. They might know it, but even if they do, (19.01) a person would say they don’t know it well. And he himself, his brother, his brother who I said stays there, his brother,<sup>21</sup> his children were born there. That one he works he teaches he finished university and stayed and is teaching there, he is in Sokkoto as well. They went together, the two of them. His children didn’t know a thing other than Hausa. But he brought him to the University of Maiduguri as a teacher. They employed him in the University of Maiduguri as a lecturer. So that one left Sokkoto and came here and now his children who before only knew Hausa, (19.34) now the one if someone speaks to him in Arabic, and you said he was Hausa, a person wouldn’t believe you. The Hausa of before is over. They left it now and have become Arab here and hardly know Hausa at all.’(19.46)

<I> al arab fi sokkoto alallamo kalaam al arab fi s sangaaya (20.01)

‘Do the Arabs in Sokkoto learn Arabic in the Koranic school?’(20.01)

<M> min as sangaaya, la, hassa humma ke da, luqa l arabiyya hinaak ma biyarifu, hatta kan mašəet

<sup>20</sup> SE Nigeria.

<sup>21</sup> A little confusing since it is only here the second brother in Sokkoto is identified.

sangaaya, sangaaya hi hiil hinaak be hiilna híne ma waahid, sangaaya sangaayit min hinaak da hausa, sangaaya hanaak hausa, al kalaam bil?ellemó be hausa, (20.27) hatta l garaaya, il giraaya di al huruuf al ?arabiyya di bigarrúua loəm be l hausa, bəgarřuua loəm be l hausa, lařaayit yam waahid bigdar biktib aw řunú, kula be l hausa, aniina híne, ařaan aniina ářab, as sangaaya wa l giraaya catt nagarréeha be l ařáb, amma humma hinaak hasa dugut al bornu, al bornu kulla kan mařeet sa?altəm fi s sangaaya da, awwalhum ke da al welád bugarrúua al huruuf al ařabiyya di laakin bugarruua lee be bóřnu, (20.51) be bořnu, ařaan di luqat al hu biyarířfa, ma bíaríf ayy luqa ařaan bugarrúua lea be bornu, ha al láfuř ařabi, laakin fi iđaafaat be bornu, ařan taad'í ařaan di al luqa biyarířfa, ha be hu da keda bifattiř, bigdar bi?eerif biktib wa ma řaba daalik, kamaan baad da, bigəri be l ařabi, (21.10)

‘From the Koranic school? No. As far as Arabic goes, they don’t know Arabic there. Even if you went to a Koranic school. The Koranic school there compared to ours here aren’t the same. The Koranic school there is in Hausa. They learn the language via Hausa, (20.27) even the language of instruction. The Arabic letters they teach them in Hausa. They teach them in Hausa, up to when someone can write or whatever. Everything in Hausa. We here, because we’re Arab, the Koranic school and everything we teach in Arabic. But those ones there, now the Kanuri<sup>22</sup>, the Kanuri as well if you went and asked them in the Koranic school, first of all they teach the children the Arabic letters but they teach them in Kanuri (20.51) because that is the language they know. The sounds are Arabic, but explained in Kanuri because this is the language he knows, and if he should continue<sup>23</sup> and can learn to write and so on, then after that he’ll read in Arabic.’

#### 9.4 Where is the best place to learn Nigerian Arabic? 23:45-24:51

<I> Let’s say a non-Arab wants to learn Nigerian Arabic, where is the best place to learn?’(23.45)  
<M> bakaan al áhsan, da, fi təraab hana l ɓalge, təraab al ɓalge da hu bas al bakaan aasan, kaala doola wa ke da, kaala, ha da bas al bakaan al ahsan řaan řunú da bas, lipp hana l ářab al fi nayjerya dadda bas, ařaan taarif, al ařáb, da ma catt taqsiimaat siyaasiyya, al ?ářab gaadiin kulluhum mand'iga waayida, dugo ?ářab híne kala ɓalge wa kameruun dool, ařab xaaləsiin, ma muxtalid'iin bi ayy luqaat, al luqaat al maahum humma áqwa minnahan (24.16), yaani masalan al ařab fə l ɓalge, tilgaahum maa bornu, walla ma kotoko, fa bořnu wa kotoko hatta fi l ɓalge doola da al ?ářab aqwa minhum, ařaan humma áktar, áktar minhum, fa řaan da kan ge?ét fi l ɓalge da, tigdar ti?eerif al luqa l arabiyya ejala, amma kan ge?éd fi təraab marte, al ářab məngono hiné, al ářab məxald'iin maa bornu, təraab baama ye, al ářab məxald'iin maa bornu, bani řeek, dambóa, kula doola al ářab məxalbaad'iin ma bornu, fa humma nəfisuhum bornu ?assarar fiium, fa ařaan da ma tigdar til?ellem minhum ejala, amma kan ge?ed fi l ɓalge da til?ellem, til?ellem ejala, (24.51)

‘The best place. The Balge area. Balge is just the best area, Kaala<sup>24</sup> and the like. Kaala and the like is the best place. Why? The center<sup>25</sup> of Arabs living in Nigeria, you know, the Arabs, all of this is a political division. The Arabs are all living together. Then the Arabs of Balge and those of Cameroon, are just Arabs, not mixed up with any other language. There is not another language<sup>26</sup> stronger than them (24.16), for instance the Arabs in Balge you’ll find them with Kanuri, with

<sup>22</sup> It seems a comparison between the Hausa using Hausa and the Kanuri using Kanuri has occurred to Emma.

<sup>23</sup> Bifattiř, lit. ,look for‘, in this sense, ‘search for knowledge‘.

<sup>24</sup> See text TV112 for Mada, a village close to Kala in Balge.

<sup>25</sup> *Lipp*, probably < *libb* ‘middle‘, with devoicing, though not completely clear.

<sup>26</sup> *Luqqa*, lit. ‘language‘. Note that a division between ethnicity and language is not consistently maintained in the discourse. *Luqqa* ,language‘ often is metonymic for ,ethnic group‘, as here (see e.g. Text 34 for further exemplification and discussion).

Kotoko, and even though there are Kanuri and Kotoko even in Balge and the like, the Arabs are stronger than them. Because they are more. So for this reason if you stay in Balge, you can know Arabic quickly. But if you stay in the Marte area, the Arabs of Mongono here, the Arabs are mixed up with the Kanuri, and in the Bama area the Arabic are mixed up with the Kanuri, Bani Sheikh, Damboa, all these the Arabs are mixed with the Kanuri and Kanuri has influenced them. So for this reason you can't learn from them quickly. But if you stay in Balge you'll learn quickly.'(24.51)