

## IM11MohBashir

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11.1 Bashir's background (6:00-8.09)

<I> ween darás

'Where did you study?'

<B> yoo seme aa garaytí, gareeth, hiil al ?arab, gareet maa al haaj abuuna al gooni muusa, gareet maa malaam abdu, gareet maa maalum dan juma, gareet gade ma?á, maal aisami, dool al arbá, hine l mahamaddiya, oke, fi darb an na?aara,<sup>1</sup> gareet hawsaari fraymar skul, yarwa fraktisiñ, min borno ticas kolej mayduguri, mən borno ticas kolej mayduguri ma?eet fedəral treniñ senta agriik, (6:48)

'Okay. My studying. I studied, as far as Arabic goes, I studied with our respected father AlGooni Musa, I studied with Malam Abdu, I studied with Malam Dan Juma, I studied also with Malam Aisami. These are the four, in the Mohammadiyya<sup>2</sup> school. Right. And in the western tradition, I studied at Hausari Primay School, Yerwa Practicing.<sup>3</sup> From Borno teacher's College Maiduguri, from Borno Teacher's College Maiduguri I went to the Federal Agriculture Training Center (6.48).'

<I> ween

'Where?'

<B> fedəral treniñ senta, hana agriik

'Federal Training Center, for agriculture.'

<I> ween da

'Where's that?'

<B> and'iik šaharhum, fi fətiiskum, borno ticas kolej, fi mayduguri, hawsarii fraamari skul, da bəkaan raffi al wuldooni fooga, yarwa fraktisin, hi kula jammuna, da l gərá al ana sowweet da (7:12)

'I'll explain. In Potiskum.<sup>4</sup> Borno Teacher's College, in Maiduguri, Hausari Primary School, that is in the neighbourhood where I was born, Yerwa Practicing, it is also close<sup>5</sup> to us. That is the studying I did.' (7.12)

<I> taktub al arab

'Do you write Arabic?'

<sup>1</sup> *na?aara*. Used by speaker for 'English' (below), as well as 'western practice' as here.

<sup>2</sup> From the text it is not clear whether the speaker intended here the Koranic school (normally termed "sangaaya" (see Texts 5, 9), or the western-type Islamic school (see Text 9). Mohammadiyya or Islamiyya school often refers to the second type.

<sup>3</sup> A primary school in the Hausari area of Maiduguri.

<sup>4</sup> A town due west of Maiduguri, the capital of Yobe State.

<sup>5</sup> Jammuna < jambu-na, with /u/ epenthetic vowel.

<B> ana arabiya kaatibinha le l yoom ke da, hana naɣaara jaabat agəli, amma alyoom katabiina bəbga ley gaasi, katabiina, maa ligiit madrasa, ad daxal fookka alallamt l ʔarab, al ʔarab yamta ana bigiit arabi wu basamma ka, xalaas al katab, maa ja le agəli mən mən gabəl, amma lee le kalaam katab, gareet hana nassaara, wa alyoom alhamdu lilla (7:46)

‘Me, writing Arabic up to today, English has dominated my thinking. So today writing ‘it is difficult for me. As far as writing it, I didn’t study (it) in the schools I attended to learn Arabic. Arabic, when I became an Arab<sup>7</sup> and understand the language, I hadn’t managed to master writing it. But as far as writing goes, I studied English, and am okay at it.’ (7.46).

<I> tigura al arab  
‘Do you read Arabic?’

<B> le lyoom ke, al luqqat al arabiya, aa kan hi kee maktuuba hiil al kitaab, maa bagdar baktuba, wa ma bagdar bagəri, amma kan le, baktuba bi hana naɣaara, da mursaal kula naadum bərasəl ley wa ana kula barassil leyya al arab (8:09)

‘As of today, Arabic, if it is written in a book, I can’t write it and I can’t read it. But as far as English goes I can write it and if anyone sends me letter I can reply to him.’

<I> ween taxadam  
‘Where do you work?’

<B> ana baxadam fii bodap,  
‘I work ...’

<I> ween  
‘Where?’

<B> fi agriik, bodap, agrikalcaral instituʂən, aloom indí  
‘In agriculture. BODAP,<sup>8</sup> agricultural institute at BODAP, today for ...’

<I> ween hu  
‘Where’s that?’

<B> fi mayduguri hineen bas, fi darb hana, aniina musammiin ofozit le biartivi, da bəkaani, wa gaaʔid maa l ahal hineen hassa (8:47)

‘Here in Maiduguri. On the road, we say, opposite to BRTV. That’s my place. And now I stay with my parents.’ (8.47)

<I> adaat al arab axeer min al hawsaay  
‘Are Arab customs better than Hausa?’

<B> faqát, faqát, ana hawsaay abuyi hawsaay, fakkar šiif, barbiit al hawsa, wa barbiit al arab, wa fii hinna tineen, ana mən ana saqayyir, mən ana saqayyir, laam nafsi ma al ʔarab, anʂaan al ʔarab induhum tafaqa wa induhum hinniyye, mən kunni nafar al ana baaarəfa alyoom, aywa (9:28)

<sup>6</sup> Speaker uses the verbal noun, *katib-iin*. The more common pattern is *katib-iin*.

<sup>7</sup> See below, end of this section.

<sup>8</sup> Borno Department of ?

‘Absolutely. I’m Hausa. My father is Hausa. Look, first of all Hausa, and Arabs, and between these two, since I was little, since I was little, I had allegiance to Arabs. Because Arabs cooperate and have sympathy, more than any other ethnic group I’ve known till today.’

11.2 Bashir praises Arab solidarity, but regrets that in recent years many Arab women have married outside their group (16:50-18:15)

<I> mixed marriage which lg (16:50)

<B> kan bɛkallamo be l ʔarab bas alyoom da, bɛkallamo be l ʔarab baʃ, alyoom kan fi l, kan fi l axiide, aniina l ʔarab, aniina mun kuure, aniina d’abiyye hiil hurriyye, aniina kaarbiin raasɛna, ʃaba aniina hurriyyiin, wa ma nɛlɛɛbɛd’o, ma ʔa iddɛni gabiila, ille fi siniin aj jin, ma bufuut siniin iʃɛriin, al arab bado bɛsawu luqqa maa bɛsawwu l at tafaqa, maa al aaxar, alyoom, bɛrnaai qaani fi lubb al hille di, ma inda mara arabiiye da, abadan maafi, alyoom, aniina, aniina humma jo almangoroona, yomta jo almongoroona (17.38) axado minnina, amma alyoom arabi, ʃabay ana ke gaayd, biyaaxud laa barnaaiyye walla hawsaaiyye, da kan ligiita kula, fi l ʔaʃara dugo, talga naadum waahid, da faqad, aa, amma alyoom ke kalaam al axiide, al gede haadi, mɛn kaano, mɛn ween kula buju, banaat al arab samhiin, wa biju biyaaxudu, minhum humma, amma arabi ke alyoom kabɛraan fi lubb al arab, ilmangaro mara mi luqqa, iyaaxuta, da alyoom maafi, kan fi kula ʃiyya (18:15)

‘They would just speak Arabic today. They’d speak Arabic. Today if there is a marriage, we Arabs ever since the past have a character is one of independence. We are proud. Like we are independent and we don’t mix with any tribe. Only in recent years, not more than 20 years, the Arabs began to initiate a discourse, they began to accept other (tribes for marriage). Today, if there is wealthy Kanuri in the town, who doesn’t have an Arab wife, he doesn’t exist. We, they came and they longed for us, to marry from us. But today an Arab like myself sitting here who marries a Kanuri or Hausa lady, even if you find one, it will be one in ten. That’s just it. But today as far as marriage goes, it’s rather the other (men), they come from Kano, from anywhere. Arab women are beautiful and they come and marry them. But an Arab today who’s grown up among Arabs, who will desire a woman of a different tongue and marry her, that doesn’t exist except rarely.’ (18.15)

11.3 Is language or genealogy the definition of who an Arab is? (21:12- 24.37)

<I> Do you consider people who don’t speak Arabic as Arabs?

<B> oke, ʃugul tineen fi, ʃugula tineen da, al waahid, arab kula aniina arab indina, kaʃi tineen, al waahid, talga ʔarabi, amma talga azrag, hu l azraq da, faqad, min minn aʃ ʃee da, gaɓuɓ da, hu mi ʔarabi, arabi alyoom kan gaalo da arabi da, kan bi ʔayy daliil kula, ʃiya ke da talga, buyuudiyi hiil al arab di fiya fi, (22:00) amma al arabi dugo kan gaal leek hu da arabi haw ʃifta haw azraq, da ja lamma raasa mɛn kuure walla juduuda, jo lammo raaʃum ma ʔ al ʔarab, wa simi kalaam al arab, wo, haggaa hu, waddar luqqa hu waddarat, (22.17) wa dɛxal fi lubb al arab, wa bigi arabi, bikkallam kalaam al arab, kan gul la ʃunu kula dadda hu bɛguul arabi bas, amma faqad, hu ke da mi arabi, da aniina aarfina taariix al gaɓuɓ, humma, waqut aniina jiina hineen, (22.33) harrɛ haami, fi borno, geʃ maafi, wa aniina l arab, al hamu wa l harrɛ mana gaadɛrinna waqut da aniina jiina diifaan, jiina kunni bɛkaan nazalna fooga, borno bɛju, aniina doola ʃuuluuna xɛdime, nasarhu leeku be bagarku, namʃi najiib leeku gaʃ, le qanamku le bagarku, (23:02) albaaraku, aniina kan nalga laban nuʃarba kula aniina nadoor naxadam ʃ, an naadum ja waga foogak, xalaas taal agood, minna ʃ ʃaba biʃiil binʃi bisɛra le arabi, biji l arabi, biga ʔida, ke yamta luqqa taru, yamta hu ke, luqqa raahat, wa bigi arabi, ʃilna arabiiye

hat gelöscht :

and'eena lá, wildat xalaas hu kula arabi šabaana, šabá humma doola katiiriin, doola zúruk, aniina al húmur, jiina gabul kula mən jeyyinna, aniina bas al arab, haw alyoom fi borno kula, gaalo leena, šuwa arab, hi luqqa šuwaa di, baggat mən al borno, (23:50) arab da aniina arab, jiina nazalna, humma, gammo jo, šaafoona yamta šaafoona, ha, an naas doola samhiin dige naas doola samhiin dige, be luquttum saamhiin, walla seme da, šawa be l borno, kan gaalo šawa da, (24.08) šawa da hu bas sam, an naas doola samhiin, an naas doola šawa samhiin šuwa šuwa šuwa arab šuwa arab dada šuwa?, šawa samhiin, arab samhiin, di, al luqqa al šuwa arab al baggad minha, hadd humma almangaroonna wa ye l yoom, humma budooru fiina, (24:30) wa faǵád, aniina jiina gaʔadna wa bigiina waahid alyoom aniina kula, nahubbuuəm, raaydiinhum al aafe fi l aafe, gaydiin. (24:37)

‘Okay, there are two aspects to this. The first is, we Arabs are of two types. The one, you find an Arab, but find him dark. This dark one in reality,<sup>9</sup> originally he wasn’t Arab. Today he is Arab if they say he is Arab there will be some evidence whiteness of an Arab in him (22:00). But an Arab and if he told you he’s Arab and you saw him dark as he is, this one integrated with (the Arabs) a long time ago, or his ancestors did, they came and joined the Arabs and he can understand Arabic and his own, he lost his language, the language got lost and he entered among the Arabs and became an Arab. He speaks Arabic. No matter what you say to him he’ll tell you he’s an Arab. But really he isn’t an Arab. This one, we know his history. Those ones when we came here, the sun was blazing hot, among the Kanuri, no grass and we Arabs, the heat and the sun, what it lead to we came as outsiders. Each place we came to, Kanuri would come (and say). “We’ll herd your cattle for you, we’ll bring you grass, for your goats and cattle (23.02). Please. If we have milk we’ll drink it. We want to work with you.” If a person approached an Arab he accommodated him. And in the morning he goes and herds for the Arab and he comes to the Arab who gives him a home. And so on until his language gets lost, his language got lost and he became an Arab. We bring an Arab woman and give her to him. She gives birth and that’s it, he’s an Arab like us. Cases like these are many. Those ones are dark, we are light-skinned. We came from far away, we the Arabs, and today in Borno they call us “Shuwa Arab”. This (name) Shuwa came from Kanuri (23.50). Arabs, we Arabs, we came and settled and they came and saw us and when they saw us, “Ha! These people are beautiful. These people are certainly beautiful. In their language ‘beautiful’ “saamhiin” or “seme”, is “šawa”<sup>10</sup> in Kanuri. If they say “šawa”, “šawa” means ‘beautiful’, these people are beautiful. These people are “šawa” beautiful. Šuwa šuwa šuwa Arab šuwa becomes simply “šawa”. This is the word šuwa Arab that it came from. To the extent that they desire us up to today. They want us (24.30). And certainly we have come and settled and become one so today we as well we love them, we want them and everything is harmonious.’<sup>11</sup> (24.37).

#### 11.4 Bashir describes the logic behind the Arabic Association “Al-Hayaa?” (32:30-36:32)

<I> arabic club

<B> a aywa yawwa, da yawaraaši dugo jiina aniina al arab, (32.42) gaʔadna, gulna, nafukku kloob, nalummu raazna, gabuļ aniina fi l xala, raasna laam, yamta jiina daxalna fi l bərnı, doola, ye gaado ke doola ye gaado ke doola ye, cat aššattatna, yawaraaši lammeena raasna fə bəkaan waayid (33:02), gulna, xalli aniina aniina l arab nofuk leena kloob nalumm raasna, wo, nərfa, darajat al arab, fi lubb al kloobaat al faddalan, gábuļ da, kloob dugo hana arab ke, abadan maafı, haw alyoom yaal gáro, yaal al arab gáro, gəraaya, katiiriin, ha fiia hu dada, humma kan gammo, (33.27) kloob hana borno wahada kloob hana hawsa wahada kloob d’aaka kloob katiir, ha, al

<sup>9</sup> *minn aš šee da* < minn as sahi da, ‘in reality’.

<sup>10</sup> *Šawa* in Kanuri means *saamih* (PL *saamh-iin*) ,nice, beautiful’ in Arabic.

<sup>11</sup> *al aafe fi l aafe* ‘everything is harmonious’, lit. ‘the well-being is in the well-being’

gáro dada hadda lammo raasum, ha aniina, namši ana arabi, haw banši badaxul fi kloob hana borno borno hu da keef, hu da d'aaka ke ke, al kloob gammo wa, wa gammo joo lammo raassəm bakaana wahade gaalo aniina kulla nabgo waahid nalummu raasna nafúk kloob hana raasna, nanaadi kloobəna l hayá, (33:53) wa caaman hanaana fulaan fulaani ke ke cat yamta, kammalo emta alyoom kammalo alyoom fokko l kloob da, haw alyoom ʔarabi ke dugo fi yerwa ke mi laam raaza fi lubba al hayá kloob da abadan maafi. (34.06) alyoom al gaari, al ʔarabi al gaari, kan be klooba, klooba waahid tul bas al hayá, da bəkaan hu bimši kan be jawaaba kan bi ziyaatta kan bi kalaama, kan inda mur, haad'd'inna fooga kula banši lee l haya al hayá kan wal haya kan talizza giddaam, lee l kubbaariyye (34:30)

'Yes, great. Then we Arabs came and sat together and said, "We'll open a club. We'll unite together. Before we were long in the bush. And we were united. When we came and entered the city, and these ones were staying like this and those ones like this and everyone was scattered all over. Afterwards we united together in one place (33.02) and said, let's us Arabs open a club and unite and raise the status of Arabs. Among all the clubs,<sup>12</sup> before, there wasn't an Arabic club at all. And today our youth are educated. The Arab youth are educated. A lot of them. So from all this they started, the Kanuri Club was separate, the Hausa Club separate, the So and So Club were many. So the educated joined together. 'I'm an Arab; how can I go and join a Kanuri club? So things were like that, and they got together and came and united together and said, "We'll unite and open a club of our own, and we'll call our club Al-Hayaa?" (33.53). And our chairman is so and so and so on until they finished and now they've finished and opened the club. So today there isn't an Arab in Maiduguri who hasn't joined in the Haya club. Today the educated, the educated Arab, as far as his club goes, his one club is the Haya. That is the place he goes if he has an opinion, reports progress,<sup>13</sup> a matter, if things are bad for him, pressing down on him,<sup>14</sup> "I'll go to the Haya" so the members of the Haya can help him forward, to the leadership.' (34.30)

<I> Does it function?

<B> oke beet al xaas hana l mulamma fooga, beet al xaas al nalumm fooga, indina naadum waahid, hu bas kabbarná caaman, al haaji grema mahammad, al haaji grema mahaammad, hu yamta bigi caaman, al ʔarab caat gábul kulla aarəfənnə, wa cat namši nalum fi beeta, kan be kalaamna, nassammiiya hu, wa hu bufattiš leena bəkaan aaxar hana mallamm, šaba ramat sukweya, (35:26) kan mašəena aniina, naas ašara išəriin, gulna, da šogolna, nadoor hu yifkur fooga, da šuqulna hu yifkur fooga, kaani hu biyaad'iina izin, amšu le bəkaan al fulaani lummu, amma alyoom ke ma ʔindina bəkaan, al hayá, al fakkata leena aniina al arab namši nalummu fooga da maafi, amma simiit fi kalaam an naas, gaalo šera bəkaan wa l bəkaan da yaa hasa gaaydiin bubənu fooga, kan banó, xallasó, aniina, namši nalum fi l bəkaan da, (36:03) hu ke kloobəna al hayá, alyoom ma d'awwal alyoom ma d'awwal haw ma inda heel, amma alyoom fi siniin al ʔagaban deela, fi siniin at tineen al agaban, faqát, kloobna lígi ru, wa alyoom mine kula aarfa fi yarwa, amma leel yoom ke da gaaydiin, nadooru nabəni wa nuwaasí wa nalum raasna fooga, al bəkaan dogut kulla gaayd fi gowenge, qaadi, fi darb hana yunibasti šiya (36:32) 'Okay. A special building for meeting, a special building where we meet. We have one person, he's the one we made chairman, Al Haji Grema Mohammad. Al Haji Grema Mohammad became our chairman. When he became chairman, all the Arabs knew him and we all go and meet at his house. If we have something to say we let him hear it. He is looking for another place for us to meet, like Ramat Square<sup>15</sup> (35.26). If we go, there are ten, twenty people. We

<sup>12</sup> I.e. the speaker suggests other ethnic groups like the Tiv or Ibo had local clubs in Maiduguri.

<sup>13</sup> Interpretation of *ziyaat-t-a* < *ziyaada* 'what has increased'.

<sup>14</sup> *haad'd'inna fooga* < *haad'd'-iin-a* 'having been placed on him'. The MPL suffix *-iin* has the allomorph *-inn-* before a vowel (i.e. when *-iin-V* stands in an open syllable).

<sup>15</sup> In central Maiduguri.

say, this is our matter. We want him to look into it, this is our matter for him to look into. So in that way he gives us advice. “Go to so and so’s place and meet. But today we don’t have a place, the Haya. There isn’t a place that is open to us Arabs to go and meet<sup>16</sup> there. But I heard from people who said they’d bought an area and there up to now they are building. When they’ve built and they’ve finished it, we’ll go and meet at the place (36.03). That is how our club the hayaa? is. Today it hasn’t existed a long time, and it doesn’t have much vitality, but in the past years, in the past two years it has really gotten its spirit and today everyone in Maiduguri knows about it. But until today we are sitting, we want to build and expand it and meet in it. But there’s a place now there in Gwange on the way to the university.”<sup>17</sup> (36.32)

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<sup>16</sup> *Na-mši na-lumm-u*. Note the mixed IPL imperfect, n- alone on the first verb, n- . . .-u on the second.

<sup>17</sup> See Text 33 where the speaker, Muhammad al-Hasiiba talks about the predecessor of the Haya club, the “Gwange Section Club”.