

M34xadija, D = Danna

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34.1 Basic biography, language usage, 0:10-5:06

<S M> usumí xadiija (0:10)

‘My name’s Khadija.’

<S D> alkallami arab şafi, hanaana hina hiné,

‘Speak pure Arabic, that of our own here.’

wildooki ween

‘Where were you born?’

<S M> ana wildooni koreenaawa (0:15)

‘I was born in Kiranawa.’

arab

‘Arab?’

<S M> ana arabiya, arabiya min an nafəraa, al aşaal?e, al aşaal?e min wulaad abu
?iise, ana isaaiye min abuyí, amımı wa abiyí kulu arab, humma kulu nafar al aşaal?e
(0:41)

‘I’m Arab. Arab of the Asal?e clan, Aşal?e from the Wulad Abu Ise, Abu Ise on my
father’s and mother’s side. Both are Aşal?e.’

min ween

‘Where are you from?’

<S M> min təraab kirenoowa

‘From Kiranawa’

indiki awlaad

‘Do you have children.’

<S M> indi awlaadí¹ wahade, bineetí wahiida bas (2.51)

‘I have one children, my one daughter.’

lg with her

<S M> be bineetí, nilkallam² arabiye bas

‘With my daughter, I just speak Arabic.’

hi tilkallam

¹ Clearly the speaker repeats the plural noun in the question, while having a single referent in mind.

² This is one of the very few Nigerian Arabs who fairly consistently uses n- for ‘I’ and n-...-u for ‘we’. She also lived in Ndjamena as a young girl (see below), and in a number of cases, as will be pointed out, she appears to avoid NA usages.

‘She speaks.’

<S M> hi kula tilkallam arabiya, hi kula gaade tifham al arabiya, hi kan nilkallam leeha be hawsa kula tuguul leyí ana ma hawsaaye ana arabiya, alkallami leyí arab, laakin ma nidoor al hawsa, hi abuuha hawsaay lakin ma tidoor al hawsa (3:12)
 ‘She also speaks Arabic. She understands Arabic. She, if I speak to her in Hausa she’ll say to me, I’m not Hausa, I’m Arab, speak to me in Arabic. But I don’t like Arabic. She, her father is Hausa but she doesn’t like Hausa.’

raajilki hawsaay
 ‘Your husband is Hausa?’

<S M> hawsaay aiwa, raajilí hawsaai, amma hassa maani fi beeta, hu bilkallam hawsa, ma bilkallam arab
 Hausa, yes. My husband is Hausa, but now I’m not in his house. He speaks Hausa. He doesn’t speak Arabic.’

bilkallam arabi (3.24)
 He speaks Arabic?’

<S M> aa ma bisəma, bisáma ma bigdar buɓurɓa, bisáma laakin ma igdar iburɓa, kan kallám leya waahid wa tineen da xalaas, d’aaka aaxər mina min ana aarif, ma i?arif, ille tilkallam leya be luquta hiil hawsa, zai da bas, min jiit fi ahalí kan nilkallam arabiye, maa nikaɓlam borno walla nilkallam arab bas, ana nilkallam arabi (3.44)
 No, he doesn’t understand it; he understands but doesn’t speak it. He understands but can’t speak it. If I speak to him one or two (words) that’s it. ‘That’s the extent I know’. He doesn’t know. Unless you speak to him in Hausa. Like that. Since I came to my people I’ve been speaking Arabic. I don’t speak Kanuri, just Arabic. I speak Arabic.’

<S D> sa?id fi beet, be bittiki da tilkallam leha arab walla tilkallame leha hawsa
 When at home, your daughter, you speak to her in Arabic or do you speak to her in Hausa.’

<S M> be bittí, hi saxayre, sai ána marák sei taarif, kula nilkallam leeha arab, humma ahalha ilkaɓlam leeha hawsa, ana nilkallam laha arabiyye (3:56)
 ‘With my daughter. She’s young. Only when I’ve gone out, you know. I speak to her in Arabic. Those relatives of her speak to her in Hausa and I speak to her in Arabic.’

<S D> šába an naadim al waahid da min amma haw le abu arabi,
 ‘So suppose a person whose father and mother are Arab.’

<S M> wəi
 ‘Yes’

<S D> haw ma bisma al arab, haw da aɓma haw le abú, mi arabi haw bufham al arab da, kan gaalo ad’di bittiki le waahid da tad’iha le yatú

‘And he doesn’t understand Arabic. While the other one, his mother and father, aren’t Arab but understand Arabic. If they said, give your daughter (in marriage) to one of them who would you give her to?’

<S M> nantiiha le al bisám al árab (4:17)
‘I’d give her to the one who understands Arabic’

<S D> le al bisám al arab, maláa
‘To the one who understands Arabic. Why?’

<S M> finšaan šunu bisám al arabiye, da bas
‘Because he understands Arabic. That’s all.’

<S D> ween al min amma le abu arabi da (4.25)
‘And what about the one whose mother and father are Arab?’

<S M> šaal haal al insaan al aaxar, ma yinfa, yaxadim foog xidime hiil hagguhum humma al irif kalaamhum, bilkallam fooga hu, amma ana al aṛab da, al irf al aṛabiya di ammal aṛabiya, ma iamil amaala aaxar, lakin al arabi, haw ma bigí arabi, ma alallam al arabiya, yaamil ammaala hiil al lisaan al aaxar, walá yaamil zai al aṛab al bilkallamú da ma biseyyí, la?, kan hi gaalat leya sawwa leyi kula iguul ana ma arabi tára, ana luqquṭí gaayme, naxadim xidime al insaan aaxar, lakin ana arabi, ma šilta d’abiit al aṛab, nilkallam d’abiit an naas al aaxar, laakin ma nisey leeki, al ma haggi ma niseyyi leeki. (5:06)

‘He adopted the ways of another people; it doesn’t work. He occupies himself with the affairs³ of non-Arabs, those whose language he understand. He’ll speak that. But me the Arab, this one is completely Arab. He (the one who speaks Arabic) doesn’t occupy himself with the ways of others. But the Arab, and he isn’t Arabic, he didn’t learn Arabic but adopted the ways of another language, he doesn’t behave like the Arabs who speak it, he doesn’t do like that. No. If she should say to him, ‘do it for me’ he might say, I’m not an Arab at all. Me my language has departed (from Arabic). I occupy myself with the work of another people. But I’m Arab, and didn’t assume the ways of Arabs and I speak the way of another people, so I won’t do (what is expected of me as an Arab) for you. What is not my own (way) I won’t do for you.’

34.2 Khadija’s early life (5:52-9.40)

<S D> inti gábul xad’arti fi bálad aaxar (5:52)
‘Did you ever go to another country?’

³ There are a number of usages which strike the editor as non-Nigerian Arabic. However, Nigerian Arab consultants had no trouble understanding the speaker.’

For instance, *yaxadim foog xidime hiil hagguhum*, *hagg* = Chadian Arabic for NA *hana* ‘possessive lexeme’, *xadam xidime* lit. ‘to work work’ in the sense of ‘what occupies a person’s interests or affairs’ is attested in this sense only in this text. *ma iamil amaala aaxar*, *amil* ‘work, do’ is not NA (= *sawwa*). The passage is interesting in showing the convergence of language with behavior. A person who hasn’t learned the language can’t show solidarity with another language; alternatively, the language one speaks determines where one’s social solidarity lies.

<S M> ana xad'ár fi bikaan, šif sawdi ana ma mašeet, ana ma mašeet sawdia, lakin mašeet ač čaad, mašeet kusuri, mašeet báhar al qazaal, deela kula mašeet, fi báhar qazaal, bahar qazaal fi č čaad, mi fi s suudaan, bahar al qazaal da hag al gaaʔid misil fi mingalme, haw le čaad, induhum kalanki, humma guraab al mingalme, bahar al qazaal, da al balad ana ana mašeet lee, (6:21) yam d'aaka, ammi axu abuyi min hina, garba kafu, saar maša njammeena, xalaas yam d'aaka ana saqayre kulu, yam mašeet da indí ašara waahid sana, lissa ma dassooni al beet, ašara wahid sana, mašeet fi hinaak, jiiit qaadi indí sana waahid, xalaas yamta ar rijaal doorooni hu lazzaani le abuyi dool, rudd al beet, ijoozuuha hinaak, ana kan jawwastaha hine kula amha ma tərda, xalaas jiiit, indí ašara wa tineen sana le as sana at taalte, jawwazooni, indí ašara tałaata sana, da haggi fi beenna xalaas, jawwazooni, kádar le jawwazooni, indí iširiin sana (6:58)

'I traveled out. I didn't go to Saudi Arabia, but I went to Chad, I went to Kusuri, I went to Bahr al Qazaal. All of these I went to. To Bahr al Qazaal in Chad, not in the Sudan. Bahr al Qazaal that is near Magalme and Lake (?) Chad having a common border. Mingalme and Bahr al Qazaal are near to one another. Those are the places I went. In those days my mother on my father's side (paternal aunt), from here, Garba Kafu, went from here to Ndjamena. At that time I was little. I went when when I was eleven. I hadn't been married.⁴ Eleven years old. I went there, I came there when I was eleven. So when the men began taking a fancy to me, he (the husband of her aunt) pushed me to my father's village.⁵ Return home. They should marry her there. If I (the uncle) should marry her here, her mother won't be happy. So I came back. I was twelve and just a year away from thirteen, when they married me. That was my fate. They married me and it's been twenty years since I married.'

<S D> aj jawwaski miné
'The one who married you is who?'

<S M> jawwazni arabi (7:04)
'An Arab married me.'

<S D> inti gábul ma tíji le beeta da šiftí
'You, before you came to his house had you seen him?'

<S M> ma šifta, la? la, nišiifa ween
'I didn't see him. No, no. How would I see him?'

<S D> an naas sawwo kalaamhum haw jawwazooki,
'The people arranged things and they married you?'

<S M> yam d'aaka, ammi wa abuyi wa axayaanha wa axayaana hu, ruđó, xalaas, ana nidiri minna ahamar abiyad ma nidiri, yam jiiit kan ana abeeta (7:20)
'At that time, my mother and father and her brothers and his brothers, they wanted him. That was it. What did I know about him, white, reddish? I didn't have a clue. So then when I came I rejected him.'

<S D> abeetí wara siniin kam

⁴ *Dassooni al beet* lit. 'They entered me into the house'

⁵ *hu lazzaani le abuyi dool* = *waddaaha* 'he sent her' to her father's village. *Dool* 'these' indicates the generic, 'my father's compatriots'.

‘You rejected him after how many years?’

<S M> abeeta, la šuqulí sana waade bas ana abeeta
‘I rejected him. No, it wasn’t a year and I just refused him.’

<S D> ar raajil min kirenawa hu kula
‘The man was from Kiranawa as well?’

<S M> aiwa, hu kula min kirenaawa, hasa kula gaayid gambarú,
‘Yes, he was also from Kiranawa. Now he’s still staying in Gambaru.’

<S D> ?’

<S M> la abeeta bas, abeeta bas, ana abeeta xalaas, raajil kabiir haw abeeta (7:38)
‘No, I rejected him. I just refused him. I refused him. An old man and I rejected him.’

<S D> šayb a
‘An old man?’

<S M> šayb wa abiid, šaan ana saxayre wa hu kabiir abeeta, ana abeeta (7:48)
‘An old man and a slave. Because I was young and he was old, I refused him, I rejected him.’

<S D> inti abeetí walla hu abaaki
‘You refused him or he rejected you?’

<S M> ana abeeta
‘I rejected him.’

<S D> gaal bihis foog ka digina ke
‘His beard wiggles’ (when they sleep together)

<S M> ana bas abeeta, ana saxayre haw hu šayb ana abeeta, ma nidoora, ma nidoor
aš šayb, abadan ma nidoora
‘I just refused him. I was young and he was an old man and I refused him. I didn’t
want him. I didn’t want an old man, at all.’

<S D> yaani fi haala di hu ma aba wa
‘So in his condition he didn’t refuse?’

<S M> la haala ma kweesa, šayb wa haala ma kweesa (8:07)
‘No, his condition wasn’t good. An old man in a bad situation.’

<S I> lakin hu ma biguul kan abeeti kan ma abeeti kula inti martí
‘But he didn’t say, whether you refuse or don’t, you’re still my wife?’⁶

<S M> yaʔarfa, ana naʔarrid, naʔarrid nimši nijí fi kirenoya, igabbuluuni⁷

⁶ As would be customary among the Arabs.

⁷ I.e. his relatives would meet her and send her back.

‘He knew it. I ran away. I ran away and came to Kiranawa. They met me.’

<S D> kan lihigat sana da tigdar ti?arrit sei

‘If a year had elapsed, you could run away you know.’⁸

<S M> na?arrid, ana na?arrid, šuqulí šaar fi beeta naarrid, šáhar wahid bas na?arrid, ke ke ke da yamta tammeet as sana, min aš šáhar al waahid fi beeta da ana na?arrit ke ke ke yamta tammeet as sána (8:32)

‘I ran away. I escaped. I was only a month in his house and I ran away. One month and I ran away. It went on like that for a year. From the first month in his house it went on like this for a year.’

<S D> haw buguuduuki biwadduuki

‘And they would take you by the hand and send you (back)?’

<S M> buwadduuni, ana kan na?arrid bas, yam waahid da ragád da ana wa da al marfaiin, ragád, al marfaa?iin fi l waadi, tammeet doora ana fi l waadi, ille naakul, an nuwaar, fi l alme da nasilla naakul, nisill al bišine naxassil haw nənaggí naakul, nišarab alme haw nanuum, indí doora ana fi l waadi (8:50)

‘They would send me back and I would just run away. One time I was asleep there, I was there and here’s the hyena. I was asleep, a hyena in the bush. I stayed one week in the bush, just eating flowers. In the water I’d pluck it out and eat, I’d pick out the Bishine and wash it and crack it open⁹ and eat it and drink water and sleep. I was one week in the bush.’

<S D> ha ligooki keef

‘And how did they find you?’

<S M> amta šif al marfaiin da, fájir ke da, mašá?, gaanəş haw ja?, raad, ana kan raagde fi tuktuka, hu tuktuka tałaata raagde ušta ke, da ja da qašima da bisawwi, riyaaala ke bibaddid, dahadd anxareet gammeet, kan gammeet hu kula érred, haw ana kan¹⁰ errét, yam erréd deda jit lee l hille (9:11)

‘When I saw the hyena, around dawn or so, it went away. It was hunting and came back. I was asleep in the small lean-to. A lean-to with three poles (I was) in the middle. It came with its mouth drooling saliva. I was startled to death and got up, when I got up he ran away too. And when I escaped, when I escaped I came to the village.’

<S D> tawa gade kula turugdi leeki leele (9.15)

‘Then you slept another night (in the bush)?’

⁸ According to custom, the wife would need to stay in her husband’s house for a year before she can go out for any social activities. Danna extrapolates to a situation where she could leave and not return.

⁹ The *bišine* water plant grows from a tuber that can be dug out and eaten.

¹⁰ The three tokens of *kan* in this paragraph are a good example of its two quite different meanings. The second is a conditional/adverbial ‘if/when’. The other two are what I term the correlative *kan*, which shows a close relation between adjacent events or states. In the third token, for instance, an alternative rendition might be ‘by the same token’, ‘it did Y and I by the same token did Y likewise’ *hu kula érred, haw ana kan errét* ‘it ran off and me by the same token I ran off as well’.

<S M> marfaiin d'aradni, jiit al hille, yam jiit, kaṛabooni jaabooni, yam jaabooni deda yamta lagooni min ad doora di lagooni kaṛabooni jaabooni dada gaalo leyí xalaas xalha, aaxər minna hu da kan xalleetha timši al maraafiin yaakulanna, dedda xalaas, ana saameet la, šuqulí taḷaata šahar ka dada axát, da, xalaas, ana sər d'awaali (9:40) 'A hyena chased me away and I came to the town. When I came they grabbed me and brought me after this week (in the bush) and when they had caught me and apprehended me and brought me they said to me, okay (addressing her husband)¹¹ 'let her go'. In the end, if you let her (go back to your house) she'll run away again and the hyenas will eat her. So that was it. "I'm reconciled with it" (the divorce) (said the husband). I stayed three months and then I married. That was it. I moved away immediately.'

34.3 Khadija the cowherd, (11:54-end)

<S D> fi l magad hana al baadiya, haw be magad al birni, yatú inti tišiifi áhala (11.54) 'Living in the countryside and in the city, which do you think is nicer?'

<S M> la, al bərni da minjammiin, wa al baadiya kan naas taabaniin, amma hasa da taab fi l badiya kula mafi, al awiin kulu, injin tirhak lahan, ijiiban almeehin baš išuud'an ʔeeš, hasa da ween kula táʔab maafi, ille gaadiin ya itábu al bagar humma taʔabaaniin, al gaadiin fi l beet kan mistarihiin maaum taabaaniin, lakin at taabi al bagár da taabaan bas, alyoom ragado hiné, ambaakir geyyalo hiné, baʔad gammo, saaro giddaam (12:23)

'No, the city is restful. But in the countryside people are troubled. But now even in the countryside there aren't so many problems. The women have grinding machines to grind for them, they just bring water and mix meal. Nowadays there aren't problems anywhere, except those following cattle, they are bothered. The ones staying at home are at ease without problems. But the ones following cattle are just bothered. Today they sleep here. The next day they spend the day here. Then they get up and move on ahead.'

našaqtí (12.25)

'Did you herd nomadically?'

<S M> ana našáq, d'awaali, indí sana tineeni maašiin, taabiin al bágar 'I herded, throughout. For two years I went, following the cattle.'

našaqtí ween

'Where did you herd?'

<S M> nagummu min lub ač čaad, haw nid'aahir yaa gubio, yam d'aaharna, kan nigabbil, indina sana itineen

¹¹ A minimum of pronominal reference is needed to reconstruct who is talking to whom. "xal-ha" 'leave.M-her' can only have a 2MSG referent. This allows us to infer, her husband. Gaal-o 'they said', are her own relatives who intervene on her behalf, to her husband. In *ana saamee-t l-a* there is an implicit switch to the husband, since it is the husband who can grant a divorce.

‘We’d start from the middle of the Lake Chad area and X up to Gubio. When we had X, we’d return.’¹² I did it for two years.’

<S D> be bagarku
‘With your cattle.’

<S M> be bagarna, qanamna, nemšu bas, táwar, kullu (12:47)
‘With our cattle, goats and sheep, we’d just go, bulls, all of them.’

<S I> intu fi door waahid kam
‘How many are you in a camp?’

<S M> fi d door, ad door da naas bilummu maafi sei, mine kula taabi bagara bas, kan šaalook naas timiš tiba??ir zarruhum, tutummu doora, fi bikaan at tubu??ir az zar, fi bikaan tibi??ir az zar da tutummu doora wahade, fi l bikaan da, gaadiin tuba??iru leya zarra, kan ba??aro az zar yigummu, kula naadim waahid bas, hu be ?yaala hine beeta bas xalaas, ille awiina, haw ?iyaala, how be saar?yiin hiné bagara, xalaas, iba??iru al bikaan da doora, yigummu imšu giddaam, kan waahid gede šaal lohum kula doora, igummu imšu giddaam, yamta sana tineen da ikammulu kan igabbulu, (13:28) misil hassa al xariif ja, alme ja kan igabbulu al beet, ma inšaqa hassa, fišaan šunu, dūbaan katiir, biyaakul al bágar, ašaan da bas

‘In the camp. In the camp people don’t gather really. Each one follows his cattle. If people employ you you go and fertilize their farms. You spend a week, in a place fertilizing the farm, in the place for fertilizing a farm, you spend a month, in the place. You continue fertilizing his farm for him. When you’ve fertilized it you move on. Just one person. Him and his children of his house. That’s it. Just his wives and his children and the cattle herdsman. That’s all. They fertilize the place for a week and get up and move ahead. Then one hires him for a week, they get up and move on ahead. Until two years were up, they finish and return. Like if the rainy season came, the rains come, they return home. They don’t herd nomadically. Why. They’re many flies that eat the cattle. That’s why.’

<S D> ha dugut inti šába kan ligiiti naadim qani, ma šifti al birni a, kan ligiiti naadim qáni, gaa?id fi diiraan da, be bagara be šunu leya gaala leeki taali baaxudu tugoodi agoodi maí da tuguulu šunu (13.52)

‘So now, if you found a wealthy man and you’d never seen the city, if you found a rich man staying in the cattle camp, with his cattle and everything and he said to you, ‘come, I’ll marry you, stay with me’. What would you say?’

<S M> ma namši
‘I wouldn’t go.’

<S D> malá (13:55)
‘Why?’

<S M> ma nitba bágar
‘I won’t follow cattle.’

¹² Note here the mixed use of the 1PL imperfect person markers. *Ni-gabbil* in the context of the rest of the utterance as well as what follows, which clearly refers to a collective ‘we’, has *ni-* as ‘we’, not ‘I’ (see also text 8, the main speaker of which is also from Kiranawa).

<S D> timši tišiili al xád'ab
'You'll go and collect firewood...'

<S M> aa ma namši, abet
,I won't go, I refuse.'

<S D> tišiili leeki dumbá gede kula tibaddili (14:00)
'You go and carry firewood, you carry a large calabash and you sell yoghurt.'

<S M> ma namši, namši ween, dawwarooni kula ma dawwártuhum, ma nigdar nidoor
an naššaaqi, ma nunšuq, hassa ninšuq ween ana
'I wouldn't go. Where would I go? Even if they wanted me, I wouldn't want them. I
can't be a herdsman again. I won't herd. Now where would I herd?'