

IM50xadams

I = Owens, D = Dana, XAM = interviewee

<I> usumki šunu

“What is your name?”

<XAM> ana usmí xadiija

“My name is Xadija.”

<I> wuldooki ween

“Where were you born.”

<XAM> ana wildooni fi kəreenaawa,

“I was born in Kerenawa.”

<I> mata jiiti hineen

“When did you come here?”

<XAM> jiina hineen mud’awwiliin, min ana kula bit misil, ašara sana ke da jiina hineeni,

“We’ve been here a long time. I was just a girl. I was like ten years old when I came.”

<I> kuburti hineen

“You grew up here?”

<XAM> kubúr hineen wa raħħalooni hineen, lahaddi wilíd iyaali dool kullu aniina
hineeni, (0:47)

„I grew up here and was married here and then I gave birth to my children here.“

<I> nafarku šunu

„What is your clan?“

<XAM> aniina nafarna asaal’e, aʔa abəyi ašali, aḿḿi kaman nafarum bəguulu lohūm,
wulaad saalim, misəl ke, (1:01) ow xalaas nafarat aḿḿəy aḿəy asali wa aḿḿwí wulaad
saalim,

„Our clan is Asal’e. My father is Asal’e. My mother they call her clan Wulad Saalim.
Like that. So my father’s clan is Asal’e and my mother’s Wulad Salim.“

<I> bala al luqa l arabiyye tilkallme yatu luqa

„What languages do you speak besides Arabic?“

<XAM> laa arab aḗab aḗab hana nejeriya bas, məsəl ke, aḗabna cat la al daada jalsa bas
borno, basamʔo, hausa kula humma nas kubaar ma midaamin fooga kulla basámʔo,
misəl yoo,

„No Arabic, Just Nigerian Arabic. Our Arabic. They know how to converse in Kanuri
and Hawsa. The elders weren’t concerned with Hawsa and they understand it a bit.“

<D> inti zaatki (1:26)
 „You yourself?“

<XAM> yo ana zaatí kulla da cat basəmaa?, hausa kula basma, kalaam boꝓno kula basmaa, amma fi beet ke da, ille nəkallam be kalaam al aꝓaꝓ bas, aye,
 „Okay myself I understand all. I understand Hawsa, Kanuri as well I know .At home? We just speak Arabic.“

<I> ween alallamti kalaam borno kalaam hawsa
 “Where did you learn Kanuri and Hawsa?”

<XAM> a kalaam borno da dadda ille fi šaari wa ma?aa naas, ke maa j jiiraan ke, hausa da min ana saꝓayre¹ kula nasəma katiir ke, wa borno kan bigiit maꝓa kula hassa da alallám kalaam borno kula, misəl ke, wallaahi, (1:51)
 “Kanuri, just in the street with people and with neighbors and the like. I’ve known Hawsa since I was small and Kanuri I learned when I grew older. Like that.”

<I> gareeti fi s sangaaya
 “Did you study in a Quranic school?”

<XAM> ay, gareet šiia be hana l gəraa hana šalá ke da gareeta aaha, aa fi l madrasa ma gareeth, ma gareet fil madarasa da, aniina dugaag da dassoona fi l magaranta, wa salloona dahaaba klāš wahid tineen ke bas maragoona, kula məd’awwəl,
 “Yes, I studied a little of the prayers. I didn’t study in a [government] school. I didn’t study in school. When we were small they enrolled us in school and they took us out already from Class or like that, they took us out, a long time ago.”

<I> gareeti klaas waahid tineen, ween
 “Where did you study class one, two ?”

<XAM> aye glaas waahid da gareeta, aa ma fi kirenowa, aḅuuna, kabiir da waddaana le logos, ke, aniina dugaag, šaalna maša beena le logos da, hiya² dassoona fi l magaranta, nəsey leena tišir ke kan xalaas gaḁe kula, gabboloona le kirənaawa, (2:30)
 “Class 1 I studied, not in Kirenawa. Our uncle sent us to Lagos when we were small. He took us and went with us to Lagos and then they put us in school. We stayed a few months then they returned us to Kirenawa.”

<I> ma d’awwalti fi legos
 “You didn’t stay long in Lagos?”

¹ This speaker consistently has [ɣ] for “ɣaa?” when post vocalic, rather than the far more common [q].

² *hi, hiya*, a discourse marker, in this instance akin to dugó “then”, not terribly common in the texts, but used a number of times below by this speaker. As is the nature of discourse markers, characterizing their meaning requires detailed textual study.

<XAM> ke mugaad saakit bala magaranta da, sana kula gaʔataha ziyaada, haw xalaas maṛagoona kan jiina l beeth, aha gede yaa dugut (2:40)
 „As far as simply staying without school, a whole year. I stayed longer and then they took us out and we came back home.”

<I> gəraayit s sangá keef
 “How is the Quranic school?”

<XAM> gərayt as sangá di gərayta šalá da misil akuṛba minn al bisimi ke lahaddi, ayaat ʔašara ziyaada ke da gareetuhum,³ misil ke yaa nəşallī beya bas misil ke (2:55)
 “I studied in the Quranic school, the prayers, like from the ‘Bismallaahi’ up to ten verses, so I can pray.”

<I> kalaam al arab tigrriha
 “Can you read Arabic?”

<XAM> ee be šalá da nəgrriʔ, kullu hana šala da nagərí, misil ke, bagəri, gəraaya da dugut bagəri⁴ leyya, iyoo,
 „Studying in a Quranic school is like you start with the ‘Bismallaahi’ up to like ten verses I read. Like that so that I can pray. For prayers I read it. Everything for the prayers I read. I can read [them], now I can read them. Should I read them for him?”

<D> tuktubi seyi
 „Can you write?”

<XAM> aa kátib da ma nagdar naktub, katib da ma naktub, məsəl ke
 „No, writing I can’t. Writing I can’t. Like that.”

<I> indiki raajil
 „Do you have a husband?”

<XAM> ayyé, indi raajil hu kula aṛabi ,
 „Yes I have a husband and he’s Arab.”

<I> təraab yatu (3:22)
 „From where?”

<XAM> ayyeʔ, arabi misílna bas, aʔa, hu ke da mud’awwəl hineen amma aynifi ke gaʔara ke da fi təraab al kaməruun, aaha ayye amma ja ke da hineen da saʔayyir, wa kubər wa d’awwal, zaada⁵ be niswaana gabəl ana jiiit fi beeta kulla, aaha (3:41)

³ The first /u/ in *garéet-u-hum* is epenthetic, according to the VVC-ə-C rule (see TV45-magonari-SD n. 14). Note that this forms a length-based minimal pair with *garee-túu-hum*, with the –tu of the MPL perfect suffix.

⁴ Note that in this short segment the speaker uses *n-* two times for “I” and *ba-* two times.

⁵ < zaat-a “he himself”.

„Yes, an Arab like us. He’s been here a long time but his origin is like in Cameroon, but he came here when he was small and grew up [here] and has stayed a long time. He had wives before I came.”

<I> humma nafar yatu
„What clan are they?“

<XAM> humma nafarəm hammaadiiya bəguulu lohum aaha, nafarum da, hammaadiye
„They their clan is Hammadiya they call them. Their clan is Hammadiye.”

<I> tišiifi ayy luqa al gaasiye
“What language do you find the most difficult?”

<XAM> al gaasi, da hana borno bas ziyaada min hana hausa da?, aa bašiifa ke da, fi yoom aniina dugaaga kula, borno ke da ma ligiina, ajala ajala misəl, al aṛab misil al hausa ke, hausa bas šiia bee buutu leya le hu da, wallahi, al hausa da, hu bas buutu lee le kalaam borno,⁶ (4:15)

“The most difficult one, Kanuri is more difficult than Hawsa. That’s how I see it. Ever since we were young, Kanuri we didn’t learn quickly, very quickly like ... Hawsa. Hawsa is just a little bit easier than it.”

<I> been luqa borno haw kalaam al arab
“Between Kanuri and Arabic?”

<XAM> a?aa kalaam aṛab da, haa kunni rad’d’aani ke da wala bilga kalaam al arab, ille burd’unu kula hausa dool, wa kan kalaam al bəgəru kulla bəgru inglīiš ma adri, al aṛab da gaasi sey le rad’d’aana da, le rad’d’aana ke da al aṛab ke, kadar biḷgu kalaam arab adiil bihajju beya da, ana našiifa hu bas gaasi, (4:40) aa hu bas gaasiye aksá min kalaam borno, wa kalaam hausa cat kula al aṛab bas al gaasi, misil da,
„No, Arabic, no foreigners learn Arabic. They use Hawsa as a second language or they read English or whatever. Arabic is difficult for a non-native speaker, for a foreign speaker. Until they learn Arabic and speak it, I see that it’s difficult. It’s just more difficult than Kanuri, and more than Hawsa as well. Arabic is just difficult.“

<I> katiir temši le kirenawa
„Do you go to Kirenawa often?“

<XAM> m?m, kirenowa da, laa mi katiir, kironowa da šaan ma indina ahal fookum katiirin, ke naadum leena gawi gaay qaadi da, mamšaana da šiia, ille misil an naas an na?arifum da, kan naadum maat, walla be naadimna ke marḍaan, da bas mamšaana maadri mamša kee inta misəl naadum be naadumak, gawwi ga?⁷ qaadi katiir ke da, ma nemši, mhm (5:18)

⁶ Cf. TV71c, n. 16, where in the rural Gulumba region Kanuri is considered easy.

⁷ In this passage, *gawwi gay* and *gawwi ga?* both from *gaa?id* “staying”, though with an intensifying meaning.

„No. Kirenaawa, not a lot. Because we don't have many relatives among them, a person we're close to to stay with there, so our trips are few. Only like if there are people who we know, if a person dies or one of our people are sick. A trip like to visit a person privately, we don't often for that.”

<I> katiir min ahalak baggo min kirenawa
“Did a lot of your relatives leave Kirenawa?”

<XAM> hú ayye, naasna aniina da, abbahaatna da awal kuwa aniina ke ahalna da maaum katiiriin, abbahaanna da humma rujaal taɓaata, wa ʔemmaanna,
„Yes, our people, our fathers, they weren't a lot. Our [paternal] uncles were three men, along with our [paternal] aunts.”

<I> jiit wa indiki ašara sana
“And you came when you were ten years old.”

<XAM> naam ayye ašara sana da ziyaada la, ašara sana
“Yes, ten years, or more than ten.”

<D> hadar jiit ʔašara sana sei
“When you came you were ten, right?”

<XAM> aa ašara sana bəlhaq, yam jiina le yarwa hine le da, ašara sana da nalhag, (5:55)
“At least ten years. When we came here to Maiduguri, I was at least ten years old.”

<I> našaqti
“Did you herd nomadically?”

<XAM> a a manšaaq da ma našaqa, aniina da min gammena kulla naas hille bas, le mašaax ke da, ma našaqa laʔ, ille gaadiin fi daarna di hillinna jam kirenawa keʔ, xalaas fiha keee, yam gammeena kan ya sirna jiina hine marra waahid, amma mənšaaq da ma našaqa, (6:19)
„Nomadism, I didn't do it. We just left and became city people. Nomadism we didn't, no. We just stayed in our area our village near Kirenawa, we were in it and then we left and came here altogether. But nomadizing, we didn't.”

<I> jiiti be ammki be abuuki
“You came with your mother and father?”

<XAM> ayye amṃwi wa aḃuyi kulluna sawa jiinaʔ,
“Yes, with my mother and father we all came together.”

<I> šunu jaabhum le Maiduguri
“What brought them to Maiduguri?”

<XAM> yaa hineen da hiya⁸ axwaanum kula gaadiin hineen, wa dadda humma kula saaro dadda cat jo gaado hineen, misəl ke, (6:35)

“To here, since they had their brothers staying here, so they in turn left and came and stayed here. Like that.”

<I> magad al bərni axeer min magad al hille

“Is the life of the city better than that of the village?”

<XAM> Mhm, magad hána da bərni da, šaafooa axeer min hana qaadi, gaadi kula yoom aniina dugaaga kula naazna da, wala bihertu, wala bitaʔabo misil taab naas barra da, ya gaadiin ke, a xalaas kan šaafo ke kula kan daxalo hine bas faayit, misəl ke, haa ana kula wagəd jiit ya saqqayre, wa al yoom kubúr kula kan dadda, bigiit dadda naadum hineen bas, axeer min barra, hineen da xalaas gaadiin, daar barra da bašiifa taʔaba katiir le siyaatta da, ana kula maani məngireeha, (7:17)

“No. I think that city life is better than there. There, when we were small, our people either farmed or followed [cattle], the travails of country people, just staying like that. When I look at it like that, that they entered [the city] here is better. Like that. And me as well when I came when I was small, and then I grew up, and have become a person of here, it’s better than the countryside. Here the people just stay but in the countryside I see a lot of troubles for the people. Me as well I’m not interested in it.”

<I> tišiifi al birni axeer

“You think the city is better?”

<XAM> wallaahi axeer laʔ, daar barra da kan naadum waalafa da waalafa ma muwaalafa da, al bərni bas faayith, misəl ke

„Indeed its better than the countryside once a person is used to it, though not for the one not used to it; the city is just better.”

<I> yaalki bidrisu

“Do your children study?”

<XAM>keef

“What?”

<D> buguru⁹

“Do they study?”

<XAM> aaha bədursu, bəguru madrasa, wa bīju min al madrasa kula kan ɗuhur kua binšu lel gəraaya, fi s sangaaya, kula buguru kee, baad al úşər bīju, gade kula naşallu l məyarəb kula buruddu, kula gaḍe kula saa tisʔe nus, baɗd’alū bīju, aşşalá (7:50)

⁸See n. 2 above, though with the meaning of “because” here.

⁹ Another example of common Arabic expressions not being used in Nigerian Arabic. In this case, D comes to my rescue supplying the appropriate *gara* for study” (and consistently, *garra* = “teach”, *gəraaya* “studies”, etc.).

“Yes, they study. They study in school, and they come from the school and then in the afternoon they also go to studies in the Quranic school, and they study, then late afternoon they come back, then we do the evening prayer and they return again [to the Quranic school], up to 9:30 PM then they finish and come back, like that. For prayers.”

<I> kull yoom bidrusu
 “They study every day?”

<XAM> ayye, kullu yoom bas bədursu, as sabah kan gaḍe kull bəruddu, al madrasa, kan bəgayyilu fi l madarasa, ya dūhur dugo bəju min al madrasa, misəl ke
 „Yes, every day they study. In the morning they return and spend the day in the school, up to late afternoon they come from school. Like that.”

<I> al arab biyaaxdu min gabaayil taaniyaat
 “Do Arabs marry from other tribes?”

<D> al arab sei biyaad’u banaathum le n naas al axar (8:15)
 “Do Arabs give their daughters to other people?”

<XAM> da, mhm mhm, bəyaatu waadiin bəyaad’u, le borno, waadiin le hausa, kuure da da maafi, kuure da, al aṛab bas bəyaaxud al aṛabi, wa rad’d’aani kula bəyaxud a rad’d’aana amma hasa da, duniya cat alxaalad’at, al aṛabi, boṛno, rujaal al aṛab kua bəyaaxudu boṛno, al borno kua bəyaaxudu l aṛab, ke maxaḷbəd’iin ke,
 „Yes, some give them, to Kanuri, others to Hawsa. Before that never happened. Previously, an Arab would marry an Arab, and a non-Arab would marry a non-Arab. But now, the world’s gotten mixed up and an Arab a Kanuri an Arab man a Kanuri, and a Kanuri [man] an Arab. Its mixed up like that.”

<I> maala (8:39)
 „Why?”

<XAM> haa šey kunni šey be waxta, ašay da rabbalaalamiin aamara an naas kulu bəlxaalad’o jami, ya lxaalad’o, misəl da, daliil ke da, waalah ana kuwa ma naʔarfa,¹⁰ ma naʔarfa aš šey da (8:52)
 „Everything has its own time. God of the heavens ordains that people are mixed up together, or that they aren’t. It’s like that. Why? Really I don’t know, I don’t know why.”

<I> kan raajil biyaaxud rad’d’aaniyye bilkallamo be ayy luqa
 “If a man marries a non-Arab woman what language will they speak?”

<XAM> bəlkallam leha da hiil da cat kula al arab, ar rad’d’aani dugo kan axad al al aṛabiye da, bərd’unu laha bas, wa kan wuldo yaalhum kula catt burd’unu bas, nišiifa da,

¹⁰ On n- as 1SG imperfect, see TV70a-Gulumba-Ajaa, n. 12.

nišiif katiir ke axawaana da waadiin miyaxidiin hausa, waadiin miyaaxidín¹¹ al arab da, kullu burd'unu bas, kan hausaa ye axad arabiye, hiya bəbga rad'd'aana, yaala ye təkallam looəm be kalaam hausa, wa raajilha kula be hausa, *koomā minəm* da iyaalhum arab kula ma bisámʔo adiil, (9:34)

„He'll speak to her in Arabic. Then a non-Arab who marries an Arab woman will speak to her in non-Arabic. And their children will speak non-Arabic as well. That's how I see it. I've observed many of our brothers who married Hausa, others who married Arabs, they all speak non-Arabic. If a Hausa man marries an Arab woman, she becomes a non-Arabic speaker. Many of them, their children don't know Arabic correctly.”

<I> da kula an raajil arabi biyaaxud mara
“That's if an Arabic man marries a non-Arab.”

<XAM> ha, raajil arabi haw bəyaaxud al rad'd'aaniye da, nišiifhum humma bas bəlkallamo be l arāb šiia axeer, aaha iyaalum kula bəlʔallam al arāb, kan arāb kee, zeen maafi kula, faaytinna le niswaan al biyaaxudu hana rad'd'aana da,
„Then if an Arab man marries a non-Arab woman I think they are more likely to speak Arabic, and their children will learn Arabic, whether good or not, but better than the woman who marries non-Arabic speakers.“

<I> hineen fi najeriya sei arab fi tərāab gedegede
„Here in Nigeria aren't there Arabs in different regions?“

<XAM> Mhm
„yes.“

<I> kan raajil arabi biji hine fi Maiduguri aarfa hu min tərāab yatu
„If an Arab man comes to Maiduguri here, can you tell which region he's coming from?“

<XAM> wallahi misəl aye arāb da, aaha arab da simiit al kalaam, al arāb da, arab hana daarna da, be arāb misil hassa tərāab ambud'a dool wa ke da kalaamna waahid, amma arāb hana tərāab gulumba dool, wa tərāab al balge da, kalaamna ma waahid, (10:43)
„Really like, ya, yes if I hear an Arab, his speech, whether the Arab is from our region or like now from Ambud'a, our speech is the same. But an Arab from the region of Gulumba, and from Balge, our language isn't the same.”

<I> keef
„explain.“

<XAM> illa kan ke da arab kula, luqúthum di melwiyye be hine ke da šik, (10:48)

¹¹ Note the minimally contrastive tokens of *miyaxidiin hausa*, *waadiin miyaaxidín al arab*, with the PL suffix *-ín* vs. *-in*. *-iin* shortens before a suffix, *miyaaxid-in-hin* “they've married them.F”. A following definite article-marked object noun also elicits the shortening. The shortening does not occur if the DO is not marked by the definite article, as the first token indicates. To this point, see also n. 7 in TV 36.

„While it is all Arabic, their language is twisted compared to ours; that’s how its different.“

<I> keef melwiyye
„How is it twisted?“

<XAM> melwiyye da, mísil kan buguul, taal kula buguulu caal, yowwa, kan bəlkallamo kula kalaamna ke be hanaana gade gade, luqunna aniina bas našiifa adiil maala hiiləm, mhm

„Its twisted, like if he says ‚taal come’ they’ll say ‘caal’. So even if they speak [Arabic], ours and theirs is different, and our language I see is more correct than theirs.“

<I> kalaam al arab al adiil hanaaku da (11:07)
„Your Arabic is the correct one?“

<XAM> aaha hanaana da, našiifa hu bas adiil ziyaada min hanaahum, misəl, hasa di ya gambaru kee, wa aṛab ad daar təraab mayduguri da hu kula cat aṛabhum da, waahid, amma arab ad daar diike da be aṛab da daarna šik šik,

„Yes, ours. I see it as more correct than theirs. Like, now up to Gambaru¹² and the Arabs in the area of Maiduguri the Arabic is all the same but the Arabs of that other region have a different Arabic.“

<I> kaddeeti katiir fi najeriya (11:24)
“Have you travelled in Nigeria?”

<XAM> laa laa ana di ma kaddeet katiir, ana qašimí da min jaayi min daarna wa le mayduguri, wa mən mayduguri kula, qašəmí gambaru, faṛansa hine bas, amma giddaam da gade maani šaayfe ween kulla, walaani šaayfe, low kaan dambuwa di kula maani šaayfe, ween kula maani šaayfe bəkaan aaxar da, ille fi lubb al hille, aa kamaruun kula ma mašeet, mašeet kula šəqəli yoom waahid bas gayyál wa ašiya jiiit, mašeet le fi kalaam mamaat, hasa keef keef kula ma naʔarfa, ille nisma naas bas bəjulsu bas ma naʔarfa, ana ke da ma nají be yaqiina,

„No, no I haven’t traveled a lot. Me personally, my horizon (my mouth) since I came from our village to Maiduguri, and [since I’ve been] in Maiduguri itself, my horizon [reaches to] Gambaru Cameroon¹³, and here. But beyond that I haven’t seen anywhere, Even Dambuwa¹⁴ I haven’t seen. I haven’t seen another place, except for the middle of the city. Cameroon I never went to. I did go once to Cameroon and spent the day and evening and returned, for a funeral. I don’t know how it is. I just hear people talking about it, but I don’t know it precisely.“

¹² Gambaru-Ngala, The main northerly border crossing to Cameroon. TV111Kirisakkata and TV111Kinembagu and are two villages in this sample within twenty kilometers of the area, both to the south.

¹³ Cameroon, a former French colony, until today is routinely termed “France” by Nigeria border communities.

¹⁴ About 70 kilometers south of Maiduguri.

<D> tisma?e ar raadyo a (12:00)
 “Do you listen to the radio?”

<XAM> radio wallahi ayye raadyo al bas ma yoom allah ijiiba, maa, indi raadyo haggi ke kula bismaa?, abuuam da inda?,¹⁵ haw kam xalaas yoom ke dawwar kan hi nafukkaha, “The radio, really, until God brings me one, I don’t have my own radio; still I listen to it. Their father has one, and when I want I just turn it on.”

<D> tisma?i šaba ween haw ween (12:13)
 “What do you listen to?”

<XAM> basma da šabah kan fojur ke da, basma kan al axbaar kan al bibisi, walla kan fi kaduuna ke kula, kaduuna di bariid básama fišaan kalaam al hawsa le l axbaar wa ke da, bariid básma kaduuna katiir ke
 „In the morning I listen, when it is early morning, I listen to the news like on the BBC, or to Kaduna. I like to listen to Kaduna because it is Hawsa, the news and the like. I like to listen to Kaduna a lot.”

<I> tisma?i be kalaam al arab (12:29)
 “Do you listen to Arabic?”

<XAM> aaha, kalaam arab da ma teerif hille hana d mayduguri, da bas maadri ma katiir sey hineen fi nejeriya ma bədussu arab katiir sey fi beet ar raadyo da, yowwaa, ha njammeena, na?am, al uxbaar ye minn as sa tise ila sabah da, ille as saa tis`e hiil al leel be l arab da, yowwa yooma larbaa da, induum misal al zaabe? ke, bas al, bəsallumu le axwaanum, wa kee, be l arab bəsawwuu?, yoom al arəba, misal saa d’amaane wa nuş, ke da, bubbú, aa hiil aš šabaah, aaha d’amaane wa nuş da, bəfukku l arab ambaakir al arəbaa, ha bufukku ke lahaddi s saa tis?e ziyaada, kan xalaas bəqaffəluu?, aa gade kan ille kan uxbaar da ille minn as saa tise hiil sabah lahaddi s saa tise hiil al leel, da bas an naas an nasamoo da, misal ke, (13:21)

„Yes, Arabic. You know the city of Maiduguri, I don’t know but they don’t broadcast much here in Nigeria, they don’t put much Arabic on the radio. Okay and Ndjamena, yes, the news at 9:00 AM, and at 9:00 PM in Arabic, and then on Wednesday. They have like a listener’s request where they greet their brothers and the like, in Arabic, they do it. Wednesday, like at 8:30 they begin, in the morning, 8:30, they’ll broadcast in Arabic tomorrow¹⁶ and broadcast until 9:00 or later. Then they shut it. Otherwise only the news at 9:00 in the morning and 9:00 at night, that’s what we listen to. That’s it.”

<D> ... be bittiki waahid min amma le abu arabi, simiiti al kalaam da, haw waahid kaaniye, mi arabi, haw bifham kalaam al arab, kan taad’iha leya
 “...if you have a daughter, and a man comes whose father and mother are Arab, did you get me?the other is not Arabic but understands Arabic; which one would you give your daughter to?”

¹⁵ I. e. her husband. Referring to him as the father of her children is a sign of respect.

¹⁶ Referring to the fact that the interview is taking place on Tuesday.

<XAM> mmʔm, kan muʔ kula al aʔabi mən amʔm wal abú da bas, hu bas bəšiif kee kula walad al aʔabi axuyí da, hu bas a ad'd'iya leyyaʔ, (13:52)

„Even if it is difficult [to choose] the Arab whose mother and father are Arab. He is my Arabic brother. He's the one I'd give her to him.”

<I> kan ma simii kalaam al arab kula

„Even if he doesn't understand Arabic?”

<XAM> ha kalaam aʔab da fi d'uult as siniin da bas ma bes kan dassa ʔaasa da, mi bisəmóá¹⁷ wa, yowwaa,

„But Arabic in the course of time if he concentrates, won't he learn it?”

<D> ha kan ma bisəmaa kula

„Even if he doesn't know it?”

<XAM> ha kan ma bisəmaa kula dadda ya suma¹⁸ kan aʔabi bas,

„Even if he doesn't know it, his name is still Arab.”

<D> ha dugut inti kan bisma al ʔárab, ha min damma mi arabi da, taad'iia le yatu (14:13)

„So now if he understands Arabic, and he isn't of Arabic ancestry, whom would you give her to?”

<XAM> bisəma al aʔab haw damma mi aʔabi da, baguul da huda gaad d'awwal maa l arab haw, simi l arab bas, aaa

„He understands Arab but he's not an Arab. I would say he's stayed a long time with Arabs and understands Arabic. That's all.”

<D> amma bubga arabi da walla ma bubga

„Would he become an Arab or not?”

<XAM> ma bubga arabi da (14:21)

„He wouldn't become an Arab.”

<D> kan axad tineen taʔaata ke, catt arabiyaat (14:33)

“If he married two or three Arab women?”

<XAM> misil ke, aaha cat arabiyaat, aaha hiya bigat da bəbga arabi, ma bəbga arabi min gaʔara kula, kula min dadda bəguulu aʔabi wa abú aʔab bas, baguula bigi aʔabi bas, tiʔerif kan naadim wild al iyaal da, al ʔiyaal bijibduuk seyh, al iyaal da ma bijibduug a, yiji yoom waahid tierif, bijibduuk bas, təbga aʔabi bas, maʔa naas waadiin, waadiin kan, miyaaxidin¹⁹ al arab kula, kula aguləm ke mə šaayl al arab, dugut boʔno doola da, sey be l

¹⁷ Unclear whether a plural is spoken here, bəsm-o-á, or whether a final labiovelar arises by assimilation.

¹⁸ ?? *hiya summa*, but not completely clear.

¹⁹ See n. 11 above.

arab da kaal kan biyaaxudu banaathum kula, aguḷum ke da wala maaši waaid, yawwwaa šaba da bas, (15:08)

„In that case, and they’re all Arabs, then she would become ... he would become Arab. He wouldn’t be of Arab ancestry, like saying he’s Arab and his father is Arab, I’d say he’s become an Arab. You know if a person has children, the children draw you. Don’t the children draw you. It happens one day that they pull you in a direction, and you become Arab with a certain group. Others, even if they ‘ve married Arabic, I’d still say he isn’t inclined towards the Arabs. Now these Kanuri, even if they marry an Arab daughter, they don’t think like Arabs. It’s like that.”

<D> haa, gabul saait inti fi biladeega qaadi da, kan saqayre kula tigdari tilfakkari šaba, galab al xeel, yawwwa hu dada ke waşşufi leena keef keef, (15:24)

„Before you were in the countryside, when you were small, are you able to think about like galloping horses. This one, explain to us how it was.”

<XAM> hu dada aniina da dugaaga, fi hillinna di, al ʔiid, kaan gaarab da, šoyol an nuggaara, inta ko tiʔirfa sey, mhm an nuggaara di, xalaas aniina dugaaga, dugaaga da, bəguulu ke mine kula tijiib²⁰, zibde, diin hiil al bagar di, xalaas, mine kula taaxud²¹ mən amma, ha dadda kan kofooye kula be leeha,²² al maa leəm zibde fi beetum kula biyaad’uuha kofooya, tiwaddiia le n naas al al bəwaasu n nuggaara dool da, xalaas bişuru zibde, haw bəmassu nuggaara bəxud’d’u fi l harraaya, (15:59)

„That one, we were small, in this village of ours. If the Id drew near, drums. You might also know it. The drums, we were small. They’d say, everyone bring, butter, oil from cattle. Each one [girl] should get it from their mother. If they have money, a kofo [is given] if one doesn’t have butter. If they don’t have butter in their house they give her a kobo and give it to the people who play the drums. So they’d buy butter and rub [it] on the drums and put them in the sun.”

<I> humma rijjaal

“They are men.”

<XAM> ar rijaal aaha ar rijaal da humma, arab, hillinna da kula marra waahid arab bas, wa ma dawaka, ille hiya d dalaal bas, ha massooha bəxud’d’uuha fi l harrá, kee tigeeyil yam nəbga leel da, dada ša ambaakir walla bukura ke al ʔiid da, dadda yoom búgo fi l leel da bədurbuuha?, hi nuggaara kam bəkaan beʔʔiid kula, kan tinsámi bas, ha xalaas dada buguulu hu da dalaal da bəxud’d’u diige, fi dubuwa bəhud’d’u fi dubuwa, dadda an naas billammo, be gafa ayyado, dahadda da gađe doola bíju, beenna aniina da difaan bíju leya katiiriin, be xeelum, xalaas dada bíju da, dada mənna ş šabá, busowú gálab al xeel da, nəswaan bəd’arran bəqannan, al gayla kan buxud’d’u al gangaaya, hiil ad dugut al bandiil da, al gangaay di, (16:52)

²⁰ Note here the subject *mine kula* “everyone, each one, anyone” normally expects a MSG subject. In this case it is pragmatically interpreted as a second person.

²¹ Note agreement, FSG, for the subject *mine kula* “each one”, since the referent is ‘girls’.

²² *be le* “with for”, i.e. one preposition directly after another, = “have”.

“Men, yep men, Arabs. Our village only had Arabs. Not special musicians, just for dancing.²³ And they rubbed it and put them in the sun and they’d stay the whole afternoon until we came to night. Then like the next day or the day after was the Id, when it was night they’d play it. The drum even from a great distance could be heard. And they’d say they are dancing. In Dubuwa²⁴, they are holding it in Dubuwa. Then the people would gather, after the Id, then those others would come. A lot of guests would come to our house, with their horses, so they would come. Then in the morning they’d perform the ‘galab al xeel’. The women formed a line and sang and in the afternoon they take out the small drum, the ones the bandiil play nowadays, the small drum.”

<V> hassa gaayidiin biddaalalo be l watiir (16:47)

“Now they are playing with the car.”

<XAM> mine da

“Who.”

<V> al hajj

“Al Hajj.”

<XAM> mhm, amiš naada iji²⁵aş şabáh, kan ad ðuhur bəhud’d’u al gangaaya, gade kula al leel bəhud’d’u n nuggaara di, lenšaan al ma simi kula bisəma da beya huda bugoodu doora, dugo d dalaal bišit,

„Oh, go and call him to come. Then the next day, in the afternoon, they put the small drum and again throughout the night they put the large drum, so that those who haven’t heard yet hear it. And so it goes they stay for a week. Then the party splits up.”

<D> ha šaba dugut al mada ke da, an naas bigallibu keef haw keef (17:18)

„So like now in the field, how do the people gallop horses.“

<XAM> fi l mada da, al banaat bud’urran ke, how ar rijaal kan binšu bəkaan baʔiid, madaahum kula beʔiid, bas xalaas min al bəkaan d’aaka ke kan bijuru, kan bəju le bəkaan an nusuwaan da, an niswaan kan deela biqannan, wa deela bəzayratan, ha doola bəju bigiifu be xeelum, kan xalaas bənḅarḅu bənšu ḅuṣ, kan d’oolaaka gade kula bəgummu, kal humma kula bíju bəgallubu ke, bəsawwu. misəl da (17:42)

“On the field. The girls line up like this, and the men might go a far distance; their field is far. Then from that place they race and come up to where the girls are, the women are singing and the others are ululating. And then these come and pull their horses to a stop.

²³ Traditionally, certain kinds of music and dance were performed only by lower class Arabs, non-Arabs, or slaves, the *bandala* and the *buuk* dances, for instance.

²⁴ The name of the village near Kirenawa where the speaker comes from.

²⁵ An intrusion. Children are playing on our car, and one of her children comes to tell her. The construction *gaayidiin biddaalalo* using the active participle *gaayid* „staying, standing“ as a progressive marker is essentially a Chadian Arabic usage. This shows the paternal influence on the child’s speech, though it could also be that the family associates with immigrants from Chad, who are very numerous in the Ruwan Zafi area of Maiduguri.

Then those ones turn back and go half way then the other ones set out again. Then the other ones continue galloping. It's like that.”

<I> bəsowwu da be n nahaar aw be l leel (17:43)
 “Do they do that in the daytime or at night?”

<XAM> aaa nahaar, minnaşabaah, haw ʔuşur, aa fi l leel da ma yamši fojjoqo, fi l leel maafi, uşur ye bəgallubu kee şaba aşam gariib ke tágaʔ da xalaas bədéllu, min al xeel binšu bizugguuhin, hau biju bərabbed'uuhəm bədiiru lehum qalla, gaş, ha bəruḡdan, a xalaas gaḡe leel da wal gangaaya, walla nuggaara, walla ke geḡe kula bilébo bas, ha aşabaah kan gaḡe kula bəḡúmḡmu lee l gálab da, ha kee gaḡe kulla lahaddi l gayle, harrá kan hímat da, wogguḡu, (18:15)

„In the daytime. In the morning and late afternoon. At night it wouldn't work they'd stamp on [people]. Not at night. Rather in the late afternoon they ride the horses like until the sun is about to set, then they get off their horses and go and water them and come and tie them up and pour them grain and grass, then they [horses] rest. Then again in the night the small or big drum or the like and they dance again, then in the morning they start the horse galloping again and it goes like that until the midday, and the sun's get hot and they stop it.”

<D> al maʔiiša fii, fi l barra haw, šifti al maʔiiše fi l barra, haw šifti al fi l bərn̄i, šifti hiil ad daaxəl di haw al barra di, yati axeer (18:33)
 “The life outside and that in the city, which do you consider better?”

<XAM> haa hiil daaxil da axeer sey, barra da, teerif, naas waadiin da yalḡo raasum, al yoom kula, mankaşaʔ, kan akalo fi fajur da, gaḡe ma biyaakulu le l leel, ha l bərn̄i da fi ha maafi sey, al miskiin kula kan fajur ye bufd'ər, al aş, al gayle, kulla bəsey šóḡol bas biyaakul, baad al leel, yowwa, talaata da kan fi l bərn̄i da kan isowwi yaa šoorā²⁶ kula kan ma fattašta jibta ma bəkuun, yowwa kan madiide, kan eeş, kan šunu kula naas da biyaakulu bas, amma daar barra da, kan naadim, saad'o baggo le xalaaum da geḡe bəsuud'u ille l leel, kan lúgo ḡifaan kula waadiin da ma busowwu loəm akil, ha dada seyi fi l birni maafi, aa (19:19)

„Rather inside [the city] is better. You know, some people have gotten enlightened, open minded. If they used to eat in the morning then they don't eat till night. But in the city it's different. Even poor people breakfast in the morning, meal, then at noon as well he does and eats, then at night, so three times [in a day] that's in the city, he uses any means possible, if you don't look for it and bring it, it's not possible. Likewise the porridge, the meal, all sorts of things people eat. But in the countryside, once a person has cooked [a meal] they go to their fields then don't cook again till night. Even if they have guests, some don't make food for them. But it doesn't happen that way in the city.”

<I> induku klob
 „Do you have a club?”

²⁶ *isowwi yaa šoorā*, Lit. “he does any advice”, i.e. will use any means possible.

<XAM> aaha klob da, aniina da, ana didi maɾa wa gaade fi beeti maa ana be siyaada kula, naas induhum klob fii l aɾab da, misəl iyaal al aɾab da, aa ana di fooga maafi, ana di fooga maafi,

„Yes, a club. As a woman at home with her husband, not me. But the people have a club for Arabs. Like the Arab youth, but I’m not in it, I’m not in it.”

<I> inti mašeeti (19:40)

“Did you go to it?”

<XAM> aa ma mašeet klob da fi, naʔarfa klob hana l aɾab buguulu leya al hayá ye naʔarfa, amma, ana ke da yoom wayid kula, da bəkaana kula ma naʔarfa, xallí mašeet leya,

„No I didn’t go to the club. I know that there’s an Arabic club, they call it the ‘Haya’, that I know. But I never went, and I don’t know where is is, let alone go to it.”

<I> le rujaal wa nuswaan

“For men and women?”

<XAM> rujaal wa niswaan kula naas misəl an nəswaan, amaanaat raašan xala²⁷ azabaat ke, da fiiyaʔ, amma mara be raajila da, ankuun naháasib fooga maafi,

„Men and women, like women without responsibilities unmarried ones are in it. But a wife and husband, I suspect they’re aren’t any.”

<D> ma timši sei (20:07)

„You don’t go?”

<XAM> ma benši ana di yaqiina da ma naʔarfa, aa laaʔ,

„I don’t go and I don’t know [where it is] with certainty.”

<D> [X]

<XAM> aɾab da, aniina al aɾab da, kan maɾa bigat be raajila da, xalaas šaqaali waadiin dool da ma taseyiin xalaas, misəl kan dalaal kula ma timši, misəl šunu, xidime katiira ke maɾa am raajil da ma tixadimaa, ille kan mašat laa bəkaan aazuuma ke úsum, wala tarhiile, kula, kula nəswaan be rijaaləm bas, cat gaadiin fi bəkaan da, wa raajil hana naas kula ma bəndossa fooga niswaan deela, haw naas bas gaadiin rəd nađiif ke, amma dugut ša al klob da da da xidimit misəl ar rijaal ma loəm niswaan, ar rijaal da kan be nisuwaanum kuwa binšu, amma maɾa be raajila da fi l bəkaan d’aaka ma temši, (20:52)

„The Arabs, we Arabs, once a woman has a husband, there are certain things we don’t do any more. Like if there’s a dance you don’t go, like what, there’s a lot of things a woman with a husband doesn’t do, except to go to like a party or a naming ceremony or a wedding, then there are women and men together, but the man isn’t put with the women,

²⁷ *amaanaat raaš-an xala* “having a head (like an) open field”, to show they have no responsibilities. An example of the linker –Vn.

and the people just sit together nicely . But like the club, that is an activity for men without women, or married men, but not for a wife and husband together.”

<D> šaba al hayá da, al arab bulummu raassum seyi (20:58)
„Like in the Haya, the Arabs have joined together really?“

<XAM> ha laammiin raasum iske, árab da laammiin raasum teorif al hool kan líhig da, misəl naadimhum ke buguulu naas basəma ana kula minn an naas, kan šaa minnuhum waaid da ka misil šey ligi misil naař akalat beeta, walla šey waahid ke xasaara ligiita kula, bulummu maal biju bi?awunuu, buguulu naas, adiya aaha, ašaan ayaama deel da, dawa raajil waahid naař akalat hine kula, gaal jaabo leyya blóok, jaabo leyya yaaší, basəma naas bəguulu?, mhm, induhum laamiin řaašsum la, laamin raašsum, (21:33)
„They’ve joined gotten together of course. The Arabs have unified. You know when the year is up, like if one of them, someone says, I also have just heard about it from other people, if one of them, if something happens [to them] like fire destroyed his house or something like he had an accident/experienced a loss, they gather money and they help him. The people say, ‘here it is’ [the money].²⁸ Because just recently there’s a man whose house got burned right here, and he said, they brought him blocks, they brought him sand I heard people say that. They’ve gotten together, they’ve gotten together.”

<I> al kloob da min zamaan
„Has the club been there for long?“

<XAM> a?a hu da al yoom me ifuul leyya talaata sana ke bas, ke kádar ke bigi klóob nađiif ke naas cat irfooa, da me ifuut talaata sana?, (21:45)
„No, not more than three years or so, since it became an organized club which everyone knows about, it’s not more than three years.”

<XAM> mala mala mala askut
„why why why, quiet.“

...

<D> ha dugut hu budoor inti malá gulti šaba dugut aa, yawa dugut axiide hiil al banaat al arab, catt biyaaxədan min min bəkaan axar da, al arab la binzaadu fi hu da da (22:29)
„He wants to know, like why you said now, marrying Arab girls, all. They marry someone else, so do Arabs increase in number?“

<XAM> a?a zayid gede da kan al arab da,
“No, if the Arabs ... “

²⁸ *adiya aaha*. This passage is hard to interpret. As presented here we assume that the speaker is mimicking the speech situation saying *diya* (F) “here it is”, followed by the man receiving it uttering *aaha* (show of acceptance). Two problems with this interpretation are that AM clearly says *adiya*, and she makes no pause after *adiya*, as would be expected if she were representing a speaker turn. One might think of *adiya* = *hadiyya* “present”, though this is problematic in that there is clearly a pause after *adiya*, and the question whether the word *hadiyya*, not common in Nigerian Arabic in any case („present“ usually = *zigege*), would be appropriate to represent the situation as described.

<D> mm

<XAM> kan šaa hana ḥorri da fooga zaayid zeen maafi, teerif kan maṛa di kan axadat an nafara gadé kan wuldat, sayiira kula hiya taabi ar raajil bas, fi daar barra, ya dugut kuḷa arabi ye biyaaxud al arabi, ar rad'd'aani kula biyaaxud ar raad'd'aani, ya dugut kua fi daar barra ke da, ma maddaaniin²⁹ hineen, misəl da, amma fi l ḥorri kan rajil da, be haggā wa rad'd'aani kulla hiya bəyad'd'ú bas, da kan hiya³⁰ zaayid da maafi, al arab da gādē ma biziidu, misəl al ʔeenak leya ke da, aha,(23:05)

„No, if the Arabs, like from the city, aren't increasing. You know if a woman marries another tribe and gives birth, her child will just follow her husband. In the countryside, up till today an Arab marries an Arab and a non-Arab marries a non-Arab. Till today it's like that in the countryside. They don't care here, like this. But in the city if a man, with his money and even if he's a non-Arab, they give her to him. So therefore the Arabs don't increase, they no longer increase. The way you hope it should be.”

<D> dugut yaal waadiin...

“Now some youths ...”

<XAM> arabiyaat

“Arab women”

<D> šabaahum humma waadiin sei biyaabo al arab zaathum kula (23:15)

„Like them some of them even refuse Arabs.”

<XAM> mmm waadiin da biyaabo l arab, kam mi arabiyye naḍiife zeene ke da, maa muddaamiin fookha bilheen da?

„Well, some refuse Arabs, if she's not a nice, pretty Arab, they don't go for her.“

<I> inti tišiiḥi axeer kan yaalki biyerfu kalaam al arab

“Do you think its better if your children know Arabic?”

<XAM> iyaali kan bəyarfu kalaam al arab,

“My children should know Arabic?”

<D> zeen a

“Is it good?”

<XAM> zeen iske al lasan da kan yeenú kula indum kula walá fāsīl, yawa kalaam al waldeen hau kan hu yaat kalaam kula, kan fakkeet eenak³¹ da, dada tilʔellemo hu bas, hu kan jidín kan tifattiš al kalaam al aaxar, misəl da (23:51)

²⁹ ? Or *maddaamiin*

³⁰ The DM *hiya*.

³¹ *fakkeet eenak* “when you open your eyes = mature”.

„My children if they know Arabic, of course its good. Language, everyone has their language. So it’s not a bad thing. So the language of the parents or any language once you grow up, you’ll learn them. When you grow up, you’ll search out different languages. It’s like that.”

<D> intu be raajilki tilkallamo ʔarab,
“Do you and you husband speak Arabic?”

<XAM> da nilkaɓlam aɗab, be iyaalna kulla nalkaɓlam aɗab, humma fi beet kuɓa humma kulla baɓkallaamo arab bas, kalaam ke aaxar ke da ma, ille kan saqiir maɓm baɗɗa jaaɓm, da kan baɗiif iyaal baɗjuuhum da iyaal arab bas kula baɓkallamo, be hausa, wa dawa jawaareena hineen iyaal boɗno kula, ba ween³² jo lohum da baɓkallamo be boɗno, amma fi l beet humma beenaatum bilkallamo be al arab bas, (24:17)

“We speak Arabic, with our children as well we speak Arabic. At home as well they just speak Arabic, no other language, unless a child comes to them from outside. In that case I observe the children who come to them, even if they are Arabs, they speak Hawsa. Then there are our neighbors here, the Kanuri children. Wherever they come they come to them they speak Kanuri. But here at home amongst themselves they just speak Arabic.”

<D> da biseyy al arab ma buru minhum sei
„So Arabic won’t get lost.“

<XAM> ma buru aa al arab da ma biru minhum, ma da ba nuguul ke dugut, al axawaan al baɗaaxudu r roɗɗaana da, ilkallama hinna ke da, elkallam le iyaalum, be l aɗab, aɗaan al arab da billaggi, minn al beeth, ar raɗɗaana di kan fi l ɗaari kula tillaggi, dugut iyaalna dool da wa aɗab, amma kalaam ke misal hana hausa walla borno, da ma tuwaɗɗuf loohum waahid kula da, wa kan awwal ma warreenaaɓm kalaam al aɗab da, al arab ma bulgu, ha ar raɗɗaana di ye fi ɗaari bes bilguuha, be da bas, kan naadum, baɗɗan kula kan ligi l arab da ilkallam, arab bas, faayit misal da

„It won’t get lost, Arabic won’t get lost from them. Didn’t I say, the brothers who marry non-Arabs, they just speak like that, he’ll speak to their children in Arabic, because Arabic is learned from the house. Non-Arabic is learned in the streets. Now our children are Arabs, but the language like of Hawsa or Kanuri, no one teaches it to them. If from the start you don’t show them Arabic, they won’t acquire it, but non-Arabic they’ll get in any case in the street. It’s like that. Even if an Arab [a person] speaks non-Arabic, if he finds an Arab to speak, Arabic, its better. It’s like that.”

³² *ba ween* “from where, from whatever place”.