

TV111a-Kinembagu-Jidda1

<J> Jidda = J1 brother of Bulama, <V1> = Adum, <J2> = J2 in TV111b, V = unidentified voice

<D> al tʔaarfa tiwassif leya, al ma taʔaarfa ka dada
 “What you know, explain it to him, and what you don’t then ...“

<J> zeen, bawaşşəf lá baguula be kalaam hana arab walla
 “Okay, I explain to him and speak it in Arabic right?“

<?> zeen
 „Good.“

<D> wai, sei dawa huwa¹ intu kula gaadiin
 „Okay, isn’t this him right here, and you.PL are here.“

<?> wai kula biguul lea šunu, hiraata walla biguul lea šunu
 “Okay what should he tell him, farming or what?“

<I> usmak mine
 “What is your name.“

<J> usumi jidda,
 “my name’s Jidda.“

<I> inta arabi sei
 “You’re Arab?“

<J> arabi, (0:19)
 “Arab.“

<I> arabi nafar yatu
 “What clan are you?“

<J> náfar arabi seedi,
 “I’m Sedi.“

<I> wəldook ween
 “Where were you born?“

<J> wəldooni fi kinemubá hineen bas,
 “I was just born in Kinemuba here.“

<I> isim al hille di šunu manáa šunu
 “What’s the name of the village, what’s the meaning of the village?“

¹ Conventionalized, *dawa huwa* “here he/you/we/they are.

<J> usuma maaná da, maana yamta be bagara, yamta an naas bišuufuua, intu hillitku maala ma leeha toor, al bágar deela ma lein toor, a?a al bagar ma leein toor, ijuulin dugaag, tiiraan gurru maafi, dada ma?aana ha da bas al xad'd'ó lá kinemubágo, (0:50)
 “Its name, the meaning, when there were cattle, when people saw it, you guys your village, why aren't there bulls. Among the cows there is no bull. What there is no bull among them! The calves are small. There are no big bulls, so they gave it the name kinemubágo (‘there are no bulls’)“

<I> be kalaam yatu
 “In what language?”

<J> weenu, (0:53)
 “Which?”

<I> usum al hille min kalaam yatu kalaam árab walla šunu
 “The name of the village is from which language,”

<J> kalaam árab, [X] al ma la toor di, kinemu di xalluua, kinemu di bigát šabá borno a, al hille al ma la toor,
 “Arabic. That doesn't have a bull, ‘kinemu’ they left it, so it became like Kanuri, the village with no bull.”

<V> al hille ma lá toor
 „The village has no bull.“

<I> fi kalaam borno
 “In Kanuri?”

<J> fi kalaam árab,
 “In Arabic.”

<V> fi kalaam al arab al hille al ma leya toor
 „In Arabic the village without a bull.“

<J2> fi l arabiyya da
 “In Arabic.”

<I> šunu isim al hille
 “What's the name of the village?”

<D> kinemubágo

<V> kinembágu
 „Kinembagu“

<D> kinemu da sei le t toor be borno
 „Doesn't ,kinemu?' mean ,bull'?”

<J> le t toor, xalla, be borno xalla, al hille al ma la toor, hi d'iike al luqqa hiil ar rad'd'aana di xallaaha

“For ‘a bull’. They left it in Kanuri. The village without a bull. This one is [from] the foreign language and they left it [like that].“

<I> ammak wa abuuk wuldoohum hine
“Were your mother and father born here?”

<J> abuyí wildó fi l hille di, ammi, waldooa hajira,
“My father was born in this village, my mother, she was born elsewhere.”

<I> ween
“Where?”

<J> dowā fi tiraab marte, (1:37)
“There in the marte region.”

<I> hi kul bani seed
“Is she also Bani Seed?”

<J> aʔa hi himeediye
“She’s Himedi.”

<I> mine haɗɗa l hille di
“Who founded this village.”

<J> bulaama gambó, jiddí abú abuyí bas,
“Bulama Gambo, the grandfather of my father.”

<I> inta kula bōlaam
“And you’re also the bulama?”

<J> aʔa, ana maani bulaama , axuyí (2:01)
“No, I’m not the bulama. My brother [is].“

<I> xidimitku fi l hille di šunu
“What’s your work?”

<J> xidiminna hiraata,
“Our work is farming.”

<V> hiraata bas
“Just farming.”

<J> barbaré² bas, dugut nugumm az zar kula buwooriik leya, alaaṃta,³
“Guinea corn, now the farm, should we get up and I should show you it, where it is.”

<I> way, mumkin tuwaṣṣif leyi keef tihaartu da (2:17)
“Yes, can you explain to me how you all farm?”

² Another generic term for *masakwa*, “guinea corn”.

³ Perhaps < Kan *bárébaré* “farming for a daily wage, *báré* “farming”.

<J> naharit da,⁴ alme yam bişub, dada numuluţ, nierit, gabúl nierit yamta al wád'a tubga buxaara⁵ da, neerit be l kadanka, kab, kab, kab al gaş al baxarim da naharta, alme buşub al geş bukubur alme buşub al geş bukubur, kula kan numuld'a, numuld'a, numulud', yamta al muluţ bitum, alme bitum, at tiraab bíyebas, kan gade kula nuktul bongoro, nuktul bongoro, nuktul bongoro gade, daada yamta al bongoro katalná xulús kan dada nişiiil al gafgal kan nicux, kan kab kab kan nişub alme kan nidis ad díga, kan díga kula wafke timíš la tişiiifa tiwad alaamitta⁶ (2:55)

“How we farm. When rain falls, then we weed, we farm first we farm and when the ground becomes grassy, we keep on farming with a short hoe, kab. When the grass comes up and the rain falls and the grass gets taller and rain keeps falling and the grass keeps getting taller, then we weed and keep on weeding it out. When the weeding finishes and the rain stops, the soil dries out, so then we keep on slashing [the grass] with a machete. When that's finished then we take a pointed stick and we make holes [in the ground], kab, kab, and we pour water [into the holes] then we stick in a seedling. When the seedling has grown you go to it and see it and you take note of it.“

<I> naas kam bisawwu l xidime di
„How many people do this work?“

<J> al xidime, á fi l hille wa, an naas al bicuqqu wa, kan ašara kula ka an naas binšu bixadumu bas, doola be gafaagilum doola bişubbu alme doola⁷ budussu d díga,
„The work, it's in the village. Don't the people plant? If ten they just go and work, these ones with their pointed sticks, those ones pouring in the water, the others planting the seedlings.“

<I> gooz fi walla maafi
“Is there sandy soil or not?“

<J> gooz maafi, gooz maafi firkiya zarga di bas,
„There's no sandy soil. There isn't, only clay soil, this black one.“

<I> ma tihertu ille al alme tamma
“You don't farm until the rains have stopped?“

<J> alme tamma dugo nucuxx, kan, alme tamma dada gide caqqeena da gade mafi ũei,
„The rains stop then we plant. When the rain's stopped then we plant. There's nothing else than that left.“

<V> sei al hool
“Except after a year?“

<J> sei al hool, sei al hool aj jaay alme bişubb dugó (3:35)
“Except after a year, the next year and it rains again.“

⁴ The construction is literally, “we farm this.” The demonstrative *da* also marks the end of relative and adverbial clauses, but here it serves to topicalize the entire question. See also n. 11 below.

⁵ *baxar*, “early sprouting of grass”, *buxaara*, “young grass seedlings.”

⁶ *tiwad alaamitta* lit. “you send its sign = take note of”.

⁷ repetition of *doola* “these” for “these, those, the others”.

<I> zarku ween
„Where’s your farm?“

<J> az zar dawa gariib, az zar da gariib ille min al hille qaadi bas dada az zuraa?a
“The farm is right here nearby. It’s just a little ways from the village there.“

<I> bala al hiraata da
“And besides farming?“

<J> ma indina sanya waade kula,
“We don’t have any profession, not even one.“

<I> ijjaal
“calves?“

<J> wəi hine l hille,
“Belonging to the village.“

<I> tisowwu šunu beehin
“What do you do with them?“

<J> al ijuul deela, wa be ammahaathin, neelib naalib lában, haw n nuswaana biwaddanna le gambaru, dada bujuubu leena fiya huut haw mile haw haw qalla naakul, mm, da bas,
“These calves, have their mothers. We milk them and the women take it [milk] to Gambaru, then they bring us fish and salt and grain from it and we eat. That’s all.“

<I> tisra beehin
“Do you pasture them?“

<J> nizra beehin, á, mhm (4:16)
“Yes.“

<I> keef tisar beehin
“How do you pasture them?“

<J> saarittin di, dugut, dugut baggan hadda as šabá baggan, yamta aš šam tigá kan biján, ha burugdan fi z zariibe, gade aš šaba kula bixarman, yamta aš šam tigá kan biján le l hille gide kula birugdan fi z zariibe, haw dada binšan, di bas hinna kula di xadimtin, (4:34)
“Pasturing them, now, they’ve just gone out, around morning. When the sun sets they come back and stay in the kraal. In the morning they go out again and when the sun sets they come back and they rest again in the kraal, and they go out again. That’s all, This is their work.“

<I> mine bisar be bagar
“Who pastures the cattle?“

<J> al bisarhan da, da al loom sará, ambaakir da sará, bukura da da sará ke yam tukut al hille, kan naas tałaata jamí, kan arabá jamí kula ke bas (4:48)

“The ones who pasture them? This one today pastures, the next day this one, the day after this one and so on until the whole village makes its round. Whether three together or one, it’s like that.”

<I> tisaro be šunu
“What do they pasture with?”

<J> yamta al xoof, an nisra beehin dá, be iṣeyna bas, ba l aṣá bas,
“When there’s fear,⁸ what we pasture with, with our stocks, just with a stock.”

<V> aṣá hu gumbulaay hu alme
“A stock and a gourd and water.”

<J> gumbul hana alme tidissa fi ṣaffak (5:03)
“A gourd with water you stick on your side.”

<I> bahaayimku šunu
“What are your domestic animals?”

<J> á baayimna bagar, bágar,
“Our domestic animals are cattle, cattle.”

<I> bagár bas
“Just cattle?”

<J> aa
“Yes.”

<I> qánam maafi
“There are no sheep.”

<J> qánam fi, fi?, al qánam kula ke bas, al qánam kula aṣ ṣabá bixarman, aṣ ṣabá bixarman haw mina kula aš šam yam tigá ka biján le l beet bas, cat birugdan maana, birugdan maana fi zaraayibna deel bas, (5:24)
“There are sheep. Sheep as well. The sheep as well go out in the morning, they go out in the morning and later (also from it) when the sun sets they come back to the house. They all rest with us. They rest with us in these kraals of ours.”

<V> ra?iihin šikk sei,
“Their herdsmen are different.”

<J> ra?iihin šikk
“Their herdsmen are different.”

<J> al qánam kula ba raíiin, al bágar kula be [Y] raíiin (5:28)
“The sheep have their herdsmen, the cattle have theirs.”

<V> [Y] al bágar

⁸ E.g. fear of thieves.

kula ar raaʔi wehettin, aš šam tága cat iján, hineen, al ijuul kula be raʔiin wehetum (5:35)

“The cattle have their herdsman, when the sun sets the cattle come back. The cattle have their own herdsmen.”

<J> aʔa da kula waid, sei waşúf bas,
“No that’s all the same it’s just description.⁹”

<I> ejuul
“calves?”

<J> wai, al bagár sarahan, maşán giddaamhin,
“Ya, the cattle pasture and they go on in front of them.”

<I> kula tisarho beehin
“They all pasture them.”

<J> mm al ujuul kula bisáro behin, bitallifan al qalla, biyaakulan al qalla
“The calves as well they pasture them. They’d ruin the grain because they eat the grain.”

<I> al bagar waddooan ween
“Where do they send the cattle?”

<J> waddoohan ke, binšan ke,
“They send them that direction, they go in that direction.”

<V> anúm (6:03)
“south.”

<J> binšan ánum,
“They go to the south.”

<I> ma tinšaqa beehin
“You don’t nomadize with them?”

<J> á ma ninšaq, aniina nixarrif fi l hille hine bas, kawaaziina deel ba nidissin fiihin haw bugoodan
“No we don’t. We just spend the rainy season in the village here. These huts of ours we put them inside and they stay there.”

<I> mala tuhud’d’u al ujuul šikk wa l bagar šik
“Why do you put the calves and the cattle separately?”

<J> ha lenšaan burđaan, ammahaathin, al lában an nidoora nahalba da, dugut saarhaattin kula ye wehettin, ammahaattin kula saarhaat weettin da, yamta al leel bijí da, aš šam tigá da nikarrib al ijuul nirabbithin, haw al ammaáat fi z zeriibe kan dada

⁹ To a third party

nud'uluk waid, nahalba, nud'uluk wahid nahalba ke yam butumman, da bas ma?anaa?
(6:41)

“Because of suckling. Their mothers, the milk that we want we milk it. So now their pasturing is separate and their mothers’ is separate. At night when the sun sets we catch the calves and tie them up, and the mothers in the kraal we release one and milk it, we release another and milk it and so on until all are finished. That is how it’s done.”

<I> gabaayil gade fi walla mafi

“Are there other tribes here or not?”

<J> an naas walla, an naas walla šunu, á naas fi?, as sawwak kula fi, al gaa?idid kula fi,
“People, people or what? There are people those who have gone to the market, and others are here [now].”

<I> a?a gabaayil

“Tribes.”

<J> a?a mafi, (6:56)

“No, there aren’t.”

<I> illa al árab

“Only Arabs.”

<J> illa al árab bas, maafi, gabaail gade mafi

“Just Arabs. There aren’t any others.”

<I> intu cattuku qašim beet

“Are you all the same lineage?”

<J> cat qášim beetna wahid, kurut qašim beetna wahid, naadum wahid kula hajira
mafi, aniina cat axayaan bas,

“All one lineage. Our lineage is all the same. There’s not a person from elsewhere. We are all related.”

<I> suukku ween

“Where’s your market?”

<J> suugna gambarú, aloom bas suugna, dugut bas nugum nimši jamí,

“Our market is Gambaru. Today is our market day. Now we’ll get up and all go together.”

<I> tisawwugu šunu

“What do you market?”

<J> aniina a, nisaawak dada nimši niširi leena gooro, kan as surwaal da gidím kula

tišír, kan al xaláq da gidím kula tišír, kan d’agiye gidimat kula tišír, dada laleeku

laleeku dada nurut nijí, ma n nisayyi ši ma leena sanyá waade kula , ille maašiin saakit
bas (7:45)

“Us, we go to market then we go and buy ourselves kola nuts, if our trousers are old you buy them, if the gown is old you buy one. If a cap gets old you buy one. And¹⁰ we greet [people] and then come back. We don’t do anything else, we don’t have any business, except simply going.”

<I> tuwaddu šunu

“What do you send [to market]?”

<J> ʔa, niwaddi da,¹¹ kan yoom alla ijiiban yoom yoom, baaayimna šiyaat, qanamna šiyaat, yoom alla ijiiba, nuguul leena qanamá niwaddiia nibiha, yó keee, kan ligí leya ijíl, [X] lihík kula biwaddí kula bibiiyaʔ, kula kan fi wudura bas, amma gade ma leena šayy šúqul nuwaddí le s suuk kaamil mafi, da bas (8:11)

“What we send, whenever God brings them, our cattle are few our sheep are few. The day God ordains, we say a sheep we’ll send and sell it. Or maybe, if he has a calf, when it is grown up he sends it and sells it. Everything according to whether there’s a need. But otherwise we don’t have anything to send to the market,¹² absolutely nothing. That’s all.”

<I> keef tuwaddiihim

“How do you send them?”

<J> nuwaddiin fi l watiir, nidissihin fi l watiir haw niwaddiin le gambarú,

“We send them by car. “We put them in a car and we send them to Gambaru.”

<I> gambarú beʔiide

“Is Gambaru far?”

<J> miil tisʔe,

“Nine miles.”

<I> kam

“How many?”

<J> miil tisʔe,

“nine miles.”

<I> miil tise aaa

“Nine miles.”

<J> mhm

“Ya.”

<D> be rijil sei naadum

¹⁰ *dada* here “as well”.

¹¹ The MSG demonstrative *da* often marks dependents clauses (conditionals, adverbial, relative clauses), and also serves a topicalizing function after a main clause finite verb, setting off the content of the clause as the following topic:” regarding what we send ...” The use of this in Nigerian Arabic is one of many topics needing greater treatment. See also n. 4 above.

¹² This is one of the few tokens where the complement “to the market” is expressed. Normally *nuwaddí* “we send it” has an understand goal complement.

“By foot wouldn’t a person ...

<J> naadum binši aniina kuure yamta gábul al wataair da, [X] yam gabul al wataayir sei nimšu be rijilna bas hu nijí aloom al wataayir kitiran ka, kan dugó nimšu¹³ be l watiir alla (8:33)

“A person goes, we used to, before there were cars, before cars we’d go by foot and just come back, but now cars have become many so we go by car.”

<V1> tid’urda ke ke da bagár isay waʔár, ke tiwaddaha nadiif dada bišuruua, aktár min tid’urda be rijilak

“You’d drive it [on foot] in like this and the cattle resisted (make problem). But now you send it easily¹⁴ then they buy it. It’s better than if you drive them on foot.”

<D> mhm yoo

“mhm.”

<V1> axeer min titurud’a be rijilak

“Its better than driving them on foot.”

<I> fi l hille di naas rašada kan

“How many heads of household are there in this village?”

<J> rašada šiyyiin, al hille mi saqayre, di bas al hille (8:50)

“The household heads are few. Isn’t the village small? This is just the village.”

<V> rašadaaha kam, yo ašara sitte ašara sabʔa sei, da bas doola bas humma

“How many are its adults? 16 or 17. This is just them.”

<I> kaddeet fi najeriya

“Have you traveled about in Nigeria?”

<J> ʔa, á ma kaddeet , ha kula legos mašeel la rijilí waade bas, amma ana da maani kaddaad, mm

“No, I didn’t travel about. I went to Lagos once only, but I’m not a traveler.”

<I> saweet šunu qaadi

“What did you do there?”

<J> aʔa mašeet qaadi be axuyí bas šifta haw jiiit, da bas bikaan waşşál, ma xadám, ma xadám ši, ana mašeet le d’uulí¹⁵ bas dada šifta haw jiiit (9:29)

“No, I went there with my brother and I saw him and came back. That’s where I went I didn’t work. I didn’t work at all. I went passing by and I saw him and came back.”

<I> axuuk fi

“Is your brother there?”

¹³ Note Pl, *nimš-u* “we go”, but *niji* “we come”, without the plural –u, in the same turn.

¹⁴ I.e. formerly the cattle were driven to market on the hoof and they were tired but now they are put in a car and they arrive nicely (*nadiif*), i.e. well rested.

¹⁵ *maša d’uul* lit. “go (one’s) length = just pass through”.

<J> ʔa fi, qaadi, qaadi fi legos bas,
 “Yes he is there, there in Lagos.”

<I> bixadam
 “He works?”

<J> bixadam,
 “He works.”

<I> bixadam
 “He works.”

<J> á min al hille di bas d’ariidí ana bas,
 “From the village, he’s just my younger brother.”

<I> qaadi biseyi gaadi
 “He works as a guard there?”

<J> qaadi biseeyi gaadiye, gaadiye hiilku inta an naʒaara di, foog kawaaziiku intu
 dool da gaait di bas, (9:45)
 “There he works as a guard. A guard for one of yours a white person, for these houses
 of yours. He’s just there.”

<I> yerwa ʒifta
 “Have you seen Maiduguri?”

<J> yarwa ʒiftaha,
 “I’ve seen it.”

<V> yarwa sei gariib, yerwa sei gariib
 „Isn’t Maiduguri near?”

<J> wai al kalaam, naadum bitabʔa foog haná bas ʒiftaha yerwa, kula maxad’ar bas
 „Ya, the interview, the guy has his own [plan]. I’ve seen it, Maiduguri. Just a visit.”

<I> indak axayaan fi yerwa
 “Do you have relations in Maiduguri?”

<J> aʔa, be axuyí wahid fi wal emmí fi,
 “No, I have one brother, the son of my father’s uncle.”

<I> waid bas
 “Just one?”

<J> waid bas, mm
 “Just one, ya.”

<I> há diikwa
 “And Dikwa?”

<J> dikwa maafi,
 “No.”

<I> laakin temši
 “But you go [there]?”

<J> á bamši, le s suuk ke yoom alla ijiiba da nemši
 “Yes I go. Like to the market, when God ordains I go.”

<I> ween gadee fi najeriya
 “Where else in Nigeria?”

<J> á gade ween kula ma kaddeet, ween kula gade ma šifta ana da,
 „I didn’t go anywhere else. I didn’t see anywhere else?”
 [X]

<I> amaafia, enuugu
 „Amafia, Enugu.”

<J> ma basma šay, enuugu, a?a ma šiftaha enuugu, zeen zeen inugu ma šiftaha, a?a
 ana da ma šifta (10:29)
 „I didn’t hear at all.¹⁶ Enugu, no I haven’t seen it Enugu. Okay, okay, Enugu I didn’t
 see. I myself didn’t see it.”

<I> kaano
 “Kano?”

<J> a?a kono sei foog darb legos da, kaano da an naadim maaši le legos da, sei
 bifaxxa dugo bimši, šiftaha šoof ke da, mm, šiftaha hi kula (10:43)
 „No, isn’t Kano on the road to Lagos? Kano, if a person’s going to Lagos, doesn’t he
 just step in it then go on? I saw it fleetingly. I also saw it.”

<I> tilkallam ayy luqa
 „What language do you speak?”

<J> balá kalaam al aráb balkallam be kalaam borno, amma hawsa ma basəma, (10:50)
 „Besides Arabic, I speak Kanuri. But Hawsa I don’t know.”

<I> keef alellém kalaam borno da,
 “How did you learn Kanuri?”

<J> alellam kalaam borno da, alellamta da jidditi am aḡḡí di, jiddití am aḡḡí di, al
 wildat aḡḡi di, axadat lea burnaay, yam ana wildooni faṣṣalooni min ad deet da,
 dada gaalat diikoyí da bašiila bal?aanas beya, dada ga?ad maá borno dada irif kalaam
 borno
 “How I learned Kanuri, I learned it because my grandmother, the mother of my
 mother, my grandmother on my mother’s side, the one who gave birth to my mother,
 married a Kanuri guy. When I was born, they took me from the breast, then she said,

¹⁶ A misunderstanding.

my grandson, I'll take him and speak with him. So I stayed with Kanuri and so I know Kanuri.”

<I> gaʔat fi hillittum (11:15)
“You stayed in their village?”

<J> gaát fi hillithum
“I stayed in their village.”

<I> gariib walla
“Nearby?”

<J> mm
“mm?”

<V1> beʔiid
“far.”

<J> aʔa beʔiide fi tiraab marte, šuqulaaye šiftaha a inta, á d'iike, marte al kabiire šaayifha, marte
“No far in the area of Marte. A place you saw, that one, the Old Marte¹⁷ you've seen it Marte?”

<I> aa šiftaha
“Ya I saw it.”

<J> yawwa ha hille hiil borno jambaha ke biguulu la bulagó, yawa di bas ana gaʔád fiya, minnaha hi šabá, ambeena haw ambeen dubuwa,
“Okay and the Kanuri village was near it, they call it Bulago. So this one I just stayed in it. It's to the east of it. Between it and Dubuwa.”

<I> d'awwál qaadi
“Did you spend a long time there?”

<J> d'awwál
“I did.”

<V> saqayr ke bas mašá yam bigí raajil dugó ja
“He was just small when he went, when he became a man then he came back.”

<J> jaabooni le d' d'uhuur bas hine
“They brought me for circumcision here.”

<D> abba inta gul mine usmak (12:00)
“Abba, what did you say your name was?”

¹⁷ Old Marte. There are two Marte's, one founded in the 1970's which served as a center for the Lake Chad area irrigation project, which is known as 'New Marte', and simply 'Marte', which lies nearby, the traditional village. The speaker's designation of 'Marte' as 'marte kabiire' is perhaps his own usage.

<J> usumí jidda
 “My name’s Jidda.”

<D> aha
 “Aha.”

<J> mhm
 „mhm.“

<D> ha dugut kan šaba naadum ja bisʔalak,
 „And now if like a person asks you?”

<J> mhm
 “ya.”

<D> fi n najeriya di,
 “In Nigeria.”

<J> mhm
 “mm.”

<D> hu ajami
 “He’s a non-Arab?”

<J> mhm
 “mm.”

<D> haw bidoor bilʔallam kalaam al arab,
 “And he wants to learn Arabic.”

<J> mhm
 “mm”

<D> inta tiguul leya imši, ween dugo ilʔallam, imši le al balge, angumaati, ajjeré, isiir
 inzil walla tiguul lea šunu (12:17)
 “You’d tell him where should he go, where so that he learns [it]? He should go to
 Balge, Ngumati, Ajjere, he should go to a cattle camp,¹⁸ or what would you tell him?”

<J> binši bidoor bilallam kalaam al ʔárab, kalaam al arab da, sahí ?? kalaam al árab
 da fi angumaati,
 “He should go he wants to learn Arabic, Arabic, right, the Arabic is in Ngumati.”

<D> mhmm
 “mm.”

<J> angumaati di,
 “This Ngumati.”

¹⁸ *isiir inzil* “he should travel and decamp.” is a shorthand for nomadizing. *saar* is a typical predicate applied in particular for “moving nomadically” and when the nomads move from place to place, they “descend”, *nizil* to a new camp.

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<J> daar humma árab qawaalme,
 “A land where there are Qawalme Arabs.”

<D> mhm
 “mm.”

<J> humma doola, lasanhum naajid,
 “These ones, their variety is correct.”

<D> wəi
 “ya.”

<J> mhm, haw al balge al balge lasana aʔawaj sei ,
 “mm, and Balge, Balge their variety is twisted.”

<D> yoo
 “Oh.”

<J> biguulu leek iske,
 “They’ll tell you ‘iske?’”

<D> mh
 “mm.”

<J> haw wú,
 “And wu.”

<D> wəi
 „ya.”

<J> ha da sei ma binʔárif, aha (12:45)
 „And this one can’t be understood, aha.”

<V> an naas ka bidoor al arab da igaru al kitaab alla,
 „If people want to know Arabic they should read the *Quran*.”

<J> mmh
 “mm.”

<?> igaru al kitaab alla
 “They should read the Quran.”

<D> gulna fi n najeriya
 “We said in Nigeria.”

<V> [X]

<J> fi n najeriya, mm
 “In Nigeria, mm.”

<V> qawaalme
 “Qawalme.”

<V1> qawaalme
 “Qawalme.”

<J> fi n najeriya di, fi n najeriya di, [X] kalaam al árab naajid da fi angumaati bas
 “In Nigeria, in Nigeria, the good Arabic is just in Ngumati.”

<D> intu sukku gambarú sei (13:05)
 “Your market is Gambaru right?”

<J> mm suukna gambaru
 “aa our market is Gambaru.”

<D> dugut kan mašeet le suuk hana gambarú da,
 “Now if you go to the Gambaru market.”

<J> haa
 “yaa.”

<D> haw arab katiiriin sei,
 “And there are many Arabs right.”

<J> ?a árab katiiriin [X]
 “Ya, there are many Arabs.”

<D> ha kan humma árab šába xamsa sitte ke gaadiin bilaanaso da,
 “And if the Arabs 7, 5, 6 or so are there speaking.”

<J> wəi (13:16)
 “ya”

<D> min lasanhum,
 “from their variety (tongues)”

<J> yaw?
 “ya”

<D> inta taarif an naadum da min al balge,
 “Do you know whether the man is from Balge”

<J> alla ixalliii [Y] iik
 “God preserve you.”

<D> [Y] an naadum

da min angumaati haw ke
 “[or] this other one is from Ngumati and so on.”

<J> alla ixalliik
 “God preserve you.”¹⁹

<V1> aniina kan gaʔadna ke bas cat niʔerifhum
 “If we are there we know them all.”

<J> teerif iske,
 “You know of course.”

<V1> a já min jaay da ja min jaay
 “He comes from over there, this one from the other side (i.e. you can tell them apart).”

<J> cat lasanum gadegade, ʔa al lasan gadegade (13:32)
 “There varieties are different, the variety is different.”

<D> keef
 „How?”

<V1> gede gede da, doola qawaalme, doola , balge, siaat daar makari wehetum kula
 lasanum wehetum wai,
 „They are different, in that these are Qawalme, those ones are from Balge, those from
 Makari²⁰ are separate, each has their own variety.”

<D> kula sei tiguul al lasan (13:42)
 „You call them all varieties.”

<V1> wai doola biguulu lasan šá hu dugut al gaala leek da bas, doola hiilhum
 malwiye,
 „Ya these ones speak like this one I told you about just now, these ones, theirs is
 twisted.”

<D> wəi
 “ya.”

<V1> hinee l balge,
 “the ones from Balge.”

<D> aha
 “ya.”

<V1> haw aniina aj jaay kan hiilna mifattiye, al qawaalme kan hi kula isowwu šabá
 “Whereas we in this direction, ours is opened.²¹ The Qawalme are like that one
 [ours].”

¹⁹ The use of *alla ixalliik* in this context shows approval of what the speaker saying.

²⁰ Northern Cameroon, the area just south of Lake Chad.

<J> hiil angumaati kan faayte hiilna aniina, (13:53)
 “That of Ngumati is better than ours.”

<V1> ša daar aš šabá
 “like the eastern²² variety.”

<D> wəi, hiil al qawaalme
 “ya, that of the Qawaalme.”

<V1> hiil al qawaalme di, yawa
 “That of Qawaalme, right.”

<J> lasanak inta da bas sei lasan al qawaalme, [X] lasanak inta da bas sei lasan al
 qawaalme (14:07)
 „Your²³ variety isn’t it that of the Qawaalme. Yours is that of the Qawaalme.”

<V1> da bas bulamaana
 “This one is our bulama.”²⁴

<D> yoo
 “Okay.”

<J> lasanak inta da bas lasan al qawaalme, al lasán cat gade gade
 “Your variety, is just that of the Qawaalme, they’re all different varieties.”

<D> wəi (14:17)
 “ya.”

<I> al árab katiiraat hine
 “Are Arabs many here?”

<J> katiiraat iske, ad daar di heelha sei cat aráb,
 “They are many! In this region the majority are Arabs.”

<V1> čat aráb
 “All are Arabs.”

<J> árab haw borno, árab haw borno cat məxalbad’iin ke bas
 “Arabs and Kanuri, Arabs and Kanuri are all mixed up.”

<D> min jaay da šuqulaaya sei, támbajam
 „In this direction is that one, Tambajam (village).”

²¹ Note *malwiye* “twisted” for ‘less understandable Arabic’ vs. *mufattiye* “opened” for ‘better Arabic’; cf. *eena mufattiye* “his eye is open” or *raasa mafú* “his head is open”, both meaning “aware, open minded, educated.”

²² Probably *šabá* = “Chadian”. Generally it is thought that the further east one goes, the better the Arabic becomes.

²³ Addressing D.

²⁴ More individuals arrive.

<J> támbajam, alla ixalliik
 “Tambajam, God preserve you.”

<V1> di kula hille hiil aráb
 “This one is also Arab.”

<D> usumha šunu
 “What’s its name?”

<V1> roogo, ajjoa , yawwá,
 “roogo, Ajjoa, right.”

<D> yawwa (14:44)
 “Right.”

<V1> haw gide radda jaay gide gide gide, hille hiil arab maafī sei, dada jaay kan sei al arab gide ke cat árab
 “And then returning the other direction²⁵ its different. There isn’t an Arab village. On the other hand from the other direction aren’t the Arabs, in the other [direction] they are all Arabs.”

<J> inta buqudá aarifa a
 “Do you know Buqudá?”

<V1> ke da borno šiyiin, ke da borno šiyiin, cat árab bas,
 „There the Kanuri are few, there the Kanuri are few. All are Arabs.”

<D> kirisákkata,
 „Kirisakkata.”

<J> yowwá, buqudá inta hu sei d daar cat aarifha (15:01)
 „Right. Buquda, you really know this whole area.”

<V1> yawwa d’iike, di, al makunuusa di,
 „Then there’s that one, the crazy one.”

<D> usumha šunu
 „What’s its name?”

<V1> di maarme di, al garáli,
 „This one is whachamacallit,²⁶ this one Garali.²⁷ „

<D> garáli, yó ,
 „Garali, okay.”

²⁵ Probably referring to the west of the village.

²⁶ *maarme* or *muwarram* lit. “the swollen one”, = ‘whachamacallit’, a taboo implication, what one can’t recall is slightly cursed.

²⁷ To the north of Kinembagu.

<V1> aah
 “aah“

<D> hi kula gariib a
 “Its also near?“

<V1> aha garali kula cat arab , cat gariib cat qášim al bahár bas, qašim al ləbaaiḍ
 dugut bakaan alme
 “Ya Garali as well is all Arab. They’re all near, all near the shore of the river, at the
 shore of the Lubaaid River²⁸ where there’s water now.“

<J> cat magaabiil jaay
 “All across towards that [river]²⁹ direction.“

<V1> aha jaay bas (15:19)
 “Yes, in this direction.“

<J> cat təraab haná al libaaḍ jaay bas
 “All are in the area of the Libaaid coming this way.³⁰„

<?> min al labaayid jaay bas
 “This direction from the Lubaid River”.

<D> yo, taabʔiin al lawaan yatuu
 “So which lawan do they belong to?“

<V1> taabiin al lawaan da, al lawaan abba
 “They follow the lawan, Lawan Abba.“

<J> hana fiike,
 “Of Fike.“

<D> hana fiiké
 “Of Fike.“

<J> yo, aha al lawaan abba gana
 “Ya, lawan Abba Gana.“

<V1> al fiké di borno,
 “Fike is Kanuri.“

<D> wəi
 “ya.“

<V1> amma qaadi minha tīlis, (15:36)
 “But in that direction away from it and onwards.“

²⁸ A seasonal river that partly forms a border with Cameroon. The speaker is pointing to the NE here. < *lu-bayyid* “the small white one”, *seel abiyad* “white current”, referring to a strong current.

²⁹ *magaabiil* here refers to the area on either side of the river.

³⁰ The speaker thereby specifies the village as being on the Nigerian side of the border.

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<V1> andakororí,
 “Andakorori.”

<D> wəi
 “Ya.”

<V1> ansalerí,
 “Ansalerí.”

<D> mhm
 “mm.”

<V1> xáram gide da rawa
 “From here up to the end.”³¹

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<J> way, aʔa ma leena xábar tara [X]
 “Ya, no we don’t have any news.”

<J> ille jalsa bas, ille jalsa bas,
 “Just conversations, just talking.”

<V1> xud’d’ gede da yá mándara, cat árab, yá mandara
 “Put [it= direction] continuing up to Mandara. All are Arabs up to Mandara area.”³²

<D> mm
 “mm.”

<V1> cat árab
 “All are Arabs.”

<D> yó zeen (15:54)
 “Okay.”

<J> aniina sei cat dugut bas nimši maaum alla, gade kan maašiin le gambarú da, [X]
 kaaddiin alla an naas da

³¹ Lit. “It left and went home again.” V1 is following his geographic description from the point where he started to where he intends its end to be.

³² The speaker is presumably referring to where the Mandara (Wandala) become a dominant group, just south of Banki on the Nigeria-Cameroon border, i.e. he is tracing the villages to the SE. There are also Malgwa (Gamergu) living in the Gulumba area and east thereof, mentioned in TV70a n. 7 who speak a closely related dialect, but form a minority among the Kanuri and Arabs. These are probably not intended.

“Aren’t we all just going together with them if we go to Gambaru, all [of us] are going together.”³³

[X]

<D> haw dugut šába naas waadiin arab, haw ma bísmaʔo al arab sei fi,
“And now there are some who some are Arabs, but don’t understand Arabic.”

<V1> arab ma bísmaʔo arab da kan borno madiri, mafi
„Arabs who don’t understand Arabic I’ve never heard of them. There aren’t any.“

<D> árab haw kuburo fi l barki walla mášo le al birni haw yaalhum ma bilkallamo árab
“Arabs who grew up in the army barracks and went to the city but their children don’t speak Arabic.”

<V1> bilkallamo kalaam hana hawsa sei,
„They speak Hawsa?“

<D> mhm
„mm.“

<V1> da fi kada ke alla, ardallai, ardallai allahi (16:29)
“That exist many really, a lot of them a lot.”

<J> dugut alyoom da
„Now, today.“

<D> ha naas maahum árab haw busmo kalaam al árab kula fi sei
„And people who aren’t Arabs and they understand Arabic also exist.“

<J> fi iske šabá
“Of there are like those.“

<V1> at tiraab, dugut yaal borno dool al kabraaniin maana cat biyeerfu kalaam al árab, ha,
“This area, now these Kanuri who have grown up among us all understand Arabic.“

<D> wəi

<V1> cat bilkallamo al árab
“All speak Arabic.“

<D> ha fi n naas at tineen dool da,
“And there are these two people.“

<V1> mm
“mm.“

³³ A place where there are multiple conversations. In this turn ‘J’ is telling a person who has asked to come with us back to Gambaru, that the car is full, because they are coming along.

<D> waahid, ajami, haw sími kalaam al árab,
 “One is a non-Arab and he understands Arabic.”

<V1> mhm
 “mm“

<D> haw wahid arabi, haw ma bufham kalaam al árab, (16:50)
 “And one is Arabic and he doesn’t understand Arabic.”

<V1> wəi
 “ya.“

<D> jo bədooru bittak inta tatha le yatú
 “They came and want your daughter which one will you give her to?”

<V1> hawu
 “wow!“

<J> angawá nijidat, yawa, angawá nijidat inta beya aadum, inta beeya nijidat
 angawakku di
 “Now things have reached their climax. They’ve reached their climax. You and him
 Adum, you and him have gotten to the high point.³⁴”

<V1> sa?inna assá di jaayikku di be watiirak da, kan ajami kula biyaad’úuk, ha tawa,
 tawa ka ille biyaad’u an naadum az zeen bas biyaad’ú , (17:10)
 “ Now you, since you’re coming with your car, even if you’re a non-Arab, they’ll give
 you a wife. Before, only a good person they’d give him. Today they give him for no
 reason.“

<D> ha ana našattak inta , bas
 “But I’ve asked you.“

<V1> alyoom ka biyaad’u min jam?
 “Today they give them for no reason.“

<J2> inta at tatha leya da tikurba
 “You, the one you give, you just keep.“

<V1> ana ke da bad’iia le l arabi bas, bittí ana ke da bad’iia le l arabi bas
 „I’d give her to the Arab. my daughter I’d just give her to the Arab.“

<J2> hu arabi haw mi aarif kalaam al aráb
 „The Arab but he doesn’t know Arabic.“

<D> haw mi aarif kalaam al arab digee ya
 „But he doesn’t know Arabic.“

<V1> al mi aarif kalaam al arab ma bad’iia leya

³⁴ *angawá nijidat* Lit. “the wrestling has ripened.” An idiom which says that “matters have reached their climax, their peak, matters have come to a head”. The speaker the question a challenging one.

„The one who doesn't know Arabic, I wouldn't give her to him.“

<J> da sei bigí ajami adum, da sei gaal leek bigí ajami (17:32)

„Hasn't that one become a non-Arab, Adum? That one he said he's become non-Arab.“

<D> taatha le le

“You give her to to.“

<V1> baad'iiha le l arabi bas

“I'd just give her to the Arab.“

<D> sei d'aaka, sei naas tineen bas tara maaum katiiriin,

„Really that one. They're just two, they aren't many.“

<V1> wəi

“Ya.“

<D> wahid, arabi ma bifham kalaam al árab, wahid mi arabi, haw bifham kalaam al árab, yawwa

“One is Arab and he doesn't understand Arabic and one is not Arab but he understands Arabic. Right?“

<J2> ha tatha le l arabi al ma bisma kalaam al aráb alla

„And you give her to the one who doesn't understand Arabic of course.“

<V1> taad'iiha al arabi ma bufham kalaam al árab diikooyiinak kula ma bilkallamo al árab

“The Arab doesn't understand Arabic. Your grandchildren as well won't understand Arabic.“

<V1> aʔa al ma bufham kalaam al árab da sei raah

„No, the one who doesn't understand Arabic isn't he lost?“

<J> kaayy an naas doola iktulu an naadum be d díhik alla (18:00)

„Wow, these guys are killing me, they kill a person with laughter.“

[X]

<J> be alla, adum aya adum dugut šabá kalaama da, al arab fi l hille da, sei tawa usumha arabi (18.14)

„By God. Adum, Adum, now like what he said. the Arabs in the village, wasn't its name once Arabic?“

<V1> wəi

“yep.”

<J> ha dugut bilkallam leek kalaam arab tisámaa”

„And now if he speaks Arabic do you [even] understand him?“

<V1> mm

<J> yo ha huda kan wúlud wálad šabaaha ke da,
 „So if he gives birth to a child“

<V1> da ma laa kalaam
 „He’s useless.³⁵“

<J> bilkallam kalaam aráb a, al abú kula mi aarif kalaam al aráb da, yawa ha da bas sei,
 „How can he speak Arabic? Since even his father doesn’t know Arabic. Isn’t that the point.“

<J> an naadum al ma bufham mur sei
 “A person who doesn’t understand [the language] is really hopeless.“

<V1> ašúqúl da cat tara bisajjunu fiya
 “They’re recording everything mind you.“

<J> bisajjin mana
 “So what!”

³⁵ I. e. a child who is born to an Arab and doesn’t speak Arabic.