

TV111a-Kinembagu-Jiddal

<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 gaadiin
 „Okay, isn’t this him right here.“

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

<I> usmak šunu
 “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 Seedi.“

<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 what’s the meaning of the village?“

¹ Conventionalized, *dawa huwa* “here he/you/we/they are. The plural *gaadiin* marks the phrase as “us”.

<J> usumha maʔaana da, maʔaana yamta be bagara, yamta an naas bišuufuua, ittu hillitku maala ma leeha toor, al bágar deela ma lein toor, aʔa al bagar ma leein toor, ijuulin dugaag, tiiraan gurre maafi, dada maʔaana 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)
“Where?”

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

<I> ween
“Where?”

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

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

<J> a?a hi himeediye
“She’s Himedi.”

<I> mine had'd'a l hille di
“Who founded this village.”

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

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

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

<I> xidimitku šunu
“What’s your work?”

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

<V> hiraata bas
“Just farming.”

<J> barbare² bas, dugut nugumm az zar kula buwooriik leya, alaaamta,³

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

³ Perhaps < Kan *bárebárebé* “farming for a daily wage, *bárebé* “farming”.

“Guinea corn, now the farm, should we get up and I should show you it, its, where it is.”

<I> way, mumkin tuwaṣṣif leyi keef tihaartu da (2:17)

“Yes, can you explain to me how you all farm?”

<J> naharit da,⁴ alme yam biṣub, dada numuluṭ, nierit, gabúl nierit yamta al wád’a tubga buxaara⁵ da, naarit be l kadanka, kab, kab, kab kab al gaš al baxarim da naharta, alme bisub al geš bukubur alme bisub al geš bukubur, kula kan numuld’a, numulud’a, yamta al muluṭ bitum, alme bitum, at tiraab bíyebas, kan gade kula nuktul bongoro, nuktul bongoro, nuktul bongoro gade, dada yamta al bongoro katalná xulús kan nišiil al gafgal nicux, kan kab kab kan niṣub alme kan nidis ad díga, kan díga kula wafke timíš la tišiifa 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 bigger, 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, and we pout 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 biṣubbu 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 šei,

„The rains stop then we plant. When the rain’s stopped then we plant. There’s nothing else than that left.”

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”.

<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.”

<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 nuswaana biwaddanna le gambaru, dada bijuubu leena fiya huut haw mile 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 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 şabá baggan, yamta aš šam tigá kan biján, ha burugdan fi z zariibe, gade aš şaba 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 talaata jami, kan arabá 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 işeyna bas, ba l aşá bas,
“When there's fear,⁸ what we pasture with, with our stocks, just with a stock.“

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

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

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

<J> á baayimna bagar, bágár,
“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 aş şabá bixarman, aş şabá bixarman haw mina kula aş şam yam tigaa 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,

⁸ E.g. fear of thieves.

“Their herdsmen are different.”

<J> raʔiihin šikk

“Their herdsmen are different.”

<J> al qánam kula ba raíiin, al bágár kula be [Y] raíiin²⁴ (5:28)

“The sheep have their herdsmen, the cattle have theirs.”

<V> [Y] al bágár

kula ar raaʔi wehetum, aš šam tága cat iján, hineen al bágár 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 wašúf bas,

“No that’s all the same it’s just description.⁹”

<I> ejuul

“calves?”

<J> wai, al bagár sarahan, mašán 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, 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 tinšaqo beehin

“You don’t nomadize with them?”

<J> á ma ninšaq, aniina nixarrif fi l hille hine bas, kawaaziina deel bas nidissin fiihin haw bugoodan

⁹ To a third party

“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’du 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 weheettin, 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 nuđuluk waid, nahalba, nuđuluk wahid nahalba ke yam butumman, da bas ma?anaa? (6:41)

“Because of suckling. Their mothers, we want their milk. So now their pasturing is alone and their mothers’ is alone. 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 done. 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?id 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> ila al árab bas, maafi, gabaail gade mafi
 “Just Arabs. There aren’t any others.”

<I> intu cattuku qaším beet
 “Are you all the same lineage?”

<J> cat qašim beetna waid, kurut qašim beetna waid, naadum waid 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 nijii, ma n nisayyi ši ma leena sanyá waade kula , ille mašiin saakit bas (7:45)

“Us, we go then we go and buy ourselves kola nuts, if our trousers are old we buy them, if the gown is old we buy one. If a cap gets old we buy one. And¹⁰ we greet [people] and then come back. We don’t do anything else, we don’t have any profession, 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 nibiiha, yó keee, kan ligí leya ijíl, [X] lihík kula biwaddí kula bibiiaʔ, kula kan fi wudura bas, amma gade ma leena šay šúqul nuwaddí le 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 brings it, 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.”

<I> keef tuwaddiihim
 “How do you send them?”

<J> nuwaddiiim 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,

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.

“nine miles.”

<I> miil tise aaa

“Nine miles.”

<J> mhm

“Ya.”

<D> be rijil sei naadum

“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 wataayir kataran 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,

“You drive them in [the car] like this. The cattle resist (make problem). You send them nicely then you sell it.”

<D> mhm

“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 adults are there in this village?”

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

“The adults 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? 6 or 7. 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 wanderer.”

<I> saweet šunu qaadi

“What did you do there?”

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

<J> aʔa mašeet qaadi be axuyí bas šifta haw jiit, da bas bikaan waşşál ma xadám,
 ma xadám ši, ana mašeet le d'uulí¹⁴ bas dada šifta haw jiit (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?”

<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 naşara di, foog kawaaziiku intu
 dool da gait 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 šifta
 “Have you seen Maiduguri?”

<J> yarwa šiftaha,
 “I’ve seen it.”

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

<J> wai al kalaam, naadum bitabʔa foog haná bas, šiftaha yerwa, kula maxaḍar 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 waid fi wal emmí fi,

¹⁴ *maša d'uul* lit. “go (one’s) length = just pass through”.

“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 banši, 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 don’t know anything.¹⁵ 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 bifjaxxa 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?”

¹⁵ A misunderstanding.

<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 ammi di, jidditi am ammi di, al
wildat ammi di, axadat leea burnaay, yam ana wildooni, faşsalooni min ad deet da,
dada gaalat diikoyi da bašiila balʔaanas beya, dada gaʔad 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,
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 hillithum²⁵
“I stayed in their village.”

<I> gariib walla
“Nearby?”

<J> mm
“mm?”

<V1> beʔiid
“far.”

<J> aʔa beʔiide fi tiraab marte, ūquulaaye ūiftaha 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 Marte¹⁶ you've seen
it Marte?”

<I> aa ūiftaha
“Ya I saw it.”

<J> yawwa ha hille hiil borno jambaha ke biguulu la bulagó, yawa di bas ana gaʔád
fiya, minnaha hi ūabá, 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.”

¹⁶ 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.

<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 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?”

<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 il?allam, 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,¹⁷ or what would you tell him?”

<J> binši bidoor bilallam kalaam al ?árab, 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.”

<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, there variety is correct.”

<D> wəi

“ya.”

<J> mhm, haw al balge al balge lasana a?awaj 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.”

¹⁷ *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> 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> ʔa 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.”¹⁸

<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.“

<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
 Makari¹⁹ are separate, each has their own variety.“

¹⁸ The use of *alla ixalliik* in this context shows approval of what the speaker saying.

¹⁹ Northern Cameroon, the area just south of Lake Chad.

<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.²⁰ The Qawalme are like that one [ours].“

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

<V1> ša daar aš šabá
 “like the eastern²¹ variety.“

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

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

<J> lasanak inta da bas sei lasan al qawaalme, [X] lasanak inta da bas sei lasan al qawaalme (14:07)
 „Your²² variety isn’t it that of the Qawalme. Yours is that of the Qawalme.“

<V1> da bas bulamaana
 “This one is our bulama.”²³

<D> yoo
 “Okay.“

²⁰ Note *malwiye* “twisted” for ‘less understandable Arabic’ vs. *mufattiye* “opened” for ‘better Arabic’; cf. *eena mufattiye* “his eye is open” or *raasa maftú* “his head is open”, both meaning “aware, open minded, educated.”.

²¹ Probably *šabá* = “Chadian”. Generally it is thought that the further east one goes, the better the Arabic becomes.

²² Addressing D.

²³ More individuals arrive.

<J> lasanak inta da, da bas lasan al qawaalme al lasán cat gade gade
 “Your variety, is just that of the Qawalme, 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).“

<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 gade radda jaay gide gide gide, hille hiil arab maafi sei, dada jaay kan sei
 al arab gide ke cat árab
 “And then returning the other direction²⁴ 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,

²⁴ Probably referring to the west of the village.

„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,²⁵ this one Garali.²⁶„

<D> garáli, yó ,
„Garali, okay.“

<V1> aah
“aah“

<D> hi kula gariib a
“Its also near?“

<V1> aha garali kula cat arab , cat gariib cat qášim al bahár bas, qášim al ləbaaid
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 Lubaid River²⁷ where there's water now.“

<J> cat magaabiil jaay
“All across towards that [river]²⁸ direction.“

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

<J> cat təraab haná al libaaid jaay bas
“All are in the area of the Libaaid coming this way.²⁹„

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

²⁵ *maarme* or *muwarram* lit. “the swollen one”, = ‘whachmacallit’, a taboo implication, what one can't recall is slightly cursed.

²⁶ To the north of Kinembagu.

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ *magaabiil* here refers to the area on either side of the river.

²⁹ The speaker thereby specifies the village as being on the Nigerian side of the border.

<D> yo, taab?iin 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 fikee di borno,
 “Fike is Kanuri.”

<D> wəi
 “ya.”

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

<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.”³⁰

<D> mm
 “mm.”

³⁰ 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.

<J> way, a?a 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.”³¹

<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

“Aren’t we all just going together with them if we go to Gambaru, all [of us] are going together.”³²

[X]

<D> haw dugut šába naas waadiin arab, haw ma bísma?o al arab sei fi,

“And now there are some who some are Arabs, but don’t understand Arabic.”

<V1> arab ma bísma?o 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)

³¹ 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.

³² 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.

“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 ya 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.“

<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 yatuu
“They came and want your daughter which one will you give her to?“

<V1> hawu
“wow!“

<J> angawá nijīdat, yawa, angawá nijīdat inta beya aadum, inta beeya nijīdat
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.³³”

<V1> saʔinna assá di jaayikku di be watiirak da, kan ajami kula biyaad’úuk, ha tawa ka ile an naadum az zeen bas biyaad’ú , aloom ka biyaad’u min jam (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

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

<J> da sei bígi 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’iia 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.“

³³ *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.

<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.”

<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.“

<D> al arabi ma bifham kalaam al árab

“The Arab doesn’t understand Arabic.”

<V1> diikooyiinak kula ma bifhamo kalaam al árab

“Your grandchildren as well won’t understand Arabic.”

<V1> a?a 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 šabaa kalaama da, al arab fi l hille da, sei tawa usumha arabi

„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 wulud wálad šabaaha ke da,

„So if he gives birth to a child“

<V1> da ma laa kalaam

„He’s useless.³⁴“

<J> bilkallam kalaam aráb a, al abú kula mi aarif kalaam al aráb da, yawa he 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.“

³⁴ I. e. a child who is born to an Arab and doesn’t speak Arabic.

<V1> ašúqúl da cat tara bisajjunu fiya
“Everything they’re recording mind you.”

<J> bisajjin mana
“So what!”