

TV45Mag-SD

DR = sayyid drayba, V = voice, B = bulama, H = jidda hasan, I = Owens

<I> inta ismak šunu
“What’s your name?”

<DR> ana şummi saʔid direeba
“My name’s Sayyid Dreba”

<I> inta araḃi
“Are you Arab?”

<DR> ana araḃi
“I’m an Arab.”

<I> min ween
“From where?”

<DR> ana jaay min al kub
“I come from al Kub.”

<I> min ween
“From where?”

<DR> jaay min al kub, ahali ke da baaggiin min al kuub
„From al Kub. My parents came from al Kub.“

<I> ween da
“Where is that?”

<DR> al kuub teʔerfa, aj jamb ad dagana, aiye
“Do you know al Kub? It’s near Dagana¹.”

<I> fic caad walla ween
“In Chad or where?”

<DR> aiye, fi c caad daaxal
“Yes, inside Chad.”

<I> wa mata jiit (0:34)
“When did you come?”

<DR> aloom hadár jiit, ana ja wuldooni hine ana saqayyir maani aarfa, amma naasí hajjooni bea simiita, ke ya had al saʔa da, hadd as saaʔa ana kubúr fi an najeria, amma yam kubúr da, saweet tray² le raasí, mašeet abeed máqat biladeega, dawwart al giraa dateen ma dassooni, simíit, mašeet dada bigiit, karen mota, fi al karen mara ke ke ke, yamta al yoom irift al direbatiyye, bigiit direba fi raasí, hau jiit gaʔad maa ahali ḃarra, yamta xarraf baharit, yamta

¹ In Chad, the area NE of Ndjamená.

² *Sawwa tray* “try to improve oneself”. A pan-Nigerian expression.

šaayaf banši baduxul al birni, baxadam, amma ke naas al birni ke iju iguulu ke, al helaal aj jambina nitawunhum niseyy lehum ke mafi, finšaan arabi, axuuna ke bigi kabiir katakeena jambina mafi, kan mur helu kula dug laazzina foogna, da dada šugulak inta aj jibta at tidoor tisalni minna da, asalni ana bađiik juwaaba, wai (1:27)

“Since I came, I was born here, I was small. But my people tell me, I heard, I grew up in Nigeria. But when I grew up, I tried to improve myself. I went and refused the life of the village, and I tried studying but they didn’t put me [in school]. So then I went and became a taxi conductor.³ I worked at that, then I learned driving, and became an independent driver. Then I came and stayed with my relatives in the countryside. When it rains I farm and when it is the hot season I go and work in town. But usually for someone from the city to come and say the villages nearby, we’ll help them, that doesn’t happen. Because I’m Arab, we don’t have important brothers in this area.⁴ Whether good or bad we have to bear it. So what you want to ask me, I’ll give you an answer. Yep.”

<I> inta arabi nafar yatu
“Which clan are you?”

<DR> ana a, nafartí ke da, nafarti ke da, ašali, min ammi, da min abuyi šideri,
“Me, my clan is Asali, on my mother’s side and Shideri on my father’s.”

<I> bala luqqa al arabiya da tilkallam luqqad yatu
„Besides Arabic what languages do you speak?“

<DR> bala luqqa arabiya da balkallam baggeet da kalaam kooma basamaa, kan hawsa ye bagdar bahajji beya, kalaam borno šiya šiya bahajji baa, kan kalaam al inglis šiyya šiya bikaan bašeri be? a eš baakul ke da aarfa, amma kula dug ma bilhak lasaani hana al arab „Besides Arabic I speak, since I went out [of the village] I speak many: Hausa I can speak, Kanuri I speak a little, a little English for buying and eating. But none are as good as Arabic.”

<I> ween alallám alluqaat deela (1:56)
“Where did you learn these languages?”

<DR> luqaad deel da, hana al ingliš da irifta fi legos, simiit, hana hausa, hau be kalaam borno, irifta da fi muba fi tiitii hineen bas, bikaan kan fi al magiil ye bemši, fi lub al muqurub kula bemši, da kalaam hausa hau be borno dug irifta hineen
“These languages, English I learned in Lagos, you got me?, Hausa and Kanuri, I learned in Mafa down here,⁵ where I go and spend the day, every late afternoon. Hausa and Kanuri I learned here.”

<I> inta kubur hine
“Did you grow up here?”

<DR> ana kubur hineen bas
“I grew up here?”

³ Karen mootaa < H, literally, dog of a car. Any large-cabined taxi has a driver and a driver’s helper who collects fares, pushes the car, etc., the dog of the car.

⁴ The speaker here seems to imply that his village does not have influential people in the area to support it, nor people in the city, e.g. Maiduguri, to help it.

⁵ Mafa lies below his village.

<I> fil hille di bas
 “In this village?”

<DR> fi hille di bas, yeen kulla hajira da ma mašeet, (2:15)
 “In this village. I didn’t go anywhere else.”

<I> ba?adeen inta xadar
 “Then you left?”

<DR> ana aiye yam kubúr zeen bigiir raajil zeen da, dada xarám, sayyeet al kudaada,
 naadim kan bədoor bufta ɾaasa búfta
 “Me yes when I grew up and became a man, then I went out, traveling. If a person wants to
 expand his horizons he does it.”

<I> mala xaram
 “Why did you go out?”

<DR> xarám da, ad daliil as sallaani da, ana saqayir hau abuyi mafi, abui bigi mafi, hiil allah
 kaanat fooga, hau šif ke al wahaala al wahaala yam tašiil-ni ha xalla ákubur ana sa?inna
 sa?a di ana saqair di, babak benši bacakkəb, (2:38)
 “I went out, the reason that took me out, I was small and I had no father. My father died
 according to God’s wish, and I saw all the problems, so before they engulfed me as I got
 bigger, at that time when I was small, so I [decided to] went out and searched for
 something.”

<I> inta xaram siniinak kam
 “How old were you when you went out?”

<DR> aloom hádar xarám da, amma saat baggeet min beenna ma bafuut walla sana ašara
 tineen ana marák xalleet beetna da
 “Today from the time I went out, the time I left our house is not more than [when I was]
 twelve years when I left our house.”

<I> ašara tineen sana
 “twelve years?”

<DR> ašara tineen sana (2:47)
 “Twelve years.”

<DR> aiya ašara tineen sana da ana baggeet min beenna
 “Ya, twelve years when I left our house.”

<I> wa umurak al yoom kam
 “And how old are you now?”

<DR> al yoom hádar ke raddeet jiit da wa, da ke da maaní kaarba fi ɾaaší, amma al kaarba fi
 ɾaaši ke wal ašara tineen sana da ana baggeet, baggeet le ac cakaab, dugut am bageet le ac
 cakaab kula alla arhamni irift al saɾnaa, basuuk, sa?inna di yeen kulla, watiir di ka badissaha,
 dahadda al hammad ana gul al hamadulil lahi fi kudaada hu da catt yam ligiita kula yam ma

raddeet sul lee l beet da, barudd benši bagoot maʔa naasí ankun taʔakkilni hau tišarrimni,⁶
xalaas dadda raddeed jiit lee l beet, aiye (3:15)

“Today since I returned and came back, I can’t recall. But I remember I was twelve when I left, left and began searching. Now when I began searching God had pity on me and I learned a trade, driving. I would drive anywhere, so I said Al Hamdu lillah when I found my trade I didn’t return home empty handed. I’d return and stay with my people. [What I had earned] would feed me and give me drink, so I came back home.”

<I> min hassa tagoot mara wahid min, walla keef
“And now you stay here permanently, or what?”

<DR> aʔa bagoot maʔra wahid bas, hineen bas gaid fil biladeega mara wahid bas, saʔinna di, [X] kan saayafat, saʔid al harrá xidime zeen mafi dadda baduxul al birni, dadda, kan maiduguri, kan barudd gambarú, kan baaga benši monguno, kan benši bama, bikaan allah waddaani gaal lei ke ámiš tilga fooga bikaan talga foog taakul fooga tišarab da dahadda bemši, amma bikaan kit ke hassa ke, banší lee l bikaan al misil ke baxadam mafi, ma bagdar baguula da sei rabb alaamiin biyerfa (3:43)

“Ya I stay permanently in the countryside. Now when the hot season comes, when its hot and there’s no good work then I go into the city. Like maybe Maiduguri, Gambaru, I might go to Mongono, or Bama, wherever God sends me I go and get something there, something to eat and drink and then I move on.⁷ But an exact place, I go to a place to work in. I can’t say [what I will do]; only God knows.”

<V> šaba xariif da dugut inda turukta biheerit zuraʔáat hine al masakiin,
“Like in the rainy season he has a tractor and he plows the farms of the poor people.”

<I> dugud tixadam hineeni
“Now you’re working here?”

<DR> aiye xariif da ka ligiit at turokta bas niji naharid⁸ le naasna ke, bikaan ahali ahali, árab al árab arab bas batibaahum baxadam leəm, finšaan an naas gaalooaha, gaal kan ligiit al xeer da wadda le bikaan ahalak, dugo an naadim al gade ilгаа, ha xariif da di xidimti

“Yes in the rainy season if I get a tractor I just come and farm for our people, a place of my brothers the Arabs, I follow where they are and work for them, because people said, if you gain something, take it to where your brothers are, so that another person will profit from it. So in the rainy season this is just my work.”

<I> indak mara
“do you have a wife?”

<DR> indí mara fi
“I have a wife.”

<I> hi arabiye kulla
“Is she also Arab?”

⁶ The 3FSG subject of these two verbs is probably *saʔnaa*, “trade”.

⁷ The speaker is addressed in this passage, first in the imperative form, then the 2MSG form.

⁸ Note that up to this point the 1SG of the imperfect has been *ba-*. Here the speaker switches to 1SG = *n-*. One can find such seemingly unmotivated switches throughout all of the texts (e.g. see 70a, n.).

<DR> aiye
“yes.”

<I> nafar yatu
“What clan?”

<DR> nafirinna ana beha wahad,
“Our clan is the same.”

<I> min hille di
“Is she from this village?”

<DR> a?a mi min al hille baŕra, amma cakkáb bitt nafarí bitt, nafirínna waade, šunu leene kulla wahid dugó axattaha, humma barra dugo jibtaha (4:18)
“No, from a village away, but I just looked for a girl of my clan, our clan is the same. They were the same and I married her. They [Her people] are from outside [another village] and I brought here [here].”

<I> barra min ween
“Where outside?”

<DR> barra da min al hille weela jaay, buguulu laha, abunsakin, hillittum
“outside of the village to the north, its called Abunsakin, their village.”

<I> fi tiraab yatu da
“In which area?”

<DR> fi tiraab hana mafá, dug tiraabna waahid, lawaanna wahid, ajaana kula waahid
“In the area of Mafa, the same area, our sub-chief is the same, our district head.”

<I> mala dawwár min al hille d'ike
“Why did you want one from that village?”

<DR> yati min hajira da, naşəbí, naşibi, hineen dauwár, dauwár, yamta šuqul ma leena naşiiḅ da, ma lammeena, dadda bikaan naşiiḅ da maşet lea (4:43)
“From anywhere outside, my luck. I looked and looked here and when I didn't have luck, so then I found my luck and went to her.”

<V> qadi kulla ahala bas
“It's better there.”

<DR> dadda yam bəkaan ahalí maşet bikaan ahali kula yalla⁹ amši acakkib qaadi dada yam maşet qaadi yam bígi naşiiḅi lammoona,
“So from the place where my relatives were, I went and said, let me go there and look. When I went there our fates coincided and we joined together.”

<I> inta gul inta maşet le legos kulla,
“You said you went to Lagos as well.”

⁹ yalla, “let” in this context.

<DR> aiye mašeet
 “yes I went.”

<I> maala
 “Why?”

<DR> le legos da, mašeet da nasuug, nasuug, nasuug [X] mašeet da, mašeet qaadi kula ana basuuk direba, simiit, basuuk fi l watiir ke ke ke da, am̄mi / [interrupted]”
 “To Lagos. I went to drive, I was driving. I went, I went and I was driving as a driver. You got me? I was driving a vehicle, my mother ...

<I> direba hana lorry walla keef
 “A lorry driver or what?”

<DR> aiye basuuk, bansuwe nayn əleven, bansiye, nayn əleven, mai taya šida, taayatta sitte, basuug basuug da indí santeen, hau sabʔa šáhar, xalaas am̄mí min hineen, arsaló gaalo gaal guulu le waladi íji, ana abeet ma báji, gade kula arsalat foogi guulu le waladi, ana bígi mafi fi ad diniya mafi, kan min ke ana ma báji, an naas mášo gaalo lei wəi, ke saʔadu, na m, ammak mafi bigat maafi dige aiye, huda šahi aha sahi dada rəkəb, dada jiit addalleet hine, yam jiit gade abeet ma benši (5:37)
 “Yes, I was driving, ?? 911 ??¹⁰ 911. With six tires, its tires are six. I was driving for two years and seven months, then my mother from here, they sent and said, tell my son to come. I refused to come. Again she sent for me, tell my son I’m sick and dying. I still didn’t come. Then people went and told me, yes, its like that Sa’adu, your mother has indeed died. That is correct. Then I climbed onto a vehicle and I came and settled here. Since I came I’ve refused to go away.”

<I> intu suk le šarika walla le nadim
 “Were you driving for a company or a person

<DR> aʔa mi le šarika, ana basuuk fi kampani,¹¹ le našaari abiyat, buguulu lea, usuma nisiita, al kompani ka gas kontrol
 “No, not for a company. I was driving for a company, for a white person, called, I forgot his name, the company was ‘Gas Control’.

<I> ween alallamt al suwaga
 “Where did you learn to drive?”

<DR> as suwaaga alallamtaha fi tiraab hana maiduguri hine bas, alallamtaha fi tiraab maiduguri hineen bas, amma ma gareet, ille šúgul rab̄b al al amin kan dassaak inta indak mux fi da, tierfa bas, (6:11)
 “Driving I learned here in Maiduguri. I learned it in Maiduguri here. But I didn’t study [it]. It was just something that God imparts to you and you know it.”

<I> inta ma gareet fi madarasa
 “You didn’t study in the school?”

¹⁰ A type of truck.

¹¹ A perfect minimal pair confusion showing that Standard Arabic expressions in Nigerian Arabic are often served by English-origin loanwords.

<DR> ma gareet walla madirasa, walla sakuul waahid kula gareet fooga mafi
 “I didn’t study, neither Quranic school nor government school.”

<I> sangaaya kulla
 “Nor Quranic school.”

<DR> sangáa kula ma gareet, waahid kula foog ka gareet mafi, fi subbaat šunu, fi bikaanna kooma mafi, hau ahalna al arab ya bidamuuna fooga ma bilgoona aniina baŕra, foog da humma ye ma bijú bidoorúuna, wahid kulla gareet mafi ke kubúr, am gammeet ana gul ma bákubur sul, yamta aḅuyí kula fi ad diniya mafi da, dugó irif f al sanyá di, wai, ya had al saʔa da hau gaid (6:40)

“Quranic school as well I didn’t study. I didn’t study anywhere. Why? in our place there aren’t many [schools], and our Arab brethren don’t bother us about it, they don’t find us here in the countryside, they don’t come looking for us. So I didn’t study any of them and I grew up and when I grew up I said I’m not going to grow up uselessly. When my father died, then I learned this trade, yep, that I still have.”

<I> inta mašeet ween fi najeriya bala legos mašeet fi nigeria kulla walla
 “Where did you go in Nigeria besides Lagos.”

<DR> fin najerya da, bala legos, da ana bəkaan šifta aaxar mafi, aiye, fi an najerya da, aaxir mafi aiya fi an najerya da, ille legos da nierifha min jaay, wugúf fi qašim badágari, min jaay, mogáffa hana, hana aa, korodú da, korodu road dadda xalaas gabbal min jaay da, ween kulla mani šaayfa, min jaay kan šayif enjameena, šikenan, qašim an najerea ka min jaay le jaay šaayfe, amma dawla aaxər da ma mašeet lea, (7:12)

“In Nigeria, besides Lagos, I haven’t seen anywhere else. Here in Nigeria. Nowhere else in Nigeria. I just know Lagos from one direction, I stopped at the entrance to Badagary in this direction, its stop, of Ikorodu Ikorodu Road, then back the other direction. I didn’t see anywhere else. In this direction I’ve seen Ndjamena, that’s it. The entrance to Nigeria from that and this direction, but another country I didn’t go to.”

<I> qadi fi lagos inta gaʔad ma árab
 “There in Lagos did you stay with Arabs?”

<DR> ma gaad maʔa arab, gaád maa yoroba, an naas al gaayd maaəm dool da yoruba, luqúdhum ka ma baʔarífha, haye nalkallam be kalaam al ingliš mahaəm, šiya šiya šiya ke hassa, dadda ligiit aš šuqul al laaki fooga nabi eš nišərab alme maahum, xalaas, nenši nabiiy al goro haggi fooga, nímši nabiiya xumaam hanayí fooga, xalaas, da bas aš šuqul an niʔerfa maaəm (7:37)

“I didn’t stay with Arabs. I stayed with Yoruba. The ones I stayed with were Yoruba. I don’t know their language, so I spoke English with them, a little bit like now, little enough that I could buy¹² meal and drink water with them. That’s it. I’d go and buy my kola nuts with it and go and buy my goods with it. That’s just what I know with them.”

<I> fi legos arab mafi walla keef
 “In Lagos are there Arabs?”

¹² *nabi* „I buy“. The verb *baaʔ* means „sell“. However, here it is “buy”, perhaps a Chadian Arabic usage, where *baaʔ* can mean both “buy” and “sell”.

<DR> fi, amma ma nemši fi bikaanhum, finšaan ambeenaanna baʔiid, xidime, mine kula gaʔid foog xədəmta ambeenaatku beʔiid ámiš le axuuk, hau rudd da maʔi fi legos,
 “There are but I didn’t go to their place because they were far away. Work, each is sitting on his job and between you and your brother it’s a long way, and going and coming is not possible in Lagos.”

<I> misil fi legos arab ma bilummu raashum (7:55)
 “In Lagos they don’t join together?”

<DR> da be yoom kula ana ma mašeet fiya fi, billammo amma ana ma mašeet fi bəkaanum, ana finšaan naxadim lei le kirdaay, al kirdi beena aniina al muslim šikk, humma yoom ajjimme kulla ixadumu amma al muslumaay ayoom ajime, ma bəxadim, buguul leek al yoom ajjimme as sáiid da nugoot, ha hum inni yoom maáhum inni yoom maaəm induhum xudume fi, yoom al áhad, hau as sebiit, humma al kirdi humma me induhum xədime, kula indana aniina kompaniina inda obataim fi, ma balga baguul banši le axaiyani basma, šuqulhum aj jaabó, fi subaad da bas gul leek kan malam fi kulla ma benši fi bikaanum da, amma ween kulla malám hana aṛaḃa da kan mašeet al birni bikaan aṛaḃ fi da billammo bas, kan be šuqulhum laaki fi da buguulú bas, (8:29)

“I didn’t go once to it. They would meet but I didn’t go to their place, because I was working for a Christian. Christians and we Muslims are different. They even work on Fridays when we are resting, and they have work all the time. Sunday, Saturday. Those Christians don’t have ?? . Our company had overtime, so I didn’t get the opportunity to go to my brothers and learn what brought them, so just for that reason I told you, even if there were meetings for Arabs I didn’t go to their place. But there were meetings of Arabs everywhere. If you go to the city there is somewhere Arabs meet, no matter what¹³ they have something to say.”

<I> inta abeet al xidime di
 “Did you refuse the work?”

<DR> al xidime di, ana bas abeetha, aiye ana bas iyiit minha xalleetha ke bas marák, aye
 “This work, I just refused it. I just got tired of it and left it and went, ya.

<I> lakin ti tahibbha
 “But you liked it

<DR> al xidime wa, al xidime, nahibbha bas hau xalleetaha,¹⁴ al xídime adiile maše bas ana gul lehum ke xalaas hassa da tammaani nemši fi bikaan ahalí ahali, dawwarooni da ma nagdar nagoot, aye (8:51)

“The work? The work I liked it but I left it. The work was good and upstanding but I told them it’s finished for me and I went to my relatives’ place. They sought me out so I couldn’t stay.”

<V> jaa hine gaaʔid biheerit
 “He came here and stayed farming.”

¹³ Šuqul laaki = small matter. Hence the translation, even a small matter they meet over it.

¹⁴ xalleet-**a**-ha „I left it”. The boldface is an epenthetic vowel. The standard rule is that an epenthetic vowel is inserted in a CC-C sequence, e.g. šift-**a**-ha, “I saw it.F”. Occasionally as well the context is VVC-C, where a long vowel has the structural status of a C. An identical equivalence is found in Najdi Arabic (Ingham :).

<I> le anjammena kulla mašeet leha
 “You also went to Ndjamena.”

<DR> zamaan seí, aa mašeet, bikaan ma mašeet fi tiraab ille min jaai da, an najeriya min jaai qašimha, waid tineen tałaata arəba duk kaddeeta, barra ke amuruk da ma marák, irifta az zeen, da šuqul da zeen, da fasil da, ma baggeet, barra ke da, (9:12)
 “Before? I went. The only place I didn’t go to is this direction. Nigeria its border that direction, once, twice, three, four times I went to it. Outside [it], leaving it I didn’t. Since I grew up, [=this is good, that’s bad] I didn’t go out, [outside the country].”

<I> lakin qadi fi dagana bikaan abbahaatak da
 “There in Dagana the place of your parents?”

<DR> da ma, ana be agəlí ke, da aš šuqul da zeen ke da ahalak da a naadim da naadumak hasa kan mašeet kulla ma baarifhum, jaabooni naasii hineen da, ana wuldooni, amma saqayr ma šallooni gabbolooni le bikaan ahali warooni leum, ke yamta hiil alla al yoom kaanat fookhum, al yoom ana saqair bas bigiit naadim kabiir jiit gaad al beet da, naasi al gurra gurra dug mafi (9:34)
 “That, in my view, is it a good thing if your parents, your relatives, if you would go there and you don’t know them [would not be good]? My parents brought me here, I was born, but I was small and they didn’t take me and return me to the place of my relatives and show me them [because they died before they had the chance], until today and they are departed. Today I’m small but I’ve become grown up and came and stay in this house. My parents are no more.”

<I> inta indak ahal hineni fi l hille di
 “Do you have relatives here in this village?”

<DR> indí ahali fi al hille di fi
 “I have them.”

<I> fi al halaal al garibiin leel hille di kulla fi
 “And in the villages near here as well?”

<DR> gariibiin min al hille di ma lei áhal, mafi, nadumi ke aarfa ke dada, alyoom ke kan ana bigiit mafi kula bišiiil xumaaani bidissa fi ragabta mafi, ille fi l hille di bas
 “Near to this village I don’t have any, none. A person of mine I know, someone who if I should die they’d take my belongings and give to him [put on his neck]; only in this village.”

<I> hasa inta taharit
 “Do you farm now?”

<DR> hasa da baharit be eedí, báharit, fi l leel náji ninaam, f jir nemši niherit, ke bas šúqul axir ba baseyyí kaal mafi, ille di bas xədimti, (10:05)
 “Now I farm with my hands. I farm. In the evening I come and sleep. In the morning I go and farm. That’s all. There’s nothing else I do, just this is my work.”

<I> kullu an naas al fi al hille di bihertu walla keef
 “Does everyone in this village farm?”

<DR> aha dug bihertu, dug tišiif maqadíthum di duk bihertu, naadim ke saínna di kan attawwak rijila al katanka ma galamata mafi, dug haraatiin masakiin,
 “Ya, all farm. Everyone you see their way of living they all farm. Any person whose leg you look at, is cut [from farming]. All are poor farmers.”

<I> kweyis inta tiharit be keef
 “How do you farm?”

<DR> baharit da, duxun ye bateerib, ankərejiire ye bateerib, meeré ye bateerib, saambal ye bateerib, libiya bateerib, kolci kulla báharit, ngangala baharit, dug di xədímtí baseyyí maşar,
 “I farm, millet I plant, guinea corn I plant, ?? I plant, millet I plant, beans I plant, groundnuts I farm, broad beans I farm. All of these are work I do, corn.”

<V> masar
 “Guinea corn.”

<DR> hau masar (10:36)
 “And millet.”

<I> taáریف al yoom baharit al qalla di hau wa baterba ween keef ta?aríf
 “How do you what to farm on a given day?”

<DR> hu da aš šúqul ad dúgut ad’deeta leek da, min aššáa kan mašeet da baxúd’ duruub ašara xamsa , fi lubb ad duxun, hau ambeenaathin ađ đura waade waade waade máşat, yam təbga đúhur sa?a tineen da, benši badangir fi zarri hana al kolci, baxúd’ fiya duřuub ašara bagúm, mizaan saa talaata ke, saa talaata gammeet minna da, benši l, zerrí hana ankinejiire, badangir fiya duřuub ašara xamsa, dadda al muqurub tilhak báji le l beet, min ayi ašbahat da di xidímti, az zar al yoom al mašeet fiha xad’deet fiha ašara xamsa ambaakir ma benši leya, benši le d’aka, hau ambeenaata ke, kan al qalla amkinejiire kan miteeribha fi lubb ad dúxun, ambeenaatha, **tak tak tak**,¹⁵ hu az zar hana al meré kan miteerib al libiya ambeenaatha **tak tak tak** maaji, hau hana as sambul kan miteerib fiya al kolci ambeenaata ambeenaata ambeenaata maši, šuquli sitta da zura ta talaata, aha baxadam ke, ma inni yoom (11:39)
 “That, the things I just named, in the morning if I go I make fifteen furrows, in the middle of the millet, and between them GC here and there. When it is afternoon two o’clock, I go and bend down in my groundnut farm. I lay down ten furrows then I get up and leave, at three o’clock. Around three o’clock I leave that one and go to my guinea corn farm, I bend down and till fifteen furrows in it, then when late afternoon comes I come home. Every morning this is my work. The farm which I do today and put in fifteen furrows, so tomorrow I won’t go to it. I’ll go to that [other] one [instead] and [what is planted] among it, the guinea corn grain I’ll plant among the millet, throwing in one seed at a time, and among the Mere I’ll plant the beans in it, and the one of the Sambul when I’ve planted the groundnuts among them among it, I have six [crops] and I take care of three at a time. Not every day. That’s how I work.

¹⁵ The following description of farming is rich in ideophones. They are marked in bold in the following passages. The following occur in them: *tak* “still, completely finish”, *parad* “swishing noise or straight”, *muruk* “pulling out”, *gab* “pounding in”, *gak* “pounding in”, *karab* “grabbing”, *surul* “finish completely”, *buux* “pouring water into”, *zaad* “straight”, *fuu* “fire consuming object”, *cici* “sound of birds”, *kar* “completely dry”, *tab* “cutting”, *diric* “in a heap”, *kak* “tying well”. A set of ideophones describing the sound of scaring away birds is: *booha*, *hoooh*, *d’a?id*, *hook*.

<I> wa intu kullu teraabku sawa
 “Are you all like that?”

<DR> dug téraabna dug sawa dug wahid, aniina beyum, duk waayid, humma dug šuqul al ana bateerba da humma kulla dug biteerbú, ke ke ke, yamta kal kal binjaḍ ka nalumm xadarna ka nəbda fi al fərkiyye,
 “All our planting is the same all is one. We all, all is the same. What I plant they all plant. Like that. When it’s ripened kal then we gather our harvest and we start in the wetland farming.”

<I> šunu (11:54)
 “What?”

<DR> dadda yam xidimit al gooz tatím da, dadda nemši le al fərkiye, xidimit al fərkiye yam bismillaaai, nabda laha da, mine kula bišiil qalta, fi jikk ata, be katánkíta, hau bimši al gaš da bas nəməld’e, bikaan **muruk muruk muruk muruk muruk**, nidangir fooga namul’d’a, hau be l katanka nidangir fooga našiil šaba aj jirf, naharta naharta naharta, al qalla di našiilha nišattitta nišattitta nišattitta nišattitta¹⁶ narudd kurb, nadufúnha, hau dadda, ninši, mi dafanáa, dadda našiil bangaroono ke, gadduuma gadir ke, dada da nenši, almarabá nasillaaha bir naxuddaha daffá,
 dada nidangir, be al bangaroono da **parad parad parad parad parad parad**, (12:32) al wáqar bixur al maafíndi buktul ke buktul ke buktul ke buktul ke buktul ad diga kula ka, alme kan jaa foog, xalaas alme foog ma ja dahadda dúhur aš šam hamra hamra ke támiš tazga hu aš šabbeet, al qalla aš šabbeetha di, tarúššaha tarúššaha tarúššaha ke,
 yam takubur kub, tilhak, katilak da katalta tak tamma dahadda tiḍurba ašaná?, an naar **fuu** taakula, (12:49) cakkib leek šadara gadir al warama tanjúrha kalkál, be ragabátha **gab** šaba an nadum, ha bisimillah, salleet maraabaaytak xad’d’eetaha da gade **gaak** be ʔeedeey at tineen ile **gak gaak parad**,¹⁷ d’aʔanta mašeet dahadda tašiil ad’ d’aasá tamiš tajiib alme, **karab**¹⁸ ad’ d’aasa aš šaraaba di maleetha be kurulak, tatiba **buux buux buux** an nugura di waade waade waade waade, tatibá ad diga gade tašiil díga, tineen tineen tineen tineen kab, **taak** xulsat alla,
 dada be bangarook hau be katánkitak, (13: 17) takoorit al bangaro al ma bisillaha tankutta be tabbaal tasilla, gašša al waade waade da **surul**, ke yam tilhak duk tasillaha ruuse,
 gade kula ad’ d’eer, ad’ d’eer dugo **cici** da ma bixalliina kaiya, **booha hooh d’aʔid hook** ašam di ma baggat inta fiz zar hook, kororak waaguf, kaiya hook be gonganak, tájir jaay, tarudd, jaay, tajir jaay, be a hu dada catt tanjaḍ,
 gade kulla nacalliyya cat cat cat hau naraggitha **zaad zaad**, niseyyiiha bagar,¹⁹ (13:42) min calleenaaha ban nalumha ha naji beet aha, naseyya bagar kalkal, talga laha ašara xamsaat, tiyeebəs **kar**, gade kula be tabbásta **tab tab rab**, nikambilha **diric**, dada aš šubiyaan bilammo fookha bidugguuha, dadda najiipha lee l beet, dadda xalaas, anjameena, dagal anjameena da,

¹⁶ The repetition of the verb, or above the ideophone, *muruk* indicates a repeated action.

¹⁷ *parad*, same ideophone as above, but here = “in a straight line”. The phrase, *ile gak gaak parad* consists of ideophones, but effectively these are predicates indicating how the planting with the *gafgal* proceeds. The speaker does use the explicit predicate *d’aʔanta* immediately afterwards, but this is optional. The purpose would have been served without it.

¹⁸ *karab* “grab”, but in this context it serves as an ideophone, indicated how you grab any cup or basin that will serve your purposes.

¹⁹ The two references to the cattle in this context remain to be clarified.

gade al wad'a ma saayafat wa, alme al foog mafi, aš šita kula ma faat á, bisimillah lee l biyaar,²⁰ dadda xalaas, mine kula bimši be bəcakkib le a katánka gadiime, biwaddiyya budugguua bədugguuha biaddilha bicakkib lea ud bunjura ša al xaazuuk, (14:11) gəb waafke, ha naadim foog wigif hau inta fi an nugura daaxil, tankut, bišiil tiraab, tankut bišiil tiraab, tankut, bišiil tiraab, am tilgo alme, narbutta **kak**, gade da al leel be d'uula da nabaggig našubḅ, abu kajáa ye bizgi kajaata, al ma laa kajaa, al ma jidaada kula fi, kula binši bunkut le ruuha, le naasa bišarbo fi l beet, kula hu kula binši ma bugoot, be ya hu da ke ke ke yam nilum le l xariif at tauwa di di bas xidiminna fi biladeega al masaakiin, da raas xidiminna tak tatum, beya huda, naadum yoomaata tamma kan dadda maat sadda deena (14:41)

“Then when the work in the sandy soil is finished, then we go to the clayish land. The work on the clay soil, we just²¹ begin with it. Everyone picks up his grain, in his bag, with his hoe and goes to the grass and we uproot it. Uprooting uprooting uprooting uprooting uprooting. We bend over it and we uproot it, and with a hoe we bend over it and make like a canal. We dig it and dig it and dig it. The grain we take it out and keep on speading it around and we go back and bury it completely, then we go. Haven't we buried it? Then we take our machete, its cutting edge is this size, then we go, we take off our outer garment bir and we put it aside.

Then we bend down with our machete, swish swish swish swish swish swish, sweat dripping down from the strong person, he slashes and slashes and slashes and slashes. The seedlings are all like that. If it rains on them [you do nothing], if the rain doesn't fall, then in the reddish afternoon sun you go and water it, what you've planted, you keep on sprinkling it with water like this.

When it gets big and dense,²² when it's grown up, the cutting which you did is finished then you set it on fire. The fire engulfs it woosh. You look for a very large stick and you shape it well, with a neck just like a person's and you begin, you take off your outer garment and once you've put it aside, again with my two hands, just forming holes [with the improvised stick],²³ you pierce it [the ground] down the line. Then you go and you take a basin and you go and bring water. You grab any drinking cup and you fill it up with your big spoon. You keep on pouring water [in the holes] one at a time, then you go back and take the seedlings and put them in the holes [with water], two in each hole. Then its finished.

Then with your machete and your hoe, you cut off the remaining grass, what the machete can't remove, you dig out with a small hoe piece by piece and take it out, the bits of remaining grass, completely. Like that until it ripens and its head appears.

Then come the birds. The birds, 'chi chi' don't leave us alone, booha, hoooh '[ideophones for driving away birds, animals]. Before dawn, you are in the farm shouting beating with your metal drum. You run this direction, you come back you run that way. In that way everything gets ripe.

Then we cut it again, all of them and we lay them down completely straight. We give the chafe ?? to the cattle. When we've cut them down we gather them together [on the farm] then we come back to the house. We ?? . They stay for fifteen days and dry thoroughly. Then again with the small hoe cutting [off the heads]. We gather them up in heaps. Then the

²⁰ *bisimillah lee l biyaar*. A graphic representation of the next step in the work. One can understand a 'galo' or 'baguul' "they said, I said etc. The implicit dependent clause consists entirely of the direct quote.

²¹ *yam bismillaai* "when bi sm allaah". This refers to the beginning of an action, which is often prefaced with "in the name of God".

²² *Kub*, ideophone indicated very close proximity.

²³ Normally in the descriptions the farmers simply name the instrument, the *gafgal* (see e.g.). Here the speaker describes how it is made.

youths gather and thresh it and we bring them home. Then that's it, we rest completely. That's it.

Again before the hot season, and there's no water lying on the ground, before the cold season it over, we begin the wells. Everyone goes and finds an old hoe and he takes it and they pound it in and he fix it and looks for a stout stick, he smooths it down to a point so it stays straight, and one person stands on top and you in the hole inside, you dig and he [the one on top] takes out the earth, dig and extract earth and so on. When you find water, we tie it [make a frame of sticks around the water in the well]

Then the whole night we bring out water and pour it. A person with goats waters his goats. One who doesn't have goats or even chickens, goes and digs for himself, for his people so they can drink at home. He goes and doesn't stay back home [i.e. even one without animals digs wells]; till we meet the rains as before.

All this is the work we do in the countryside of the poor. This is the end of our work. With that a person's days are finished and he dies and his debts are paid."

<I>

<DR> a?a kan tdooru murruna aniina al barra barra barra naguula leeku tajuubu leena ka dadda, gade kulla nakurub nimši ya giddaam, ha gade, murruuna kooma gade, ha aniina da dugut be bagarna, hau ke, šába intu al gaariin, al ?aalmiin, šúqul maaku aarfinna da mafi da, kan dugut kalaam zeen gultu dugo kan le l al gomnati ille magani hana al namuuša da bas salleetu lena dihin, waade ke kan naadum al massa beha an namuša kaak ma taadiik kula, (15:09)

aniina naas al barra da, nimši nišəriiha níji nilmassa ille maalna da bas, maalna da našiifa be ruuna kalkal, ille jidaad tak di kula, inta al mi indak dugo kan jidaada waade tul indak kuwa kan inta miskiin da hilu leek, dadda nimsáha, naguul úse al gomnati da aawanna, da kula al yoom be kalaamna al laaki laaki dugo namasiha tulub,

yowa, da kulla murruuna waid, murruna waad aniina fi bildeega kan sallat al gomnati kan sallat traktaat ke kulla, le l gurra gurra bihurtu leəm deen, bitaḃoohum yaa al hool, amma aniina al masakiin be maalna kulla ma nilgá?, buguulu leek haa yat t miš lehum, mamfaathum šunu, ha dugut iin na maha aarfeeya (15:41)

"no if you want [to know] the troubles of those in the countryside we'll tell you. PL if you bring us [something], so we can grab it and advance. Otherwise we have a lot of troubles. Now we have our cattle and the like. Now you who have studied, there is nothing you don't know. So something good you can say to the government is [we need] pesticides (medicine) against mosquitoes in the form of oil, so that if a person spreads it [on his body] it doesn't bite you at all.

We in the countryside, go and buy it and come back and rub it on, its costs us our money. Our money is invaluable to us. Even a chicken, even if you have a single chicken, if you are poor it is valuable for you. So when we rub it [the oil] on, we'll say thank. The government helped us. This [happens] these days [only] through such simple conversations as we're having with you now, so we can get the medicine and rub it.

Okay, those are our problems. Another one for us in the countryside, if the government took out tractors, so that the big people can farm for themselves with a debt. They follow them for a year but we poor people we don't get anything, but they say, don't go to them, what good is it."

<I> al qalla da bifki le sana wahade qalla
"Does the grain last you a year?"

<H> tikfiiku le sana waade, a ka tihertu da

“Does it last you a year, what you farm?”

<DR> aʔa yeen, mat tikaffiina, sana waade, talum le l buriye dugó, kaya kaya kaya kaya, al ligi dugo bulummaha le l fərkiye, ha hiil al fərkiye kan rabb al alamiin jaab al xariif al fərkiye ammálat²⁴ **kab** da, akil al hool da tilgá, iš al hool ke da, ille taakul fu ruuhak, mi taguul babí, bašəri lei šúqul, baširi lei bagara, babi bašəri lei keké, babi baširi lei ke ille taakul fu ruuhak bas da, hana al hool tilgá?, amma da mafi al fərkiye ka ma jaat akil al hool kulla ma nalga, ille nitab saakit, haw gaaydiin, šai šuqul faahimínna kulla mafi, (16:19)
 “Are you kidding. It doesn’t last us a year. Unless you gather for the wetland farming. Kaya kaya, the one who gets something [from the harvest] can last you²⁵ till the clay soil farming, and if God brings the rains and it [the soil] fills up to the brim, you get food for a year, food for a year. You just eat for yourself, forget about selling it (you don’t say, I’m going to see it). buying for my cattle, selling and buying myself a bicycle, buying anything for myself. You just eat for yourself. You might get [food] for a year. But if the clay soil farming doesn’t work out, you won’t get food for a year. We just get tired for nothing and sit around [for the rest of the year]. There’s little we understand.”

<I> wa fi l haal keef tilgo al akil
 “And what do you do then?”

<DR> ween da
 “What?”

<I> kan fərkiye mafi da,
 “If there’s no clay-soil farming?”

<DR> kan fərkiye maafi da, dadda, gide da ninfázir, mine kula bišiil faaša, waaso leiya faaz kalkal, xád’ab šifta sei aš šedér da, ninši fi l kadaadi, babaak bak babaak bak bak nəšaggig, how nabí, al mooto ninši yoomeen tałaata, naadim, kulaam fi ruha, fi l kadaade, dugooni tilga, al watiir jaat tillaggaaha ye he tabi, kaya kaya tilga leek laaki hau taj (16:48)
 “If there’s no clay soil farming, we bend over backwards. Everyone takes his axe, they get their axes ready very well. Firewood that you saw, the trees, we go to the bush BBB and we split it up and we sell it. A car comes every two or three days a person ??²⁶, in the bush, then you get [something], the car comes, you meet it and sell them. With a great deal of difficulty you get just a little out of it.”

<I> tabiiya ween
 “Where do you sell it?”

<DR> tabiia l xád’ab, bíju, naas al birni sei bíju bišurú, humma sei ma induhum hád’ab, ille birakkubu be l kanandiir, ešhum, ha dada kan joo lúgo had’ab ka bišurú, xalaas dahadda had’áb al raas waahid da foog sile sile sile sile sile (17:00)
 “You sell the firewood, the city people come and buy it. They obviously don’t have firewood, except to cook with kerosene, their food, so they come and get firewood and buy it. So a bundle of firewood costs one shilling.”

²⁴ < inmalat, form VII, passive verb.

²⁵ One could also have *biwaddiik*, lit. “send you” = “last you”. In this case, getting a harvest to last an entire year is portrayed in stages, so the predicate *lamma* “join” brings out the linkage of the regular, sandy-soil harvest to the successive wetland farming.”

²⁶ Not clear, perhaps *kul naadim fi ruuha*, “each person for himself”.

<I> foog ad darb da
 “On this road?”

<DR> foog ad darb, yoomen tałaata da tilga leek neeraat ašara, naira išəriin, yoo naira xamsa sitte, taj tášir be naasak taakulu, bea huda ke gaadiin, amma dadda, šuqul ke al gumnati ke ákil gaal al gumnati salláta, meelá, iwaddu le n naas al barra, mine kula iyaad’ú iyad’ú iyad’ú šabaha kol biya as sauwá hineen ma bisawwu leena, gaaydiin beya hu da bas aniina (17:20)

“On the road. Two or three days you get 10 or 20 naira, or maybe 5 or 6. You come and buy with your people and you.PL eat. That way we survive. But something like the government, the government brings it out, the government²⁷ and they send it to the people in the countryside, just giving it away to anybody like Kol Biya²⁸ did, they don’t do that here. We just get by on that.”

<AD> tisəma radio
 “Do you listen to the radio?”

<DR> ana sei, a?a basám r radio, bassanad’ tisinnid’ basannad’
 “Me, I listen to the radio, I listen a little bit.”

<I> tisanad’a be ayiit luqqa
 “In what language?”

<DR> ar radio, bassannad’a be luquti al basmaaha bas, kan jaabo ingliš ko kan jaabo disko helú, basəmə, finšaan kaddeet dada baxallí bass nnađ, simiit,
 “The radio, I listen to it in my language, I just listen to it. If they broadcast in English or a nice disco, I listen to it, because I’ve traveled around so I listen [to all], You got me?”

<I> disko (17:47)
 “Disco?”

<DR> aye, saun,
 “Yes, sound”.

<I> mašəet legos
 “You’ve been to Lagos.”

<DR> legos mašəet, iddini yoom be yoom al litineen da, bakuřba fi lagos, foog at tašša, be nahaar al litineen da ana sa?inna di fakkeet ar radio bas bakuřub lei disko násəma, ingliš wahid tineen, wahid tineen ke da nasəmə, yawa foog da nasəmə, yo hausa, básəma kalaam hawsa, borno basəmaa?, kalaam arab basəmaa?, tašša ke ma bakuřúbha mafí kan caad bakuřúbha, kan garwa bakuřupha, kan najer bakuřúbha, foog aš šuqul al gulta leek dug nilga
 “I’ve been to Lagos. Every day on Monday, I get [radio] Lagos, on the station on Monday afternoon; I just turn on the radio and get it. I listen to that one, and Hawsa, I listen to Hausa and Kanuri I listen to, Arabic I listen to. There isn’t a station I don’t get, like Chad I get, Garwa I get, Niger I get. Everything I mentioned I get.”

²⁷ Meelá < Kan.

²⁸ President of Cameroon from .

<I> fi najer luqqaad yatu (18:18)
 “In Niger which language?”

<DR> najer hu kulla yoom al xamiis da kan fakkeeta da tilga hindu fiya, india
 indian helu helu finšaan nanši naduxula²⁹ as sinima
 “Niger on Thursday when I turn it one you get Indian [music] on it. Indian music is nice
 because I used to go to the cinema [where I’ve seen Indian films].”

<I> yani music yani
 “Music?”

<DR> a?a music mafi, music mafi amma hindian tilga fiya, haa fi subaat da bas ana banši
 bakuřba, yaunde da, da bas šuqul al ana baššanad’a da, šuqul gade ke baššanad’a mafi,
 “No not music, but you get Indian music³⁰ on it. That’s the reason I go and turn it on.
 Yaounde. That’s just what I listen to. There’s nothing else I listen to.”

<I> indak iyaal
 “Do you have children?”

<DR> iyaal, me indí, indi mářa amma walád da mafi dahaba
 “I don’t have children. I have a wife but not children yet.”

<V> dahaabí saqayyir, aye (18.46)
 „He’s still young.“

<DR> walla inta tidoor le šuqul aniina al bidaamiina al bařra, ke naguula leek, walla tidoor
 leeku kalaam jalsa helu, hau kan mašeetu tafukkuuha labudda an naas dool di jalsithum al
 arab dool di jalsithum tudoorú da, tudooru da bas á, ha yoo zeen, ha kan ke da gade,
 kalaamna aniina, kalaamna aniina ša dugut al nilkallama leek da bas di bas arabiinna aniina
 cat, kan ambaakir iguulu leek min ambaakir, da hana as salamaat, min fájir da aniina hineen
 naguul ambaakir min aššab , humma buguulu mən ambaakir, waadiin buguulu fájir,
 kalaamna da ma bigi šikšik á, yawa ha dugud al gaadiin fil hille di (19:36)
 „Or do you want to know what bothers us in the countryside, so I’ll tell you, or do you want
 nice conversation, so that when you.PL go and open up [the tapes], this is how their Arabic
 conversation was, this is how it was, is that what you want? Is that all you want. Great. If its
 like that, our words, like what we’ve been talking, well this is just our Arabic. If [for
 example] ‘tomorrow’ they tell you, ‘tomorrow’, that is the Salamat for “morning” while we
 here say ‘ambaakir min aššaba’ [for ‘morning’] while they say from ‘ambaakir’, and others
 say ‘fajir’ [for ‘morning’]. Aren’t our dialects different, and then take those in the city.³¹”

<I> fi salamaat fi l hille di
 “Salamat in the city?”³²

<DR> a?a fi l hille di mafi salamaat, ma jo gaado, šiif šiftuhum al gaadiin dool bas naas al
 hille salaamat hajira ke da ille kan kaddeena fu kudaadídna ke ninši le hallaalhum, walla

²⁹ Imperfect verb form, but obviously from context used as a past incompleted.

³⁰ Either he doesn’t understand “music”, or he categorizes Indian music as something other than ‘music’.

³¹ A little bit confused, where he says that ‘we’ in his village say ‘ambaakir min aššaba’ for morning.
 Presumably *min aššaba* or *fajir* would be “morning” in the Magonari dialect.

³² Having trouble following his thread of conversation.

ninši nillaaga fi suuk, ke ma naarifəm madiri kina ille, agoodu fil hille ke da mafi, salaami wahid kulla mafi

“No, there aren’t Salamat in the city. They didn’t go and stay there. Look, you’ve seen them staying here. Those in the city. The Salamat are elsewhere. It’s only if we wandered about in our wanderings that we get to their villages, or we meet them in the market. So we don’t know them. They don’t stay in the city, not a single one.”

<I> humma gaadiin be?iidiin minku

“They are far from you?”

<DR> be?iidiin minnina, beediin bilheen bilheen bas minnana

“Far from us, very very far from us.”

<I> fi tiraab gulumba da walla ween (20:02)

“In Gulumba or where?”

<DR> fi gulumba qaadi, cat bukaanhum sei, ille gulumba hau akúrba min gulumba wadda qaadi da gade da bu rawwa humma kulla anum, jarro, yawa ambeenna ambeenum ka angamargu, aniina beeəm, šaba borno ke amma maaəm borno angamargu da jaay fi, yauwa humma bas šiya ke al giraab leena kula, amma gade aniina fi kate katakeena di hille di hille al mašeetu leeha di hille hiil arab be borno mixalbad’a, diya jaay leena kula hille hiil arab saqayre ke, gade hille hiil borno ke kan mi mubá hille ke hiil rad’d’aana waade kula mafi, “There in Gulumba. They’re everywhere. Gulumba and beginning in Gulumba going there anywhere far away to the south, they stretch out, between us and them are the Ngamargu.³³ Between us and them, they are like the Kanuri but they aren’t Kanuri, the Ngamargu are this direction. They [Ngamargu] are a little bit nearer to us. But we have on our [village] boundary, this village you went to, where the Arabs and Kanuri are mixed together [Ibrahamti]³⁴ and in this direction is a small Arabic village [Babbari], except for Mafa, there aren’t villages with only non-Arab speakers.”

<I> fi muuba borno aw arab katiiriin (20.31)

“In Mafa are Arabs or Kanuri more?”

<DR> fi muba da, borno haadi al katiiriin, fi katekeena hineen ke da, fi kajarinna³⁵ kee, borno bas al koomiin aniina al arab da šiyyiin, borno bas kooma, al arab da šiyyiin,

“In Mafa. The Kanuri are more, on the border with us here, on our area like this, the Kanuri are more. We the Arabs are few. The Kanuri are the majority. The Arabs are few.”

<I> wa lakin fi helaal al arab katiiriin hine

“But there are a lot of Arab villages here.”

<DR> helaal al arab kulla šiyyaat, hallaal borno bas koomaat koomaat koomaat da dug halaal boŋo, amma halaal al arab da šiyyaat, (20:53) [X] weela kulla borno bas aktár minnina, dugut at tiraab hana mubá da, tēraab al ajá al muuba da, dug kaddídhum kula barno bas koomiin mala al árab, aniina al árab bas šiyyiin, daliila da ka ma irifná?, al arab bas šiyyiin, daliila da ka ma irifná aniina kula, as sabáb bigiina ke šiyyiin, ma irifna aniina kula, gammeena ke ligiina ahalna šiya wəi? (21:13)

³³ Malgwa, see n. 7 in TV70a-Gulumba-ajaa.

³⁴ Referring to Yuramti, see TV36, TV 76.

³⁵ *Katekate*, “border, surrounding area” < Kan, *kajara* the same in NA.

“The Arab villages are few. The Kanuri villages are just the majority. These are all Kanuri villages, but the Arab villages are few. To the north the Kanuri are more than us. Now in the area of Mafa, the area of the district head of Mafa, if you travel all through them,³⁶ the Kanuri are just more than the Arabs. We Arabs are few. I don’t know why that is. The Arabs are few. We don’t know why, why we are few, we don’t know at all. We just found ourselves fewer.”

<I> šukran (21:27)

“Thank you.”

<H> [X] kalaamhum sahi amma hineen da aniina aarfiin mafi šei, wa aniina kula ašaan šuqúl ke bitallif ma nijiiba, [X leku aniina fi hillitna di walla birnaai walla šai mafi,]

“... That’s right but we know that in this place there’s no problem. We don’t bring anything here that brings you trouble.”

<DR> gaal abba gambo inta gul šunu murrak, inta murrak le ahalna al arab le ar radio nisəmaa da, jeeyikku di ka tauwa be muruuku hana al arab barra, be murrhum fi midamiinum fi,

“Abba Gambo said, you said what are your complaints, your complaints to your Arab brethren [speak them] into the recorder [radiyo], your [i.e. the recording team] coming and asking about the problems of Arabs, they have problems worrying them.”

<H> da kula jaayiin ke musamman sai

„We will come to that one specifically.“

<DR> yauwa nahaar jitu dugo tudooru al gomnati midamiinku ke da, xalaas said da aniina fi, anaa tašuu fuuni da rijilí kulla lamba ašara tineen, na?ala ad dankoa gadiri kaamil maafi

„So when you came, and you want to know our problems and convey them to the government. We are ready to assist. Me you see my foot is size twelve. A plastic shoe of my size doesn’t exist.”

<V> bidawwur leya niaala (22:04)

“He wants some shoes”.

<DR> badoor lei niála dadda al gomnati gaadiin fooga hu da bas,

“I want shoes, so the government has a problem with this.”

<V> at taati haaka šunu ??

<DR> amma ni?alti lamba ašara tineen, dawa al walat al fi gafayi da kula fi, nidauwur nialitna kam ma ligináaha, ad danko našəriiha, nad’iiha le al paciima biwaasiha biziitha leena, da kula mi mur a inta (22:18)

“But my shoe is size twelve. Here the boy behind me, we want our shoes but didn’t get them. We buy plastic shoes. We give them to the cobbler, he repairs it and adds something to them. Isn’t that a problem.”

<H> mur da kula mur yauwa

„It’s bad, it’s a problem.”

³⁶ *kaddid* “make wander through a lot of [area]”.

<DR> [X] ha ana gade kan taa jitu fi jaiyit an nasari di al yoom mine kulla kan be murra imši iguula dauwa ana saad eemad, hau haruun doogo aniina at talaata da lamba ašara tineen ašara tineene

„And me, you’ve.PL come today in the company of a bature, so today each one says what his problem is, he should go and tell it. Here am I, Saad Ahamad, and Haruna Dogo we three are size twelve.”

<H> inzeen

„Good.“

<DR> mine kulla kan be murra, ha dugud yam jibta huda kulla al hamdullilahi aniina nagumm, maašiin le hille hiil rafiikna, amma an nasayiin ma biqassidan

„Each has his complaints. And now when you’ve brought it, we’ll get up and go to the town to our friends, but the women won’t agree [to speak].”

<H> mala ma biqassidan dige

„So why don’t they?“

<DR> madire minhum dawa al bulaama išiiif leeku

„No idea, here’s the bulama to see the issue for you.“

<H> yauwa dawa al balaama ligiina da gade mafi kalaam (22.48)

„Okay here’s the bulama, so there’s nothing else.“

<V> al kwees tara leek mára waade tajulus bas ille, binšiduuu bas dahadda tajulus sei arabiye bas tak tak tak bas aniina mafi a, [X] hi mafi mašat le lee l biir kan ajuus da fi, be ajusna waade ka ma aniina da naadim bigdar biji bijulus mafi

„Al-Kwees you should look for a woman to speak, is that a problem. They ask her, and she speaks to them in Arabic fluently. She’s not around she went to the well, but the old lady is around, but she will only speak to us.”

 mara hanayi da kan maša le l b dal, le mub hineen ka ta hinne ka, hi di doole leha, (23:16)

„My wife went to trade, in Mafa. She was here a little while ago. She would have had to [have spoken].”

<H> zeen

“good”

 yauwa hi kan mašat le muba hineen

“Okay she went to Mafa here.”

<H> zeen

“okay”.

 kan bigiit kabiir da helu, mur kula doole tašiila,

“If you are grown up, the good and the bad you have to take it.”

<H> doole tašiilha sei, kan bigiit kabiir da, yatu kula hanaak (23:32)

“You have to bear it, if you are grown up. Whatever comes your way.”

 a?a yatu kula hanaak
 “Whatever comes your way.”

<AD> kan ligiina rišidiyye waade ke kula (23:46)
 “If we could just get one older lady.”

<H> kan ligiina rišidiye wahade da tauwa axeer [X yoo ha kan ke da kan humma mafi da
 gide nisajjil minnak inta gide yoo ha kulla kal kulla kal]
 “If we could get an older lady it would have been better, but if they aren’t around then we’ll
 just record from you. It’s all the same.”