

Daala Axaderí, Bulama, Musa Adam MA, hamid, I = owens, AD = Adum  
Yemini Mohammad 058

<S Y> uşəmí yemení mahammad, wildooni hine,

“My name is Yemeni Mohammad. I was born here.”

<S I> šunu usum al hille di

“What is the name of this village?”

<S Y> uşumha daala axdarí,

“It’s name is Daala Axadarí.”

<S I> inta arabi

“Are you Arab?”

<S Y> arabi ana,

“I’m Arab.”

<S I> inta arabi nafar yaatu

“What clan are you?”

<S Y> ana waayle, bani waayil, ana bani waayil (0:22)

“I am Waayli, Bani Waayil.”

<S I> min ammak haw abuuk

“Both your father and mother?”

<S Y> min ammí, abuyí cat humma bani waayil ,

“Both my mother and father are Wayli

<S I> wuldook hine

“Where were you born?”

<S Y> wildooni hine,

“I was born here”.

<S I> kubúr hine

“Did you grow up here?”

<S Y> kubúr kula hine,

“I grew up here.”

<S I> ween mašcet

“where did you travel?”

<S Y> ma mašeet yeen kula, gaʔit hine bas, naʔam,

“I didn’t travel anywhere. I just stay here.”

<S I> arab sei katiiriin fi l hille di

„Are there are lot of Arabs in this village?“

<S Y> katiiriin, cattuhum árab, bisawwu naas, tisʔiin naadum kula bisey, mara haw raajil da lakin, miteen kula isowwu,

“Many, they’re all Arabs. They make up, even 90 people. Women and men, even 200.”

<S I> xidimitku šunu

“What is your work?”

<S Y> xidiminna al hiraata, naharit, naharit dúxun, qalla, haw másar, kolci, fúlgawi, cat naharta, wəiʔ, (1:10)

“Our work is farmings. We farm, We farm millet, grain, and corn, groundnuts, ? , we farm all of it.”

<S I> induku bagar kula fi

“do you have cattle?”

<S Y> indina bagar fi, bágar ʔ nam himirre, xeel cat indina fi,

“We have cattle. Cattle, sheep, donkeys, horses we have them all.”

<S I> tanšaqa

„Do you nomadize?“

<S Y> laakin kuure, gaʔadiin amma hassa da bikaan as sarha mafi, al bahaayim binšaqaan, haw aniina gaaydiin, kan gaadan bukaan as sarha mafi hineen, al bikaan bígi ɗeyyik,[X] aʔa min al hille bas, bəxarmu beehin, (1:34)

„Formerly, [now] we just stay [here], but now there’s nowhere to take the animals to pasture. The cattle nomadize and we stay [here], since there’s nowhere to taket hem to pasture. The place has become too crowded., and they take them away from the village.”

<S I> ween

„Where?“

<S Y> binšaqa weela, tiraab magumrí, gubió, borno yesú, fi l bikinne deela bəraawyu, naam, min gubio, haw magumri, borno yesú, fi l bikinnne deela barraGo fi l xala da bas (2:00)

“They nomadize to the north, Magumri, Gubio, Borno Yesu. These are the places they travel about, from Gubio, Magumri, Borno Yesu, these places in the bush.”

<S V> [X] cat bitumm fi l bakaan da bas,

<S I> inta kula našaq

“Did you nomadize?”

<S Y> ana ma našaq, ana ma banšaq, yoom waahid kula ma našax,

“No I didn’t. I don’t nomadize. I never did for one day.”

<S I> xidimtak

“your work?”

<S Y> hiraata bas, al hiraata bas

“Farming, just farming.”

<S I> inta l bəlaama sei

“You’re the bulama?”

<S Y> ana bas al bilaama, al bilaamá di, niseyyí hagg al bilaamá da, aniina gaaydiin, simiit, amma aniina ma indina, ma indina, šúqul bişurfú, ma bişurfu leena šai, gaaydiin bas, milfakkiriin le l hille, kan šúqul zeen kan fásil, aš şald’aaniye kan naadanna saʔalanna min mamša hana hillinna, šunú, al kaan, al kan naguula, haw aš şald’aaniye kan gaalat šúqul amšu lummu aj jamaaʔa guulu lehum, nalummuhum, haw naguula lehum, da bas, naʔam (2:54)

“Yes, just the bulama. The bulamaship, I work the bulamaship. We are there, you got me, but we don’t have anything that they pay us for. They don’t pay us anything. We are just there, taking care of the village. If there is something good or bad, the government calls us and asks us how things are going<sup>1</sup> in the village, what has happened, and we tell them. And if the government says to go and get the people together, they tell them and we gather them and we tell them [information]. That’s all.”

<S MA> an naas biʔazzilu bulaama kefkef, ša kan bidooru lehum bulaama,

“How do people choose a bulama, if they need one?”

---

<sup>1</sup> Mamša “trip, a walk, outing”, but here “how things are going”, perhaps a loan translation of Hausa, *tafiya*, “going, trip, how things are getting on”.

<S Y> kan bidooru bulaama da, jiddak, al xad'd'a l hille, xallaaha le abuuk, abuuk xallaaha leek, xalaas, inta kan mafi kula waladak bixud'd'u , wai, kan abuuk ma bulaama ma tabga bulaama, ma tabga bulaama abadan (3:17), wi

“If they need a bulama, your grandfather, who founded the village, left it to your father and your father left it to you. When you die, they will appoint your son. If your father isn't a bulama, you won't become one.”

<S I> katiir bimšu katiir le l yerwa

“Do people go to Maiduguri a lot?”

<S Y> kuli yoom binšu katiirin, binšu haw biruddu, binšu biruddu, šuqulhum al bisawwú qaadi, waadiin biwaddu, qalla bibii?ú haw waadiin biwaddu bahaayim ke bibii?uuhin an nuswaan bišiilan aṙ raaba biwadduaha, biwaddanha bəbaddulan, da bas, bisawwanna bas, bigeelu ašiye bīju, wi (3:50)

“Many go every day. They go and come back. They go and return. What they do there, some send good grain and sell it, some send cattle and sell them, women take their curds and send it, they send it and trade it. That's all, what they do they spend the day and come back in the evening.”

<S I> naas katiiriin xaramo min al hille

“Did a lot of people leave the village?”

<S Y> laakin tawa da, waadiin mášo kula, gabbalo jo, finšaan, tawa al haraka hiil yerwa maašye, bisowwu šunu kula bilgo laga, maksab katiir fi l hille amma, hassa da daagat cat joona, jo raaddiin, le bikaan at tawa karabo al hiraata bas, wai,

“Formerly, some went and then they returned, because before things were going well in the city. Whatever they did they got a good return for it, a lot of profit in the town. Now things have gotten tight and they've returned back to us, to where before they were farming. Yep.”

<S I> mala (4:19)

“Why?”

<S Y> towa zamaan da, cat jamaa?a daxalo fi yarwa, ha yerwa tilfat fookhum, yam tilfat gabbalo le bikaanhum at towwa jo dugut gaadiin bihartu bas, wai, aha,

“Formerly, that time, everyone entered the city, but then Maiduguri went bad on them. And when it did they returned to where they stayed before and are farming. Yep.”

<S I> hallaal arab

“Arab villages?”

<S Y> al hille arab jamaa, katiiriin, hallaal arab jamaa katiiraat, ašamaahin walla, ašamaahin da, məlei hille hiil árab , yo, mešenarí, hillit arab, ašamrí, hillit arab, dala abba jiddiri arab, angubdoorí arab, bajoorí árab, ašamrí árab, d'iike, cat daalaat, cat daalaat bas, furka árab, al hajirí kula árab, hallaal hine árab katiiraat hineen, wəi (5:11)

“The Arab villages are many. The Arab villages are many. Their names? Mulé is an Arab village, then Meşenerí is an Arab village, Ashamri is an Arab village, Daala Abba Jiddiri is Arabi, Angubdori is Arab, Bajoorí is Arab, Ashamrí is Arab, that one all are Daalas,<sup>2</sup> Furka is Arab, Al Hajiri is also Arab. Arab villages are really a lot here, yep.”

<S I> gariibaat

“Are they near?”

<S Y> aʔa cat giddaam minnihin,

“No they’re all in front of us.”

<V> gariibaat

“Near”

<S Y> waadaat geriibaat kula fi,

„And some are near.“

<V> bajoorí tafuut kilomiita tineen a, ma tafuut , itineen wa taLaata itineen wa taLaata kulluhin

„Is Baajori more than two or three [kilometers] away?“.

<S I> tuwaddu yaalku le l madrasa (5:33)

“Do you send your children to government school?”

<S Y> aʔa ma buwaddu, ma buwaddu, ma buwadddu, al yaal ma buguru, amma laakin, buguru, haw ma buguru kula, daliila da, humma tawa zamaan da sawwo al magaranta fakkooha fi hillidna zaata kula magaranta fi, yoom binšu yoom ma binšu waadiin bəsurho, haw ke humma waadiin bilkallamo biguulu ʔyaalku n<sup>3</sup> gareetuuəm kula ma bilgo šai šuqulku taab, xalaas yaaləm ma binšu, le l giraaya zaata, amma iyaalí ana da

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the complete names of the mentioned villages are Daala Ashamri, Daala Bajoori, Daala Angubdori, etc. The etymology of ‘Daala’ itself is as yet unknown.

<sup>3</sup> < kan “if”.

binšu, waadiin bado bikammilu kula faḍḍal lehum sana sana bas bikammulu, indi niye gareetum,

“No, they don’t send them, they don’t, the children don’t study. But some study and others don’t. Why? Before they built a school and opened it in our village, so there’s a school. Some went, others didn’t, they pastured cattle. And some would say, even [if] you let your children study, they wouldn’t get anything. Its just a big bother. So in the end the children didn’t attend classes. But my children go. Some have just one or two years left to finish. I want them to study,

<S MA> hineen bas fi l hille di

“Here in this village?”

<S Y> fi l hille hineen bas, aa mi fi l hille, gareetəm fi milei, (6:11)

“In this village, no not here. I let them study in Mulé.

< S MA> amma magarantikku hineen saddooha wa

“the school here didn’t they shut it?”

<S Y> aa ma saddooha taxadim bas amma, mafi šúqul zeen ai

“No they didn’t shut it, it’s functioning, but it’s not good.”

<V> al faqara ma bíju

“The teachers don’t come.

<S Y> al faqara ma bíju amma iyaalku ma bíju cattuhum wahith, [X] ana alkallam iyiit ding, kuli yoom balkallam fooghum ke yam iyiit ding, šuqúl ma sayeeta mafi šúqul faat heelí (6:27)

“The teachers don’t come but your children don’t come either. I’ve talked about it and gotten tired of it. Every day I talk to them, till I’m exhausted. There’s nothing I didn’t do and it surpasses my powers.”

<S I> inta gareet

„Did you study?“

<S Y> aa ana ma gareeth, sangaa kula šuwiya mi katiir , wai

„No I didn’t, the Quranic school just a little, not much, yep.“

<S I> kalaam arab taktuba

“Do you write Arabic?”

<S Y> ma bagdar baktuba, ma bagdar bagiri

“I can’t write it, I can’t read it.”

<S I> fi l hille di sangaaya

“Is there a Quranic school in the village?”

<S Y> sangaa fi? (6:45)

aha iyaal koomiin fi s sangaaya, koomiin,

“There is. There are a lot of children in it.”

<S I> al faqiir

“The teacher.”

<S Y> fi l hille marra wahid gaa?it

“He stays in the village.”

<S MA> iyaalak kam ba bulaama buguru (7:10)

„How many of your children study?“

<S Y> yaalí tineen bas, ha hu da haw be magají, hu da bigiri fi federal goment

“Just my two children. This one and his older brother. He studies at Federal Government College.”

<V> fi mayduguri, usma šunu

“In Maiduguri? What’s his name?”

<S Y> ušuma ahamad, ahamad yamani, ga?it qaadi (7:30)

“His name is Ahamd Yamani. He stays there.”

<S MA> al bađ’aala kan bíji

„When it’s the vacation, he comes“

<S Y> aha bíji

“He comes [here].”

<S I> fi gabaayil taaniyaat

“Are there other tribes [here]?”

<S Y> fi?, borno kula fi, borno baş, aa al arab bas katiiriin, arab aktár

„There are. There are also Kanuri, but the Arabs are more.“

<S I> tilkallam luqaat yatu

„What languages do you speak?“

<S Y> naam, kalaam borno kula ba?arfa ai, hawsa kula šiya šiya ba?arfa, wai

“Yes, I know Kanuri, and Hawsa a little bit, yep.”

<S I> keef alallamta

“How did you learn them?”

<S Y> gaaydiin fi daar borno da yeen, gaaydiin fi daar borno, sei gaaydiin fi daar borno, borno di biguulu la borno da sei borno bas, aniina fiiha da keef ma n nalkallam borno, „Aren’t we’re staying in the land of the Kanuri. Aren’t we’re staying in the land of the Kanuri. Isn’t it called Borno [i.e. Arabic name for ‘Kanuri’]. So we living here, how don’t we know it?”

<S I> hawsa

„Hawsa?”

<S Y> kalaam hawsa, kula na?arfa šiya šiya ai, irifta ke bas, fi r ruwaaqa bas, hawsa haw borno cattuhum gaaydiin hine nagayyil haw náji, wai (8:28)

„Hawsa, I also know it a little. I learned it in traveling about. Kanuri and Hawsa both stay here, we spend the afternoon then come back, yep.”

<S I> borno fi l hille di bilkallamo kalaam arab

“Do the Kanuri in this village speak Arabic?”

<S Y> mafi da bisam?ó, abadan, aniina nasəma hanaahum humma ma bismo hanaana, kan nalkallamo<sup>4</sup> bəsam?o haw ba bugdaro buburmu leena, wai, ma bisám?o, katiiriin ma basamo amma iyaalhum al walladoohum hineen da, bəsam?o, al wuldoohum hineen da bisam?o, al ?yaal ad dugaag da, amma al kubaara ma básam?o, al wuldó hine ke da bisəma kalaam arab (8:58)

“No, never. We understand theirs [language] [but] they don’t understand ours. If we speak, they understand and so can reply to us. But they don’t understand. Most don’t understand. But their children who were born here, they understand. The ones born here understand, the young children, but the older ones don’t. The ones born here understand.”

<S AD> amma humma maaəm d’awwalo fi l hille sei

“But they’ve been with them for a long time in the village.”

<S Y> a?a d’awwalo, d’awwalo bihartu gaaydiin ma?aana humma kula, wi

“They been here long, they farm and have stayed with us. Yep.”

<S I> al hille di gadiima

---

<sup>4</sup> n-alkallam-o, with the 1PL expressed with an explicit plural suffix. A frequent feature in Maiduguri Arabic, due to the many Chadians in the city, but rare in the village texts.



“Is the village old?”

<S Y> gadiime, laakin al hille di gaadat be santeen dugó yerwa gaadat, wai, jiddí xad'd'aaha be santeen dugó yarwa jaat gaadat, yerwa zaatha wai (9:20)

“It’s old. The village existed two years before Maiduguri. My grandfather founded two years before Maiduguri existed.”<sup>5</sup>

<S I> jo min ween

“Where did they come from?”

<S Y> jiddí tawa naašiq, tawa naašiq, towa naašiq, xalaas, az zool al biguulu la raabi da ja, yam ja barjal beəm, baadeen hu xalla máfa kan ja gaat, hu gaad, fi mabení di, mabaaní xad'd'ooaha gábul al hille di, mabaani al waraana di, gaʔade gábul al hille di, baʔaden yanta gaad, rabi ja sowwa šaqaali da tamma, ja gaad fi mangonó, arsal le l kubaʔaat, al árab cat arsal leehum, aš šuyuux hine al arɗ di, xalloohum taal,

“My grandfather used to nomadize, he used to. Then a person who is called Rabeh came and destabilized [the land]. He left Mafa and he came and stayed in Mabeni. Mabeni they founded before this village. Mabaani, the one behind us. It was founded before this one. Then when he settled, Rabeh came and finished his conquest (did his things), and came and stayed in Mongano. He sent for the Arab leaders, all of them, including the sheixs from this land. Let them all come.”

<S Y> aš šeex arsal leehum fi mongono, min ardi hana mongono, hu gaal bíji hineen le maiduguri, aŋ gaal bíji, xalaas an naas al kubaʔ gammo jo, allammo sawwo aš šoora gaalo aš šeex da kan ja hineen da, al bikaan bədeek leena, nakurub leena mahal, xalaas jiddí gamma min mabaaní, ja xad'd'a al hille di, dugo aš šeex min mongono kan ja gaad fi yarwa , wəi? (10:27)

Rabeh [= aš šeex] <sup>6</sup> sent for them in Mongono, from the land of Mongono and said he was coming to Maiduguri here. When he said he was coming, all the important people got up

<sup>5</sup> Which would make it 1904. However, this is not compatible with the association with Rabeh, who was killed in 1899.

<sup>6</sup> This passage represents an interesting exegetical problem. Another alternative is to interpret *aš šeex* as the new Shehu of Borno, who did indeed move to Maiduguri when the British established that city as the capital of northeastern Nigeria. Rabeh is usually not referred to as *aš šeex*, though the Shehu of Borno is. However, the linguistics of the passage favor the translation as given. Interpreting *aš šeex* as the Shehu of Borno implies interpreting away the previous utterance: *rabi ja sowwa šaqaali da tamma, ja gaad fi mangonó*, i.e. it was Rabeh who the narration has established is ruling from Mongono. The use of *aš šeex* can be seen as a DS (different subject) device to signal switching the subject back to Rabeh (Owens et al. 2009).

and joined together and called a meeting and said, if Rabeḥ [the sheix] comes here, the area will become too small for us. Let's find a place. So my grandfather moved from Mabaani and came and founded this village. Then Rabeḥ (the Sheix) came from Mongono and came and stayed in Maiduguri, yep.”<sup>7</sup>

<S AD> dugut ṣammooha daala da foog sum

“Now they named it according to what?”

<S Y> buguulu leha daala axaderí jiddí biguulu la haamid axadar, haamid axadar, ja jiddí abu abuyí, abu abuyí, abuyí wuldó, inda sapʔa šáhar dugo ja xad'd'a al hille di, abuyí inda d'amaaniin haw tisʔe sana, dugo attawaffa, (10:48)

“They call is Daala Axaderi. My grandfather is called Hamid Axadar, Hamid Axadar, my grandfather the father of my father, who gave birth to my father. He stayed seven months then he came and founded this village. My father was 89 when he died.

<S I> inta bani waayil

“You're Bani Wayil.”

<S Y> aniina bani wayil, laakin, humma bani waayil, humma naasna, naas az zuruk, al abiid, be l árab cattuhum, wahid, humma bas axaayanna, mi cattina wahid , catta axayaan, mm (11:17)

“We are Bani Wayil, but the Bani Wayil, they are our people, the black ones, the slaves, along with the Arabs are the same. They are our brothers. Aren't we all the same. All of us are brothers.”<sup>8</sup>

<S MA> ha binaaduuha axdari da, le le summa axadar

“And they call it Axadari, because of his name, Axadar.”

<S Y> haamid axadar

“Hamid Axadar”

<S MA> hu xideri al ille ke

“Not because he's Xideri?”<sup>9</sup>

<S Y> bani waayil, ke bas, axadar loona bas, kan banaat bas fi šukur ke gaal lea

<sup>7</sup> Rabeḥ's headquarters were in Dikwa, which is close to where Mongono begins. The part of the story with Rabeḥ coming to Maiduguri is an interesting fabrication, as Maiduguri was officially founded at least, a number of years after Rabeḥ was dead.

<sup>8</sup> The issue of slavery among the Arabs, and indeed among almost all ethnic groups in NE Nigeria, is an important and largely untold one. What the speaker appears to be saying is that although there is a residual perception of non-slave or slave origin, it is no longer considered important for him.

<sup>9</sup> Xideeri, another Arab clan name.

„Bani Wayil. Just that. Axadar ‚dark‘ was his complexion. And the girls in respect for him called him that.”

<S HI> ana kula yam simiita axadar da baasiba haw min wulaad abu xideer

“I as well when I heard ‘Axadar’ I figured he was from the Wulad Abu Xider.”

<S Y> a?a a?a aniina nuguul lea qadiir, bani wail kula qadiir, mm (11:47)

“No no, we call it the Qadir lineage.”

<S I> naam, al arab bilaaxado ambeenaathum

“Do Arabs marry amongst themselves?”

<S Y> al arab bilaaxado ambeenaathum , ma biyaaxudu rad’d’aani, al baab be l baab bilaaxado, kan mi nafarak taxudha arabiye , wəi, aa bilaaxado, amma ma iyaaxudu borno, ma yaaxudu hawsa ma yaaxudu luqqa aaxir, amma al árab da al wajib da bilaaxado humma, kan mine kula taaxudha kan arabiye da, bilaaxado ambeenaathum (12:18)

“The Arabs marry amongst themselves. They don’t marry non-Arab speakers. And each clan marries from its own. If not your own clan, then you marry another Arabic. But they don’t marry Kanuri, nor Hawsa or any other language. Arabs have to marry their own. You can marry anyone, so long as they are Arab. They marry from amongst themselves.”

<S MA> an nafira al gide ke biyaaxudu min al arab alla ma bilaaxad

“Another ethnic group marries Arabs, or not?”

<S Y> an nafira al gade ya, nusuwaanhum ba, biyaaxuduuhin, amma arabi ma biyaaxud birnaaiye, al birnaay biyaaxud arabiye , wəi (12:31)

“A different tribe? Their women, they marry them. But an Arab man doesn’t marry a Kanuri woman. Kanuri men marry Arab women, yep.”

<S I> bilkallamo yatu luqa

“What language would they speak?”

<S Y> be borno, hi tisma kalaam borno ai, tisám?a hi, hu biyaaxutha laakin, bidoor biqayyir loona, biwaasí, hu ma raajil (12:48)

„Kanuri. She of course understands Kanuri, she understands it. He marries her, but he’d like to change his color.”<sup>10</sup>

<S I> hu bil?allam kalaam al arab

“Does he learn Arabic?”

<sup>10</sup> I.e. a darker-skinned Kanuri wants to marry a lighter-skinned Arab.

<S Y> ma bilʔallama, iyaala zaatum ma bilʔallamó, al ʔiyaal kula ma bilʔallamó, ma t taʔallimhum, ma t taʔallimhum, wai

“He doesn’t learn it. Their own children don’t learn it. The children as well don’t learn it. She doesn’t teach them, she doesn’t teach them, yep.”

<S MA> haw tilkallam leəm be luqqut abuum bas

“And she just speaks to them in the language of their father.”

<S Y> kan šifta taguul arabi, amma arabiye laakin ma bifham waade kula,

„If you saw him and you’d say he’s Arab, his mother’s Arab but he doesn’t understand it at all.“

<S MA> bugummu be l borno

“They grow up Kanuri.”

<S Y> bugummu be l borno, kan limista, kan daggeeta biguul leek ana arabi, kan xalleeta kan bugum le daaʔawit at tawa,<sup>11</sup> wəi (13:16)

“They grow up with Kanuri. If you scratch him, if you hit him he’ll say he’s Arab but he’s out of your sight he’ll return to his original state.”

<S I> inta kaddeet fi najerya

“Have you traveled in Nigeria?”

<S Y> naam, kaddeet šiya ke, ana da qašimi legos bas, fi legos laakin indí xamsa sana, waladí zaata kula wulutta fi lagos, al gaayid da, xamsa sana fi legos, wai

“Yes, I traveled a bit. Just up to Lagos. I spent five years in Lagos. My son was born there, the one here. Five years in Lagos.”

<S I> xadám qaadi

“You worked there?”

<S Y> xadám, zamaan ana gaʔad da, kwees, laakin, mi šaba aloom, ad duniya saaʔit ana gaʔad da, ana mašeet le lagos nayntiin seventi tu, šiya ke, šiya ke ad diniya yam da aafe, ma barjalat, inda šiya ke axeer hiluwe, wəiʔ (13:51)

“I worked. The time I stayed there, it was good, not like today. The world when I was there, I went to Lagos in 1972, and the world was a little bit okay. It hadn’t been turned upside down. It was a little bit better. Yep.”

<S I> mala raddeet

---

<sup>11</sup> *daʔawit at tawa*, “former behavior”, *daʔawa* “behavior, bad behavior”.

“Why did you return?”

<S Y> ad daliil ar raddeet fooga da, abuyí maa la walad dakar, ille ana bas, yamta abuyí muruṭ, arsal leey gaal áji le l beet, xalaas ana jiit arbaʔiin yoom, abuyí attawoffa, xalaas bigiit bulaama, gaʔad fi beet hana abuyí, wai, da ad daliil aj jiit fooga (14:16)

“The reason I returned, my father didn’t have any male children, except me. When my father got sick, he sent for me and said I should come home. I came and after forty days my father died. So I became the bulama and stayed in my father’s house. That’s why I came.”

<S I> martak kula arabiye

“Is your wife also Arab?”

<S Y> martí kula arabiye,

“My wife is also Arab.”

<S I> tilkallamo fi l beet

“What do you speak at home?”

<S Y> hineen da a, ana be martí a,

“Here, I and my wife. “

<S MA> inta martak be yaalak

“You and your wife and your children.”

<S Y> nalkallam be árab, árab, wəi

“We speak Arabic, yep.”

<S I> hiya bani waayil

“She’s bani Wayil?”

<S Y> hi kula axtí waayliye, waayliye hi kula

“She also is my sister a Wayli, wayuliyye as well.”

<S AD> tisma ar raadio

“Do you listen to the radio?”

<S Y> naʔam,

“What?”

<S AD> tisma ar raadio

<S MA> ar raadio gaayid tiṣaṇṇad’a

“Do you listen to the radio?”

<S Y> baṣṣannaḍ'a, bəsowwu at tariix, al árab, bilfaahamo fi kalaam ar raadiyo biguulu, al ʔarab al histori hana al ʔarab ye buguulu nasámʔa, šunu kula šuqul bijulsu da cat nasamʔa ay (14:59)

“Yes, I listen to it. They have history [programs]. The Arabs. They understand one another on the radio and say, the Arabs, the history of the Arabs, we<sup>12</sup> listen to it. Whatever they speak we listen to it.”

[X]

al xaarij da ma nāsəmaa

“I don’t listen to programs outside Nigeria.”

<S MA> balaa kalaam al program hana l arab hana raadyo gide tiṣṣaṇṇad’o šunú (15:11)

“Besides the Arabic language program, what else do you listen to?”

---

<sup>12</sup> Here the interpretation of *nasámʔa* is indeterminate between “I” and “we” (see e.g. TV ??).