

TV69b-mingele-Umar

U = umar, I =m owens, A = Adam, L = Allamin

<U> ana şumí umar  
„My name is Umar.“

<I> wuldook ween  
“Where were you born?”

<U> wuldooni fu guldubá  
“I was born in Gulduba.”

<I> ween gulduba  
“Where is Gulduba?”

<U> da hineen fi nijerya, gariib foog al lei da, wəi? (0:20)  
„Here in Nigeria, on this road, yep.“

<I> saakin hineen  
“Do you live here.”

<U> saakin da, gaait hineen  
„I live, I live here.“

<I> usum il hille  
„The name of the village?“

<U> al hille di usumha mængilé, d’awwál hineen, masal tis?e saná, wəi?, siniini ašara haw waahid  
„This village, its name is Mingile. I’ve been here a long time, like nine years, yep, or eleven years<sup>1</sup>“.

<U> arab borno cat fi, wəi?  
“Are both Arabs and Kanuri here?”

<U> al borno bas kasiir,  
“The Kanuri are more.”

<I> buyuut al arab (0:51)  
“How many Arab houses?”

<U> buyuut al aráb da ma ligiina hisaaba, hisaaba ke, kit ke da ma irivná, wəi?, ana raayit kalaam al aráb, balkallam be kalaam al aráb bas, wəi?, [X] gade, ana bala al aráb ke maani aarif nafəra wahid kəla, sai arab waid bas, kalaam borno kula ana mani aarifa, sai kalaam aráb wahid bas, kalaam hawsa kula mani aarfa,

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<sup>1</sup> The question seems not to have been understood.

“The Arab houses, we don’t have a number, a number, precisely we don’t know, yep. I like Arabic, I speak only Arabic, yep. Besides Arabic I don’t know another language except Arabic. Kanuri as well I don’t know. Only Arabic. Hawsa I don’t know.”

<I> inta arab nafar yatu  
 “What clan are you?”

<U> ana árab da, hana daar hana sabá, ana xizaam, xizaam ana, nafəra hanayi xizaam,  
 (1:42)  
 “I’m an Arab from the east,<sup>2</sup> I’m Xizaam, Xizaam, my clan is Xizam.”

<U> min aḡḡí cat, wəiʔ, cat kulu, kulu, aha kurud árab, waid kula burnaay mafi  
 hawsaay mafi, falaati kula mafi, duk árab, wəiʔ  
 “My mother as well. Both are Arab. They aren’t Kanuri or Hawsa or Fulani.”

<I> xidimtak hine šunu  
 “What is your work?”

<U> xidimtii hine hiraata, wəiʔ, beheerit dadda xalaas gaid miskiin, wəi, (2:01)  
 “My work here is farming, yep. I farm, so we just stay poor. yep.”

<U> hiraata di niheerit ba katanka ke, wəiʔ, xidime di, niteerib qalla, haw niteerib libiya,  
 haw dada niheerta niwaasí nađiif, min al gaš, dada xalaas tugum, niheerit da, al mađara  
 sabbat da, niheerit mađara kan sabbat da, niheerit, wəiʔ, niheerit dada xalaas nuwaasi  
 bikaana, nađiif, dada nilga naakul fiye, aha, niheertu<sup>3</sup> da foog al gooz da, gooz hana  
 hillinna da bas niheerit fiye , wəiʔ (2:38)  
 “Farming, we farm with a hoe like this. Yep. This work, we plant grain and beans then  
 we farm it and clear it nicely, of grass, then it [the plants] come up and we farm. When it  
 rains, we farm, when it rains. Yep, we farm then we clear the place nicely, then we get  
 [the harvest] and we eat from it. We farm the sandy soil. The village land, we farm it.”

<I> kunni sana  
 “each year?”

<U> kunni sana da, kunni sana xariif jaab alme da niheerit bas, as sana xariif jaab alme  
 zeen da niheerit, aš šuqúl ʔašara sawwó da aniina kula niseyi, wəiʔ da bas šúqul hana  
 jiddina, wəi, (2:51)  
 “Each year. Every year when the fall brings rains we farm. If it rains well we farm. What  
 the community does, we also do, that is way of our ancestors. Yep.”

<I> as sana di šunu herettu (2:58)  
 “What did you farm this year?”

<U> as sana di herenna duxún, haw líbiya, xalaas gide ma herenna šai, wəiʔ,

<sup>2</sup> Not completely clear; perhaps his family came from the east, Chad.

<sup>3</sup> One of the occasional n- -u 1PL. village tokens, see TV70a n. 12.

“This year we farmed millet and beans. We didn’t farm anything else.”

<I> šunu bisawwi ma l qalla  
 “What does he do with the grain?”

<U> ad duxún busowwú eš, al libiya kan bixud’dú yeeke, wəi?, dada xalaas,  
 “The millet they make meal, and the beans they cook in soup. Yep. That’s all.”

<AD> bəsowwu eš da kefkaf  
 “How do they make the meal?”

<U> al eš da ad duxún di buwaddú le l enjin, bəreeke, xalaas, budugguua haw bujuubuaa bədarrooa haw bəkamfutuaa, xalaas biwadduaa le l enjin, enjin da bərekuu<sup>4</sup> qaadi fi gulumba da, aš šúqul al bəreku beya da, bəreku beya da, al injin da findalaal ??, yawwa, xalaas, dada busowwú, bujú bişuud’u eš, dada xalaas naadim biyaakul, da bas šuqúl hana jiddina, (3:50)

“The meal, the millet they send it to the grinder and it grinds it. They pound it and they bring it and winnow it and pound it, then they send it to the grinder. The grinder they grind with, and they grind it there in Gulumba. What they grind it with, they grind it with a grinder. They do it and come and cook meal, then a person eats it. That is the way our ancestors did.”

<I> haw al libiya da  
 “and the beans?”

<U> libiya da, xalaas hu kula, bəsawwú be, bəkaan waid, naadim, mafi lea gurs, biwaddú le suuk bibii?e, kan naadim be gursa kan bixud’, biyaakul fi beete, da bas šuqúl hana al maskana, wəi?,

“The beans, as well, they farm (do) them in one place. If a person has no money, they send them to the market and sell it. If a person has money, he eats them in his house. This is the lot of the poor. Yep.”

<I> al libiya kifaaya le sana  
 “Are the beans enough for one year?”

<U> al libiya da, al libiya da ille dadda an naadim biherta kalkal, haw bəwaasí?, faḍḍal, bixud’d’a, bigí kooma bibii?e, šiya kan buxud’d’a, xalaas yoom alla ad’aak, xalaas tuxud’ minne, kooma ye tibí minne, šiya kula ka dada xalaas, kan kaafi akala kula kan dada našiibak mafi, aha, aaa, (4:36)

“Beans. Beans, a person farms them nicely, and clears off the land. If there are many.<sup>5</sup> He stores it. If there are many he sells them, and if little he stores them. If God gives you a lot, you put a part of them [aside], if a lot you sell some of them. If a little its like that. If grasshoppers eat them, you’re out of luck. Yep.”

<sup>4</sup> Presumably < \*raḥak, not a verb attested in the *Lisaan al Arab*.

<sup>5</sup> *Faḍḍal*, “it remains”. Our interpretation of text.

<I> bagar kula fi  
 “Do you have cattle?”

<U> bagár fi, bagár fi, bagár da, bisáro baan, binšan biyaakulan gaš, dadda xalaas naaim maala gait gaayd gaarinne, wəi? (4:51)  
 “There are cattle. There are. They pasture them. They go and eat grass then a person whose cattle are there, he keeps them, yep.”

<I> inta kula tisrah be bagar  
 “Did you pasture cattle?”

<U> nísəra be bagár, nimarrige saa sapʔa, nijjiiba saa ʔašara wahid, wəiʔ, wai gade kula ašam wagát nimarrige saa sitte, nijjiibe saa ʔašara, saa taLaata hiil fajír, hiil leel, dugo nijjiib al bagár min al waadi, (5:09)  
 “We pasture the cattle, we take them out at 7 AM and bring them back at . Then when the sun sets we take them out at 6PM and bring them at 10PM, or rather 3AM, then we bring them back from the bush.”

<AD> ma gaasi leeku tusuuru fi l leel da,  
 „Its not difficult for you to pasture them in the middle of the night?”

<U> aaa, kan gaasi kula, kələ da bas šuqúl, kan gaaydaat da, ɖubbaan ma bəxalliyan, ɖubbaan biyaakulan nahár da, dada bisáren ke bisáren ke al xariif kan egáb kan bigeelan, fi l waadi, dada biján muqurub, kan dada xalaas bisáran nahár, dugut kan bisáran fi l leel, kan ma sarán fi l leel da, ɖubbaan biʔadditan, da al naxabat naxabat fiya da, ma bəxalliina, wəi? (5:36)  
 „Even if its difficult, what else its just work. If they stay [in the day] the flies don’t leave them alone. They flies eat them up during the day. So they go out to pasture, they go out to pasture [at night] and when the rains have passed, they spend the day in the bush and come back in the late afternoon and they can go to pasture in the daytime. Now if they pasture at night, if they don’t pasture at night, the flies bite them and we keep on brushing them away. They don’t let us alone.”

<I> al bagar ma buruuan (5:39)  
 “Don’t the cattle get lost?”

<U> al bagár da, aniina sei miyán, aniina da, mašiin miyán da, sei ma nəxalliihan iruuan, nugoon miyán da, niherissan hinna bas, naharisan hinna bas xalaas ma nəxalliihan iruuhān wai, (5:52)  
 “The cattle? Do you think we’re blind? Are we blind? We go with them and don’t allow them to get lost. We stay with them and guard them. We just guard them and don’t let them get lost. Yep.”

<AD> ha fi l leel da tisawwu keef  
 “And at night how do you do it?”

<U> fi l leel da indina tooji, yawwa at tooji da nuđúrba da, nēraaʔi fi l bagár, naas usōneen, naadim wahid fi d daffa da naadim wahid fi ad daffa da, ha bufkur le l bagár, yawwa, masíl naaim wahid wagá fi n nugura kula naaəm waid gayt, dada saariin, (6:06)  
 “In the night we have a flashlight. The torch we shine it and watch out for the cattle, two people, one on this side and the other on the other, and he attends to the cattle. Okay. So like if one person falls in a hole, there’s still one there moving with the cattle.”

<I> al bagar ma biyaakul ad duxun  
 “The cattle don’t eat the millet?”

<U> kan akalanna da ma bəxallu an naadim sei, aniina gaaydiin da nufkur lea ke bas, wai nufkur aa ke bas kaal ma ninʔes, ille nubga waaʔiin ke bas haw nijiiba nērabbađ’a fi l beet dugo ninʔes, wəiʔ,  
 “If they eat it, they don’t leave a person [herder] in peace. We are there and caring for them, we just watch out for them; we never doze off. We remain alert and we bring them and tie them up at home then we rest. Yep.”

<I> fi waqt aš šeef  
 “During the hot season?”

<U> dawa bikaan hineen bas miyeefir, alme hineen da gariib hineen, wai dada xalaas niheefir biyaar dada nusub lahan, nizgyan, (6:35)  
 “Right here there’s a place where [a well’s] been dug. Water right here near. Then we dig wells and pour them [cattle] out water and water them.”

<I> usum al biyaar  
 “What’s the name of the wells?”

<U> al biyaar da, niʔéefəra fald’a ušuma biyaar ke bas,  
 “The wells. We dig them deep, their name is simply ‘well’.”

<I> keef tieefira  
 “How do you dig it?”

<U> nieefəra da be šuqúl wahid ke nieefəre, misíl misíl rijaal tineen talaata, dugo dugo nieefər alme dada nisille, nušubbu fi l hood dugo al bagár kan biján bišarban, (6:52)  
 “We dig it with something, we dig it, like like two, three men [get together] and then we dig for water and take it out and pour it in a basin, then the cattle come and drink.”

<I> d’awiil  
 “deep?”

<U> d’awiil, rijaal talaata, wəiʔ, mhm  
 “Deep, three men [deep], yep.”

<I> kunni sana

“every year.”

<U> kunni sana alme fi, kunni sana alme fi, naas, hine al hellaal dool da dug bijú le hille mǝngile di bas alme katiir, aha

“Every year there’s water. Every year there’s water. All the people of these villages come to the village of Mingile because it has a lot of water, aha.”

<U> duk buwaddu bagarum hineen, bijuubu be l hille di bas, bikaan da sei hineen bas, hejira kaal mafi, aha, (7:16)

“Then they send their cattle here, they bring them to this village, just right here. There’s hardly [water] anywhere else.”

<I> gareet fi sangaa

“Did you study in the Quranic school?”

<U> ana ma gareet, ana ille gareeš šuqúl hana salaa bas gade ma gareet, mhm, ma gareet, ille rafiigí ke bas, ellemni gǝrá hana šaláa, amma gide ana ma gareet šei kula, aha, “I didn’t study, I just studied a little of the prayers but otherwise didn’t study, I didn’t study. Just my friend taught me to read prayers, but otherwise I didn’t.”

<I> mašeet diikwa

“Did you you go to Dikwa?”

<U> ana da ille xalaas, min mingile, haw xalaas gulumba xalaas ana ween kula ma mašeet, birni wahid kula ana šaayfinna mafi, wǝi, (7:43)

“Me, only, from Mingile and Gulumba otherwise I didn’t go anywhere. I’ve never seen another town, yep.”

<I> tidoora

“Would you like to?”

<U> kai ana ma benši, ana bágoot hineen bas, aha, ana bágot xalaas miskiin kan niherit, núgot niheerit, šuqúl hana jiddí da, baseyi hu bas, mhm, xalaas (8:02)

“Really I don’t go anywhere, I just stay here. I stay here, a poor person and I farm and we stay and farm, as my grandfather did. That’s what I do, that’s all.”

<I> tismaa ar raadio

“do you listen to the radio?”

<U> ar radyo basǝmáa, bilkallam da basǝmá, wǝi?, be hana njameena ye nisǝmaa, kalaam borno kula kan, waid basǝmá waid kan me basǝmáa?, ba kalaam hawsa kula, waid basǝmá waid ma basǝmáa?,

“I listen to the radio. If it broadcasts [speaks] I listen, yep. That of Ndjamená I listen to, Kanuri as well. I understand some of it and Hawsa as well, I understand some of it.”

<languages>

<U> aʔa, kalaam hawsa da, ana da ille sei hisaab haná da, beʔérfe, amma gadé kalaama al hajire ma niʔirfe, (8:35)

„Hawsa, just the counting I know, but anything else I don't.“

<I> kalaam borno kula

„Kanuri as well.“

<U> kalaam borno kula, hisaaba da niʔérfe, yoo misíl caal,<sup>6</sup> haw amíš, da beʔérfe<sup>7</sup>, amma gade ya dúgut min gayid miyaaəm ma ellemta, aha, (8:48)

“Kanuri as well. I know its numbers, and like „come“ and “go” that I know, but otherwise even if I live with them I haven't learned it.”

<I> intu ma gaadiin be l borno jamii

“Do you stay with the Kanuri together?”

<U> aniina da, gabúl gaadiin fi mingile, hille d'iike hiil jiddina, jiina kan dada abuyí da gaayd bulaama, da bas hiltii, wi dada gaayd jiina, dada al hille di hiilna, barno ka gaadiin miyaana ke dada gyéenna jami, amma ana wuldooni hejera fi guldubaa, wai guldubaa, aráb, dug árab, dug árab,

“Before they were staying in Mingile, that village, that of our ancestors. Then we came, my father was the bulama. This is just our village. We were staying here, so this village is ours. Kanuri are living with us and we've stayed together, but I was born elsewhere in Gulduba, Gulduba an all Arab village.”

<I> keef tilkallam be l borno

“How do you speak with the Kanuri?”

<U> hineen da ana da ille sei kar rassalooni da, nenši kalaam hanaaum irifte irifte ma irifta kan bají, (9:24)

„Here, if they send me, I go and I understand them or if don't then I come back.”

<kanuri know arabic>

<U> waadiin waadiin da bæffámo, waadiin waadiin da biffámo kalaam al árab,

„A few understand. A few understand Arabic.“

<I> kwees

„Well?“

<sup>6</sup> Note again the very characteristic imperative form for “come” = *taʔaal* or *taal* in western NA; see TV70a n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Note the mysterious shift in 1SG imperfect verb within one short turn, first *ni-ʔérfe*, then the otherwise morphologically identical *b-e-ʔérfe*

<U> aa kilme kilme kuna kwes, da ween mafi, kwes mafi, kwes maafi, sei ille waayd waayd bəsamó waayd ma bəsamoo dada xalaas, amma hana al aráb ke dangar dāngar da mafi, (9:46)

„A few words well? No, not well, not well. They understand just a few words and that’s it. But Arabic clearly<sup>8</sup> no.”

<I> tasuuk

„You go to the market?“

<U> nasuuk, ana da bəkaan bəkaan dugó nəsowwuk, amma min gariib maši sawaga, arabaa<sup>9</sup> ma sawwák

„I market. Sometimes I go to the market but recently going to market, I haven’t for four weeks.“

<I> ween

“Where?”

<U> ille gulumbá bas, gadé ana suuk waayid kulla šaayfinna mafi, qaadi da, ille dada naadim binši biširi da, masíl, kan wadda leya, wadda leya, masíl, mašá bišəri lea katanka le al hiraata, mašá bikiil lea duxún le t tiraab, bikiil leya libiya, dada xalaas da bas udúr naadim naadim ni?ille aššarrad’an, binši bišəri, marabaata aš šarrad’at, binši bišəri, kaare nađiif nađiif fu gulumbá, xalaas gade mafi yeen kula ana ma mašeeet (10:29)

“Just Gulumba. I haven’t seen any other market. There unless a person goes and buys [something] , like he goes to buy himself a hoe for farming or millet as seed, or he buys beans. Just if a person has a need, shoes got torn so he goes and buys some, his shirt got torn he goes and buys one, nice things in Gulumba. Otherwise nowhere else. I didn’t go anywhere else.”

<U> wai be rijilí bas, ninši min hineen le hineen da masíl miil waayd kula ma basey da benši be rijilí bas, (10:38)

“Just on foot. I go from here to there. It’s like not even one mile so I go on foot.”

<AD> wa keef, al ʔarab, intu al árab be borno gaadiin jamii? sei, ha borno biyaaxudu al aráb walla ma biyaxuduuhum, tittaaxado ambeenaatku walla ma tittaaxado

„And Arabs, you Arabs and Kanuri stay together, so do Kanuri marry Arabs or not? Do you intermarry or not?“

<U> hineen da lissa ma ttaaxadna, hineen da ille humma ye gaadiin, aniina kula gaadiin lissa min banaanna ye ma dawworu aniina kula min banaatəm ma dowwarna (10:57)

“Here we haven’t intermarried yet. Here its just they stay [in one place] and we stay and they haven’t asked for our daughters and we haven’t asked for theirs.”

<AD> kan dowworo tand’uuhum walla ma tand’uuhum

“If they asked would you give them or not?“

<sup>8</sup> *dangar dāngar*, ideophone „clear“. Homophonous with *dangar* „bend down“

<sup>9</sup> He hasn’t gone to the market for four weeks.



<U> aʔa, aniina da ma naad’iihum, aniina da, haʔ, banaadna dugo naad’iiəm leəm, haʔ, banaanna yeen dugo naad’i loəm, šuqúl mafi da, nuguul naad’iiəm kef nəgd’a al fusúx da, zeen a, aa, aš šuqúl da kan fi dugo naadim buguula sei, amma mafi da keef (11:21)

“No, we don’t give them. Ha! Our daughters we give to them? Our daughters how should we give them? That doesn’t happen. We should say we give them and lie. Is that good. If such a thing happened a person would say it but if it doesn’t?”

<A> ha kan fi tand’uuəm walla ma tand’uuəm

“And if it were to exist would you give them or not?”

<U> kan fi sei, kan fi da naad’iiəm, amma kan maafi da, šuqúl mafi da mafi, mi mafi bas a, yawwa, amma aniina ke da induhum fi ma dawwarna lissaʔ,

“If it were, if it were we would give them, but if it isn’t, something that doesn’t exist doesn’t. But they haven’t asked from us yet.”

<I> al arab gaad’iin fi l hille di min zamaan

“Have Arabs been in this village for a long time?”

<U> humma al aráb d’oolaka sei, fi lubb al hille di waid isəneen da gaadiin gabulna aniina min zamaan, wiʔ, amma baj<sup>10</sup> jiina aaxar, yawaraaši, jiina, jiina wará al arab duk gaadiin dool, min gibeel (11:52)

“Those Arabs, in this village, one, two were staying before us a long time ago, yep, but we just came afterwards. We came after all these Arabs were present, from before.”

<L> gaal ke, gaal kan šabá da arabi da, wa da bərnaay ja da, wa dug bədooru bittak da taad’u weenú

“He said, like an Arab, and a Kanuri, and if each wants your daughter whom would you give her to?”

<U> al arabi da bas, baad’iia le l arab

“The Arab, I’d give her to the Arab.”

<L> mala

“why?”

<U> al arabi da finšaan nafərti, naadim jiddi

“The Arab because he’s my type, a person of my ancestry.”

<L> kalaam šahi, xalaas tamma

„A correct answer, its over.“

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<sup>10</sup> < bas, with assimilation to following /j/.