

TV71a-Gulduba-mamad abba-final
MA = Maamad Abba, AD = Adam, I = owens

<MA> maamad abba
“Muhammad Abba”

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

<MA> ard’o, ard’o, ard’o, aḅuyi maat, maat, turaab guldubá, təraab gulumbá
“In Ardho, Ardho, Ardho. My father died, he died. It’s in the Gulduba area, the Gulumba area.”

<I> usum al hille šunu
“What’s the name of this village.”

<MA> usumha guldubá (0:39)
“Its name is Gulduba.”

<I> arab sei katiiriin hineen
“Are the Arabs the majority here.”

<MA> aráb katiiriin, cat ille, ille daima barno ille ille ma bəxalluuhum, wai buktuluuəm
“The Arabs are the majority, except there are Kanuri, its just that they don’t allow them, they kill them.”

<I> buyuut al arab kam fi l hille di
“how many Arab households are there in this village?”

<MA> buyuut al aráb, buyuut hinna talatiin how xamsa, (1:15)
“There are 35 houses of Arabs [in the village].”

<I> borno kula fi walla maafi
“Are there Kanuri here or not?”

<MA> mafi
“No.”

<I> bala al arab tilkallam luqaat yatu
“Besides Arabic what do you speak”

<MA> aʔa gade maani aarif šei, wəi?
„Otherwise [than Arabic] I don’t know anything.”

<I> kalaam borno
“Kanuri?”

<MA> maafi
 “no.”

<I> kalaam hawsa
 “Hawsa”

<MA> maafi
 “no.”

<I> inta d’awwal hineen
 “Have you lived long here?”

<MA> ana da bas bəkaan wuldooni xalaas, xalaas da bas bəkaan wuldooni ana (1:47)
 “This is just where I was born; I was born here.”

<I> siniinak kam
 “how old are you”

<MA> aná, siniini išəriin haw xamsa
 “I’m 25”

<I> xidimtak šunu
 “What work do you do.”

<MA> xədimtí di, ille al hiraata, wi?, (1:58)
 “My work is only farming.”

<I> keef tiheerit
 “How do you farm.”

<MA> be iidí al waade di bas biheerit, šiya šiya dada balga baakul, wi?, be l katanka, katanka, ho al duŋguļuusu, wa al faaš, benicalli al waara dugooni benijarriffe, dugooni benaxadim naakul, wəi? (2:27)
 “With my one hand I farm. I get a little [food] and I eat. With a hoe, a hoe, and the D, and an axe. We cut down the bush then we make furrows then we work and eat, yep.”

<I> mala tijerrif al alme
 “Why do you channel the water?”

<MA> nijarrif le alme inaam¹ leena, alme, inaam leena, dugooni benigəra² alme dugooni benaakul (2:40)

¹ Note *le* “in order that” + following verb in subjunctive.

² < gara?, “prevent, hinder, preserve”. The final laryngeal often gets deleted, so that this verb may fall together with original *gara* “study, read” (see Owens 2008 on final laryngeals). The actual possibilities are somewhat complicated. In the perfect, both verbs would fall together. In the imperfect, **gara?* “hinder” can

“We make furrows so the water gathers, so it gathers for us, then we stop the water, then we eat.”

<I> tiheerit šunu
“what do you plant”

<MA> niheert al qalla, al masakwa wəiʔ, dada bireekuua leena ke naakul, aj jaqama, hu burku wa di munkarre, di bas xidiminna, wəiʔ (3:05)
“We farm grain, guinea corn, then they grind it for us and we eat. Yellowish guinea corn and and orangish guinea corn and this ??, that’s just our work, yep.”

<I> mata tiheertu
“When do you farm?”

<MA> xariif, kan alme şabba da, dada aniina naharta, wəiʔ
“In the rainy season, when it rains, when there’s water then we farm, yep.”

<I> induku dugut xidime katiire
“Do you have much work now”

<MA> alloom ke da yoom al xidime sei, aha, al yoom da xidiminna gaayme, nahartu, wəiʔ, nahrite ke ke ke haw yamta alme işubb fookha dada dada benucuqqaha, alme kan tamma şirib dada aniina nəcuqqaha, dada bətiseyy, nəcuqqaha buriye ke bas, šiif, eedeey deela, cat d’iine, dugut kula caqqeena dugo jiiit, wəiʔ (3:50)
“Today there’s work, today we have work. We farm, yep. We keep digging and when the rain falls on it, then we plant [seedlings] it. Then you do the wetland farming. Look at these hands of mine, all mud. Just now I was inserting the seedlings in the holes when I came.”

<I> tagumm saa kam
“What time do you start?”

<MA> saa sabʔa, ho saa tamaane, saa tisʔe ka bənəgum, wai, naxadam ke da saʔa şamaane, dada bənugum, ha, saa sabʔa, nimši le z zer, wa s saʔa tisʔe ka benijí, wəiʔ, dada nigabbil le l beet, wəiʔ,
“Seven o’clock, and eight, nine like that we start out. We work like that eight o’clock, then we leave get up, we go to the farm at seven, then at nine we come and return home, yep.”

<I> baadeen šunu tisaww be l qalla (4:35)
“Then what do you do with the grain?”

<MA> ad duxún kula kan niharithe fi, fi l hawaari hineen fi l goos, kula kan hi kula kan benicalliia kan naakul hi kula, wəiʔ,

be treated either as an /i/ or an /a/ stem verb, hence either, *bagrii-ha/bigraa-ha* “I hinder it.F” (as well as *bagraʔha*).

“The millet when we farm it, in the back yards here in the sandy soil, then we cut it down and we eat it.”

<I> ween tiheertu

“Where do you farm?”

<MA> [X] indak sei di bas hi fi l gooz hineen bas, fi l goos, fi l gooz ke bas diya, aha

“You’ve just got [land] in the sandy soil here, in the sandy soil just right here, yep”

<I> tɔraab hana l hille di (5:11)

“village land?”

<MA> wəi, tɔraab hana al hille hineen bas niharit fiha, wa dada benaakul fihe hi di bas, kaamil da bas akilna xalaas, gade šai kula mafi,

“Yes, village land here we farm on it, then we eat from it. This is just it. That’s all our food. We don’t have anything else.”

<I> bagar kula maafi³

“You don’t have cattle either?”

<MA> bagár kula fi, bagár fih, wəi?, haw bənisəra bahan, ho benijí, qanám kula fih, miize kula fih, wi?

“There are cattle also, there are cattle, yes and we pasture them and come. There are also sheep and goats as well, yep.”

<I> keef tisraho be l bagar

“How do you pasture cattle.”

<MA> be l bagár da, naadim, dugut da hinna kula fi l beet, ho emta aš šam tigá kan dada nišiil hiraabna u nisəra?, wəi?, (5:46)

“With cattle, a person, now they’re in the house, and when the sun sets then we take our spear and pasture [them], yep.”

<I> saa kam tisəra

“What time do you pasture?”

<MA> saa?, saa? tałaata da biján, sałaasa, saa talaata⁴ hinta⁵ al leel di, biján le l beet, wəi?,

“Time, three o’clock they come, three, three o’clock in the night, they come back home, yep.”

³ As in many languages in the area, there is a concept for ‘dry food, staple’ as opposed to dairy products or meat. *Akil* is both a generic term for “food” and the specific term for the staple grains pounded into meal, as opposed to *laham* “meat” and *laban* “milk products”.

⁴ Note variation between $s \sim t < *θ$. The middle and southern Bagirmi variant in Nigerian Arabic expects $θ > s$. As in Maiduguri Arabic, however, there is variation on this point. In his next turn MA has /s/ again, e.g. *sineen* “two”.

⁵ Bagirmi FSG possessor; = hiil.

<I> tasra be wahdak (6:10)
 “You pasture them alone.”

<MA> aʔa, aniina da, hinna ɗuʔinaana kan əsneen kan saɭaasa haadi kula mine kula be raʔí, wai, bimšan bisáran ke haw biján le l beet
 “Us, they are our herds, two maybe three even. Each has its herdsman. They go and pasture and come back home.”

<I> bagarku kam
 “How many are your cattle?”

<MA> bagarna, bagarna kooma, (6:22)
 “Our cattle are many”

<I> inta kula tinšiqu be l bagar
 “Do you also nomadize?”

<MA> aʔa, ma ninšaq aniina, aniina gaadiin híne fi l hille ke bas
 “No, we don’t nomadize. We just stay at home.”

<I> ma tuwaddu bagarku le minšaaq
 “Do you send your cattle to nomadic pastures?”

<MA> aʔa ma nəwaddi, ma nəwaddi
 „No, we don’t send them, we don’t.”

<I> ha qanáam kula fih, wəi? (6:42)
 “You also have sheep.”

<MA> qanáam kula fih, šiya šiya ke da fii, wai
 „Sheep as well, a few, yep.”

<I> gareet fi sangaa
 “Did you study in a Quranic school?”

<MA> aʔa gareet kula šuqúl šiya ke ke, hineen fi guldubá hineeni, ho waddooni awaan da na saqayyir ka waddooni le gulumbáʔ, wəi? (7:02)
 “No, I just studied a little, here in Gulduba here, and then they sent me when I was small, they sent me to Gulumba.”

<I> mašeet geʔed qaadi, kam sana
 “You went and stayed there, how many years?”

<MA> wəiʔ, aha, ána, sabʔa sána fi gulumbáʔ, wəiʔ, ana ille gaayid ke ille ma bagəri kula, d'aaka kakaayati ʔʔ, kaamil ma gareet kula ille benši le di barudd le diʔ, dedda xalaas abeet al gəraaya geéd, wəiʔ (7:33)

“Me, seven years in Gulumba. I just sat around I didn’t study. My grandmother.⁶ I didn’t study at all, I just went and returned. Then I refused further study and I stayed [here].”

<I> təsawwug wa

“Do you go to the market?”

<MA> suug a suug bemši leya, wəiʔ,

“The market, I go to it, yep.”

<I> qaadi tilkallam ay luqa.

“There what language do you speak?”

<MA> ana da ille balkallam ille, ille kalaam al aráb da bas, ma basəməʔ, (7:49)

“I just speak Arabic, just Arabic. I don’t know it [Kanuri]”

<I> wa l borno kula bismao kalaam al arab

“And do the Kanuri understand Arabic?”

<MA> wəiʔ, barno sei, waadiin catt bəsamó, wəi, aa bisamó, bisamó šiya šiya, (8:13)

“Yes, the Kanuri, some understand it all, yep, [others] they understand a little, they understand it a little.”

<I> al arab mata jo le l hille di

“When did the Arabs come to this village?”

<MA> al hille di aloom məd’awwəle hineen daʔ, wəiʔ, aloom talatiin sana kula maarge, hedér le l hille di jaabá⁷ hineen had’d’ooaha da, wəiʔ (8:31)

“This village has been here a long time, yep, today at least 30 years, since he [the bulama] brought it and the established it.”

<I> al arab jo min ween

“Where did the Arabs come from?”

<MA> tawa kula di bas hillittəm hille diya di di bas hillittəm, ana dawa wəldooni kula wildooni fi l hille d’iikeʔ, ho da wa bəlaamaana kula jaabá hineen kula ana bas, da bas raffəna, gaal kaal ma sərna ween kula, wəiʔ (8:51)

⁶ Probably his grandmother is the reason he did not study. He enjoyed staying with her.

⁷ Somewhat rare NA form, in which a MSG –C-final perfect verb adds a long vowel before an object suffix. It does occur in his next turn as well, however (cf. e.g. TV70b=Gulumba, n. 3). In Nigeria it is recorded only in the Bagirmi area, where it is very irregular. It is, however, fairly typical of Chadian Arabic.

Thus far the construction is attested in Nigerian Arabic nearly always with a 3MSG object suffix, not with other personal object suffixes, as in eastern Chadian Arabic.

“Before as well this was their village, right here this was their village. I myself was born in that village, our bulama right established it here, I was born. This is just our domain. He [bulama] said we never went anywhere else, yep.”

<I> juduudak marago min ween
“where did your ancestors come from?”

<MA> [X] juduudí da, juduudí ana da jo min (9:11)
„My ancestors, Me my ancestors came from ...”

<AD> dalaal ke fi hillitku fi walla maafi
“Does your village have dances.”

<MA> talaal, maafi, maafi (9:20)
“Dances, no , no.”

<I> reply to ancestors [X]

<MA> maani aarfinne, jo min daar aš šabá (9:36)
“I don’t know where they came from, from the east.”
... [X]

<I> tismaa ar raadyo (10:08)
“do you listen to the radio.”

<MA> ana ma indi raadyo, baššannad’a, bijiib as suudaan, ho bijiib da, al werdi mahammad da, šuqúl ke ma bijiiba maafi, kula ana ka ma binisəmaa?, kalaama waayid da, wəi? (10:40)
“I don’t have a radio, but I listen to it. I get the Sudan, Mohammed Al-Wardi,⁸ There’s nothing I don’t get [on the radio]. But some of what is said I don’t understand.”

⁸ A Sudanese singer, still alive as of 2011.