

TV72a-rafa-fatuma-final

Fad'ume = F, AD = Adam, I = owens

<I> usumki šunu

“what’s your name?”

<F> suṃṃúuni faad’əme, wəldooni hineen bas anaʔ, wəiʔ, raafaah, wəiʔ, wildooni fi guldubá di, haw jiiṭ kan le raafaa diʔ

“My name’s Fatume.. I was just born here, Rafa. I was born in Gulduba and then I came to this Rafa.”

<I> d’awwalti hineen

“Have you been here long?”

<F> d’awwál hineen,

“I’ve been here a long time.”

<I> siniin kam

“How many years?”

<F> aʔaʔ al qanáṃ maragan a, ana kula ma gammeet¹ a le l qanáṃ (0:27)

“[children] so the sheep have gotten out? Then I’ll get up for the sheep?”

<F> ha balkallam baguul lea šunu, gede, aa, səniiní da bæerifa ween ana di, a fi l hille di ya, fi l hille di siniiní salasiin, walla šunu

“I’m talking. What else should I say to him. How do I know how many years old I am. Oh,, in this village. In this village thirty years.”

<I> tilkallami luqaat yatu

“What languages do you speak?”

<F> ana a, balkallam luqqudna hiil al aráb di bas kəna, gade balkallam lúqa hiil mine (0:55)

“Me, I speak our Arabic, just Arabic of course. Whose language else should I speak?”

<AD> bala aráb da taárif šunu gade,

“Besides Arabic what else do you know”

<F> aa gade beerif šunu ana di, ille, ille al aráb bas, wəiʔ, aa borno ma bæʔeerfe, aa, borno ma bæʔeerfe ana luqudna hiil al aráb di bas, wəldooni fu gulduba haw diya jiid² le raafáʔ, xalaas

“What else should I know? Just Arabic, yep. Kanuri I don’t know. Just Arabic. I was born in Gulduba and I came here to Rafa. That’s all.”

¹ Perfect verb, but used to express a future intention.

² Regressive assimilation, t > d. This is far less common than progressive assimilation (e.g. t > l).

<AD> inti xadamti al ɓuriye yoom waahid, xadamti al ɓuriye (1:17)
 “Did you work wetland farming?”

<F> xadamna al ɓuriye, dúgút al gaayid da bas sei raajilí
 “We worked wetland farming. Isn’t this one here my husband [also a farmer].”

<AD> yawwa, al ɓuriye di bəsooha keef
 “So the wetland farming, how do they do it?”

<F> al buriya, a, ha bala? bəlbuku hu bənəşuɓɓ alme benidissa ad digá
 “Wetland farming, besides, they punch a hole [in the ground] and they pour in water and stick in seedlings”

<AD> yawwa ha gade
 “And what else?”

<F> yawwa ha nijidat kan bəcalluua, ha callooa kan bidigguua kan bəninši nəɗarriya ha bənənguɗa kan nijjibhe
 “So when it dries up they cut it down, and when they cut it down they thresh it and we go and winnow it and carry it and bring it.”

<AD> yowa ha jiptuuha da gade təsowwa keef, (1:35)
 “And if you’ve brought it, what else do you do?”

<F> nijjibha ha dada qalla bas nəkamfətu nəšiil kan ninši le l injin, bərooku³ leena, yawwa,
 “We bring it and then we clean out the grain and carry it to a grinder and they grind it for us.”

<I> gabul kula
 “Before as well?”

<F> gaɓúl kula, gaɓúl kula, gaɓúl kula aniina fi, aa gaɓúl da injin mafi, gaɓúl da bənəreek be edeena deela bas, foog al mərəaaka, yawwa?, haw beneerek hu bənəşuud’, yowa, dugut jaabo al injin kan betinši ninši le l injin, wəi?, ha, nəwaddi le l qalla keefanú, ha balaa nišiil nukanfithe hu nišiilhe nuweddiye, dada al injin kan təreekaa, wəi?, nəjí kan nəşuuṯhaa, wəi?, (2:24)
 “Before as well, before as well. Before we were there. There was no grinder. Before we would grind it with these hands of ours, on a grinding stone. And we’d grind it and cook it, right. Now they’ve brought a grinding machine. You go to the grinder we go to the grinder, yep. How do we send it to the engine? After threshing ?? it we carry it and take it, then the grinder grinds it, yep, we come and cook it, yep.”

³ < bəreek-u via vowel harmony. While short vowel harmony is very common throughout Nigerian Arabic, long vowel harmony, which mainly involves assimilation of front /ii/ or /ee/ to /uu/ or /oo/ is less common. It appears to be established in the Bagirmi area, particularly in northern Cameroon and extreme western Chad.

<I> keef taakulha

“How do you eat it?”

<F> ha baakulha be eedeey, eš bas, başuŋha, bala beteemiie⁴ be t teemé, wa başuŋha fu l ɓurɓa, hiil al hediid di hu bakubba hu bənaakul, wəi, aha, mənnaɗi ar raajil hu aniina kuwa mənaakul (2:46)

“I eat it with my hands. Just meal. I cook it, if not by sieving it with a seive, and I cook it in a pot, of metal and I pour it out and eat it, yep. We give it to our husband and we also eat.”

<I> šunu taani bitaakuli

“What else do you eat?”

<F> nišiil šunu naakul, ha bənaakul balaa al eš da bas gade naakul lea šunu balaa al weeke di bas, niširi lea doori ho mnəxudɗa, wəi, hu dada be daŋraaɓta kan benuşuud'a, wəi?, wu lehém, wəi?, al huut, al huut kula, al huut, aa, al gizilé hu arfinne ween (3:13)
“What do we bring and eat. Besides the meal, what else do we eat, besides this soup. We buy dried meat for it and put it in, yep. It's with okra and we cook it, yep, and meat, yep, or fish, fish as well. [X] How would he know 'gizile'.⁵”

<I> min ween bijiibu l huut

“Where do you get the fish from?”

<F> al huut bijiibú mən al yaare, mhm, borno bəjiibe, mhm, wa aniina kan nəširi be l kofo, fə s suuk

“The fish they bring from Yare.⁶ Kanuri bring it. And we buy it with money, in the market.”

<F> aha wəi? wəi?, haw dada buşuud'u bea al eš (3:31)

“ya, and then we cook meal with it”.

<I> lebén kula

“milk as well.”

<F> wəii, ha al lebén kan bənihelb al bagara di, bənniheliphe ha nəhudɗ al lebén da, al gara nidissehe ke?, ha dada nógoot kan mnihelb al lebén, wəi?, hu nəkurb al ijil da nurbud'a?, wai, al lebén ha sei hana l bineeye da sei boori lea sei (3:52)
“and the milk we milk the cattle, we milk it and put milk in it. We put it in a small calabash. Then we stay and milk the milk, yep and we grab the calf and tie it up, yep. The milk ya, that of this girl [here] who is showing him it.”

⁴ balá “without, other than”. In this case used rhetorically, ‘other than that I sieve it with a sieve’ (what else should I use).

⁵ Type of fish.

⁶ In northern Cameroon. Also an area where Arab nomads go during the hot season (see e.g. IM19 n. 3).

<AD> busullu ad diine min al lebén
 “They extract the fat from the milk.”

<F> ha d diine a, bəşubbuua fi l bəşxa mnəduggaha ke, yawaa amta nəduggaha kan minisill minne ad diineh, wai (4:01)
 “The fat, they pour it in a gourd and we shake (pound) it like this. And when we’ve pounded it we take the cream from it, yep.”

<AD> aṛ ɾaaba bilgooha min ween
 “Where do they get the milk curds from?”

<F> aṛ ɾaaba, ha aṛ ɾaaba sei al lebén da bas aṛ ɾaaba, binaam biʔazba⁷ sai dada nədögga (4:07)
 “Curdled milk, isn’t the curdled milk just the milk? It spends a night and a morning and then we churn it.”

<I> inti gareeti fi s sangaya
 “Did you study in a Quranic school?”

<F> aʔa aʔa ma mašeet le s sangaaʔ, ma gaṛeet fi sangaaʔ, as sangá balgaaha ween
 “No no, I didn’t go to the Quranic school, I didn’t study in the Quranic school. How could I?”

<I> indiki yaal
 “Do you have children?”

<F> aʔa ana kaal ma wilít, ma wilíd ɖəmmi, mafi ma wəlít, mafi lei şaqiir (4:36)
 “I never gave birth, I never gave birth at all, I don’t have any young ones.”

<I> mašeeti bikinne taaniyaat
 “Have you ever been anywhere?”

<F> aʔa, balaa mašeet maiduguri, balaa mašeet diikwa, walaa bama, tam gaayde hineen bas baguṃ kam banši le gulumba le suuk hu bajíʔ, mhm, wəiʔ
 “I never went to Maiduguri, to Dikwa or Bama. I’ve just stayed right here and I get up and go to Gulumba to the market and come back. Yep.”

<AD> kan mašeeti as suuk da təsawwəgi be šunu, təsawwəgi keef,
 “If you go to the market, how do you trade?”

<F> nəsawwək keef, šunu min as sawwak,
 “I market how? What sort of marketing?”

<AD> tilkallam be yaat kalaam fi s suug
 “What language do you speak in the market?”

⁷ < aṣba, with /z/ by assimilation.

<F> nilkallam be kalaamna hana al aṛāḇ da bas, kan borno joona kula aniina kan
 mnilkallam be kalaam al aṛāḇ, kalaam borno ka maana aarəfinne
 “I speak in our Arabic. Just this. If a Kanuri comes to us we just speak Arabic. We don’t
 know Kanuri.”

<I> borno kula biyarfu kalaam al arab (5:16)
 “Do Kanuri know Arabic?”

<F> aʔa boṛno da luqud al aṛāḇia da induəm ween, aniina bas nilkallam be kalaam al aṛāḇ
 hu tibaayi, bufham humma kula bufhamo le ɗumṃumthum ke bas, kan aniina aarfiin
 kalaam boṛno ween, maana arfinne, benilfaahama tam humma kula maəm arfinna a bijú
 da (5:37)
 “No, how would they know Arabic? We just speak Arabic and we buy. He understands,
 they understand by themselves like that. How would we know Kanuri? We don’t. We just
 understand one another well. Don’t they know it [Arabic] [since] they are coming.”