

TV76Yuramti wom W = woman interviewed in TV44 b, c, B = Braukämper, an anthropologist and expert on Arabs of the Sudanic region, AM = Amne, 2, 4, 5, three speakers unidentified by name. AM Born in manawaci, I = me, C = child

“This tape was something of a cooperative effort, often with multiple individuals answering the same question. What comes out clearly in the audio is sometimes not an answer to a question posed by the interviewers or an observation by one of the interviewers, but rather a reply to a background voice whose content is not clear. In places the conversation has so many voices going at once that a great deal of effort would be needed to disentangle all the different participants, if indeed this is at all possible. The marker ‘[X]’ for “unidentified background” will therefore be left off in many cases, though it is clear that other voices are participating. Overlaps are not infrequent, but because there are so many simultaneous voices, in most cases no attempt is made to show synchronization. Unfortunately, not all of the speakers can be identified in retrospect.

This transcription endeavours to identify the main line of questions – answer and conversation, in most cases leaving out the background remarks, even if in many cases these appear highly pertinent to what the main storyline is. “

<W> amkileebe, aniina wulaad himeeth, qašim hine wulaad himeeth
“Am Kileebe. We are Wulad Himeed. Our clan is Wulad Himeed.”

<D> qušuum al beet hine wulaad himeeth šunu haw šunu
“What are the clans of the Wulad Himeed?”

<2> qašim al beet, qášim al beet da, amkileebe da, taabiin sa?inna muhammad, řasuul, doola ahal ar řasuul, amkileebe da, úsum am kileebe arabi da, ahal¹ ar řasuul muhammad,

“The clan, the clan is Amkileebe. Followers of the Prophet mohammad, these are the relations of the Prophet, Amkileebe. Every Amkileebe is Arab. Descendants of the Prophet.”

<D> yo
“okay”

<S2> yowa?, al gade da, kula taabi?e (0:23)
“So the rest are followers [of the Am Kileebe].”²

<D> yawa, qašim al beet ta?arfi
“So you know the lineages?”

<2> qášim al buyuut da, manawaaci qášim beet,
“The lineages, Manawaci is a lineage”

<D> aha
okay”

¹ *usum*, “every”, rather than “name” in this context. *ahal* is a general term, “relatives”, but here better “descendants.”

² I.e. all other Arabs are lower than the Am Kileebe on the social hierarchy.

<2> muqtarí qášim beet,
 “Muqtarí is a lineage”

<D> aha
 “okay”

<2> hayaaba qášim beet, simiit, (0:33)
 “Hayaaba is a lineage.”

<D> wəi?
 “yep”

<2> koyá?, qašim beeth,
 “Koya is a lineage.”

<D> mhm
 “mm”

<2> deela cat, deel halaal Am Kileebe hinna aṛaarbáa
 “These are all of them. These are the four Amkilebe villages.”³

<D> yo, ha manawaaci
 “And the Manawaci.”

<2> d’akwa fi l ʔánum, yawa, baktaba,
 “That one to the south, right, Baktaba.”

<D> mhm
 “mm”

<2> angarirí,
 “Angariri.”

<D> mhm (0:46)
 “mm”

<2> kula cat hine amkileebe,
 “Also all the Am Kileebe.”

<D> mhm
 “mm”

<2> yoo, Ambaddirí,
 “Okay, the Ambaddiri.”

³ Note the association between the lineage name and a single village. The extent to which a lineage is prototypically associated with a village requires greater research.

<D> mhm
 “mm”

<2> yoo, aa d'iike, bašarí, halaal d'amaane deela,
 “Then that one, Bashari, these eight villages.”

<D> wəi?
 “yep”

<2> cat qašim ʔášim al beet
 “All are lineages.”

<D> yoo,

<S2> manawaaci di

<D> cat hine wulaad himeet, ana baasib manawaaci hiilna d'iike⁴
 “All are Wulad Himeed. I thought of that Manawaci of ours.”

<2> aʔa manawaaci hiil ac caad a, (1:10)
 “No, Manawaci of Lake Chad?”

<D> wəi?
 “Yep”

<2> aʔa manawaaci di hiil amkileebe di,
 “No, Manawaci of Lake Chad. No this Manawaci is Amkileebe.”

<D> yoo zeen
 “Okay, fine.”

<AM> manawaaci tineen,
 “There are two Manawaci's.”

<S2> manawaaci d'iike kula aarfinha, leek čaad d'iike (1:17)
 “Manawaci are two, that one also I know, near Lake Chad.”

<D> qašim al beet
 “Lineages.”

<2> himeet, himeet, himeet da, hineen da manawaaci, muqtariʔ, fi tiraab dikwa ke da,
 [X] fi tiraab dikwa ke dada, koyáʔ, miid'áʔ, [X] yawwa qaadi fi tiraab al ʔánum, kula
 halaal tineeni, halaal d'amaane hine qašim al beet (1:44)
 “Himeed, Himeed, Himeed, here Manawaci, Muqtari, in the area of Dikwa, in the area
 of Dikwa, then Koyaʔ, Mid'áʔ, then there in the south there are two villages. Eight
 villages of the clan.”

⁴ There are a number of villages named “Manawaaji”, including those which the interviewer, D, knows from the Lake Chad area, near Kirenawa.

<D> kan máša qasala bas bijjiiba sei, binši le daarhum, baʔad máša le daarhum ka qasala ka dada, amma futó hana abu manguur̄ tisey šunu
 “If he goes and develops it [the picture], he’ll bring it. He’ll go to their place, he went to their land and he develops it. But a photo of a hornbill what are going to do with it?”⁵

<2> aʔa al futó hana abu manguur̄ bisawwu šunu sabaana minna (1:56)
 “What! A photo of the hornbill what are they going to do with it for heaven’s sake?”

<?> dugut šaala be haal be siida cat a
 “Now he’s taken it [picture] along with its owner.”

<D> aʔa šaala hu da da bas,
 „No he took only this one [hornbill].”

<?> šaala hu wahada kina bišiil dikooyí da keef, al haj, labda⁶ ya talkallam dige ya, šunu bəwadduuk le daar an našaari ifattušuuk
 “No he just took it [the hornbill]. Why would he snap my grandchild. Don’t talk at all. He’ll take you to an European country so they can investigate you.”

<2> walla, ya tašiilu dikooyí digeeha tuwadduuha le daar an nasaara
 “You.PL shouldn’t take my grandchild and send her to the Bature’s country.”

<S3> humma kula arab tara
 “But they’re all Arabs.”
 [X]

<D> yawa simiiti dugut, walla, kan naas naas tineen, kaká, banšitki, kan naas naas aa
 aaa
 “Okay now have you heard, if two people come to you, grandmother, I’m asking you, if two people came to you.F.2.”
 [X]

<W> guula leyí (2:28)
 “Tell it to me.”

<D> naas tineen jooki,
 “Two people came to you.”

<W> aha
 “ya.”

<D> simiiti sei, al wahid

⁵ Besides the explicit questions which are discussed, two hornbills have been found and were bought by D. This segment, as well as others occasionally reference this event.

⁶ *labda yaa* “don’t”, usually with negative imperative, but also possible with non-negative, *labda amiš* “you should go”, *labda imši* “he should go.” *labda*, modal used with imperative or subjunctive verb.

“You hear, the one “

<W> aa
“ya.”

<D> rad’d’aani,
“is a non-Arab.”

<W> yawwa
“okay.”

<D> amma bisəma al arab, simiiti sei, simiiti sei,
„But he understands Arabic; you got me?”

<W> aha
“ha”

<D> haw al waahid, min amma le abú,
“And the other on both his mother’s and father’s side “

<W> mhm
“mm.”

<D> arabi,
“is Arab.”

<W> arabi
“Arab.”

<D> haw ma bisəma al arab, humma at tineen dool da,
“But he doesn’t know Arabic; Of these two “

<W> mhm
“mmm”

<D> ar rad’d’aani dugoo bisəma al arab da bibga arabi (2:47)
“The non-Arab who understands Arabic, does he become Arab?”

<W> bəbga?, bəbga digee, bibga arabi, bibga?, ar rad’d’aani a?a, ga?ara da mi arabi,
“He would, would of course. The non-Arab would be, no, no, his roots are not Arab,

<D> wəi?
“yep”

<W> dada bilkallam kilaala?⁷
“So he just speaks it anyway.”

⁷ *kilaalá*, “learn as a second language.”

<D> yawwa
 “okay.”

<W> aʔa kilaalaʔ kinya, arabi ma bibga
 “No he speaks it as a second language, no, of course, he wouldn’t be an Arab.”
 [X]

laaleʔ, wuse, barka
 “Hello, bless you.”

<D> al arabi,
 “The Arab.”

<W> haa
 “ya.”

<D> haw nísi l árab da,
 “And he forgot Arabic.”

<I> haa
 “ya.”

<D> bubuk min al arab a (3:07)
 “would he stop (leave) [being] Arab.”

<W> aʔa ma bubuk,
 “No he doesn’t stop.”

<D> ma bubuk
 “He doesn’t leave.”

<W> ma bubukk, al ...
 “No, no, he wouldn’t leave.”

<D> yo, ha inti kan be dikowitki da,
 “So now you have your granddaughter.”

<W> haa
 “ya.”

<D> humma tineen dool da aj jo leeki da tad’iia le yatú (3:15)
 “If those two [guys] came to you, which one would you give your daughter to?”
 [X]

<W> bad’iia le l arabi
 “I’d give her to the Arab.”

<D> yoo, ha ma bisəma al arab da
 „Okay, even if he doesn’t know Arabic?”

<W> al ma bisəma al arab ma baad'iha leya, al ma bisəma al arab ma bad'iha leya,
bad'ia le l ʔarabi, aʔa (3:28)
“The one who doesn't know Arabic, I'd give her to him, I'd just give him to the Arab.”

<D> ha maalá
“And why?”

<W> aʔaʔáá
“no no.”
[X]

<4> gaal leya ke, yoom wahid joo gaalo, al aʔabiye haw be l birnaay bilummuuhum
da, yaalhum bildooəm da
“One day he come and said, the Arab girl and the Kanuri guy and they marry, their children...”

<W> gaal keef šabaahum da (3:50)
„He said hoe would they turn out ... „

<4> gaal keef ??
„What did he say?”

<W> gaal keef šabaahum, gaal kekef bijilsu, [X] gaal kalaam hana am̄ma ye bilkallam
kalaam hana abú he bilkallama, ha ana gul la, al heel al kalaam da hana al ábu, al
ám̄m bərá ke,⁸ al am̄m di, misil al maʔuun šab̄beet fiya alme haw dirda,
“He said how would they be. He asked how would they speak and he said he would
speak his mother's language and his father's as well. I told him, the father's language
would be stronger, and the mother's is insignificant. The mother's, its like a container
and you poured water in and stirred it.”

<4> haw hi gaade yaabse kar (4:07)
“And she's left with nothing.”

<W> haw hi gaade yaabse kar, wald al aʔabi da aʔabi, amma al birnaaye xallá
yawaraʔ, fi l kalaam mafi, wald al birnaaye, mən al aʔabi da ra sul,
“And she's left out in the cold, the child of an Arab is an Arab, but the Kanuri woman
forget about her (leave her behind). there'd be nothing of the language, the child of a
Kanuri woman. She has nothing to do with the language. His Arabic would be
completely lost.”

<D> raah
“He's lost”

<W> da rah, mhm (4:19)
“That one's lost, mhm.”

⁸ *bəraaha ke* “insignificant”

<2> gaal ke kan axád al biṛnaaye, ligiit mára, ma ligiit wálad, ka axád al falaatiye, kula ligíit mára, haw ligíit wálad, kan axád al falaatiyye,
 “He said, if you married a Kanuri woman, you’ll get a wife but not a child. If you married a Fulani, you’ll get a wife and you get a child, if you marry a Fulani.”

<D> wəi?
 “ya,”

<2> kan waladak ye, minnak ma bixaram bisəra be l bágar, bəreeşak,⁹ hi kula taabʔeek, maṛtak, halaalak, ma taqaldʔak,¹⁰ kan axád al aṛabiye, ligiit walad, haw ma ligiit mára, ʔaşiye, aşiye wallaahi
 “Whether your child, he won’t leave and he’ll pasture your cattle, he’ll take care of you. She’ll follow you, your own wife, she won’t cause you a problem. If you married an Arab, you’ll get a child, but not a wife. It’s tough.¹¹”

<W> aafe wallaahi (4:46)
 “Great, really.”

<D> hu da da, waasiini zeen gide banši le falaata
 “In that case advise me, that I should go and marry a Fulani.”

<W> amiş áxud leek falaatiye kula axeer,
 “It would be better to go and marry a Fulani,”

<2> ke da al walad kula ligiit al mára kula ligiitha
 “that way you’d get both a child and a wife.”
 [X]

<D> yawwa, kalaamhum da sahi digee (5:00)
 „She’s right.”

<2> kuure yam al mariise maafi, sigaari maafi da, sei maəm aarfiin šey,
 „Before when there was no alcohol, no cigarettes, weren’t they [Fulani] ignorant ?”

<D> maəm aarfiin šey
 “They didn’t know anything.”

<2> xalaas, da bas gaalo ke da, amma al arabiye di, waladha kan fi n naas kula tadissa amma hi raaša di filaana, [X] filaana naʔam, naʔam haw ma taxarəm ajala, inti taxarmi aa, ajala, aʔa ana be xudumtí hai (5:17)
 „ That’s what they used to say. But an Arab woman, her child you can put him anywhere [and he fits in], but she herself, ‘Madam so and so’, ‘ya’, ‘Madam so and

⁹ *rayyaş* “take care of (usually animals).”

¹⁰ *qalad* “argue with.”

¹¹ A rural view of cultural stereotypes. The Kanuri wife is regarded as respectful, but a child from such a mixed marriage will not be respectful. The Fulani wife is regarded as loyal and the child as well. An Arab wife is cantankerous, but the children are helpful and respectful.

so!', 'ya', she doesn't respond quickly. 'Won't you come out quickly?' '[No] I have my work'.¹²

[X]

<D> ya tid'ayyir kaimeyii

<?> gumma ka dawa bidoor jalsa hiil al aráb, di al arabiye tara, di al arabiye „Governor, this one wants Arabic conversation. An Arab lady is like this.”

<I> tawa našaqtí walla

“Didn't you used to nomadize?”

<W> kuure walaahi, kuure fi zamaan našax, aaxar yam zamaan eeltí, mašeel le minšaaq,

“long ago, when I was nomadizing. When I was young.¹³ I went to the nomadic pastures.”

<I> mata jiiti le l hille di

“When did you come to the village?”

<W> aʔa aloom hádar jiit le l hille mísil iširiin sana kula, išəriin sana kula, sei kúbur dugut bigiit ajuus (5:44)

“Since I came here it's been like 20 years. I grew up and grew old in the 20 years.”

<I> wuldooki ween

“Where were you born?”

<W> wəldooni fi hille axir gade, axadooni jaabooni hineen, wulúd iyaal bigiit ajuus hinéʔ, da bakaaní, al wuldooni fiiha, beʔiide, fi júruʔ, hille buguulu leha júruʔ, di wuldooni fiiha, fi tiraab hana axir gariib hineen, anguwám da, da bakaaní al wuldooni fiya, (6:12)

“I was born in another village. They married me and brought me here. I gave birth to children and became old here. The place I was born is far away, in Juru, a village called Juru. This is the one I was born in, in a different area nearby, Anguwam,¹⁴ that's where I was born.”

<I> mala jiiti hineen

“When did you come here?”

<W> axadooni rahhalooni, saqayre misilha hi di jiit, raajilí kula min al hille di, aha dugoo mafi hu kula fásat, hu kula fásat,¹⁵ maat, maat xalaas, faarak dada

“They married me, they brought me home. I was small like this one here when I came. My husband was from this village. But now he is no longer. He passed away. He died, he's dead.”

¹² S2 is mimicking a conversation between a husband and an Arab wife, whereby the wife does not respond to her husband's requests.

¹³ *ʔeele* “youth.”

¹⁴ A village west of Muba, on the main Maiduguri – Muba road.

¹⁵ Euphemism of “died”, *fasad*, also *saab* used in same sense.

<I> našaqtu maa

“You nomadized with him.”

<W> kuure sei, kuure našaqa maʔá, dugoo hu maafi dagut, aha, be tawarna be xumaamna be bagarna, ha dagut yeen mafi, mhm, walaahi (6:46)

“Long ago, long ago I herded nomadically. Then when my husband died, ya, with our bulls and goods and cattle, and now they’re all gone.”

<I> al minšaaq al hiraata yatu fiihin axeer

“Is farming or nomadic life better?”

<W> al hiraata axeer, an naadim abu gudura, al hiraata axeer, ha ma leya gudura, binšaqa bas axeer, buwaasi bagarta tabga leya ʔadiile, haw abu heel, biharit biyaakul, al ma la heel bitba bagarta, bišarab al laban dahada bugoot, da bas, alme ye bidug an naadim, alme buşuḅ foog an naadim, nyan nyan, nyan, naar alme alme buşuḅ eš mafi, naširab léban dada nergut, eš mafi, bihalbu al bágar bihalbu al bagár kar kar kar dada níšarab, (7:20)

“Farming is better. For a healthy person, farming is better. For a weaker person, its better to nomadize. He takes care of his cow and it gets big, but the one who is strong, he farms and eats and the one who isn’t follows his cow, he sells milk and survives. That’s all. Rain hits on a person, rain falls on a person, nyan nyan, in the daytime, rain falls, there’s no food; we just drink milk and sleep. There’s no food. They milk cattle they milk cattle Kar then we drink.”

<I> ween našaqtu

“Where did you nomadize?”

<W> našaqaḅna ʔaadi le tiraab magumri, le gubio, aaha, kuure da, yawa da, yawa dagut ke da al heel tamma

“We went from Magumri to Gubio formerly. Now our strength is finished.”

<D> xarraftu ween fi gubio

“Where did you spend the rainy season in Gubio?”

<W> xarrafna fi gubio, aha, magumríʔ, kula mašeena leha, yawa ha dagut al heel tamma, al kúbur ja, dada xalaas gaʔadna bikaana wahade, gadee yeen al heel, heel maafi tamma (7:46)

“We spent the rainy season in Gubio, ya and Magumri we went to it, but now our strength is finished. Old age has set in. So we just stay in one place; where’s our strength? There isn’t any, its finished.”

<I> keef al hiraata as sana di

“How is the farming this year?”

<W> aʔa al hiraata hiil as sana di da ma bajiib yaqiinha

“No, the harvest this season I don’t have good information about it.”

<4> al hiraata hiil as sana, ha dada wahadiin lúgo waadiin ma lúgo

“The harvest this year, some got it and others didn’t.”

<W> waadiin kweese, waadiin mi kweese¹⁶ (8:00)
 „For some it was good, others not.”

<AM> ha aniina hineen da, ʔaššaaniin, alme našerba mafi aš ʔeef be humurreena gagag gagag da ma t tahaasinu fiina tajiibu famfam, inta kar raayidna, alme, al famfam da, aniina maʔaana aššaaniin maafi alme, alme
 „And we here are thirsty. There’s no water to drink. In the dry season we are always under way with our donkeys Gagag. Why don’t you perform a good deed for us and bring a pump. If you like us, water, a pump, Aren’t we’re thirsty, there’s no water.”

<I> alme ma ʔabba
 “Rain didn’t fall?”

<S3> al mad’ara ʔabba kula
 “even if rain fell...”

<W> al mad’ara ʔabba ʔiya, gaal al mad’ara ʔabbat wa ??, ʔabba ʔiya
 “Rain fell a little. He said did rain fall ?? Just a little, hardly any.”

<AM> sai dugut mafi,

<S1> maafi

<S3> ha ʔ ʔeef da, ʔeef aš ʔeef bíji, ʔeef al hará tahama da, alme nešerba mafi, yowwaa, famfam maafi (8:27)
 „Except now there isn’t any. And the dry season, when the dry season comes, when the heat of the dry season get hot, we won’t have water to drink, but there’s no water pump”

<W> yawa fomfom mafi, d’akuwa hana mubá d’aaka, dugoo najiib alme našarab, al famfam al qaadi min al lei da, najiib minna hu dugoo nišarab, al famfam d’akwa, alme gaasi, min al hille hiil mubá, muuba d’ikkeya hiya, qaadi min al lei da, bikaan dagut jiiit da, lei fi sei, kulli yoom najiib alme, kulli yoom (8:51)
 „Okay, so there’s no pump. That one in Mafa, we bring water and drink it. The pump that is there on the road. We bring it and drink, that pump there. Water’s expensive. Just the one there in the city of Mafa. That Mafa there near the road, the place you came from, on the road. Every day we go and bring water, every day.”

<4> jiiibu leena famfam
 “Bring us a pump.”

<D> nimší nuktub leeku, naktub leeku ibrentí di,

¹⁶ The predicate *kweese* is FSG because it implies *hiraata*. Normally the subject and predicate agree, but here the subject is a benefactive. The subject in this construction must contain *waahid* (in various phonological forms), either singular or plural, e.g. *waahid kweese*, *waahid mi kweese*, “for one it is good, for another it isn’t.”

„We’ll go and write for you, we’ll write for you, this Ibrahimiti”

<W> ha
„ya”

<D> waddu leeha fomfom walla biir
„ send it a pump or a well.”

<W> kas sayyeetú da mi zeen wa, áđ’aš katalna, áđ’aš katalna, aniina aššaaniin
„If you did it wouldn’t it be good? Thirst has killed us, it killed us. We’re thirsty.”

<D> ninši nuktuba (9:07)
„We’ll go and write it.”

<?> yowa yawa amšu aktubuu
“Right go and write it.”

<W> kan hu da sawwá da,
„If this one here did it.¹⁷“

<D> kaka, dugut kan naadim ja, haw gaal bišurki,
„Grandma, if a person were to come now and said he asks for your advice “

<W> mm
“mmm”

<D> hu ajami, haw gaal bišurki,
“He’s a non-Arab and he asks your advice.”

<W> mhm
“mmm”

<D> gaal ke, ana da badoor bal?allam al arab,
“He says, I want to learn Arabic.”

<W> mhm
“mmm”

<D> ha banši ween, banši le angumaati, walla le l balge, walla ajjeeree, walla banšaq,
bal?allam al arab da banši ween da, inti tiguuli leya šunu, baguul lea taal ba?allimak
(9:29)

„Where should I go? Should I go to Ngumati, or Balge or Ajjere or should I
nomadize. To learn Arabic where should I go. What would you say to him? I’ll tell
him to come and I’ll teach you?”

<W> al arab ha, kan jiit hineen kula mil?allima al arab, at tilkallam leek di mi arabiye,
“Arabic?, if you came here he’ll be taught Arabic, that which you’re speaking.”

¹⁷ If this one here, i.e. Owens, under the assumption that an European’s letter will pull more weight.

<D> aṛabiye
 “Arabic.”

<W> aha maani aṛabie,
 “Aren’t I an Arab?”

<D> aṛabiye
 “You are an Arab.”

<W> nasabaatí maahin arabiyaat,
 “My daughters in law aren’t they Arabs?”

<D> arabiyyaat
 “Arabs.”

<W> ha al aṛab sei talgaah,
 “So won’t you get Arabic?”

<D> yawá (9:38)
 “Right.”

<W> aṛab tur hejira a temiš, aniina ke da dug aṛab, fi raffina da cat arab, aniina kalaamna hana aṛab, ɗaxiin ɗaxiin, mi maarin makənuus, aha, aniina kalaamna adiil (9:55)
 “For Arab, do you have to go elsewhere [to learn it]? We are all Arabs, in our neighbourhood all Arabs. Our language is Arabic. Pure, pure (thick thick), not wishy-washy (soft) bad. Our language is correct.”

<2> axuyí, axuy ya tašiifna ke al árab cattuhum maaəm arab
 “My brother, my brother, don’t you see us, Are they all Arabs or not?”

<W> [X] al arab gade gade, gade gade, waadiin mi aarfiin al kalaam kula (10:03)
 “The Arabs are different, some don’t know the language.”

<D> aniina kula qawaalme kula hanaana šik
 “We are also Qawalme, but ours [variety] is also different.”

<W> yawa yawa
 “right, right”

<D> ha dagut kaka,
 „And now grandmother.“

<W> aaa

<D> kan mašeeti le s suuk da,
 “If you went to the market.”

<W> aa

<D> árab gaadiin bilʔaanaso da,
„Arabs are there conversing.“

<W> aa

<D> fi lisaanhum sei taʔarfi
“can you identify their dialect?”

<AM> taʔarfi al arabi haw abu lasana, be lájanáta,¹⁸ yawa betaʔarfa
“You know Arabic and a person’s with a different dialect, you know it.”

<W> yawa kalaamhum kula šik šik (10:19)
“There language is different.”

<D> ha kan naadim lasana inda lajan da,
„And a person whose tongue has an accent.”

<W> ha
“ya”

<D> taʔarifi keef
„how can you tell?”

<W> hu haadi faayta, aʔa abu lajan kalaama mi nađiif, aʔa kalaama mi nađiif
“No, he [the first one] is better. The one with the accent, his language is not correct. His language is not nice.”

<D> dugut naas al balge kalaamhum keef (10:31)
„Balge people, how is their language?”

<W> kalaam wu, wu wal aḡḡi, aa wu wal aḡḡi wal aḡḡa abuyí, aa, wal inḡa aḡḡi,
wal aḡḡa abuyí, wuʔ, ha aniina wu walla fi kareena maafi, aniina kalaamna ʔadiil,
yawa ke
„the language of ‘wu’, „wu my son“, „wu the son of my mother the son of my father’s
father, the son of my mother’s mother, son of my father’s father” while we don’t have
this ‘wu’.¹⁹ Our language is correct, that’s it.”

<D> as salamaat bisawwu keef, (10:47)
“How do the Salamat do?”

<W> wu
“wu”

¹⁸ Note stress on four open syllable word.

¹⁹ Lit. *fi kaareena*, “in our luggage, goods, belongings”, i.e. not in our variety. Note here that the speaker uses to stereotypical features for Balge Arabic, “wu” and “wal amm (etc.)”, “my brother.”

<D> as salamaat kula bisawwu
 “The Salamat do as well.”

<W> taʔal wal aḃḃa aḃuyí , wuu kalaamí ma simiita a caal dugoo, caal , ha aniina caal aarfinha a (11:00)

„Come, wu come the son of my father’. ‘wu’ in my language I didn’t hear it, Then there’s ‘čaal’, ‘čaal’, we don’t know ‘it’”

<D> ha mine dool biguulu iske
 „And who says ,iske‘?’”

<W> iske da, hai naas waadiin da iske, al kalaam kula mi aarfinna, [X] doola as sirajjiye sei, as saraajjiye, as saraajjiye biguulu leek iske, al kalaam da ma simiita, iske
 „This ,iske’, other people [say it]. We don’t know it either. This one is [of the] Sirajjiyye,²⁰ the Sirajjiyye, the Sirajjiyye tell you ‘iske’. ‘This matter I haven’t heard it, ‘iske.’²¹”

<D> ha mine doola biguulu oxora,
 “And who says ‘oxora?’”

<W> aa
 “aa”

<D> oxora
 “Oxora”

<W> aa oxora da fi axir al kalaam
 „oxora means ‘end of the matter’.”

<4> kula humma d’olaaka bas buguulú
 „As well those ones say it, the Salamat.”

<S2>, as salamaat bas ?? [X]

<W> wallaahi, wallaahi, aj jiili kooma hana al kalaaʔ, al kalaam šik šik,²² aa iske buguuluua, walaahi inta gaari al kalaam wallaahi, gaari wallaahi, gaari, gaari walaahi kalaama nađiif áʔadal, aaa gaari aarif, cat misil dikwoyinna, dikwoyinna kula cat gaariyiin (11:48)

²⁰ One of the Arab clans. Note that associations between dialect form and social group is multifarious. Balge is a geographical location, which indeed has a good correspondence with our Bagirmi dialect area. Sirajjiyye on the other hand is a clan, whose members can be dispersed throughout Bornu. In general dialectology has not shown a good correspondence between clan and dialect type, unless a clan is restricted to a certain location. In this case, however, the crucial variable is still location.

²¹ I. e. as an example. Note that later (p. 20) speaker 3 from the same village in fact uses *iske*.

²² *aj jiili kooma hana al kalaaʔ, al kalaam šik šik. jili* < Kanuri “tribe, type, kind”, so that the second phrase is almost a complete Arabic rendition of the first, with Kanuri mixed in. The first rendition of “kalaam” appears to end in a glottal stop.

„Really, really, many different types of language. The language is different. ‘iske’ they say it. My son you’ve really studied the language, you’ve studied it, studied it. Everything like my grandchildren, my grandchildren as well have studied.”

<D> kan naadim gaari walla mi gaari da, xud’d’i agilki lea hu da
“Whether a person has studied or not, you think about it.”

<W> a?aa da sei aarfinna,²³ aha,
„Really he knows it.”

<D> tinšidi bas
“You just have to ask.”

<W> min taa min šaافتak gaal, tiguul dikwooyí, aa gaari, gaari, gaari, walaahi, kan naadim mi gaari be humma dool binši jamii ya, ma binšu
„ Before when she saw you she said, you are my grandchild, he’s studied, studied. If a person hasn’t studied, will these ones go about together? They won’t.”²⁴

<D> delarge, ba?iide a
“Is Delarge far?”

<W> aa
“aa?”

<D> delarge, (12:12)
“Delarge.”

<W> dalarge baiide digee, gaade delarge, [D] inta mafi induku magani hana an nasá, jildí cat biwajjini, yoo maafi, fi kareeku maafi, fi beetku fi, aha, başşahi, al magani hana aš šagiige da
“Delarge is certainly far. Do you all have medicine for health. My body is paining me. Okay, you don’t, not among your goods. At your.PL house there is. Okay, right, the medicine against the headache.”

<AM> yo
“oh.”

<D> tidoori hana šunu, (12:44)
“What do you want?”

<W> hana wája j jild da, inda mafi,
„Against body pains. He doesn’t have any.”

<D> a?a dagut da ma xáram beya, indak mafi dawa a

²³ *da sei aarfinna*. *aarfinna* has a singular subject. Note the intrusive –in-, otherwise strongly associated with the Bagirmi area (see TV69-72, as well as introduction to „villages”). At (11:00) above, the same speaker has the same stem form *aarfin-ha*, but this time the –in being a shortened form of the plural nominal suffix –iin.

²⁴ Referring to D.

“Which do you want, against the body pain? He doesn’t have it. Now he didn’t leave [his house] with it. You don’t have any?”

 dawa, ?? da maafi kulu kulu

“Medicine, there isn’t any.”

<W> yoo, nzeen

“Okay good.”

<AM> ha dugut huda da aloom da xaramtu da xaramtu yawo ke bas, ille [Y] allahad da mafi xidime, kan dada,

“And now today you went out wandering about like that, because it’s Sunday and there’s no work, so.”

<W> [Y] kuure kula sei jaana inti

„Didn’t he come to us before you dummy?“²⁵

<D> a?a di bas xidimithum (13:07)

“That’s just their work.”

<W> di bas xudumittum, al aam kula jaani be wálad ?ahamar, gede gede,

“This is just their work. Last year a reddish-complexioned one came, a different one.”

<S3> da ma ja

“This one didn’t come?”

<S1> da ma ja, da ma ja?, hu da bas hu, ana aarfeek, ana kan šiftak fi xalla kula ba?arfak, mhm, ba?arfak wallaahi, aha, al aam al walad aj jama?a ahamar cu

“This is just their work. Last year as well he came to me with a reddish-complexioned companion. A different one. That one didn’t come [this time]. That didn’t come, just him [the Bature]. If I saw you in the bush I’d know you, I’d certainly know you. Last year a very reddish-complexioned one.”

<AM> yo mi da

“Okay, not this one?”

<W> a?a mi da, humma tineen, aha, aha

“No, not this one. They were two, yep.”

[X]

<2> sei našara bas haw xaramo le l bágar , gaal leeki min as sabah haw min ašiyē cat bijiibu leya al laban ha bišarab, ha

“Just a European and they go out to the cattle. He told you (for your information) morning and evening they’ll bring him (i.e. B) milk to drink?”

[X]

²⁵ The *inti* is addressed to <S3>, who wasn’t aware of our previous visit to the villages (see TV 36, 44, 45). Without context and audio, the expression looks odd, as if *inti* is the subject of *jaana*, which of course would be ungrammatical.

<W> yeen, (13:43)

„Where is the place of nomadizing?”

<AM> bikaan našaq da

„Where he (Braukämper) nomadizes.²⁶“

<W> yeen ligí, biyaad’íí le mine

„Where did he find it? Who is he giving it to?”

<AM> ha l bágar ka hineeya halaala kaw

„And the cattle belong to him only.”

<D> ha

“aa”

<AM> al bágar hineeya

“His cattle?”

<D> hu kula inda bagara

“That one as well has cattle?”

<W> dagut al gaaʔid da a

“The one standing there?”

<D> aha, bágar, bágar jakkooré kula billagan (14:00)

“Ya, cattle, even Jakkor cattle are found [among B’s herd].”

<AM> use use, bišəri haw bəxalli,

“Great, great, he buys [them] and leaves [them].”

<D> haw huda da kula bidoor biširi bágar, bidoor lea naadim

„ And this one also wants to buy cattle. It needs a good person,”

<S1> zeen,

“good.”²⁷

<D> yawa bihafattin, inda amaan

„who will keep them and who has trust.”

<AM> wəi, biyaaminhin

“yep, with ??.”

²⁶ The subject at the moment is about Ulrich Braukämper, the anthropologist who has studied various aspects of Baggara Arab culture, and who is accompanying this trip. S3 jokes that he goes nomadically like the Arab nomads.

²⁷ S1 completes D’s hesitated utterance.

<W> fi bilga tara, dagut ar raajil da, ar raajil da, al gumna, ar raajil aš šaayib ad dugut wugúf fooga da, min gamma kula hu raaʔi, min gamma kula hu raaʔi, bágár adiil ke bikurubhin, min gamma kula hu raaʔi, aha deel kaš šareetihin jibtihin, adiil ke bəxádím al bágár , aha (14:35)

“He’s find someone (trustworthy). Now this man, this man, governor,²⁸ the old man who you stopped by before,²⁹ ever since he came of age he’s been a herdsman. Since he grew up he’s been a herdsman. He can keep them. Cattle correctly. Since he grew up he’s been a herdsman. These [cattle] if you bought them and brought them, he take of them (work the cattle)”

<D> biširi guddaali, haw bibini lea beet
“He’ll buy a Guddali and build it a house.”

<W> aha guddaali, gudaali, gudaali mat tašiil aboore, aboore ma bingadiran, tášir lea guddaali, yawa dada, lában katiir ke, humma biʔarfú, [X] kan jiiit da hu biʔarifhin
“Yes, a Gudali, a Gudali, a Gudali, don’t take an Abore. Abore are not able to be taken care of. You buy him a Gudali, okay, [it gives] a lot of milk. They know if you come [to buy them], they know them [cattle].”

<D> yoo zeen kan gammeet da bagar daaxil, (15:02)
“Okay good, if you get up, [you’ll find] cattle inside. Get up and see.”

 xalaas, yimkin ašuuf
“Okay, do you mind if I go look?”³⁰

<D> amiš šiif
“Go and see.”

<W> bišiif šunuu
“What’s he want to see?”

<D> bišiif al bágár
“He’s looking at the cattle.”

<W> al bágár yeen (15:09)
“Which cattle?”

<I> fi l beet
“In the house.”

<W> yeen, mine biwarrí la , aayye, ayyee, biriid al bágár bit ammi, al baktar baxalli, aa be bágár wallaahi
“Who will show him it? Aye aye!, he really like cattle by sister. I should leave the backpack? He really has cattle.”

²⁸ Here gumna is a vocative, referring to Ulrich Braukämper who goes by two names here, ‘the governor’ (gumna) and ‘Ali’.

²⁹ Probably Uthman in TV36, who was recorded a year earlier, and was a herdsman.

³⁰ B wants to look at the cattle in the village, the immediate conversation transpiring around this event.

<2> fukkihin lea,
 “Open them up for him.”

<W> ayyi³¹ waldammi,
 “That’s great, that’s great my brother”

<2> ašir leena bágar guruunhin gušaar šába hinna deela, haw jiiphin leena, simiit
 “Buy us cattle with short horns like these, and bring them to us. You got me?”

<W> bíharis fiihin (15:32)
 “He’ll give them a good look.”

<2> ??

<W> deel bas káfa?
 “just these are enough.”³²

<2> nisəra beehin, haw nahalibhin našarab lában haw nadissihin fi l beet kirib, kirib nasaddihin, haw jiiib leena sile našəri, inta ma tid’awwul ma taj
 “We pasture them, and milk them and drink milk and put in the house shutting them in Kirib and lock them up, and now bring us money and we buy them [cattle]. You won’t come back for a long time.”

<W> káfa taal, káfa taal (15:43)
 “Enough, enough, come!”

<AM> xalli imši biseyi šunu ammi
 “Let him go. What can he do mother?”³³

<4> ašila lea al bargooya al haamđe di hai
 “Open up this mouldy blanket³⁴ for him.”

<?> wulaad ammií, al bagar bas da
 “My sisters, are cattle no more important than this.”

<4> al bágar da sai hinna da sei ruh, hinna da le n naas gade a, al bágar deel da aniina da, kan be l bágar ma bilkallaman leena, kiná, raaydinhin šaba iyaalha ke,
 “The cattle, aren’t they our soul. Are they different from humans? These cattle, even if the cattle don’t speak to us, they love them like her children. “

³¹ General expression of sympathetic emotion, showing solidarity with the person, event.

³² I.e. B’s seen enough.

³³ The dynamics of the conversation is probably as follows. The older lady is uncomfortable with B’s going to look at the cattle. He could report their number to the authorities. He could give them the evil eye (implied above in *biharis fiihin*, “he could give them a good look.” The evil eye could occur simply by B’s showing his admiration of the cattle.

³⁴ *šala?* “open up.” A blanket, *bargooya*, is often used as a door to a house, in this case the hut where the cattle are kept.

<D> wallahi da sei
 „That’s absolutely correct.”

<4> aš šuqul az zeen an nađiif be riita šába al bágar kula fii, walla gul al bágar mi šuqúl (16:08)

Is there anything so nice and clean with a scent like cattle? Or are you saying that cattle are nothing?”

<D> al bagara kan indaha riya (16:09)
 “A cow has its odor.”

<?> riih
 “a scent. “

<AM> riia fi, šába ruuhuuna digee, kan šúqul milsawwa da aniina narjuf ke, wai wai ya bagarinna, ya bagarinna dugoo tanša hayyi, naakul fiiha, našarab fiiha (16:22)
 “It has a scent, like our souls. If something happens [is done], we just tremble [from worry]. Wai wai, our cow, our cow, let it get healthy wow. We eat from it, drink from it.”

<2> aniina al arab da ma leek bagara da, kan inta mufulus da, walá talga taakul, walá talga tašarab, ille gaa?it be juu?ak, haw aryaan haw milkaršim, ?afin anjun minee bidoorak, kan hi indak da, taakul, taširab (16:37)

“For us Arabs, if you don’t have cattle, its as if you are poor. You don’t have anything to eat or to drink. You just stay hungry and naked and haggard. You stink like hell.³⁵ Who would want you? If you have this [cow], you [can] eat and drink.”

<DA> dada kaka lummi lea naadim, miqassit, simiiti sei, [D] miqassit haw be siiha, dada iširi lea bágar, ilummihin, haw imši daarhum, šaḅaah min makka,
 “So then grandmother, join him up with a person, he’s agreed. Have you heard? He’s agreed and he’s trustworthy. So buy him cattle he’ll join them together and go [with them] to their land to the east of Mecca (i.e. to the far away place where he lives).”

<W> ke da naadimna, bəxarim min daarna
 “It’s like that, our man is going to leave our land.”

<D> a?a, an naadim sei bugoot hu da da haadi binši (16:59)
 „No, that person isn’t he going to stay, while the other one is going.”

<W> yoo da kan binši raya al bágar igoodan, al bágar bugoodan
 “If he goes his herdsman. The cattle can stay, the cattle will stay.”

<4> mi šaraahin jaabhin a, le n naadim bira?eeşsin bisiddihin fi l beet daaxil, nahaar bərugdan baḅra, ihud’du, hu binši ke, yam bíji biqaša bagarta bagarí bašiifhin
 “Didn’t he buy them and bring them for a person who will take care of them? He’ll lock them up inside the house. During the day they’ll lie down outside. He’ll put them and he’ll go and when he comes he’ll stop over³⁶ his cattle and I’ll see my cattle.”

³⁵ Meant figuratively. If you’re an Arab and don’t have cattle, you are like an outcast.

<D> yawwa (17:07)
“right.”

 attafaqna
“We’ve agreed,”

<?> attafaqona, gaal leeki
“we’ve agreed, he told you.”

<W> al gumna, haay, al gumna, haay, ana
“Governor, Governor, hey!”

<5> ille hool kan ja ille da taal šiifhin talda,
„Then after a year passes just come and see she’s given birth”

<D> aʔa, barabbid’ d’eerii
“No, I’d tie up my bird.”

<2> mat taaba sei
“It won’t refuse.”

<D> mm
“mm”

<2> mat taaba sei (17:40)
“You won’t refuse”

<D> haw, biʔaɗɗi
“It bites!”

<AM> gal leeki ma biyaaba
“He told you, it won’t refuse.”

 mata, as sana di
“When, this year.”

<4> gəitta di kan tikaɾɾuba lea al kaafi taad’u lea da, kak kak kak biyaakula šúqul, ille
be ruuha da billaggid’ beya
“Its way of being, if you hold out grasshoppers for it and give him, Kak kak he’ll eat
them right up, anything living it will pluck up.”

<2> mm biyaakul
“he’ll eat [them].”

<D> hu abu manguur sei,
“Hornbill?”

³⁶ *biqaša, qiši or qaša*, “stop over at someone’s or at a place.”

<AM> mm abu manguur
 „Yes, hornbill.”

<D> ha huda da , al and’á be d dákar bin’árfu keef
 „The hornbill, how can the female and the male be differentiated?”

<AM> binarfu ke bas, yam ikubuṛan dagooni yam ikuburan da, dada bin’árfan, šuqul biladeega (18:03)
 „They’re just known. When they grow up, when they grow up, then they’re known. Local country wisdom.”

<D> ?amiš jiib gide kula
 „Go and get another one.”

<I> ligiitu min aš šadara
 “Did you get them from a tree?”

<AM> ligiiná min aš šedar min al kaakuur,
 „We got them from a hole in the tree.”

<4> min al kaṛaakiir
 “From a hole.”

<AM> fu l kaṛaakiir
 „In the hole.”

<4> fu l kaṛkuur,
 “In the hole.”

<W> fi l kaṛkuur, aš šedera di, kaṛkuur (18:14)
 “In the hole, this tree, its got a hole.”

<4> šifta digee aš šadara di bicalliiha bicalliiha bisaiya nugura, buduxul bəbiəḍ fiiha
 „I’ve seen it this tree. He pounds and pounds at it and makes a hole in it and gets in and and lays eggs in it.”

<AM> šadara fi l waadi, saarhiin be l bágar, dugoo lugó , aha saarhiin be l bágar dugoo lugó, bisarho be l kaaja, aniina iyaalna bisarho be l kaaja, b́uyud tal, kaaja kula fi, kaaja kula gumna ka kan biširi kula fi, al kaajá, kaaja be murtala xamsa, al kaajá jikkaaya, faam xamsiin ke, dada iširi, faam sittiin, kaaja, yowa aha kaaja, iyaalna dugaag dugaag bisarho (18:45)
 „A tree in the bush. They were moving along with cattle then they found it. Pasturing cattle then they found it. They take out goats. Among us, the young ones pasture goats. Very white. There are also goats, the governor can also buy them. A goat is 100

Naira,³⁷ a female goat 200 or 100 naira³⁸ or so, so he should buy [one], 120 for a goat. The goats, our children pasture them.”

<I> bisarho
“they pasture [them].”

<W> inta aloom ana ma jib leí gooro,
“Today you didn’t bring us kola nuts.”

<I> mm
“mm”

<W> gooro aloom ma jib leí,
“Goro nuts you didn’t bring ?”

<I> jib
“I did.”

<W> yoo jib leí sei, yo, yo fi bikaana da ma jib leí gooro abiyad, aloom jib ahamar wa, yoo ha,ha jiiba, jiiba, ahamar kula zeen sei, xallí ilkallam zeen dugoo, ilkallam isajjin zeen dugoo
„ O, you did bring me. Okay in its place you didn’t bring me the white ones, today you brought the red ones. Okay, so bring it, even the red one is good, Let him speak very well. He’ll speak and he’ll record well.”

<AM> hai ašir leena bágar aniina raʔaaye, haw jiibu leena fomfom quzzu leena, nahalib gər gər gər gər al lában haw nišərab (19:19)
„Buy us cattle; we’re herders, and bring us a pump and stick it in the ground it for us. We’ll milk the cattle Ger gerand we’ll drink.”

<2> jiibu leena bágar haw fomfom haw ʔuzzu leena nahalib lában nəšərab, intu kula iyaal hana bágar da ifaɗɗilu fookku, koweese dugul dugul dugul
„Bring us a pump and fix it for us we’ll milk [them] and we’ll drink. You.PL are also cattle children and the cows will give birth (will remain)³⁹ to more cows for you.”

<I> naas min al hille di mašo le s suuk fi diikwa,
“Did people from this villag go to Dikwa market?”

<W> aha mášo le s suuk hana diikwa,
“Ya, they went to the Dikwa market.”

<S4> asmo intu hu šaafhum yeen,
“listen you guys, where did he see them?”

³⁷ As of 1991, when the recording was made, the Nigerian Naira had an official exchange rate of N8.04 to the dollar and unofficial (so-called ‘parallel market’) of N 9.30 to the dollar.

³⁸ *faam* = a two naira note.

³⁹ *ifaɗɗilu*, lit. “they remain”, here “get a lot, i.e. what remains is what you get or acquire.”

<W> madiri
 “I don’t know”

<S4> mine idiri minhum
 “who knows about them [the ones who went to the market]?”
 [X]

<?> gaal binšu sei le s suuk (19:42)
 “He said they’d go to the market.”

<W> yoo
 “Oh,”

<S2> binšu le s suuk hana diikwa,
 “He’s going to the Dikwa market.”

<AM> temšu le s suuk hana dikwa, mašeetu haw juutu, yo bágar fi sei,
 “You’re going to the Dikwa market. You went and came back? Are there cattle?”

<W> yo
 “oh!”

<S4> ma mášo le suuk al bágar,
 “They didn’t go to the [Dikwa] cattle market?”

<AM> ... yo ma mašeetu le kasuwa šanu, yo yo yo [X]
 “You didn’t go to the cattle market, okay okay.”

<?> ya tijaqqilhin ke al hajj
 “Don’t play with it al Hajj.⁴⁰”

<AM> hu da kula inta ma tašire (20:05)
 “This one also you don’t sell?”

<AM> hinna talaata catt a šaalhin⁴¹

⁴⁰ Addressed to a small child. jaqqal “play around with something aimlessly.”

⁴¹ Usually the polar/yes-no question marker *wa, a, aa*, is utterance final, i.e. in this case one might expect, *hinna talaata catt šaalhin a*. Here it is placed after the direct object, before the verb. It appears that the utterance intonation prominence, shown by a major fall in pitch on a lexically stressed syllable (the nuclear stress), is on *catt a*, rather than *šaalhin*. The major information conveyed here is thus that “it is all three that he has taken?”, rather than “did he take all three of them?”. The pitch peak in the utterance comes on *catt* at 457 Hz, falling quickly to 367 Hz. on the Q marker *a*, then to 347 Hz. on *šaal*, tailing off to 286 Hz. on *-hin*.

This can be compared to the segment at 17.04 (S4), *mi šaráhin jáabhin a* “didn’t he buy them and bring them?” The polar question marker *a* occurs in the unmarked utterance final position. The pitch peaks are *mi* = 341 Hz., *šará* = 355 Hz., 342 Hz., *-hin* = 330 Hz., *jáab* = 348 Hz., *-hin* = 391 Hz., *a* = 278 Hz. Here it is the entire utterance which is in focus, rather than one particular constituent. The intonation focus is indicated by the nuclear falling pitch on *jáabhin a*.

“He took all three?/It’s all three he’s taken.”

<D> šil talaata dige ana ma čaadeet⁴² a
 “I indeed took three; haven’t I tried!”

<2> tawadda le uleeda
 “You’ll take it to your children.”

<I> dugut da inta šul talaata
 “Now you took three.”

<W> bilkallam leeki
 “He’s talking to you.”

<I> himeediyye inti (20:29)
 “Are you Himadi?”

<AM> aa, aha ana kula himeediye, wuldooni ana fi d door, aha, naššaaqiye tawa, aha, amma ke da angubari fi alifunorí, hiltí qaadi, qaadi ke, hiltí, al hille qaadi le manawaaci al gaalooha di, qaadi le manawaaci alfunorí, biguulu leha, a?a maaha ba?iide jam muxd’arí, jam muxd’arí, aha, qaadi ke, (20:59)

“Yes, I’m also Himeediyye. I was born in a cattle camp; I’m a pastoralist, yes, but the home land is [near] Alifunori. My village is there. It’s not far, not far from Manawaci, that they mentioned before. Alfunori. They call it. It’s not far. Near Muxd’ari,⁴³ near Muxd’ari, yes there. “

<I> kan gum min hineen
 “If you left from here ...”

<AM> aḍ ḍaha biwaššəl aḍ ḍaha bas, aḍ ḍaha bas buwaššəl, dada ana fi l hille dugooni xarám le abuyí fi d door, fi d door ka gade naašiqa ke naašiqa ke, ke basey ašara sana, dugooni jaabooni le l hille hineeni, jaabooni le l hille hineeni kua aloom, aa hineen da bas beetí, aha, di nasiibtí, yawwa, aha, da bas, (21:26)

“By mid morning he’ll arrive. By mid morning he’ll⁴⁴ arrive. I was in the village then I went out to my father in the cattle camp, in the camp and I was nomadizing. I was doing that 10 years, then they brought me here to the village, they brought me to the village here till today, and here’ my house, ya, this is my mother-in-law. That’s it.”

<I> hassa tanšaqi
 “Now do you nomadize?”

There are therefore grounds for linking the differential position of the question marker, post object rather than utterance final, with elements of utterance focus as indicated by the location of the utterance nuclear syllable. The question marker follows the nuclear stress.

⁴² *čaada*, “try, do best” < ?.

⁴³ Probably a village about 15 miles south of Mafa.

⁴⁴ Answer in 3MSG, though the question was in the second person. Probably a general statement is intended.

<AM> aá ma banšaaq, da bas beetí, aa xalleet al minšaaq, jiit gaat fi l hille, kan dada wulit hineen gaʔad, aha (21:38)

“No, I don’t herd, this is just my house. I left nomadism and came and stayed in the village and I gave birth here and stayed.”

<I> malá abeeti al minšaaq

“Why did you quite nomadizing?”

<AM> abeet al minšaaq da raajilí hallaalí mi naššaaqi da, ha, ma binši, ma naššaaqi, da bas bikaana, aha, halaalí, aha,

“I refused nomadism. This my husband is a village person not a pastoralist. He doesn’t go, he’s not a herdsman. This is just his place. He is village person.”

<I> dugut tiharti

“Now do you farm?”

<AM> aʔa ma baharit, aʔabiye babeddil, baddaala, baduk lebení, benši babeddil be dumbaaytí (22:02)

“I don’t farm. I’m an Arab and trade for milk products, a milkmaid. I churn my milk and I go and trade with my gourd [full of milk].”

<S2> diya d’iike sai hai, dawa hi di di, dugut bas jaat min al bédel

“Here look at that one ; look this one just came from trading milk.”

<AM> be d dumbá, be d dumbaa

“With a gourd, with a gourd.”

<S4> bəbeddil hu da haw tají taakul

“He trades this and you come and eat.”

<AM> haay, al burnaaye haadi, al burnaaye haadi taharit kiná, ana ma baharit, ana ma baharit, bahalib lebení, kulli yoom badug buxustí, da baduk buxustí, haw bemši bebeddil raabṭí béji, kina ma baharit, ma baharit, gaade ke bas, nahaliib, naduuug nabeeddil, naxum baʔarnaaa , nawaasi bikaan bagarnaaa, nadissihin narabbəṭṭin, kina ma nasey šei gide aniina ma nahart (22:44)

“Wow, its rather the Kanuri who farm. I don’t farm, I don’t farm. I milk out my milk and every day I churn my gourd I churn my gourd and I go and trade my curds; I certainly don’t farm. I don’t farm I just stay, I milk, I churn and I trade and I gather up our dung, I clean up the cattle pen, I put them in it and tie them all up. I don’t do anything else. I don’t farm”⁴⁵

<I> tisəra

“Do you pasture [cattle]?”

⁴⁵ Generally, if it is a mixed farming/cattle rearing village, the men farm rather than the women. The women are responsible for trading milk products and securing firewood. They don’t pasture the cattle.

<AM> ma basəra, ar raajil bisəra, ar raajil bisəra, yam bisəra bíji bihelib, ana baɫlagga⁴⁶ başubba fi l buxsa, fi buxustí, baqasilha başubba, be l bool, haw dada bahalib kan baduk babeddil, basey da bas ana, di bas xudumtí, (23:04)

“I don’t pasture the cows. My husband does. When he pastures them and comes back and milks them, I get it [the milk] and I pour it in a gourd, in my gourd. I wash it and pour it in, with urine⁴⁷ and then I milk and churn it and trade it. That’s all I do. This is just my work. “

<I> tajiibi l haliib le s suuk

“You take the milk to the market?”

<AM> bawaadi aṛ ɾaaba haadi, al haliib basubba fə l buxsa buṛooḅ,

“I take it, curds rather [not raw milk]. I pour the milk in the gourd and it becomes curds.”

<I> aṛ ɾaaba

“curds”

<AM> ɾaaba ka baduggaha, baduggaha fi daggagtí,⁴⁸ ha bebeddilha, le s suuk le mafaa, le mafá, le ngwom kula bemši le mafá kula bemši, da bas, aha, yoom a suuk, aʔa waswajiya, kuli yoom kulli yoom (23:28)

“I churn, I churn it in my churning vessel and I trade it in the market. To the market in Muba, in Muba, as far as Ngwom I go as well as Muba. On the market day every morning,⁴⁹ every day, every day.”

<I> al burma ...

“the pot ...”

<AM> al buxsa, ad dumbá, aha, ad dumbá,

“The gourd, the milk gourd, the milk gourd.”

<I> tabiiya be kam

”How much do you sell it for?”

<AM> aa al kuṛul, al kuṛul neeraaya, al kuṛul neeraaya al kuruḷ neeraaya, ke, basey babiiʔa ke (23:50)

“The gourd, the gourd. The spoon, no per ladle, the spoon one naira, that’s how I sell it.”

<I> mine bişerii

“Who buys it?”

<AM> aa, borno bişuru

“The Kanuri buy it.”

⁴⁶ *allagga* “get, receive.”

⁴⁷ Urine, to sterilize the gourd.

⁴⁸ *Daggaaga* “instrument for pounding or in this, churning, < *dagga* “hit, pound”, or *daggag* “pound a lot.”

⁴⁹ *waswajiya* “every day.” <

<D> di am naira arəba sei (23:58)
 “This is for four naira, yawa.”

<W> aɾ ɾaaba, al kurul da,
 „The curds, the spoon (ladle)...“

<S2> da bas neerá,
 „This is just one naira.“

<W> da bas nabii?a naakul fiya, gade ma leena šai aniina ma naharit
 „A spoon is just one naira. This is all I sell it for and eat from it. Otherwise we have nothing. We don’t farm.”

[X]

<I> mine biširi da
 “Who buys it.”

<W> barno
 “The Kanuri”

<S3> borno bišuru, borno aniina (24:20)
 “Kanuri buy it, Kanuri we...”

<D> al arab be bagarhum sei, al arab be bagarhum sei, ille kan gaadiin fi l bəɾni ma induhum bagar da bišuru, amma kan kan gaadiin barra da mine kula be bagarta
 „The Arabs have their cattle. The Arabs are just with their cattle. Only those staying in the city don’t have cattle and buy it [milk]. But if they stay in the country, everyone has their cattle.”

<AM> mine kula be bagarta, wallahi da bas (24:34)
 „Each has his cattle, really.”

<S4> be boɾno kula abu bagara
 “Are there Kanuri with cattle?”

<I> al borno ma biju hine
 “Don’t the Kanuri come here?”

<W> aa hinna bas bimšan
 „ These ones just go [to the market].”

<AM> aniina bas nemši, aniina bas kulli yoom nemši nabeddil
 „We just go, we just go every day and trade.”

<W> bijiibu leena ákil dada naakul

„They bring us food⁵⁰ and we then eat [it].”

<AM> najiib al qalla, najiib ar rəz
„We bring it grain, we bring it rice.”

<I> min as suug, min maafa
“From the market, from Muba?”

<W> min as suuk, min mafá, dada naakul, da bas akilna, ma leena zer (24:58)
„From the market, from Muba, then we eat. That is our food. We don’t have a farm.”

<AM> ko nilga dúxun
„we might get millet.”

<I> keef ma induku zer
„How don’t you have farm?”

<AM> gul zer fi iske ...
„I said there is a farm, of course.”

<W> az zer kula ma gamma zeen da, az zer fi, xariif maafi
„The farms are there, but they didn’t grow well. The farms are there [planted], but there’s no rain.”

<D> humma bibaddulu, bibaddulu biyađuuhum qalla humma biyaad’u lában, haw dihin “They trade, they trade [milk products] and they [Kanuri] return grain and they [Arabs] give milk and oil.”
??

<W> yawwa
“right”

<D> walla ma ke kaká (25:13)
„right grandmother?”

<W> ke bas walđ am̄mi
„That’s it my son.”

<S2> al gazaaza di, nabiiha be nayra ašara tineen, walla ašara tałaata, al kabiire da, murtalaaya⁵¹ haw nayra xamsa, naira sitte, al gazaaza al gel da nabii?a be ašara tineen “This bottle, we sell it at 12 Naira or 13 naira, the big one. 25 naira (twenty and five), (2)6 naira, the small bottle⁵² we sell at twelve.”

⁵⁰ *akil* = “food”, ostensibly a contradiction, as if the milk products which they have are not food. As in most NE Nigerian languages, there is a three-way division between “food” (*akil*) = grain, rice, what meal (*peš*) can be made of, “meat” (*laham*) and drink, in this case milk products (*haliib*).

⁵¹ Murtala Mohammed, the murdered President of Nigeria, 1975 – 1976, appears on the twenty naira bill, hence the name of the 20 Naira note.

⁵² *gel* “small bottle”, less than half a liter, in terms of quantity, not a standardized type of bottle.

<W> al gazaaza al gel da, nabii?a be ašara tineen, al kolbá al kabiire da, murtalaaya, haw naira arabaa, al kolbá al kabiire di, al geel, naira ašara haw tineen, al geel, da bas šuqulna,

„The small bottle, we sell it at twelve naira, the big bottle, one twenty naira bill and four naira. This big bottle, the small bottle, twelve naira, the small one. This is what we do.

<I> al borno ma leehum bagar
“Don’t the Kanuri have cattle?”

<W> mafi bágar, mafa kaal mafi bágar, mafá mafi bágar d’oolaka,
“They don’t have cattle, none at all. Muba doesn’t have any cattle.”

<AM> šunu maafa ma maafi leya bágar
„What do you mean it doesn’t have cattle?”

<W> mafa?,
“Muba?”

<4> yoo d’ooloka al hille a,
“Okay those ones in the town?”

<AM> bikaccir leya mure bas a bihartan (25:50)
“He hires⁵³ women and they farm [for him].”

<W> yeen
“Where?”

<S2> fi daar al kirdi
“In the Christian lands?”
[X]

<AM> cat bihartan leya
“They all farm for him.⁵⁴”

<D> ?? cat bihartan leya mi da digee gulna fi daar al kirdi, al arabiyaa ka mörreehaat, hilu leeku sei (26:02)
?? and they all farm for him ??, we said in the Christian (southern) land, [you] Arb ladies have it good. [X]”

<AM> aniina hilu leena, raagdiin garal nahálib lebenna šiya ke labanna namši nabeddil ?? lasani ?? arabaa
“Its good for us. We just rest quietly a little. We milk our milk we go and trade it. [X]”

<?> ?? haw náji haw naakul, šuufu da ke da al arba lasani da arba?a ,??

⁵³ *kaččar* “hire, buy goods in small quantity.”

⁵⁴ The conversation has now turned to women farming.

“?? And we come and eat. Look ?? “

<AM> hine aš šarii?e, amma ašara da maṛa a
„According to the law, but they have up to ten wives.”

<W> da šuqul al kirdi
“That is a Christian thing.”

<D> gulna ke, fi daar tiivi, fi benwe, jamb makurdi, da al waayid, bišiil muṛei, ašara, walla ašara xamsa, haw, haw binši bugoot, haw hinna binšan biharten bifattišan ákil haw bijjiban (26:29)

“We said, in Tiv land, in Benue Makurdi, there a person takes women, ten or fifteen wives and goes and lives. And they go and look farm and look for for food and they bring it.”

<4> ha hu biseyi šunu saaid da, ga?id ke bas a,
“So he the master what does he do; he just sits around?”

<D> hu muṛṛa kula fi a
“Is it his problem?”

<4> bágar sei, hinne bas bágar
“Cattle really. They’re just [like] cattle.”

<W> ammal⁵⁵ mašiibe,
„What a disaster. “

<4> ha hu bisawwan bea šunu wald al kalb
“And what does he do with it, the son of a dog?”

<D> awiin al arab mərreehaat (26:40)
“Arab women are enjoying things.⁵⁶“

<W> mərreehaat, alle⁵⁷ al bádál da bas, mafi gade xadame, alla mərei da maqatna, ma leena xədəme
“Resting. Just trading. There’s no other work. Just women sitting around like this. We don’t have any work.”

<AM> aniina gaadiin gərəl ma naxadim šei, bágar isarho beehin ijjibuuhin nahaliphin šiya ke nadugga leben, našiila nawaddí le borno, iyaad’uuna qalla, iyaad’uuna rizz, iyaad’uuna d’arṛaaba, haw najiiba našuud narakkib naakul, haw gaadiin gerel, najiib almeena [Y] našarab, (27:09)

“We just sit idle relaxing and don’t work. They [men] pasture the cattle and bring them and we milk them, we churn a bit of milk and carry it to the Kanuri, to give us

⁵⁵ *ammal* + indefinite noun = “what an X!”

⁵⁶ *reyyah* “rest, take it easy.”

⁵⁷ = *ille* “except, no other than, just.”

grain and give us rice and okra and we bring it, we cook [stew] and prepare it and eat, and just sit idle, we bring our water. Cattle are really great.”

<W> [Y] al bágar hilluwe sei
“Cattle are really great.”

<4> hai, dawa al banaat kweesaat jin da, iqannu looku gonne hana baara hilu ke, tišiilu da mafi a, guṣ katiir tajiibú, baara abeetuha a
“Ha!, here are good girls. They’ll sing you ‘baara’ songs nicely, you” record it, you’ll pay a lot of money [for it]. You don’t want the ‘baara’.

<W> yo

<D> kaká di fi murraha da,
“Grandmother in her mourning.”⁵⁸

<W> aha

<D> al qinne xallu dugoo
“The songs leave them.”

<W> a walaahi, ana di fi murrí,
“Indeed. Since I am in mourning.”

<D> aha yoom aaxar kan niji (27:24)
“We’ll come back another time.”

<AM> rawi, rawhi, gabbili le beetki,
“Go back, go back to your.F house!”

<2> ma aṭṭani lei sandá wahade tul kula, ambaakir kan ja al banaat batarhin baguul lehin yaa taqannan lea, baara
“He didn’t give me one cloth at all. So tomorrow if he comes the girls I’ll stop them and I’ll say to them you should sing the ‘baara’ for him.”⁵⁹

<W> a?a biqannan leeya, da sei naadumna, dool naasna biqannan lehum, aniina fi zamaan kula irifná sei (27:42)
“No, they’ll sing for them. Doesn’t this one belong to us? These our people will sing for them. We’ve known him from before.”

<AM> di jaiyitki, naasna ma jo a, fallaata ma jo a
“Our people [Arabs, her relations] didn’t come [from market]. The Fulani didn’t come [to the market].”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ From the text one deduces that the old woman is in mourning.

⁵⁹ S2 is showing her disapproval of our behaviour.

⁶⁰ AM is asking whether people/relatives she knows came to Muba market.

<AM> falaata jo, min ta jin, al fallaatiyaat arɗallahi jin, dugoo daxalan al hille, ha dagut da mafi, fi ad dirqa mafi, amma fi bulakumkum da fi
 “Fulani came. They came before. Many Fulani came. Then they entered the town but now they are [here] no longer. [X] They aren’t in Ad Dirqa, but in Bulakumkum they are.”

<W> gade bisbahan tal dugo bĳan, bəsbahan (28:03)
 “When the sun next rises they’ll come, they come in the morning.”⁶¹

<AM> al bágar isaran fi l leel, dagut al bágar raagdaat daaxil da, isarhan fi l leel, isarhan isarhan fi leel, gadee kula yaṃ aṣ ṣaḃá axir íji dugooni, [Y] íjan
 “The cattle pasture at night. Now the cattle are resting inside. They pasture at night. They pasture at night. Until the next morning comes, then they come.”

<W> [Y] kokkorekoreet dada bĳan xalaas ad diik kula bi?oo?i, dugo bĳan, da sei, da sei, naadimna, min al aam kula bijiina (28:18)
 “The cock crows, then they come. When the rooster crows, then they come. Just our man. Since last year he’s been coming.”
 [X, break]

<AM> aširha, be makalaatí, hi di
 “Buy it, with my kohol holder.”

<2> a?a sei gaal leeki be makalata, biwaddiha le bittuhum, fi daara, fi daara haw aarifha, di zigege, muwaddi leeha, (28:36)
 “No, didn’t he tell you, he’ll send it to you, to their daughter in his land in his land and he knows her. This is a present, he’s sending it to her.”

<AM> a?a bitta bas, bit an našara bas,
 “No just his daughter. The daughter of the bature.”

<4> taa kan mi bitta hu da bit mine,
 “Before if it wasn’t his daughter, whose was she?”

<2> ana mat tanni goorooya a,
 “Me you didn’t give me kola nuts”

 mafi taani
 “there aren’t any more.”
 [X]

<2> šiila tawadda lea le l moota sei, lale ??
 “Take it and you take it to the car.”

⁶¹ As is apparent from the overlapping voices, there are multiple conversations going on. AM asks about *fallaatiyaat* = FPL and the next audible sequence has W using FPL verb, *bisbah-an*, etc. as if she is following on about the Fulani women. In fact, she is now talking about the village cattle, who, it appears, will not come back until tomorrow, when the sun rises. *ṣabah* “become morning, get up in the morning”, *tal* an ideophone, usually for “white” but here for “light of early dawn.”

<W> tamma sei, (28:59)
 “they’re finished right?”

<2> yo
 “okay.”

<D> ille kan sawwo boohol, idussu hadiida, simiiti sei, al hadiide di bidussuuha timši tunşul, at tiraab da tiʔagiba timši le bikaan almee dada fuu binşi foog,
 “Unless they make a borehole with a metal digger. You heard me? The digger they put in and it excavates the earth and it passes where the water is and then it comes up whoosh.”

<?> yawwa

<D> haw gaade ke, siniin xamsa sitte cat induku muřřuku kula maafi, mafá di ma t tilwayyagooha kula, (29:20)
 “And it stays like that, five years, six, and your troubles are over. You won’t have to go⁶² to Muba again.”

<AM> hu da da abuyí aniina ma ligiina da, aniina al mur katalna, ali, ali, aniina al mur katalna be bagarna, ali albaarak al mur katalna be bagarna,
 “That one my father [i.e. Braukämper, as sign of respect], we didn’t get it. Troubles are killing us, killing our cattle Ali. Ali, please, troubles are killing us and our cattle.”

 allá kariim
 “God is generous.”

<AM> allaa kariim, ya nimuut al ađđaş ya ikattilna, alla kariim, alla kariim, ajaad, alla kariim,

<S2> abu faraj,
 “[you are] generous.”

<AM> caal⁶³ kiil leena ke saw leena biir walla fomfom, xalaas hai nəreyya be iyaalna (29:43)

“God is generous, but we shouldn’t die of thirst. God is generous, God is generous. It’s good [what you are saying].⁶⁴ Come and measure for a [the place for] a well or pump. Make us a well or a pump. Okay, we’re going home now.”

<D> ha yohanna kulla íji isawwi leeku,
 “And John should also come and make you a pump.”

<2> yohanna, da ijiib leena al bágar yawa ijiib leena al bágar,
 “he’ll bring us cattle and he’ll bring us cattle. John should by us a whole herd of cattle and we’ll build him a large house.”

⁶² *alwayyag* “you to a place for a purpose, spy”, i.e. in this case go to get water.

⁶³ Unexpected use of the Bagirmi imperative form, *čaal*. Jidda Hassan suggests here that AM is a Fulani, Falata Mare, who are closely associated with Arabs, and who might have special linguistic features.

⁶⁴ *ajaad* “you’ve done well”, lit.perhaps [God] has made [it] good.

<D> yohanna da iširi lea daʔan, hana bágar (29.54)
 “This John should buy himself a herd of cattle.”

<AM> hana bágar, xalaas, haw nibini leya beet kabiir,
 “Of cattle, that’s it and we’ll build him a big house [for the cattle].” [X]

<AM> nabini lea beet hana malaafi, nabini leek beet hana malaafi, abujungule maak
 aarfa a, beet al malaafi abujungule, tášir katifaaya bustaat, nadaggiga leek kalkal beet
 al maʔaafi, hana al arab, narahhilha leek, nirehhil leek arabiye, (30:14)
 “We’ll build him a mat house. A mat house. The frame don’t you know it. A mat
 house and frame.⁶⁵ You buy a mattress, mats. We’ll pound it in for you properly the
 mat house, of the Arabs and we’ll find an Arab girl, we’ll bring you an Arab girl and
 marry her to you.”

<D> ha hu ma bidoor al ma indaha šaʔar digee , tifattušu lea amšaʔar
 “And he doesn’t want one who doesn’t have long hair. Find him one with hair.”

<W> yawa

<D> d’ikiye kaka aʔ taʔatak wahade
 “That one grandmother she’s given you one.”

<AM> ana hai, inta ali ana be bitti sarahat be al qánam kina aš šaʔar ya hineen,
 yowaa, ha bad’iik leeha,
 “Me, hey!, I and my daughter went for pasturing sheep. She has hair up to here. So I’ll
 her to you.”

<4> tad’í aamne,
 “Give him Amne.”

<AM> ášir bágar,
 “Buy [us] cattle.”

<D> yawa ha dahadda dawa al bikaan dawa az zar, ibiní, ibiní haw igoot,
 “Okay and then here’s the place of the farm, build it and let him stay.”

<W> ixud leena fomfom, (30.44)
 “He should put in a pump for us.”

<2> ixud leena fomfom hana angorooya,
 “He should put in a pump for our own area.”

<W> hu bidoor šaar ɗuwaala,
 “He wants long hair.”

<D> da šunu, ali da šunu

⁶⁵ *abujungule, jungule* = rainbow”, so the frame of the nomadic house has the shape of a rainbow.

“Ali what’s this.”