



HAL
open science

Arabic on the Dahlak Islands (Eritrea)

Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle

► **To cite this version:**

Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle. Arabic on the Dahlak Islands (Eritrea). ARCO 2014 - Arabic in Contact. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives, Dec 2014, Naples, Italy. halshs-01112405

HAL Id: halshs-01112405

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01112405>

Submitted on 3 Feb 2015

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Arabic on the Dahlak islands (Eritrea)

Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle (LLACAN-INALCO, CNRS)

This paper is devoted exclusively to Arabic spoken on the Dahlak archipelago, in Eritrea. It is a variety of Arabic quite poorly documented so far. There are a few studies on the Arabic varieties spoken on the African coast of the Red sea (cf. Simeone-Senelle 2000, 2005a & 2005b, 2009, Kassim Mohamed 2012) but none of them has been dedicated particularly to Arabic spoken on the islands. By revising data published previously and by updating them with the new ones collected since, this talk attempts mainly to assess the specific features of Dahalik Arabic compared with the Arabic lingua franca spoken on the African coast of the Red Sea.

Data

Collected during fieldworks (in 1997, and between 2002 and 2006)¹. Unique but not recent. They reflect a time-limited situation before 2007.

Corpus

Based on spontaneous texts, recorded with men and some women and young people who are essentially DHLK and/or Afar native speakers. Very few Arabic native speakers, all are bi- or multilingual. One cannot assess possible differences between native and not native Arabic speakers.

The archipelago and its population

The Dahlak archipelago in Eritrea is lying off the port of Massawa (cf. Maps)

Only four islands are permanently inhabited

1) the greatest one, Dahlak Kebir (=D.K.), in the centre of the archipelago. 2) Nora [**nōra**], to the north of D.K., 3) Dehil [**dehil**], to the north-west and close to the continent. In 2006 the permanent population added up to almost 3.000 islanders, with about 2000 on D.K., 380 on Nora and 600 on Dehil 4) Dese? (exclusively Afar).

¹The research was supported by C.N.R.S. / LLACAN, INALCO, Alliance Française in Asmara and, partially, by the French Center in Sanaa (Yemen). I thank the Eritrean authorities and particularly P. Haile Maraim, Zemhret, Karikari for having allowed and facilitated the survey. I wish to express my gratitude to all the native speakers on the three islands and in Massawa, who were kind enough to work with me, and in particular Mohammed Ramadan and his family for their hospitality and valuable collaboration.

Sociolinguistic situation

Three languages (Afar, Dahalik, Arabic) are in contact on DK and Nora, and only two on Dehil (Arabic and DHLK). There are distributed as follows:

1) Dahalik. DHLK (Ethio-semitic language) is the predominant language with 1.680 native speakers on 3.000 islanders. Mother tongue of 56,5% islanders (60% on DK, Nora 60%, Dehil 42%)

2) ‘Afar (Cushitic language) is the mother tongue of about 780 islanders (26% of the population: 38% on D.K. and less than 5% on Nora, no Afar on Dehil)

3) Arabic is minority with 521 islanders claiming to have Arabic as mother tongue (17,5%). Their number can be estimated to about 2% on DK, to 35% on Nora and to 58 % on Dehil where they represent a majority.

1 **ána** **śárabí** **el-jins** **ḥággi** **śárabí** **el-ǵásel** **śárabí**
PR.1SG Arab ART-identity CON.SUF.PR.1SG Arab ART-origin Arab
I am Arab, my identity is Arab, the origin is Arab,

wa-náḥna **náštaber** **hīna** **dáhlakīn** **ille** **yagulū lana**
and-PR.1PL 1P.IPFV.regard_as here Dahalak except 3PL.IPFV.say.PREP.SUF.PR.1PL
but here we regard ourselves as Dahlak people. However they tell us :

éntum **śarab** **fīḥbēt** **natkellem** **dahlak...** **tábsan** **xálaš**
2PL Arab in.ART-house 1PL.IPV.speak Dahlaki of-course finally
“You are Arabs”. At home we speak Dahlak(i). Of course, finally

asbaḥna **eretriyen** **dáhlakīn** **náḥna** **el-yōm**
become.PFV.1PL Eritreans Dahlaks PR.1PL to_day
we became Dahalik Eritreans. Now, we

náštaber **náfsana** **dáhlakīn**
1PL.IPFV.regard_as self.SUF.PR.1PL Dahlaks
regard ourselves as Dahlaks (Dahlak people)

Everywhere, the prevalent situation is multilingualism. In the same district, the same village and the same family people of different mother-tongues are in contact. The following example is an illustration of this situation. See the addendum (below, p. 13): linguistic situation within one family

The woman (Afar native speaker) answers to the question ‘what languages do you (SG.) speak?’

2 **nitkéllem** **śárabí** **ḥábba** **ḥábba** **maśa-l-śárabíye**
1.IPFV. speak Arabic a-little a_little with -ART-Arab_people
I speak Arabic just a little, with the Arabs,

maśa-d-dáhlakíye **nitkellem** **dáhalik** (sic)
with -ART-Dahlak_people 1.IPFV. speak. Dahalik
with the Dahlak inhabitants, I speak Dahalik,

u-maṣa-d-dénkaliye **nitkellem** **dénkali**
 and-with-ART-Dankali_people 1.IPFV. speak Dankali

and with the inhabitants of Dankaliya (coastal Afar region), I speak Dankali (Afar)

tígre **wállah** **má-naṣref** **kátir**
 Tigre oh_ God NEG-1.IPFV.know much

as for Tigre, Oh God!, I don't know it much

Except some very old women, any adult speaks at least two languages: her/his mother tongue plus a second language, and many people have a passive knowledge of a third or even of a fourth.

The situation varies according to the island and the distribution of the inhabitants speaking different languages within the same village

The school on the three islands being in Arabic, all educated children all know Arabic, in its standard form.

In most villages, the linguistic communities interact on a daily basis. This situation is furthered by the short distances between the villages and the common school gathering children from all communities.

Due to mixed marriages and shared daily life with children from other linguistic communities, many children actually have two first languages. One of the two is always Dahalik.

For the women the situation is different. They are in close contact with their neighbours in their village, but they are not used to travel outside the island. Some Tigre women speak Tigre with their young children but all of them speak Afar or Dahalik, (or Arabic), depending to their husband's mother tongue and the neighbourhood.

For men the situation is more complex. In addition to Dahalik, Arabic, and Afar, they know **Tigre** and **Tigrinya**, sometimes **Saho**, few English words. On Dehil many of them know Tigre and are able to speak it fluently.

The oldest know and speak **Amharic** and have some notions of **Italian**.

On Dehil there are no Afar, the Arabic native speakers and the Dahalik native speakers live in two distinct but neighbouring districts (see the map : Dahar and ṢAd).

The trade exchanges and the professional and personal relations with the eastern bank of the Red sea, an exclusively Arabic speaking area, are favouring the expansion of Arabic.

Arab presence on the Archipelago

Links between the African and Arabian coasts are attested since Antiquity and are doubtless much older. Many parameters lead to think that Arabic was spoken in the region before the

Islamisation. Presently, some islanders who claim to be Arabs because one of their male ancestor came from an Arab country, are presently Dahalik native speakers (ex. 1). On Nora they claim to be there for three or four generations, sometimes more on D.K.

On D.K: Migration from different Arab countries: Egypt, Sudan, but mainly from Yemen (the Tihami coast, Aden area, sometimes Hadramawt), and Saudi Arabia (Farsan island).

On Dehil, in the 19th century the ṢAwāzim (Rashayda) came from Saudi Arabia (about 348 on Dehil). Cf. the map **Ṣila Ṣawāzim**

Arabic in the state of Eritrea

Only nearly 1% of the citizens have an Arabic language as mother tongue (AbrahaWende, p.c. 2000)

Status of Arabic

Arabic (MSA variety): official status in the state of Eritrea. It is one of the three ‘working languages’, together with Tigrinya and English. It is taught in school as a second language in the country, and as the medium of instruction and as a subject in primary schools on the northern coast, including the archipelago (see below).

Arabic is also the language of the religion in this area where all people are Muslims.

Religion and social and cultural usefulness confer prestige to Arabic, and usually the parents prefer their children attend the Arabic school (even in the areas where it is not spoken). It is one of the reasons why speakers claim to be Arabs.

Arabic varieties on the islands

1) Modern Standard Arabic: the Eritrean educational policy has been implemented in 1997 before Dahalik has been listed. On the Archipelago the policy has been aligned with that applied to the coast where Arabic is predominant, thus Arabic is the only language of school education.

2) Other Arabic dialects

- From Arab countries (Yemen, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Emirates).

- TV programs (movies, varieties broadcast, television quiz shows, news, series of cartoons)
- Relatives in Yemen and Saudi Arabia
- Fishing and trade with Arabic monolingual areas.

- Arabic Lingua franca: During sea navigation in the Red sea and Indian Ocean (essentially Gulf of Aden).

ALF on the African coast gives evidence of contacts with

Arabic dialects, Cushitic languages (Afar and Saho), two Ethio-Semitic languages (Tigre and Tigrinya).

The range of contacts influencing the DHLK Arabic is limited to three languages (Arabic, Afar, Dahālik), one of them is endemic to the islands.

I'll discuss the possible impact of Dahalik on Arabic spoken on the islands, using examples different from ALF and collected only with the islanders.

PHONOLOGY AND PHONETICS

1) on Dehil the voiceless emphatic **ṭ** is clearly pharyngealized under the influence of DHLK spoken on this island.

2) Velar and uvular consonants often overlap but not exactly in the same way as in AFL

Realizations of etymological consonants in ALF and DHLK Arabic

	emphatic			interdentals		dento-alveolar	palato-alveolars		velars.		uvulars
MSA	*ṭ	*ṣ	*ḍ, ḍ̣	*θ	*ð	*z	*š	*ž	*ɣ	*x	*q
ALF	(ṭ) t	(ṣ),s	(ḍ) d, z	(θ) t, s	(ð) d, z	z, d	(š) s, ss, ~s	j, y, g	ɣ, q, g	k	(q) gɣ, ɣ, ɣ, k, ʔ
DHLK	ṭ, (tt)	ṣ, s	d, z	θ, t, s	ð, d, z,	z, d	š, s, ~s	j, y, g	(ɣ) q	(x) k	q, ɣ, (ɣ), ʔ, g, k,

At the phonetic level, the **assimilation** of the lateral fricative to the voiced bilabial occlusives is attested only in the corpus in DHLK Arabic:

3 **bl > bb kébbi** ‘before me’

MORPHO-SYNTAX

Verb Conjugation

• In the IPFV conjugation, use of the same form for both singular and plural first-person (no number mark). This phenomenon is less rare than suggested in Simeone-Senelle (2000: 166, 2005: 271). Cf. ex (2)

4 **tigrinya má-naʕref má-darastö má-ʕaref**
Tigrinya NEG-1.IPFV know NEG-learn.PFV.1SG.SUF.PR NEG-1.IPFV know
I don't know Tigrinya, I didn't learn it, I don't know

But also

5 **əmši əmši marbuṭ**
1SG.IPFV.walk 1SG.IPFV.walk hindred.M.SG
I walk, I walk hindered

- In the PFV, the 1st and 2nd SG have a regular final **-a**. This phenomenon is more widespread in DHLK Arabic than in ALF.

6 **samafta** ‘I heard, I understand’ ; **kúnta** ‘I was / you (SG) were’

Similarly to DHLK², there is gemination shift

7 **ba-ʔaxaberrik** ‘I’ll inform you’ and **xabbarato** ‘he informed him’

The system of TAM auxiliaries is more reduced than in ALF: except **kān** aspectual and temporal marker, DHLK-Arabic does not use auxiliaries.

- **ba**=(particle) clitic to the verb in the IPFV form has a concomitant or prospective value

8 **dahhin lámma nrū ḥ ba=tšū fu**
 now when 1PL.IPFV.go CONC=2PL.see
 Now when we go there, you will see

- **participle** of some verbs (motion, cognition) has the same value as **ba**=IPFVVerb:

9 **gallaha ana rā yaḥ mšáwaʔ**
 3M.SG.say.to.SUF.PR.3F.SG PR.PERS.1SG PTCL.SG.go Massawa
 He told her ‘I am going to Massawa’

10 **ʕarif muš**
 PTCP.SG.know INT?
 You know, don’t you?

- **baga** ‘to stay’ ~ ‘and then’. (enunciative particle)

11 **bága héði yaʕīdi jā b áḥmed sayīr**
 and_then DEM.PROX Yaʕīdi 3M.SG.PFV.give Ahmed small
 And then this Yaʕīdi gave birth to Ahmed Junior

12 **...bága-l-láḥam yittálləʕu-ho**
 and_then-ART-flesh 3.PL.IPFV.remove-SUF.PR.3M.SG
 ‘... and then the flesh, they removed it.

SYNTAX

- In the noun phrase

Genitive construction

wálad ḥággi < child/ CON-SUF.PR.1SG > ‘my son’.

Another construction attested on the archipelago is not so common in Arabic :

13 **ménni awlā d** from.SUF.PR.1SG/ children’ ‘my sons’

²In DHLK the opposition PFV ~IPFV is marked by gemination of radical C2 : PFV **C1aC2aC3a** and IPFV **PI-C1C2C2e/iC3**

- In nominal and verbal sentences

Word order: the predicative copula in nominal sentence, the verb in the verb sentence: at the end of the sentence. This phenomenon may be enhanced by the contact of DHLK (same word order as Afar: SOV).

14 **hē di** **nahna** **baladna** **hiya**
 DEM. PR.PERS.1PL country.SUF.PR.1PL (PERS.PR.3F.SG)COP
 This one, for us, is our country

15 **kā n** **insā n** **yaʕni** **mafa** **himar** **haqqo** **yemši**
 AUX.3M.SG human indeed with donkey CON.SUF.PR.3M.SG 3M.SG.IPFV.walk
 In fact one human-being was walking with his donkey

Auxiliary after the verb

16 **ħarb** **isáwwū** **wu-igeṭṭəṣū** **kā nū** **en-nā s**
 war 3PL.IPFV.do and-3PL.IPFV.slaughter AUX.PL ART-people
 They waged war and slaughter people

Agreement

The agreement system is more fluctuant than that of AFL. The latter is marked by the contact with the complex concordance system of Afar where the verb usually agrees neither in number (whatever the number of its noun subjects, the verb is in the singular)³. As for DHLK, the agreement with collective (and occasionally with plural) is very irregular and often unpredictable with respect to feminine or masculine, 3rd person plural or singular. The concordance system in DHLK Arabic appears to be the result of merging both systems.

The counted noun is invariable in both languages.

17 **náħna yegu lukúllana min hīne** ‘we say all of us are from here’ (verb in the 3PL.)

18 **nā skúllo** all people **.kúll-oh šáyyādin** ‘all of them are fisherman’

19 **ʕáfar tugu l** < 3F.SG.IPFV.say > ‘Afar people say ..’,

el-ʕáfar kúlla-ha ‘all the Afar’ (Afar is always F.SG in Afar and DHLK)

20 **tnīn makā n** ‘two places’.

21 **el-ħarīm yarqaš** and in the same text **el-ħarīm yerqušu** ‘The women dance’

VOCABULARY

əšti (in the IPFV) ‘want’

22 **eš tíšti** ‘What do you want?’

or in a broader meaning including possibility and eventuality:

³ The Afar rule of the so-called ‘reverse gender’ does not overtly affect the AFL system.

23 **fī-hōri** **kaman** **tišti** **miya-wu-xamsīn** **kilo ...**
 EXIST-hori also 2F.IPFV.want 100-and-50 kilo

There are also hori⁴, you can load 150 kilos,

24 **fi-wahad** **kebīr** **tišta** **miyét** **kilo**
 EXIST-one big 3F.SG.IPFV.want 100 kilo

there is a big one, it can load 100 kilos

(– **ata** ‘to come’ in ALF is not attested in my corpus where **agā**, **ajā**, is usual)

- **rāʔe** always in the PFV ‘see’(as in Tihama), besides **šaʔin** in the PFV and IPFV ‘see and look’

25 **rē-tu-hum** **lamma** **rē-tu-hum** **šaʔul-juráh**
 PFV.1SG.see-EP.SUF.PR.3PL when cf. first clause PFV.3PL.see-ART.wound

I met them, when I met them, they looked at the wound

– ‘water’ **mō** (attested only in the corpus from DHLK), **mōya**

– ‘now’ **délhin**, **déhhin**

- ‘inside’ **bēn el-fərūm** ‘inside the four’

Besides fishery vocabulary many lexemes are etymologically borrowings from Arabic dialects of the Red sea area (Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen) and from other foreign languages.

bónsola (<*bussola*) ‘compass’), **lamba** ‘bulb’; **fānus** ‘lighthouse ; lamp’; **ítrik** (< *electric*) ‘flashlight’, **duš** ‘satellite dish’, **fībər** ‘boat made of fibreglass’, **tan** ‘ton’; **ṭ/tárabeza** ‘(coffee) table’; **kínīn** ‘any pills’; **básta** ‘pasta’, **bāni** ‘white bread’; **kōkiyan** (<*conchiglia* ? ‘seashell’) ‘(Trochus niloticus). Mother-of-pearl, any seashell that produces mother-of-pearl’; **šamaṭri** ‘cinnamon’ (< ‘from Sumatra’).

CODESWITCHING

- towards Afar

26 **áh** **wáhad** **ʔáfari**
 DEICT.ASS (afar) one Afar

This one is Afar

⁴Hori is a small wooden rowing boat for coastal fishing. Its size varies (but there are never more than 4 men on board). The smallest ones (one man on board) can be loaded on a bigger boat (sambuq), the sambuq anchors in open sea and unloads them. The men fish there and every evening or every two days they bring back their fishery produces to the anchored sambuq.

- 27 **tayribān** **kébbi** **kam** **ʕam** **yekkee**
 about before.SUF.PR.1SG how year 3M.SG.PFV.happen.INT (Afar)
 Did that event happen how many years ago approximately before my birth?
- towards DHLK
- 28 **ʔarmi** **ʕá eš** **bilā hu**
 throw.IMP.SG luggage 3M.SG.PFV.say.SUF.PR.3M.SG
 He told him: ‘Throw luggage!’
- 29 **ḥurmāti** **wal...** **wadaʕat**
 wife.SUF.PR.1SG ga... give_birth.PFV.3F.SG.
 My wife ha...has given birth.
- 30 **ballu** </bilā hu/ for **gallu** ‘he told him’

HYPERCORRECTIONS AND REDUNDANCY

Phonetic variants of the same term within the same sentence :

- 31 **keθīr, kesīr, ketīr, ʕayīr, ʕaqīr; gárya, qárya;**
tumun qirā tūšš-uyirāt, gerā † one eightof carat, half carat, carat’

Words of the same meaning

- 32 **kaman bārdo**

- different words for the same referent

- 33 **bā bu; safīna, markab,**

CONCLUSION

Generally speaking the influence of DHLK on Arabic spoken on the islands is not as significant as it could be expected. DHLK is confined to the domestic life on the islands. Having no official status, it is depreciated even by many native speakers (some adults and all the young people). The influence of Arabic (AFL) on DHLK is increasing, in return DHLK influences ALF less and less. Both varieties tend to merge into one ALF. In DHLK Arabic few features spotted as being from DHLK language, are indeed just remnants tending to disappear, levelled by the increasing influence of ALF and the very endangerment of DHLK. As far as Afar, it has neither more nor less impact on this DHLK Arabic variety than on ALF of the coast of the Red Sea. The process of merging both varieties of Arabic into one ALF is irrevocably running.

ABBREVIATIONS

Languages:

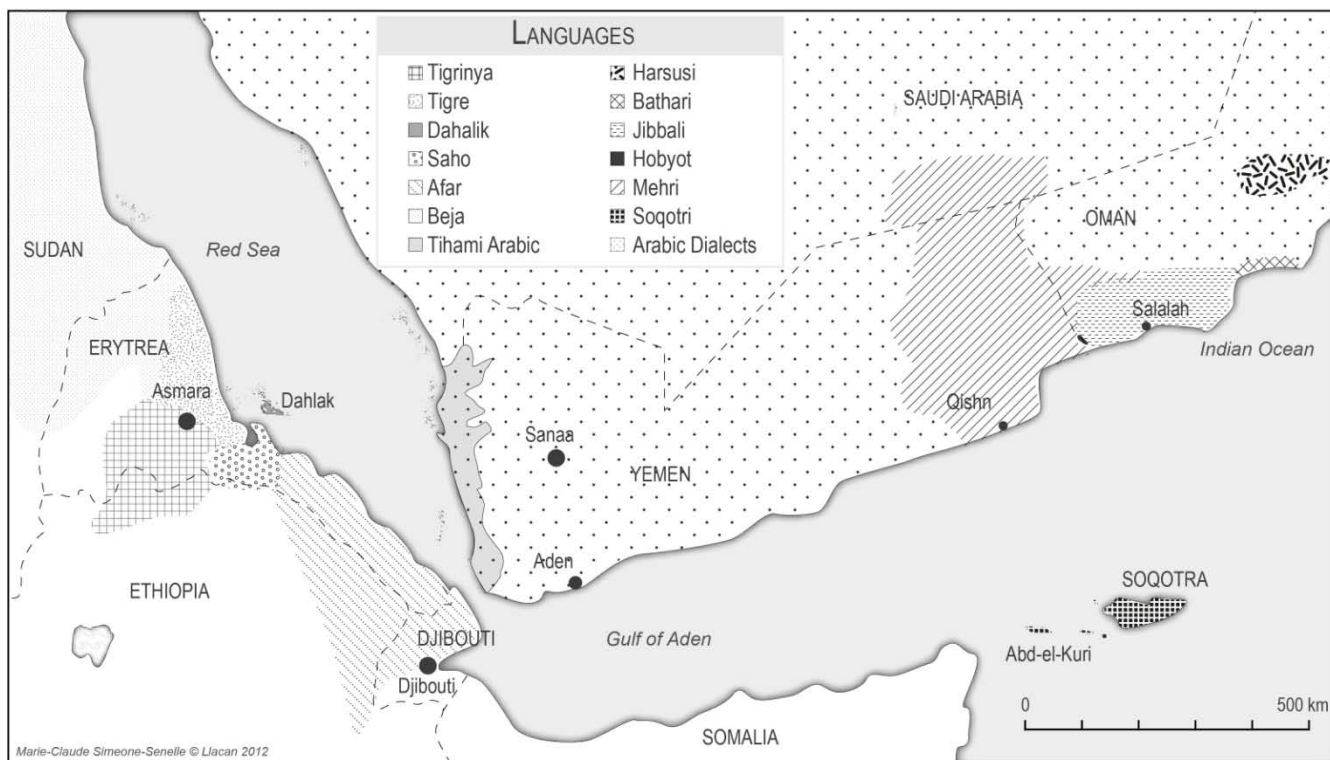
AFL Arabic Lingua Franca referring only to the varieties spoken along the Red sea coast of the Eritrean mainland - DHLK Dahlik (ADJ.) / Dahā'lik language -DHLK-Arabic including both varieties (mother-tongue and lingua franca on the islands)

Glosses

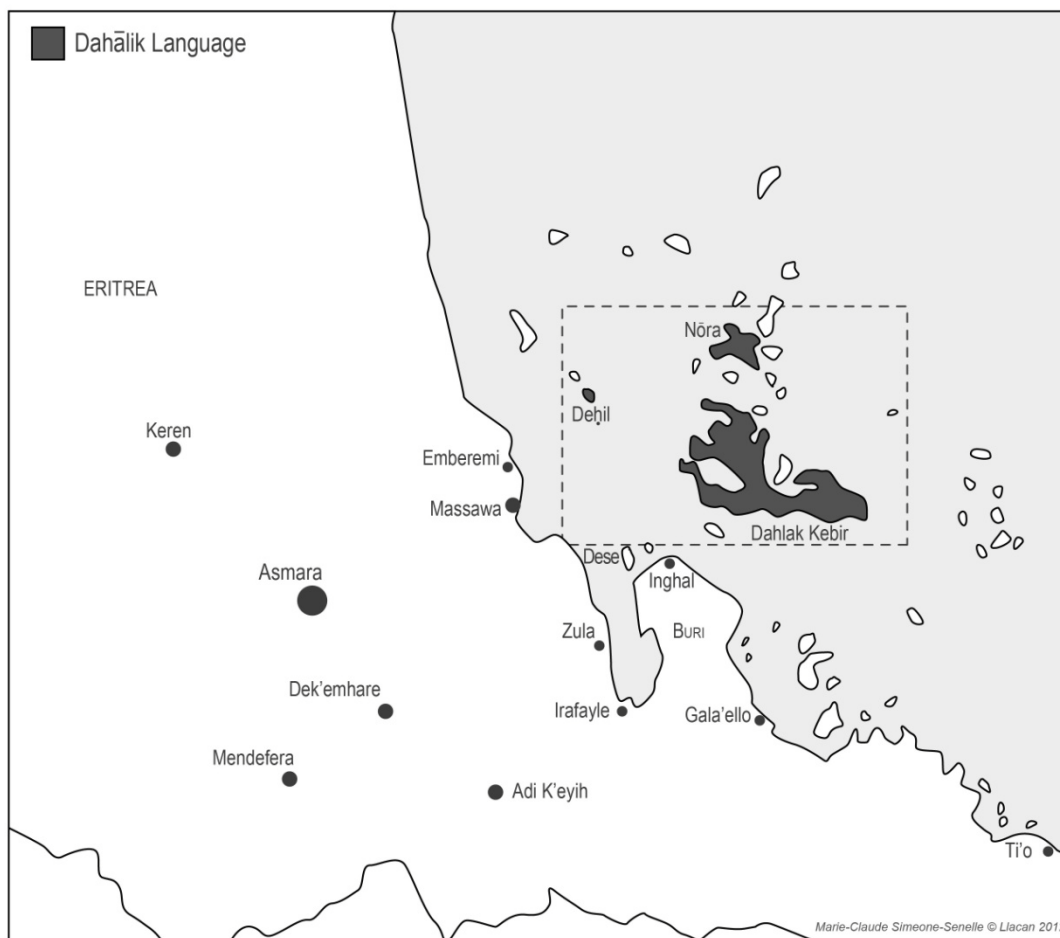
CON connector- IPFV imperfective- N noun - PI personal index - PFV perfective -
PR pronoun - PTCL participle - SUF suffix, suffixed - V verb

REFERENCES

- FERGUSON, Charles, 1970. The role of Arabic in Ethiopia: A sociolinguistic perspective. In *Bilingualism and Language Contact*, James E. Alatis (ed.). GRUT. (Georgetown University Round Table). Georgetown University School of Languages and Linguistics: 355-372.
- KASSIM MOHAMED, Souad, 2012. *Le parler hakmi de Djibouti, arabe vernaculaire de la capitale*. Thèse d'université. Inalco-Paris.
- MILLER, Catherine, 2006. Lingua franca. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL)*, K. Versteegh & O. Köndgen (eds.), vol.3: 58-64
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude. 2000. L'arabe véhiculaire parlé en Erythrée sur la côte de la mer Rouge, de Massawa à Rahayta, *Oriente Moderno*, n.s. XIX (LXXX), 1. L. Bettini (éd.): 153-181
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2002. L'arabe, langue maternelle de citoyens djiboutiens du nord de la République de Djibouti, *Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the International Arab Dialectology Association (AIDA), Marrakesh, Apr. 1-4. 2000. In Honour of Professor David Cohen*. A. Youssi, F. Benjelloun et al. (eds). Rabat, AMAPATRIL: 140-150.
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2005a. Djibouti / Eritrea, *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL)*, K. Versteegh & O. Köndgen (eds.), vol.1: 654-659.
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2005b. The Horn of Africa, *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL)*, K. Versteegh & O. Köndgen (eds.), vol. 2: 268-274.
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2006. Some characteristics of Dahalik, a newly discovered Afro-Semitic language spoken in Eritrea. *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Hamburg, July 2003*. S. Uhlig et al. (eds). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz: 861-869.
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2008. The specificity of the Dahalik language within the Afro-Semitic languages, G. Lusini (Ed.) *History and language of the Tigre-speaking peoples*. Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica 7: 127 - 145
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2009. The Linguistic Situation on the Dahlak Islands in Eritrea. *Connected Hinterlands*. Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV. Held at the University of Southampton. September 2008. BAR International Series 2052. Archaeopress. London: 61-68.
- SIMEONE-SENELLE, Marie-Claude, 2014. Le chat borgne. Un conte en arabe des îles Dahlak. In *The language(s) of Arabic literature. Un omaggio a Lidia Bettini*. L. Casini, P. La Spsa, A.R. Suriano (eds). *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*. N.S. 9: 67-80.



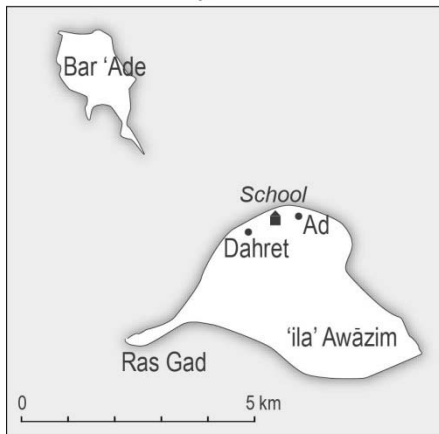
DAHLAK ARCHIPELAGO



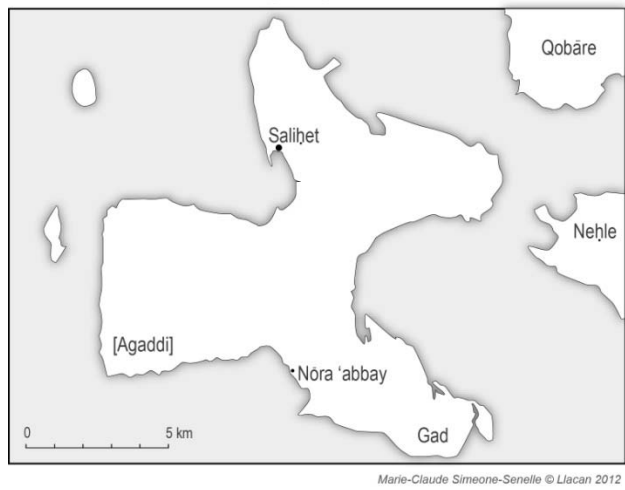
DAHLAK KEBIR ISLAND



DEHİL ISLAND



NÖRA ISLAND



The linguistic situation in M.R.'s family (in 2006)
 M.R. 55 years old – fisherman, trader.
 born in Melīl (Dahlak Kebir). He has lived in Melīl for 24 years
 In Melīl: ሩAfar, DHLK & Arabs in contact.
 He attended Arabic school near Melīl, in Dasqo (exclusively DHLK)

M.R.'s parents

In 2006 his father and mother were living in Jimhile, M.R and his family were living in Dubፍullu.

- The mother (ሩAfar, born in Melīl) speaks : **ሩAfar and Arabic**
 with their 9 children (her father was of Egyptian origin)
Arab and DHLK
 with her neighbours (women)

- The father is born in Jimhile, **DHLK**
 mother tongue, speaks **Arabic** and some **ሩAfar**

He speaks DHLK with M.R.

M.R. his wife was ሩAfar. 10 children (7 sons, 3 daughters)

He considers **ሩAfar and DHLK** as his **mother-tongues**, and he speaks **Arabic** very fluently.
 He knows **Tigrinya, Tigre, Amharic** (prisoner during DERG). Has notions of **Italian**, some words in **English**

He spoke **ሩAfar with his wife**

ሩAfar with his daughters (they do not attend school). In 2004, he has realized that her daughters spoke very well DHLK and knew the oral literature.

Arabic with his sons. They speak ሩAfar with their mother. All of them on the island speak DHLK