

TV57b mule shuwari-hawa

H = Hawa, MA = Musa Adam, A = Adum, HA = Hamid Idris, Y = Yusuf (from TV57)

<MA> inti uşumki şunu,

<H> isəmi hawa małağam,

<MA> wuldooki ween

<H> wuldooni fi məlei, wuldooni fi mulei di bas, aha

<I> inti arabiyya

<H> ana ařabiye, nafar wayliye

<I> ammki haw abuuki kulluhum arab

<H> kulluhum arab

<I> nafar yatu

<H> nafar bani wail hau be waili, ko, waili, waayli, mhm, abid bani wail dige, amm ammī kula xaadim bani wail, (0:37)

<MA> mauluuda hineen sai,

<H> **|**muluuda hineen,

<I> kubur hineen

<H> kubúr hineen bas,

<MA> ma xad'arti yeen kula,

<H> ařa xad'ár iske,

<MA> ya yeen,

<H> xaddamarí mašeet leha, hausəri kula mašeet laa,

<I> yerwa kula

<H> yerwa yarwa kula gařat fiya išriin hau xamsa sana

<I> ween fi yerwa

<MA> fi yaatu raf

<H> fi yarwa bas, fi afunori, (00:59)

<MA> kalaam hausa tiřarfi a,

<H> ařa ma bařarfa,

<MA> išeriin haw xamsa sana

<H> ařa ma bařarfa,

<MA> išeriin hau xamsa sana kulla ma tařarfi a,

<H> ma bařarfa, išeriin hau xamsa sana hau ma bařarfa,

<MA> kalaam borno tiřarfi,

<H> kalaam bořno bařarfa, (1:09)

<MA> iriftí keef,

<H> ha baaxud rijaalhum hau biyaxuduuni ma bařarfa a, aha

<MA> zeen,

<H> aha

<MA> axatti minnuhum sai,

<H> axad minhum

<MA> kan gaayde ma?ahum fi beethum tilkallame šunu min kalaam

<H> balkallam bořno maahum,

<MA> wilidti iyaal,

<H> ma wulút

<I> raajilki kula alallam kalaam al arab

<H> humma alellamo, alellamo kalaam al ařab, minni ana bas, mhm

<I> haw hassa gaayde fi l hille di

<H> gaade, da bas arabiý,<sup>1</sup> da walada hau da hu (1:42)

<I> xidimitki hine šunu

<H> hine naarit, dugut kulla jiit min al hiraata jiit le l boree di bas, aha

<I> keef tiharti

<A> al hiraata [Y] di

<H> [Y] baharid ke bas baharit ke hau ke hau ke kolci hau,

<A> xidimt az zar keef bisawwuha,

<MA> ?? min kan al alme şabba al wađa kan xarrafat da, (2:01)

<H> kan at təraa aa

<MA> az zer keef keef busowwu, kan alme şabba

<H> kan mafi alme da a,

<Ad> kan alme şabba

<H> kan alme şabba

<A> xidimit az zar ke kan jaat da,

<H> nemšhi nateerib, hau naharit, nagašgiš, al kolci nateerib, al taaki nasubb, cat fi lubba,

<MA> hau kan al kunco karab kan addariye tizayi,

<H> dugut kula jiit min az ziyá?

<I> teerab šunu

<H> teeráb kolci, teeráb qalla, teeráb libiya, catta teerabnaa, angalgala, kurut terabná?, (2:34)

<MA> ma teerabti darraaba a,

<H> darraaba mat tagum ma leiyi, ma lei bakaan,

<MA> ha bášal,

<H> a?a bášal mafi, dúra kula mafi, sai dúxun, dúxun bas , [X] mašar kula fi bas a, mašar fi, laa la ma babaddil, maani aarfe al bádal,(3:01)

<MA> našaqti be bagar,

<H> a?a ma našaq ana gaade tamaam fi beet, fil beet bas, walla saráh hau walla našáq,

<MA> yoom wahid kula ma sauweeti,

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<sup>1</sup> Unclear what the reference is. The woman has said she is the daughter of a former slave. The master of a slave can be called “*arabi*”. This would fit the morphology of the word, but not the context particularly well.

<H> yoom wahid kula,  
 <MA> ti?halbi a,  
 <H> a?a ma bahalib, ille naadim miskiin hau gaade, mhm  
 <I> ween tiheerti  
 <H> baarit fil xala  
 <I> gariib le hine  
 <H> hilti sei mulei,  
 <MA> az zar haadi,  
 <H> a?a gariib le l hille, mhm  
 <I> indiki zer le hanaaki  
 <H> hana raajilí, (3:36)  
 <MA> fi s sana az zer da kan haratti da tilge fiya šunu,  
 <H> a?a nalga buhu išəriin, nelga ašara xamsa,  
 <MA> ha gulti tibaddili sei,  
 <H> ma babaddil,  
 <MA> ha hinna ašara xamsa walla šunu deel deel biakkilanku ya as sana,  
 <H> naakul, ke yamta gade kulla al hool bilhak ka gade kula naharit naakul,  
 <MA> tibiu minna,  
 <H> nabii?, naseyyi wudurna minna, (4:00)  
 <MA> fi s sana da min al išəriin da ligiitu šunu  
 <H> nabí kullo yoom bas kan naadim be wudura da kulli yoom bibí bas, hu ye bibí ana kula babí bas, naseyi wudurna fiya huda bas, fiya hu bas, fiya hu bas,  
 <I> been magad al hille be magad yerwa yatu axeer  
 <H> la la hana hineen ahalá, hana hine ahalá, bikaan wuldooni da, talaatiin sana kan qaadi kulla hineen ahalá  
 <I> maala  
 <H> da bas bikaan wuldoon bas ahalá, ahalá min yarwa? (4:32)  
 <I> heelu qaadi maafi  
 <H>. a?a, heluuna kan fi kulla ma bilhak da, hilu fi bas ma bilhak hineen da, al hineen bas ahalá,  
 <MA> al hilu al hineen ke bufuut hana yarwa da šunu,  
 <H> fi l hiraata ha da maalak, kan talga qaltak kan tasou, šunu kula miskiin kan tasau máskanátak,  
 <V> da biharit, qadi kan mafi sai,  
 <H> be qaltak hiil maalak dugo takiil da mi gade ya,  
 <MA> zeen  
 <H> gaaid be heelak sehi hineen da  
 <I> tamši le s suuk fi yerwa  
 <H> dugut kula kan rəkəb banši maak, duggut bas, rikib benši maak, abuuki maala, šugul ḫaraba la<sup>2</sup> walla šunu, (5:22)

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<sup>2</sup> Note direct object on preposition l- (la < le-ya). The canonical construction is: Verb – Object<sub>1</sub> – le + pronoun<sub>1</sub>, i.e. the pronoun on the preposition *le* must be coreferential with the object. The object can be a pronoun, as here, or a noun,

<MA> inti be waladki a,

<H> ma leyi,

<MA> ma wulutti kaamil,

<H> ana wulúd kulla ma ga?át,

<MA> allah iyad'iiki,

<H> amiin, minna qaadi da hadi waludta ana ma šifta?, kula allah biyad'iiki, la la la al fusux le allah haraam,

<MA> kula kan allah gaal bikuun da bikuun sai, (5:44)

<H> a?a sa?iti hiil assa?a di ana di balda a,

<MA> a?a mi gaasi le allah,

<H> mi gasi le allah kula, astafar allah, sa?iti agabat,

<MA> zeen dugut kan be axudki kibirat maaki, kabbariha yamta lihigat al tirhiile da, hau jooki naas, da arabi, šaba as su?aaal al min taa sa?alna le axuuna da, hu arabi, min amma le abú le juduuda cat a?ab, laakin hu ma biarif kalaam al a?ab, hau jaaki wahid, kamaan ajami, amma alallam kalaam al a?ab,

<H> yawa

<MA> fi inti axudki al kibraan maaki di tad'iia le yaatú, (6:17)

<H> al ajami da abui biduggini, bad'iha le l arabi, al ajami biduggini, hankalí mu?r wa hankala mu?r, la la togoot ma?a al arabi da, kan mu?runa kan heluuna kula na?iifa, amma hu ba?

<HA> al arabi gaal ma biyad'iik šai, hau al ajami kan biyad'iiki šiši ašara tineen hana d?aháb, (6:37)

<H> ween kula badoor al arabi da bas, ma badoora, ma badoora,

<MA> ha hi al bit gaalat tidoora da, tiseyi keef,

<H> hi al bit kan gaalat dawwarat šuqulha tamši beiya ana di gade hanayi fiya, kan dawwarat šuqulha tamši be šuqulha, [X] haa, maradí ana bibga marat leha hi,

<MA> min allah xallaqki gareeti a,

<H> la la la giraat aş salah qiná, hiil aş salah di ke, gareetha amma al gade ma gammeet šei, (7:10)

<MA> gareetiiha yeen,

<H> gareetha hineen fi yerwa, hau fi al hille di bas,

<MA> fi beetki ke alla timši le as sangáa,

<H> la la la fi beeti, fi beeti, ma mašeet le sangáa,

<MA> zeen (7:23)

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e.g. *šift al-banaat leehin* “did you see the girls?”. The construction is extremely rare in texts, so defining its pragmatics is difficult.

<HA> fi at tiraab da fi hallaal ke hine bani wail walla maafi, (7:36)

<Y> ille diraan ke binšan biṣaifan hau binšan,

<HA> diraan hine arab,

<Y> hine bani wail kula fi, hineen diraan da, amma hille qaadi maafi, wai halaal qaadi mafi,

<HA> ha inta ad diraan teerifhin a, tigdar tiheesibhin leya

<Y> aʔa hinna ma lehin uşim, foog ad daʔan, foog haddoo hin kina, hinna ma leehin isim, šaba al halaal ke da, maafi, ille ardo filaan ard'o filaan, doola ma baʔarifum ana, (8:01)

<HA> abuyi dugut badoor basʔalak šúqul wayid,

<Y> mm

<HA> aa, dugut ankun tisəma min juduudak,

<Y> mmm

<HA> biguulu ke inta juduudak dool da, fi təraab min tiraab aş şabah, fi makka, fi tiraab darb aş şaba, tilga arabi waid biguul leek ana jaay min tiraab al yaman, juduudi jaay min al yaman,

<Y> mhm

<HA> waid biguul leek juduudi jooy min assuʔudiya [Y] waadiin biguulu,

<Y> [Y] catt kan min ween

kula baggo min aş şabá

<HA> yo min aş şaba min ayit hille kit ke,

<Y> şaba da qaadi, təraab hana jiye qiine, [X] jiye qiine qadi kula ke bani wail, (8:32)

<HA> ha ween kun inta fi sáqarátak ke,

<Y> mm

<HA> zamaan kure da al arab al wayid, fi sáqarátta da, kan şaaf bitt bidoora da, biqanni fookha,

<Y> mhm, biqanni fookha,

<HA> yawwa walla al bid kulla şaaft aş şabi tidoora da,

<Y> mmm

<HA> tuguul tiqanni foogha,

<Y> bihaabu<sup>3</sup> fookha, ha,

<HA> nafara huda, ankuun mara leek fi hayaatak, qinne ke, teerif al qinne ke şabá, mara leek qanneet

<Y> da kulla be siyaada, siyaada da şabaha ad dawaka, karwayiin, karwa aniina da fiina mafi,

<HA> inta ke wa marra maak yoom waahid kulla yani, şabá fi saqaratak şif leek bit dawwarta qanneet fooka walla ee,

<Y> aʔa ma qanneet, kan şaba zamaan tawwa qina kan raayitha ka bariidha ke bas,

<HA> ha inzeen gade kulla suaali waid, ankuun simiin min abbahaatak al kubaar, simiit lohum kalaam hana hikam, kalaam al hikime, masalan jiddi gaal ke a šugúl al filaani filaani ke kalaam hana hikima ke taʔarfa a,

<Y> ma baʔarfa d'aaka da, humma da biguulu amma ana ma baʔarfa,

<HA> ha al yoom hadár hillukku di ke, banneetuha siniinha kam, walla hadár al árab ke jó leha da siniin kam,

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<sup>3</sup> haaba, bihaabi, “sing praise about, especially about women”.

<Y> al hille di Ქamaniin sana kulla laahige, yawwa miit sana kulla, amma gaalo gabul yerwa kulla hillitna di haw mabani gaadaat gabul yerwa, yerwa kulla jaat fooghin aniina walladoona hine,

<HA> ha inta bikaanku da, al ar b, waqít jó le tiraab borno da, al ardiye bišuruua širaaya, wahadiin, ha intu bikaanku da juduudku šaró širaaya walla, walla ligiitu sakit,

<Y> a?a da hanaahum calló , calló be l faas, xalla kurut, al bikaaan da wa?ara ke dugo waso, mi hana naadim axir