

# **REPENSER L'ÉDUCATION ET LA PÉDAGOGIE DANS UNE PERSPECTIVE AFRICaine**

**MANUEL PRATIQUE À DESTINATION DES ENSEIGNANTS  
ET DES FORMATEURS D'ENSEIGNANTS**

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**VERSION ZARMA**

## **Avertissement :**

La traduction qui est présentée ici, s'est effectuée dans un contexte où, aujourd'hui encore, la langue sonjay/zarma, pour n'évoquer qu'elle, est d'un niveau académique non enviable.

Pourtant créditée comme une des langues nigériennes pionnières de l'enseignement bilingue, elle fait du « sur place » depuis 1976, date de son utilisation dans l'enseignement expérimentale des langues. A l'époque, la commission nationale pour la réforme de l'enseignement et le plan de scolarisation (cnre/ps), sous l'égide de l'indrap, initiait des missions de recherches-terrain, sur le lexique, la terminologie, les variantes régionales, l'histoire des différentes communautés ect.

Les documents ainsi produits sont restés presque tels, hormis quelques timides retouches commandées et financées par des partenaires dont l'instabilité des relations n'a pas permis de productions scientifiques, pérennes.

Est-ce donc dans ces conditions que végète la langue, d'où la délicatesse de toute entreprise de traduction.

Aussi, à la lumière de lecture des documents pédagogiques à nous, soumis pour traduction dans quatre de nos langues nationales, à savoir : le hausa, le fulfulde, le sonjay/zarma et le tamajaq, l'équipe de traducteurs (voir liste en annexe), fait les observations et remarques sur trois aspects principaux suivants :

-136 pages de documents en français à traduire dans un délai d'un mois, est un vrai défi, au regard de la nature de la police initiale, des nombreux tableaux et autres contraintes comme l'application de caractères spéciaux.

-la rémunération pas très motivante de la tâche.

-le niveau d'écriture « officiel » de chaque langue, avec tout ce que cela comporte de variantes dialectales et d'aspects structurels, lorsqu'il sera question de comparaisons textuelles. La langue sonjay/zarma par exemple, telle qu'elle a été présentée plus haut.

En l'occurrence, on ne peut que se contenter d'une traduction prenant en compte, autant que possible, l'esprit du texte original. Des mots, termes et concepts comme sexualité, pluridisciplinarité, socio-constructivisme, attendent de faire l'objet d'ancrage formel et officiel sur la base de recherches tout aussi formelles et officielles.

Au regard de ce qui précède, nous suggérons, en matière de traduction de textes, d'une langue quelconque à celle du sonjay/zarma, de trouver et de « se coller » à l'esprit du texte, pour éviter ces régulières empoignades et confrontations souvent irritantes, voir vaines, entre des experts du domaine.

**Pour les traducteurs**

**Le coordinateur**

**Tadé amadou**

## Fahamandiyaj

Cawandiyaj tira ne kañ i ka-taray, borey kulu kañ go niizer lokkolo ma zaadayano fonda ra se; wana-wana, lokkol kayney nda lokkol sasabey cawandikey nda dondonandikey.

### Daba hinza no tira wo se:

Sintina day, iri ma bay kañ, sata hinza no kande ngey gaakasinay ka a ka taray; kañ yanç ga ci: itaali sata fo kañ se i ga ne (fondation vittorino chizzolini); nda zeeneb kwaaraa nibarsita; nda ñamay, abdu mumuni nibarsita sataa kañ ga hagoy da ceeciyaj guusey, ciiney nda naamey hawzuyano; nda barbata fisiyano, ga koy cawandiyano do haray ; sataa kañ se i ga ne (lacdiye). Bayray kooni kunda fo no na tira wo hantum, kañ ra i ga du; cawandiyaj bajine-bajine goney; lakkal dañ ka cawandiyano, goney; taarifi ciiko beerey; borey kañ ga hagoy nda adamayzetara sanney ; hantumo nda sanni waaniyan goney; itaali laabu, suiss laabu, nda niizer laabu, tira-ka-tarayko beerey.

Tira daba hinkanta si fun kala bayrayey kañ go a ra, nda fondey kañ i gana ka a hantum nda.

Silmano ga ci kan iri niizer naamey bayrayey ga no a jeeri: tira ce-kayantey kañ go no ; iri naamey ra lalabey; adamayzetaray nda sanni waaniyan teerey; doñ teerey nda windanta haaley, mate kañ i na a ci taarifo ra, nda mate kañ a go iri niizer zaamaani ba-funa ra.

Tira nufa day ga ci barmayyano kañ a ga kande cawandiyano ma dogon cawkey se, alhaali banda kañ, naamey nda zaamaani bayrayey no ga care kubay i lakkaley ra.

Wo-din ga kande cawo ma laabo nafa, zama a saba da ndunja talaato kulu boona, kañ ra iri cawkey si bare banda.

Daba kokorbanda kañ ga ci ihinzanta ra no hantumkey, alwaati banda kañ i na a hantum faransi ciina ga, i yaamar, i ma a bare iri niizer ciine taaci ga, kañ yanç ga ci: hausciine; sonjay-zarma ciine; balle ciine nda fulaj ciine.

Ya-din ga, iri ma ne kañ tira wo ka nga alwaato ra, ga saba da kañ gomnato go ga kookari kulu dañ ga ciiney cawandiyano kar-ka-say, laabo talaato kulu ra; ciiney kulu ga.

Iri daahirandi kañ gomnati dabaro din boori, zama a ga iri ciiney no darza ndunja ra, iri cawkey mo, ga waasu ga faham harey kañ go ga te niizer nda ndunja talaato kulu ra.

Kay-bana day ga ci kañ, tira wo ka no, ga wo-kañ yanç a gar, kubandi, i ma margu, ka iri lokkolo nda iri cawandiyano ka-tibi.

Zimilanta day ga ci kañ, cawandiyaj tira wo, waazu no; ceeyaj mo no; al-umma kulu kañ go niizer lokkolo ma koy jina, fonda ra; i ma lakkal dañ, ga laasaabo niinandi, ka cawandiyano nda a goy-jinayey, ga koy a alhaaley kulu hanse, iri niizer lokkolo ma to nango kañ iri parsidaj koy ga ci bazoum mohamed, nda cawandiyaj ministaro, kañ ga ci dr rabiu usman, ga ba, a ma to.

Niizer laabo talaato kulu ma sijiro wo kaani. Wo-din se, laabo ma ga, parsidaj bazoum mohamed ma ga, da ay bumbo ma ga, ay ga cawandiyaj-tira wo hantumkey kulu fo, ay ga i zuga, i ma konda ngey laasaabo jine, ga du ga tira fo yanç mo ka taray; niizer lokkolo ma koy jina ga tonton.

Dr rabiu usman

Niizer cawandiyaj ministaro.

## **Boŋ-dake**

**I ma ye ga biirima nda cawandiyano laasaabu afirki wane haalo ra : cawandikey nda cawkey cawandiyaj goy-tira**

### **Stefania gandolfi**

Ay ma boŋ-jine te cawandiyaj tira wo se « *i ma ye ga biirima nda cawandiyajo laasaabu afirki wane haalo ra : cawandikey nda cawandikey cawandikey goy tira* » manti kala ay se bine-kaanay beeri mafaari hinka se. Mafaari sintina wo, afirki nda a wane biirima no a ga guna kaŋ na ay baafuna nda ay goyo do baafuna hanse. Ihinkanta mo, nizeer cawandikey cawandiyaj sijiro no a ga guna kaŋ ga ti iri sata nda bora kaŋ na a sinji vittorino chizzolini, goy baajine kambo. Vittorino chizzolini manti kala cawandiko kaŋ na nga baafuna kulu te biirimay ciine ra, waana-waana cawandikey cawandiyaj itaali laabu nda ndunjaa laabu boobo ra.

Biirimay wo alhaku no boro kulu se a baafunay ra a ma naamu nafa-harey waare day a ma i sambu ga te nga boŋ wane, a ma nafa nda boro, bayray nda caw dumi-dumey. Sanda mate kaŋ waybora kaŋ ga haggoy nda biirimay alhako laabaarey toonandiyan na a ci nga wane tira kokoranta ra « *i ma biirimay alhako bay sanda naamu alhaku manti kala alhaali barmay ce boobo ga du ga to biirimay hanno kaŋ ga bora kulu guna ga* ». (koumbou boly barry, 2021, p.3)

Ifo se cawandiyaj tira maanaa ? I ma du ga wo kaŋ go no garandi ga du ga jamaa biirimay laasaabu tira no gaabi, nda borey kulu kaŋ ga kambe daŋ biirima ra, nda i ma borey hiney darzandi, ga i gaabandi jamaa biirimay hanno gorandiyaj ma ga.

Tira ga hin ga te cawandiyaj goy-jinay kaŋ ga biirimay nda cawandiyaj sijiri ga a sokon, ga fongu hari kulu kaŋ ga biirima guna, i ma darzey waare, i ma caagaley waasu day i ma dondonyaj haali taji yaŋ kaŋ ga biirima boryandi ka taray.

Tira wo gonda boonay beeri nda lalabuyaŋ nufa care banda : boonay beeri zama se afirki, annasaaray mayra banda, mana bay ga du nga kambe lokkol, amma a du gomnanti lokkol kaŋ ra afirki naamey nda baafunay darzey si furo cawandiyaj nda ce-dirawo kulu ra.

Lalabu bayray timmante, zama laabu kulu no gonda alhaku a ma nga cawandiyaj ce-dirawo sijiri naamey darzey boŋ, kaŋ ga koŋ nda zankey naamey, ga du ga cawandiyaj hanno kaŋ ga boori i se te. Afirki lokkolo ga ba nga ma bara nga naamo haalo ra. Sanda mante moussa sagayar na ci nda nga suuraa ra kaŋ go tira ra « *i mana sijiri ce-kayante folloŋ gorandi kaŋ go afirki dumey deede sokonantey wala laasaabey wala bayrayey fonda ra*. Amma wo kaŋ go no ga ti batama bayrayey gaabandiyaj kaŋ i ga te baafunay teerey fonda ra, manti fondo yaŋ kaŋ i cacar ga kayandi ra. »

Hunkuna, afirki biirima gonda ce-diraw hinza : sintinay wana, tontoni haali, a ga konda annasaara mayra banda biirima nda jine no ; ihinkanta, hanseyan̄ haali, nga wo ga zaamaani fondey gana no ; iñzanta, barmayyan̄ haali, nga wo, biirimay, baafunay nda jine-koyyan̄ sijiri taji no a ga kande, kañ ga furo afirki naamey nda bayrayey ra (sall, 2020).

Biirima kañ ga kande barmayyan̄ manti kala biirimay ce-diraw kañ ye ga jamaa baafunay cimicimo cina, salan̄ ga ye ra yan̄ fondo ra. Biirima kañ ga kande barmayyan̄ ga nañ cawkey ma laasaabu hanno yan̄ te ga ngey jan̄ ga yadda yan̄ cabe baafunay nda naamey haaley kañ ra i na i dan̄ se.

Ce-dirawo din kañ se sall (2020) ga ne « muusu-beerey ga ngey batama jeeri » ga nañ afirki lokkolo ma tabbatı, a ma te mo lokkol kañ ga hin ga baafunay sijiri taji nda jine-koyyan̄ fondo taji kayandi. Hala i ga ba a ma gasu, kala i ma baafunay-arzaka nda baafunay-poltik fondo taji ka kañ ga nañ biirima ma te barmayyan̄o kañ iri dan̄ jine se fondo baajine. Ndoye wo se « barmayyan̄o ga biirima ce-dirawo kayandi no. A ga fondo taji yan̄ kañ i kayandi gana ga biirima ce-dirawo barmay, ga ye ga a kambu-kambey nda a windanta kulu cina» (ndoye, 2020).

Ay diiyan̄o ga, haali hinka no ga boori afirki lokkolo kayandiyano se. Sintina wana ga ti, i ma kande barmay yan̄ alwaati kuuku boñ zama hari kañ barmayyan̄ey ga hay no ga gay gumo. Ihinkanta ga ti, barmayyan̄ey hima ga borey jine-koyyan̄ ce-diraw fondey gana zama se i si hin ga lokkolo moorandi nda batama haaley nda baafuna kañ ra i na a sinji (sall, 2020). Wo-din banda, doñ biirima ra wo, boñ ga bayra nda goy nda bayray ga koy care banda no ; ya-din ga mo bayray ceeciyen̄ nda biirimay go care bande no han kulu (sall, 2020).

Sanday hinzante go no koyne kañ ga konda boro « laami nda boñ baakasinay ga kañ ga adamayze tutay ga konda a ma laami nga ma te hari. Suba ma boori no i hima ga laasaabu, zama barmayyan̄ey ga wadde booboo guna, wo-din ma ga no i hima ga i sambu « waddey za-jinde yan̄ » ra no.

Afirki biirima ga ba ce-diraw kañ ga kambu-kambey kulu guna, kañ ga goy nda windanta, baafunay goray, arzakaa fondey kañ go cawandiyaney ce-dirawo nda ce-diraw cindey game ra : goy kañ ga albarka hay, windanta, baafunay, poltik, naamu, gonitaray nda gaakasinay ce-kayante kañ se maamudu ndoye ga ne « jamaa margasinay laasaabey sokonyaño » (ndoye, 2020, p.48) kañ ga nañ borey ma care diyan̄o cina/gorandi kayna-kayna nda bayrayey kañ, ngey bumbo, ga ti jine-koyyan̄ gaabo. Biirimay diiyan̄ tajo ga nañ borey kulu kañ go ga kambe dan̄ cawandiyen̄ goyey ra nda jamaa ma care di, zama a ga boro fo kulu baafunay hanna nda jamaa wana dan̄ care banda nda dabari kañ ga nañ bora kulu ma kambe dan̄ goyey ra, kañ ga nañ i ma du ga goy mo nda goyteerey kulu.

Biirimay wo, jamaa kulu hari no, « jamaa kulu hari fahama ga gaabandi bora kulu ma kambe danyaj ga, kañ ga ti jamaa hari, nga bumbo. Jamaa kulu marga-marga teera go boro kulu se bine ra, a ga nañ mo haro din bumbo ma zaada. Biirimay kañ i sambu jamaa hari ga ba ce-diraw kañ ga nañ bora kulu ma furo jamaa sijirey sambuyaño nda gasandiyajo ra » (unesco 2015). Jamaa kulu hari laasaabo hima ga sambu no afirki wane naamo ra, naamu kañ ceeiciyanj tajey duurey go ga gaabandi. Tira wo dunguryanđijanj ra sanno no-ya.

Boro kulu hari no ma ga, afirki biirma manti kala naamu arzaka beeri zama se a nufaa ga ti boro fo-fo kulu nda jamaa hinayey gorandiyaj kañ na kangay/ganji hinza margu : boro bumbo kangayo/ganjo kañ ga bora hinayey anfaano bay, a ma i cabe mo a goray haaley nda a teera garantey ra, baafunay goray ganjo kañ ga cabe kañ hina fo kulu manti kala hari kañ boro du borey ga, kañ ga boro bumbo haro gaabandi ga koy boro fo mo hari do, nda saruusi ganjo kañ ga jamaa, borey kañ go ngey boñ goray ra nda siwiley goyteerey guna.

Tira wo manti kala kambe danyaj afirki nda nizeer biirma ga. Biirimay kañ ga ti iri zaadayaño gaabo kañ ga nañ « boro ma bisa nga boñ do ga koy nga bo don...kañ ga hin ga takari, baafunay waaniyanj nda goy-waaniyanj margu. » (ki-zerbo j., 2006, p. 198-200).

Wo-din ga ti, afirki naamu biirimay hinne no ga nañ afirki ma di nga zaadayaño fonda : biirimay kañ te afirki naamo ra, sanda « tuuri-na kañ sinji, ga koy hala ganda ga du ga beeri, ga hay ize yanj, ya-din no ga te biirimay se, kañ da a ga ba nga ma beeri ga te ize yanj, a hima ga goy nda afirki naamey. A ga boori i ma lokkolo nda naamey kañ ra a go sasabandi, nda boro naamey, sanni nafante zaari kulu baafunay se, jamaa sokonyaño fondo ra. « sanni ga deede, a ga wi, a ga hay ...lokkolo si hin ga banda bare afirki naamey se : da manti ya-din, a ga ciya lokkolo kañ go afirki, manti afirki lokkolo » (ki zerbo j., 1990, p. 79).

Annama, iri hima ga te lakkal ndunjaa baafunay haalo feeriyaño wo ra, afirki naamey ma si du joote kulu i ma bunkaas, nga ga ti sanda i ma jañ ga wadaatayañ ; amma da fayanka ga ti haalo kañ ra i ga beeri, i ma feeri mo si nañ boro ma dirgan nga wane kaajey. I ma saba nda care yanjo din no tira wo hantumkey ceeći.

Hakiika i si ba biirimay kañ mana feeri, sanda kañ go daabante alhaali, amma afirki ganda birima ma ciya biirma kañ ga feeri ga to ndunjaa laabey waney ga hala a ga goyey fassarayañey gasandi goy yanj kañ ga koy nda sanni nda barmay taji fo yanj »sanda mate kañ akkari na a filla nga suuraa ra. Goyo din sasabandiyajo mo, akkari ye ga ne a ga boori gumo hala « biirimay diraw taji yanj nda ndunjaa sanni taji yanj ga hin ga furo iri namey ra. Manti i ma zugayañ te ga ci ndunjaa

kulu se no, amma i ma naq afirki baafunay gora mo ma du zaamaani ce-dirawo kaq manti a ma a ma haali waani sambu. »

Nizeer ciina

Nizeer cawayanjo wo, laabu waani goytereey, ndujnaa marga-maga satey hala nda gomnanto goytereey, goyteeri yaq kaq go ngey boq gorey ra, nda siwiley no na kambe daq a ra gumo. Goyteeri dumi-dumey din naq cawandiyano go fondo, laasaabu nda marga-marga sokonyan hanna boq. Lokkoley ra cawandiyaney nda a ma bara nango kulu kaq i gaayi sanda nangu kaq i ga bayray no ga bare ga te nangu kaq ga sandi.

Tiraa wo ga nga sanno kulu te nizeer boq, a ga ceecei ga bayray nooyer do qawandiyano do haray kaq laabiizey ga no. Wo-din se, a ga boro kulu kaq go lokkolo ciine ra gaakasina gaabandi hala nda naamo goytereey kaq yan si ba furo kalaasey ra, amma kaq ga ciya arzaka beeri bora kulu nda boro fo kulu cawandiyano se. Goytereey din ra, i ga du, maabey, jandi kaakey, yaasaykoyey, tiyaatar teekey, doonikey nda afo yan. Iri bayrayey kulu kaq ka ga margu, kaq ga ti alhaali fondo hanno cawandiyano se, nda gonitaray taji yan, i ga qwaaray nizeer lokkolo ma te lokkolo kaq ga boro kulu sambu, kaq ra cawandiyen hanno ga te, ga du ga waddey kaq yan ga ka no biirimay hanno.

Cawey dumbi dumi-dumey bayrayey kaq go tiraa wo ra, ga sijiri te sanda faakaaray alhaali cawandikey nda nizeer jamaa game ra. Nizeer manti kala laabu kaq cawey bayrayey mana furo ga boori naamey ra, baafunay goray ra, doq arzaka, almaayaali bayrayey, jamaa ra gumo, wo-din mo te sanda waaruyaq alhaali nda doq biirma, dumbuyaq lokkolo nda batama, jamaa nda addino game ra. I bay kaq dumbyano din ga beeri hala bora ga dira ga mooru mo laabo gallu-dunkaa nda gallu beerey ga. Han fo yan, i ga ceecei ga lokkol cawo nda addina wana naagandi care ga, lokkoliize hayrayey gaabandiyen ra, amma cawandiyen dumi hinka ba day i go ga i te nangu followka, si koy care banda zama i ga afo kulu te nga waani no, cawandiyen ce-dirawey mo ga waana. Buuba amadu tiraa kaq a hantum alkuuraana cawandiyen ce-dirawo boq gonda nafa zama a ga cawandiyen ce-diraw hinka (zaamaani nda albeerey cawandiyano waney) te afo baafunay goray barmayyan sabbe se. A ne kaq « hari kaq ga naq alkuuraana cawandiyano ma du nga nufey biirimay fonda boq, cawandikey ma alkuuraana cawaq nda cawandiyen dabari yan sambu ».

Nizeer biirma manti kala « tubu hari, kaq ga ti hari kulu kaq boro ga hin ga tubu boro almayaalo ga ; a dumo ga, a kaayey ga nda mo dondonyen kulu kaq dumi a du ga. A ga bisa jinay kaq boro tubu zama lakkal wane no, naamu no, lokkol wane no, goy, nangu bayray laasaabu wane no » (meunier 2008, p.310). Ali roufay tiraa mo wo-din no a filla kaq a ne « doq biirimay ganjey si kala teere darzantey cawandiyen boq. Teerey din si kay nangu fo, i si ga kanji nangu fo amma i go ga

gaabu ga tonton no, i go ga koy nda jine no. Ngey no ga naŋ boro ma baafunay hanno te, boro nda ni boŋ bumbo, nda boro nda borey cindey» (). A ga boori boro ma laasaabu fondo yan sambu ga fahama mate kaŋ borey go ga bayrayey laasaabu, ngey bumbu ma di kaŋ ngey wane no bayrayey. Caagal booboo no go lokkol biirima nda doŋ biirima game ra sanda, silman ga, ciina kaŋ i ga salan. Nizeer wo, « 2020 sariya fonda ci kaŋ ciine 11 no go no, kaŋ ikulu ga saba no laabo ra » (mallam garba m.).

I ga hin ga ciine sambu sanda fu, sanda lakkal batama kaŋ ga boro ga do, kubayniyan nangu nda naaruyaŋ nangu, nangu kaŋ boro naaru ga koy, boro ma du ga to boro cindo do ga i kubayni (meyer-bisch p., 2011, p. 5).

Boro ja ciina ga ti borotaray muulu, kaŋ i te sanda « baafunay fu, boro bongu daabuyaŋ fu, » laasaabu nda maateyan sanni, boro bayray nda borey baafunay goray gonitaray kaŋ ga ndunnaa no baafunay hanno. Ciine no ga naŋ laasaabu ma te, amma nga mo ciina no a ga goy nda ; i gonda care muraadu no. Na ciina ga ti bojo, nga ga ti hari sintina kaŋ ga zanka lakkal ce-kayandi, nga no ga naŋ a ma saba nda borey, hala manti nga, bora lakkal si kubay, a ga te gazante no. Zanka sinda bon-haway kulu nda ja ciina, hala i na ganji a ma sanno kaŋ a ga waani salan, lokkolo ga a dan haali ra kaŋ a ga ye banda » (poth, 1988, p. 11).

Hala i na zanka ganji a ma goy nda ja ciina, a ma goy nda sanni fo kaŋ a si waani a cawo sintina waate, kulu lokkolo ga a dan haali ra kaŋ a si hin ga ci nga diiyanyeŋ nda hari kaŋ a ga ba. « i ma zanka dan a ma ciine waani salan... ga a dan dangayyaŋ ra, ce booboo mo a ga a te alman alhaali. » ya-din no, hala i na zanka ja ciina alhako ta a ga, lokkolo ga lakkalo waasu zama zanka ga laasaabu, a ga kar care ga, a ga neesi nda ja ciina zama nga hinne ga ti hari kaŋ a ga hin ga salan nda. Koyne, caw guusey cabe kaŋ ja ciina ga ciine fo dondonyaŋ no gaabi (poth 1988, pp. 12-13).

Jandey kaŋ go laabu gandey game ra (maraadi, zinder, taawa, diifa) kaŋ ga cawo ga ban dimmaa boro zangu boŋ, waana-waana wayborayzey kambo do hare, si ba ba kayna. (république du niger, annuaires statistiques 2004-2005)

Tiraa wo bareyaŋ laabo ciiney ga, ga cabe gaakasinaykey anniya i ma ye ga ciiney cawandiyen alhako dan lokkoley boŋ faakaarayey ra.

Nizeer biirima ga cabe mate kaŋ sijiri kaŋ si cawandiyen alhaaley gaabandi lokkoley bayrayey ra nda naamey waney ga hin ga naŋ lokkolo ma jaŋ ga te, koyne a ga naŋ jama booboo ma lokkolo kambe banda. Doŋ bayray gaayikey « manti kala laabiize tukusey nda ganda jamey kaŋ yan gonda ngey bumbey dumey boŋ nda bumbey ganda borey boŋ bayray yan ». (hill, 2020, p. 11)

Nga ga ti bayray yanç kañ i cina nangu yanç boñ, kañ ga boori caw se kala i si hin ga i fay nda baafunay goray, naamey, saruusey nda poltikey : « i si ga kwaarayzey boñ-duura kayandi hala i go ga bayra laasaabu hinne goy-jinay yanç kañ ga nañ jamaa ma sanka yanç sambu. » (latulippe & klenk, 2019, p. 7)

Ki-zerbo ne kañ « borey kañ yanç du doñ biirima gonda baafunay biirimay hanno afirki batama ra ga bisa borey kañ na ngey kwaaraa naamey furu. »

Afirki lokkolo wo mana goro kala « annasaara laabey muulo ra, annasaaraa laabey kañ na afirki laabey may. » hari kañ ga nañ lokkolo ma ye ga te jine-koyyanç lokkol, kala day da a na nga boñ fay ga ka jinayey maayey ga, hari kañ i ga ci nda hari kañ i go ga baafunay nda, kala day a ma furo naamo ra, a ma « nga gaabo ye afirki bumbo ga », a ma ye ga te afirki wane, a ma ye ga te mate kañ a hima ga te, kañ a mana hima ga nañ ga te.

Lokkol goyo ga ti a ma bayrayey no gaabi, a ma lokkoliize hayrayey kubayni, a ma yaasayey nda jandey sambu ga te cawandiyano nda dondonyano se diji, a ma feeri ga koy gonitaray ga, a ma fayandi-fayandi mo sambu ga lokkolo se ce-diraw hari. Nizeer wo, albeerey no ga salanç ga yaasay ga furo-tajey danç fondo...a ga ci ya ciiyanç dumi fo koyne mo diiyanç fo dumi, laasaabu : baafunay goray fo dumi... naamu hari maafe no. Laabaari nooyanç banda kañ a ga te, a gonda sasabandianç mo goy » naamu haali hinza no i ga hin ga caw yaasay ga : naamu, naamu marga-marga, naamey nda cara (amadu tira ra.)

“ bora ma dondon jandi hanganyañ , a cawey, a wangaaritaray deeda wala boro ma guna ga koy gagari hinza ga care banda. Wo-din ga ti cimi dondonyano. Bayray guuso no kañ si te nda me-sanni. Sanno haalo. Adamayne wo, sanni no. Hari kulu sanni no » amadou hampâté bâ (hampate ba, 1990). Jandi wo, iri ganda bayray no. A go gonitaray, a go mo bayray ceeći haali, koyne cawandiyano goy-jinay no. Me-sanni nda cawandiyano marguyañ ga, a gonda goy beeri kañ a ga te zankey dondonyano se, kañ ga kande nga kambe bayray, sanno kañ goyo waana nda me-ciine. (hampate ba u, 1990).

Wangaaritaray deeda ga ti gaabo zama se, a ga nangu beeri sambu biirimay fondey ra. » a ga haarandi, a ga boro danç jamaa ra, a ga cawandi mo, wo-din ga a no cawandiyano nda cawandiyano ce-diraw goy kañ ga waana nda nga lalabuyañ darzey nooyanç, bayray nda jamaa goray waaniyanç. (issoufou dans ce volume).

Alhaali fondo wo-ne ga, lokkolo ga bay kañ cawandikey gonda tinay kañ ga ngey lokkolizey cawandiyano fondo ce-kayantey wo sambu. A ga ciya lokkol kañ ga bora kulu sambu, kañ si

suuban, kaŋ si boro kulu waasu, koyne kaŋ ga jamaa naamo gaabandi, kaŋ ga naŋ boro ma nga boŋ bay, borey ma naamey bay, nda baafunay dumi-dumey kaŋ ga hima nd'ey. Sanda mate kaŋ moktar na a filla nga tiraal ra « diiyar wo-ne ga, i ga ba lokkolo ma lokkliize hayrayey ga, a ma naŋ i ma kambe daŋ haali beerey kulu kaŋ dumey ga i moorandi nda lokkolo, nda a ma naanay cawandikey nda cawey ga. Hala cawkey baabey nda lokkolo gama ga beeri, cawandiyaŋo kaŋ cawka ga kambe daŋ nga cawandiyaŋo ra ga hanse ga beeri, ganda bayrayey nda ganda ciiney ga du ga gaabu. Koyne, cawandiyaŋo dabarey sokonyaŋo mo ga naŋ jamaa ma yadda ga ka, a ga i no gaabi mo.

Dunguryandiyan ga, tiraal wo go ga ceeci ga cawandiyan dabari fo kayandi kaŋ ga boro nda jamaa darza bay, ngey kaŋ ga tun ga kay ga lokkol goyo sijiri.

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## **Boŋ –jare 1**

**Zankaa alhakkey, naamey da cara biiriima nda laabiize-taray cawo: mate no i bare d'a, afirko ra?**

### **Abdeljalil akkari nda rita locatelli**

Dunguryandi

Wo kaŋ iri ga bay, ga ci, biiriimay takey kaŋ ga zuru-ga-windi laabey da care game ra, no ga furo afirki; kaŋ sinda i ma bay hala a ga saba da afirkiizey naamey nda i taarifey. Hantumo wo ra, iri ga kookari ka alhaalo din gata-baraw; ka takey kaŋ jin ka furo afirki, hääyaŋ nda alhaali dogono yan ra.

Sintina day, iri ma fisiyaŋ te, laabey-da-care-game-ra sanni beerey, kaŋ i ka, zankey alhakkey boŋ iri ga guna ka di sandayey kaŋ na i ganji i ma koy ka saba da afirki biiriima. Sandayey din si bangay day kala zanka-kayne dan-goyyaŋ boŋ; i ma sasabandiyəŋ daŋ arwasiizo nda wayborayzo game ra; waasu-ka-hijjandiyəŋ nda wayborayzey dan-banguyajo.

Wo-din banda, iri ma fisiyaŋ te, afirki lokkolo alhaaley bon; waana-waana, wo kaŋ yan ga maanu naamey da cara waney. Hari kulu kaŋ ga ci nayzetara kaŋ go dumey da care game ra, da kaŋ a tilas, biiriima ma te lakkal-kanay ra, nda sanda kaŋ sumi kayna-kayne go ga du biiriima do haray; nda naamey barmayyaŋ waasa kaŋ afirki al-umma go ga di sohō, kulu no fisiyano ga guna.

Kambe-kokara day ga ci, iri ma bay kaŋ tira wo ga laabiizetaray-beerandiyano cawo te; da a ga ci wo kaŋ ga iri laabo hinne guna no, wala ndunja talaato kulu wana. A ga haggum, iri ma cawo-din te, zama laabiizetara-beerandiyano go ga di barmay waaso yan kaŋ ga hamburandi. Zaamaani laabaaro nooyəŋ fondo tajey, kambe go barmayano-din ra, zama i si hin ka cimo da a hima-cara hirro fayanka ka ka care-ra. Hari kulu kaŋ zaamaani barmayyaney-din ga kande biiriima do haray, no iri ga fisi ga ceeci.

Tangamo kaŋ iri ga te day ga ci iri ma gande-feeri hari kulu kaŋ ga iri nafa, laabey-da-cara biiriima boŋ; kaŋ si iri ganji iri ma fassarey nda saba-nda-carey bay, ga du ga haggoy da alhaali nda barmayyaŋ cindo kaŋ ga fun afirki ganda ra.

#### **i.afirkiizo alhakkey: laabey-da-care-game ra fondey, da wo kaŋ go ga te afirki.**

Za 1945, adamayzey alhakkey kayandiyəŋ sankey, na ciiti-fondo yan sambu kaŋ ga zankey guna, i biiriima nda i ma si baara-baara daŋ i game ra, boŋ. Mate kaŋ kola(2017), na a ci da: gurjay beeri, kaŋ ga ndunna taalaato kulu kande nga gaakaasina banda no, i na zankey alhakku-ce-kayantey, daahirandi. Wo-din man te kala zeenab kwaaraa kabarandiyəŋ beero kaŋ ndunja laabey sata beero koy ka gisi ka boori (1924). Ga to no sata follonka, na kabarandiyano –din tabbatandi, 1954. Kala 1989 no sataa koy ka to diraw kuuko-din me. Afirki laabey marga beero no na afirki zankey alhakkey nda i ba-funay hanna tira-beero gisi ka boori, 1999. A koy ka himan da hari kulu kaŋ go ndunja laabey marga beero wafaka ra. Iri ma gaayi kaŋ, laabey-da-cara, nda afirki gandey, nda laabu folloŋ no na wafakey, nda kabarandiyəŋ boobo hantum, jiiri boobo banda. Kookarey kaŋ i daŋ laabey-nda care- gama ra, tira-beerey wo ga, ga cabe iri se nufa boobo: sintina day, a ga laabo fongandi tilas beero kaŋ go nga boŋ, zankey hallasa nda i biiriima nda i gaakaasina fondey ra. afirki laabu boobo no na kambe-daŋ laabey-da-care gama ra wafakey tirey ga. I na i daŋ laabo ciiti-tirey boŋ, afo yan, na ngey boŋ daŋ ndunna gande-beeri fooyəŋ waafakey tirey boŋ.

wo-din banda, laabey-da-cara fondo ba-funante kulu kaŋ ga zankey alhakkey guna, i na i baribata te hayrayey, nda cawandikey nda dondanandikey kulu se; kaŋ ga naŋ i ma fondo ce-kayante yan sambu, zankey ma du ka kookari, ngey boŋ se. Wo-din mo banda, laabey-da-cara tira baafunantey, hima ga furo porzey nda laabey-da-cara, nayzeturay sijiri beerey, neesijey ra. I ga te sabiili kaŋ ga zankey ba-funa hanse waana-waana, zanka hina-kayna koyey.

Afirki zankey alhakkey laabey-da-cara sanni-beerey tira tajey boŋ teera hanno no, amma kaŋ si wasa. Afo day, poltik sanka kulu kaŋ i sambu kaŋ ga koy ga saba da laabey-da-cara fondey, gonda sanday yan, za i ne i ma goy d'ey da cimi. Kokor-banda jiiri-wayey ra, afirki laabey gaabey gaze gumo. Tina kaŋ i dake i boŋ, arzakaa sogonyano nda gomnati hawzuyaŋ hanna ma ga, na dolle ka laabey nda ngey zankey ga. (adepoju, 1993; thomson,2017). Afirki wayna-kana ra laabey kan ga ci niizer, burkina faso, singal, kuduwaaru wala binin, na ngey boŋ tilassandi ka tiney kaŋ go ngey boŋ, dake satey kaŋ go ngey boŋ-goray ra boŋ, nda laabo wala laabey-da-cara satey kaŋ go ngey boŋ-goray ra boŋ; ga-baano nda cawandiyano do haray.

“dabaro-din no ga kande gomnati, ma goy nda satey kaŋ go ngey-boŋ-goray, alwaati banda kaŋ nga d'ey na kambe daŋ goy-tira yan ga; tira kaŋ ga, boro kulu ga ze ka alkawli toonandi, hari kaŋ ga naŋ sijiri maanante, kaŋ ga ci; albeerey cawandiyano nda i bayray-duura.”

(mcapln, fita 9,2010.)

Laabu foyaŋ wo na ngey laabu-gandey ka-banda, kaŋ ga sijirey kulu maanandi laabo gunda ra haray borey se, dogonay ma du ga te, amma, nooro nda goy-jinayey sambayano te sanday kaŋ naŋ sijiro-din kafana. Nooro nda goy-jiney ma ka da latiyaŋ beeri, wala, i si ka pat-pat. Kaŋ manci wo-din, laabey-da-cara- gaakasinay sata, kaŋ hima ga ka-bandayano no gaabi, man du fondey kulu kaŋ ga naŋ a ma goyo te mate kaŋ ka-bandaa ma goro ga boori, ga saba da afirki naamey ra teerey (hyden, 2017.) Hala day ka-bandayano, waana-waana, lokkol kayney do hara, ga naŋ gaakasina ma nafa borey se, a ma si te sabiili kaŋ ga naŋ gomnati ma laabo-gandey kaŋ ga maana yababe.

Ya-din ga, jandi beeri goono sankey kaŋ gomnatey sambu afirki zankey alhakkey boŋ, da alhaaley kaŋ si ga timme sankey din fondo ra. Alhaaley wo si bangay day kala laabey kaŋ go lakkal-tunay ra do. Laabey-wo ga ba afirko ra zama no-din zanka booboo zuru ngey hayrey banda ka ngey laabey naŋ. Gomnatey nda poltiko borey jaŋ-ka-bayra, laabey-da-cara ciiti fondey kaŋ ga zankey alhakkey guna, te tafar kaŋ ga jamaa kulu ganji i ma wa-faku gurja din ra.(akkari nda sagayar, 2021).

wo-din banda, fondo fooyan kaŋ go laabey-da-cara barbatafooyaŋ ra ga kubay da wongay, zama i ga ka ka tuku naamey, wala addiino, wala al-umma fondo goranteyan boŋ. Hari kaŋ ga i goyo gasuyano ganji. A hima no, laabey-da-cara, sijiri kindo, ma koy ga saba da naamey teerey. Manci laabey-da-cara ma sobay ka kaseeta, ka ci sanno; i hima no ka afirki al-umma dum, a ma furo zaamaano fondey ra, kaŋ manci a ma nga naamey kaŋ ga ci a kaajey, furu. Iri ga cabe taali silman taaci kaŋ ga borey daŋ i ma yarda da sijiri tajey; goyo ma du ka gasu, zankey alhakkey fonda ra.

Za gayyaŋ no laabey-da-cara na zankey dan-goyo ganji, zankaa kaŋ ga goy wo, hina-siiyan beeri hinka no go a ga: a go zanka; a go talka. Fonda-din ra no i ga wata, ka zankaa daŋ goy tinoyan ra, wala teera laaloyaŋ ra.(bit,2002). Afirki kwaara-beeri booboo ra, zankey go fondey boŋ, i sinda sutura, i sinda saajaw, i ga barkar, gunde ra haray ma i taanu, doori-doora, kaŋ man ci teerra laaley kaŋ ra i ga furo.konkonsa booboo ra, i cabe kaŋ afirki zankey kaŋ go goy ra, dimma ga koy ga to ngey boro milyo 100, ne ka koy jiiri 15. Haali kaŋ ga te afirki gomnatey nda a poltikiizey se garan-garan guguri. Talka-tara day no kande afirki zankey ma furo goy (adamsi, 2002).

Zankey goyo ganjiyano si te kala da talkatara zabu; da i na borey boney feeri, naamey nda addino bon. Hayrey hima ka ngey tilaso bay, zankey biiriima da i saajawiano kan ci i kurayyano do haray. Zankey talfiyano boro se hima da i ma moy dan a ga ga boori. Fuula-kwaaray koyey satey, nda alfagey hima ga albeerey kan ga zankey dan goy, jukke. Al-umma naamey neesiyan hima ka iri fahamandi da zankey goyo wo . Fu alhaaley no i ga guna ka faham da taaley nda suujey kaŋ go zankey goyo ra. Andunna talaato fahama kaŋ anniya ga ci: zankey ma fun-korfo, i ma si ye ka goy; si lakkal di, da boro ga zankey nda ngey hayrey, ka koy al-umma kulu, alhaalo bay.(abebe nda bessel, 2011). Da boro sambu fulaniize kayna, alman-kura kaŋ a ga te, gonda nafa, da a si ganji a ma cawayan kulu te. Tabbat, wo-din hima ka koy kurayyano ga, kaŋ si kande hayrey talkatara ma si i daŋ, i ma fizaw, kuruyano wala cawo.

Laabey-da-cara tira booboo ra no wayborayzo nda alborayzo sasabandiyano go, gurbi hanno ra, i sijiri beero kaŋ ga koy hala 2030 ra. Kulunda, da boro na india laabo nda niizer laabo yaasa kaŋ ga

ne: "ize-way duure nda a biiriima ga hima da, boro kañ na kali waani hanandi." Wo-ne ga cabe kañ fayankaa kañ go alborayzo nda wayborayzo game ra, gonda kaaji beeri. A kamaata iri ma al-umma naamey barmay ka alhaalo hinse. Amma, hanseyarñ dumo kañ i kande afirko ra si hin ka sanda din boñ-za. Hala i ga naamey teerey, nda al-umma jance, i hima no ga borey cabe nafa kañ go i ma si fayanka danj wayborayzo nda alborayzo game ra.

Waasu ka hiijandiyano nda wayborayzo danj-banguyano wo, balaawu no kañ ga zanka milliyo yanj ga-baano nda lakkaley sara, sanku afirko ra, (moody, 2020.) Kokari beeri go ga te bo, amma yeeni go a ra; zama taaley na kaaji jayante te al-umma naamey ra. Fondo ra, tina kanj go lokkol boñ, gonda himma. Da i du ka wayborayzo gaayi lokkol kala a ma to jiiri 12 ka koy jiiri 18, i ga waasu-ka-hiijijano, nda hayyanj-waasa ganji; a ga naj mo, zankey-din, ma caw ka to nangu kanj i ga caley yaamar balaawey-din ga, kanj ga ci, dan-banguyano nda lokkol fattayano. Balaawey wongo ra, bora kulu hima ka kambe- dan- care-kambe- ra, lokkolo bumbo, cawkey, hayrayey, cawandikey, nda al-umma kulu. Silmano ga ci, da i na wayboro-cawandikey dimma tonton, a ga hin ga wayborayzey zuga, i ma caw ga te cawandiko yanj, wala ka hima da ngey wayboro-cawandikey, (stromquist nda al, 2017). Balaawu taaco, lakkal-tuna, kanj ga ci zankey kanj ga zuru nangu fo ga ka, na i bon-zayano ganji; zama zankey-din si hallasay ra ba kayna; kogondo-laabey nda niizer bumbo go tangamo din ga.

Da i ga ba zankey alhakkey ma daahirandi, i ma fondo boobo gana; i ma gurjay ga afirki almayaaley talkatara bon-za. Hari kulu si balaawey-din kambandi, da zankey alhakkey taamuyano man ban; sanda, da i ga sobay ga al-umma nda naamey yababe.

## **2. Lokkolo bayrayey-da-cara fondey**

Laaabey-da-care-game ra hijira fondo ra, azawa-kambe laabu boobo na diraw tajijanj danj ngey cawandiyano sjirey ra, ka koy ka saba da boro dumi-dumi boobo naamey.(akkari nda radhouane, 2019). Dandi-kamba laabey wo, waana-waana afirki laabey, dirawey-din ce si ga kay, wala mo nangu fo-fo no a go ga te-te; wala i ma di ga dondon taray haray.

Iri ga miila mo kañ , afirki nda niizer ga hima nangu yanj kanj ra naamey-da-care biirima hima ka te diraw-taji. Iri ma si dirgan kanj mayray-futa kanj ga iri na zaamani lokkolo tubu, no na iri afirki naamey nakasandi. Iri laabey bon-duura banda, iri si daahirandi kanj lokkolo na lakkal danj kwaarey nda laabo naamey ga. Fondo wo-ne ra, iri hima ka naamey-da-cara dirawey burkin(aman, 2017).

Iri ciiney nda afirki naamey kanj sinda gaabi lokkolo ra, no kande kanj bayray duura si kubay. Iri ga bay mo kañ , i si ga fonda gana kanj ga zanka kulu hima ga caw nga ciina ra, ba day a ga ci a lokkol- jiiri-sintiney waate no; jiirey da jiirey ba mo, kanj ceciciyanj guusey cabe kanj cawandiyano tabbatanta gonda hanfaani boobo, (cummis, 2017). Alwaato to, i ma naj iri afirki ciiney ma furo cawo ra. Za jiiri 2017 ra, unesco laabey-da-cara cawandiyano bira, na tira fo ka, kanj ma: " i ma cawandi i ma du bayray ciine-boobo cawandijanj ga." A yaamar afirki wayno-kana laabey, ma cawandi da ciine-hinka. Tira-a-din man jeeri kala: burkina, niizer nda singal cawandijanj sjirey ga. A cabe mo kañ , i hima ga goy da ciine-hinkaa cawandijanj dumi-dumey kanj goono laabey ra ,(bie, unesco, 2017). Ciine-hinka cawandijanj ce-kayante yanj te, sanda niizer nda afirko ra nangu fooyanj , (malan garba,2004); schneuwly nda al..2019; benso, 2020). A cindi, i ma tonton wo-kanj goono ga, i ma du cawandiyano boorey kulu yardaa.

Lokkol bayrayey-da-cara kubayyano fondey, waana-waana laabey kanj go kogondi-laabey bindo ra, nda niizer, hima ka naj lokkol-furoyano ce ma kay nangey kanj ra lakkal-tunay nda jan-ka-ma-care se go. Ize-yaamey toona kanj i ga te, na lokkol boobo say wala i ma ne a na i daabu. Da iri guna sabayano kanj gay dumey-da-cara nda naamey-da-cara game ra, niizeeriya laabu, siino sohõ. Wo-din ka kande lakkal-kanay cawo hima ka furo cawandiyano ra, a ma koy ka saba da borey naamey-bayrayey-da-cara.

Iri di kañ dumey-da-cara sabayano kañ go kuduwaaru dumi fo yañ game ra, hima ga te dondonyañ hari, niizer. Sabayano-din si te kala dumi hinka wala dumi boobo game ra. Sanka no borey ga sambu care se, ka hijandi care se. Kuduwaaru wano kañ se i ga ne: "toukpé" za kaayi-kaayey waate no i na sankey-din sambu ngey game ra; a na foori-ka-sinay (baasataray) no gaabi, borey ga fooru da care, i ga care hahara; salma-haaray ra, kañ sinda futay care se.

"za don-don no baasatara-din furo borey game ra. Teera fo yañ kañ te i game ra, no na baasatara-din sijiri (kayne nda beere game ra; almayaali hinka da cara game ra; dumi hinka da cara game ra). Fodo kulu dumi ra no baasatara-din gana ka furo. A na yanje ganji borey game ra; borey ga care gaakasinay, i ga fooru da care, i ga hiji care ga. Wo-din ga kande lakkal-kanay borey game ra, jamaa ma margu ka te boñ follon."(insiata,2013).

Singal laabu, seererey nda fulaney ga fooru nda care. A fo kulu kañ kubay da nga cala, ba day i si care bay, i ga hin ga care kosa-kosa. Anfoyañ , foori-futay kañ sinda i ma futu care se. Wo-din ka dumi-dumi alaasira nda care-wonga ganji, sanda mate kañ ndunja-goray beeray nda mun-adamayze beeray-guusokooni boobo na a ci da.

Ba day kan niizer lokkolo sijiri beero gonda masala boobo kañ yañ ga ci: cinarey, cawandikey dondonandiyaney, caw-goy-jinayey ceeciyen , a hima mo ka lakkal danj iri naamey nda iri ciiney ga, soola beerey kañ go a anniya ra. Iri ma iri naamey nda iri ciiney kubay iri lokkolo ra, sinda dambara; bayrayey ma care kubay no ga nañ iri nda iri lokkolo ma koy ka hima care. Niizer lokkolo ma bayrayey nda care beerandi no ga kande dogonay, suuru nda laasaabu hanno. Fondey-din ganayano ga hagu da iri ga bay lakkal-tuna kañ go laabo gandefoyan ra.

## **1. Laabiizetaray duure biiriima: i ma afirki bayrayey gorandi.**

Kañ ga nañ i ma niizer nda afirki furo-tajey soola da boro-asulu boobo ra goray iri hima ga fondo tajiyen di, kañ ga hima da: (1) iri ma bisa laabiize-taray beera hinne ga; (2) iri ma goy da biiriima kañ ga ndunna talaato kulu laabiizetara bay, kañ ga ci afirki naamey cawayen tontoney kañ a ga kande laabay-da-cara cinaro se.

Afirki lokkolo ra, i ga miila kañ laabiizetaray beera ga ci, ni ma laabo ce-dirawey bay. Wo-din ka kande i ma zankey ka-baaru da laabo ciiti-tira beero; poltiki-saruusi beerey ce-dirawey nda laabiizey alhakkey nda i tinayey. Cawandiyan gulla, nda alwaati neesiyano sijiro, na nangu hanno ka laabu-ce-diraw bayray cawo se. Iri hima ga fun wo-din (lokkol cawo ra laabiizetaray bayrayey) banda. Iri ma di fonda kañ ga lokkol cawo nda bayra kañ i ga du al-umma ra, ma care kubandi. Wo-din no ga kande zankey, i lokkol-baafuna ra, i ma faham da demokarsiya, may-ka-tañ-care-se, fayankey, alhakkey, tinayey, windanta saajawyan, nda salan-ka-dan-care-me-ra.

Laabiizetaray biiriima hima ka mo-danj iri niizer-laabu sandey kañ go asulu booba, kañ zaamaani-laabaari sayyan fondey, sobay ka bare-bare. I hima no ka nañ lokkol kayney nda i sasabey lokkoliizey fahama ma nañ i ma bay kañ asuli dumi-dumiyan no laabiizetara ga guna; ga bay mo kañ waana-care go borey game ra, dumitara, addino, laabu-gande, nda al-umma kulu do haray (sagayar, 2020). Zaamaani laabaari-sayyan fondey go ngey hina kulu ga, al-ummey kulu do, ka iri bumbo ndunja-gora, da iri nda boro jarey gorkasina, bare-bare. I hima ka sakulla ka goy da zaamaani laabaari sayyan fondey, sanku lakkal-tunay zaamaano wo ra, waana-waana niizer kañ ize-futo laalo yan wo go ga fondey-din gana ka furo-tajey danj-ganji, ka i no taari boñ laabaariyan, kañ ga hin ka i turandi. Wo-din se," iri hima ka dabari barmay, kañ ga furo-tajey boñey feeri laabiizetara ma ga, ka du ka laabaari laaley nda i hanney ka care ra. Ngey da cara mo ga hin ka ngey kambe laabaari nooyan fondo yan feeri, ka care ka-baaru, cimi fondey ra."(unesco,2017, fita 54-55.)

Ndunja taalaatu kulu laabiizetaray beera ga te fondo hanno kañ i ga gana (akkari nda maleq, 2020.) Ce-dira-din ka ci, laabey-da-care-game ra sijiro kañ i te kala jiiri 2030; nufa beeri 4 – nufa kayna 4.7, cawandiyano fondo ra.

*Ne ka koy 2030, cawkey kulu hima ka du bayray nda gonitaray yan kaj ga naq i ma hin ka jine-koyyan daahiranta tabbatandi, ba-funay hanna ma ga, mun-adamayzey alhakkey ma ga, alboro nda wayboro ma koy ka sabayano ma ga, lakkal-kanay duura ma ga, jan-ka care marayyano ma ga, ndunja laabiizetaray bayra ma ga, bayray dum-dumi booba beerabdiyan ma ga, nda gaakasina kaj i ga kande, jine-koyyan ma daahirandi.*

Unesco ne, ndunja laabiizetaray bayra wo, cawaq dabari no kaj ga "cawkey ga faham da boro kulu go nga boq -goray ra, ndunna talaato kulu mo, nda nga al-umma sata-satey kaj go a ra, go kambe-ga-kambe ra, i ga di fayanka-fayanka kaj go borey game ra, i ga di ga dondon hari kaj ga ci care-beerandiyen, i ga du gonitarayyan, alhaali yan nda da-hanno yan kaj ga i gaakasinay jamaa gora ra, i ma du ka zaada ngey bumbo. Amma, hala i ga to no-din, ndunja laabiizetaray bayra, ga i zuga care-diiyan ga, care ba-kasinay ga, ngey laabo bumbo ra, nda laabo hirrey banda. Da burkintaray, nda jan-ka-care tooneyan, barmayyan ma du ka te."(unesco, 2017, fita 38-39).

Da i na fondo-beeri yan sambu kaj naamey kulu ga gana, nda iri ma faham kaj iri ndunna al-umma kulu afollonka no, ndunna laabiizetaray bayra, ga hin ga ka cawaq fanni foyan ra. I ga hin ka ba fondo-beerey-din maayey barmay, sanda i ma ne: "lakkal-kanay duure bayray, cawaq" wala "borey ma dondon ka ba-funay care ra" ga naq zankey nda alborayze-beerey suuro ma tonton, zama i ga bay kaj ngey kulu al-umma follonka boro yan no. Wo-din nufaa ga ci laabiize kulu gonda fondo a ma ci-ni-baayi, a ma te-ni-baayi. Ya-din ga, i hima ka cawandiyen fondey barmay, i ma koy ga saba da laabo cawandiyen alhaaley; i ma cawandiko nda dondonandiko yan no bayray, i ma al-umma kulu dan dirawo ra, waana-waana, hayrayey nda almayaaley.

Afirki taarifo nda a naamay ra, gonda sabiiliyan kaj ga ndunja laabiizetaray bayra gorandi. Care beerandiyen, care ba-kasinay, nakafosinotaray dabuyan kaj se borey gurjay, jiirey nda jiirey, sanda "mande sijiri-beero" kaj ka ga te waazu, borey ma yarda care ga, care beerandiyen nda lakkal-kanay fondo ra,(unesco,2018, fita 3). Me-da- me ga no i na mande sijiri-beero-din kar-ka-say ndunja ra. A ga mun-adamayze fundi no darza, boro kulu gonda fondo a ma ba-funay, borey ma saba ka te afo, kaj fayanka si i game ra, wayborey alhakkey, te-ni-baayi fondey, ciiti hanno, sasabandiyen, nda care diiyan; sijiri-beero ne al-umma kulu ma goro lakkal-kanay ra, boro kulu da nga naamo, da nga bayra, laabo ma goro gurbi follonka ra, i ma si a fay, me-ñwaaro ma wasa, ci-ni-baayo ma tabbatandi.

Laabey-da-care-game ra margaa kaj i te, bayray tontonno boq, kaj se i ga ne " ndunja laabiizetaray bayra ma zaada afirki wana-kana ra." Kaj unesco sogen jiiri 2015, kaj na cdeo laabu 15 margu; ne kaj fahamay-janay kulu si laabiizetaray nda ndunja laabiizetaray bayra game ra. I na laabey kulu kan ka marga do yaamar, i ma bayraykooney nda laabaari-nooyan-fonday boney feerri, ndunja-laabiizetaray-bayra boq, i ma cawandikey nda caw sogenanta, nda wo kaj i man sogen borey kulu bayrayey tonton; i ma hino-borey, nda hawzukey, nda lokkol sasabey jine-funey, nda caw-tira hantumkey, nda cawandiyen goy-jinayey kaj ga ndunja-laabiizetaray-bayra guna, nda lakkal-kana, nda borey alhakkey. I ne mo i ma sijiri ka zaamaani-laabaari-nooyan fonday boq, kaj ga borey boney-feeri ga du ga goy d'ey. I ma i yaamar, i ma fondo-dogono ka laabey-da-care-game nda laabu-gandey game ra, kaj ga al-umma zuga i ma kambe dan teera-hanney nda fondo-tajey dirawey ra (unesco, 2015).

Sanno bananta ka ci, iri ma bay kaj laasaabo nda hanseyano kaj iri hima ga te, da a ga ci niizer no, da a ga ci afirki bumbo no, ndunna laabiize-taray-bayra duure, hima ka afirki naamey ce-gana, kaj sinda i ma teera-waani yan sambu ka dan care ra. Da iri sambu sata-kayneey do, wayboro nda alboro sanno hima ka te da lakkal, niizer ra, kaj si borey turandi. Mate kaj (pelizzari na a ci da, 2020), dabo kaj go lokkol-bayray-duura nda borey alhakkey ga, hima ka bangay, al-umma nda adamayze bayray, cawko beerey laasaabu-beeri banda.

#### **4. Cawayañ alhaaley kañ ka zaamaani-laabaari-nooyañ-fondøy banda**

Borey go gagoy gumo da zaamaani-laabaari-nooyañ fondøy, kañ ga ci dadara-taaro; iri hima ka laasaabu kan wo-din ga hin ka kande alhaali yañ kañ si koy da afirki naamey alhaaley. Bayray-tajey kañ a ga kande, kañ ga hima zaamaani hari, ga hin ga iri naamey taamu; i ga hin ka almayaaleyn care ra, ka furo-tajey boney bare, ngey kañ ga goy d'a alwaati kulu, ndunja marguyañ-sijiri-beero ma ga. Lokkoley hima ka arra-daj, kañ ga furo-tajey hallasi.

Dadara-taaro zaamaano ga hin ka kande nga gaakasinay lokkolo cawandiyano se, zama a ga kande barmayyan naamey bayra do; hari-taji kañ borey gonda a muraadu cimi-cimi. Lokkoley gay kañ ngey no ga bayra kulu kañ ga boro nafa, no, da a gaci goyo do haray no, da a ga ci al-umma fondøy ra no. Amma dadaara-taro zaamaano na lokkolo ganji a ma goro nga gurbi zeena ra, kañ ga ci; nga no ga ci bayray nooyañ gulla beero.

Borey ga zaamaani-jinayey-din sambu hari kan ga bayray no jamaa se, kañ ga nañ laabo-izey kulu ma caw. Sanda, si jinayey dimma do, a si mo, jinayey kañ go lokkol, tajitara ga; wo-kañ hagu, ka ci mata kañ i ga goy d'a, nda nafa kañ i go ga batu a ga. Wo-din fondo ra, i hima ka cawandikey dondonandi, i goyo ma du alhaali hanno jiiri-zanguri xxie, dondonyano ma si kay jiney bayray hinne ga, i ma kookari mo ka dabari-taji yañ daj ngey cawandiyano ra.

Alwaati follonka ra, iri ma bay kañ dadara-taaro hawzuyano gonda sanday kañ ga a ganji a ma to bora kulu do, bora kulu ma goy d'a. Covid 19 zaamaano ra, i na lokkol boobo daabu kañ na zankey-din ganji i ma du ba, jandi-kuuku cawandiyano (unicef, 2020). Dadaara-taaro nda jinayey nda hari kulu kañ go a banda, jaña, nda almayaaleyn talka-tara, na zankey kañ lokkoley daabu, zaalum, ka i fayanka da zanka cindey. Fonda-din ra, covid19 na hari yañ bangandi, hala a na i tonton bumbo; almayaaleyn jan-ka-sasabandiyano, lokkoliize-kayneyn nda nibarsite woney, cawandikey da care-game ra, cinarey do haray, gomnati fondøy wala banayañ fondu, hala a to cawandiyen sijiri-beero ga. Jan-ka-sasabandiyano si bangay kala almayaaleyn taka ga, wayboro wala alborø ga, sabiilo kañ na bora dirandi nga kwaara, bora jiiro, wala nango kañ bora ka ga ba-funay alhaalo (faada, kawye wala nangu kañ sinda anfaani kulu.) Da nangu kañ sinda kuuran nda dadara-taaro; da nangu kañ cawandiyen sijiri-beero si zaada (igodoe nda lange, tira kañ ma fatta jina.)

5. Kay-furu: dabando kañ go laabey-da-care-game ra gaabo nda afirki gundo cawandiyano game ra.

Za annasaarey mayray-futa waate, kala iri bon-duura ga, no afirki cawandiyano na fata-feeri laabey-da-cara se. Fata-feeriyan gonda nafa, zama a na afirko daj ndunja bato ra. Amma a na taali yañ mo iri naamey do haray.

Bon-jara wo cabe no kañ, kookarey kañ laabey-da-cara te tira-albarkantey hantumo ga, man ganji kañ jandi-kuuku goono sankey kañ laabey sambu afirki zankey alhakkey bon, nda teerey kañ mo ga di, game ra. Laabey-da-cara margey, ganji i ma zankey daj goy; kulu nda, sandey goono kañ ga ci, almayaaleyn talkatara laala. Alhaalo wo ra, sasabandiyen si du ka te wayboriizey nda alboriizey game ra. Ba kañ kookari te, waasu-ka-hiijandiyano nda

Dan-banguyano do hara, teerey-din kulu kaajey goono hunkuna boro foyay do. Wo-din ga kande sanday wayboriizey kañ dimma ga te milyo yan, ga-baano se; waana-waana i lakkalo wala i ga-hamo do haray, se.

I gaayi kañ, da i ga ba i ma afirki nda niizer furo-tajey soola i ma hin ka ba-funay al-umma ra, kala i ma naamey-da-cara fondu wala laabiizetay bayra no ngey darza. Wo-ne hima ka te sakkullu hari, da iri guna kañ nangu boobo go lakkal-tunay ra. Zaamaani laabaari-nooyañ fondu ga hin ka kande ngey gaakasina, borey ma gande-feeri care se, demookarsia fondo ra. Karhā-beeri mo go dirawo-din ra kañ ga teera yawyañ kañ si boori, ga ka ka furo borey se. Cawandiyen hanno ga hin ka kande barmayyan, kañ ga kunda yañ sogon, lakkal-kanay ra. Ya-din ga, cawandikey hima ga du beerey taji yañ, i ma du ka gonitarey yañ bangandi, barmayyaney-din ma tabbata.

Boŋ-jaro wo, kaŋ go cawandiyəŋ tira-beero ra, ga hin ga kande boŋ-feeray kaŋ ga niizer cawandiyano boryandi. Goy-jinay no kaŋ i ka taray, iri ciine taaci ga, kaŋ i ga hin ga daŋ ka cawandikey dondonandi se, wala cawandikey bumbo kaŋ go laabo talaato kulu ra, ma goy d'a, fondo kaŋ ga hagu da nangu-nangey ra. Da iri ga ba afirko cawandiyəŋ fondey ma boori, bora kulu hima ka kambe-danç-care-kambe ra: cawandiko, cawkey nda ngey hayrey, ka cabe kaŋ, lokkolo nda al-umma ga ba dondonyaŋ (bougma nda al.. 2021).

## Bon-jare 2

**Cawandiyəñ fondey kañ go alkuraana ra  
Bouba adamou**

### Dunguryandi

Boñ-jara wo mafaaro ka ci, iri ma laasaabu te, alkuraana cawandiyano bon, ka du ka di, nafa nda booriyano kan a ga kabnde niizer gomnati lokkoley se. Ya-din ga, iri ga hima no ka alkuraana cawandiyano laasaabu, barmayyaney nda haaley kañ ra a jin ka te, lokkoley ra. Alkurana bumbo, kañ iri hima ka guna sanda cawndiyəñ tira, caw-baajine-baajine nda ciina, boñ no laasaabo din ga te. Laasaabo ga guna bayrey kañ go alkuraana ra kañ ga dondonkey lakkaley ma zaada; hala iri ga gosi yañ cabe, cawandikey nda ngey dondonnandikey se, kañ i ga nafa d'a, lokkol cawandiyano nda dondonnandiyo ga. Hantumiize beerey: alkuraana, cawandi nda caw baajine-baajineyiiba, lokkol, niizer.

Niizer wo, za don-don no bayrey timmantey kañ go alkuraana cawo lokkoley ra, na bora kulu boney margu. Ya-din ga, iri ma kondaa jine ga cabe kañ taali kulu siino lokkolo nda al-umma naamey game ra. A ga cabe mo kañ iri na niizer zanka no nga alhakkey, kañ yañ ga kande a se dogonay, lokkol caw ra. Wo-din ga zanka booboo hallasi boñ-buunay wala lokkol mongonay ga. Fonda wo ra, boñ-dake wone ga kande nufa akikante taaki, kañ yañ ga ci: 1) i ma bay, i fo ga ci dabarey nda laasaabey kañ i ga alkuraana cawo te da lokkolo ra; 2) i ma cawandiyəñ tirey kulu kañ cawandikey ga goy d'ey, ka waani; 3) i ma alkuraana cawo lokkoley neesi ka di i ce-dirawey nda zaamaano sogonyano kañ i te a se, jiiri-wayey kañ bisa ra; 4) i ma guna fondo yañ kañ ga alkuraana cawo dabarey sogen kañ ga gomnati lokkoley nafa. Hala iri ga to no-din, iri hima no ka neesi ka di mate no, alkuraana cawo te d'a, nda tontono kañ a du niizer. Ga i ma mo-dan, cawandiyano nda caw baajine-baajiney ga. Boñ-daka ga ban da, alkuraana cawandiyəñ fondey bayyan, ka du ka gosi yañ no kañ i ga hin ga danj lokkol cawanney ra.

#### 1) Mata kan alkuraana ga cawo go ga te da, niizer.

kañ na a ka madarsey kan gomnati sijir, alkuraana ga cawandiyəñ dumi hinka no go niizer; afa, za don-don no a goono kañ ga ci dudal-gande cawo, nda ihinkanta kañ alfaga yañ nda boro fo yañ no na sijiri, zaamaani wo ra. Sintinay wona, kañ ga ci dudal-gande wana, na nga jiiri zangey kar, borey sobay ka a tubu care ga, poltiko wala alfagey naaruyañ ga du bayray-taji, baayey ra. Ihinkanta wo man bangay kala mayray-futa banda, kañ borey du ngey boñ, barmayyañ booboo te alwaato-din ra. fonda-din ra, du-bonyanodin nañ barmayyañ te caw-zeena ga. Boro ga di bumbo kañ caw-zeena ga no itajo fun.

#### 1.1 Taarifo fuumey

Da iri bay kañ niizer al-umma tuubiyano banda no alkuraana cawandiyano ka, iri ma yarda kañ cawo-din gay, jiirey nda jiirey (hamani,2007). Nibarsite-beerey bangayyano, sanda sankore wana kañ go tombouktou (mali); nangu-beeri booboo kañ i ga alkuraana caw, sanda agadez, wala, wo-kan man gay, say wana (niizer wayna-kana ra); no ga iri cabe kañ alkuraana cawo gay afirki wayna-kana ra. Kañ na a ka "târikh" hinka kañ taarifi-ciiko beerey ga goy d'ey, afirki gando wo ra, al-maghili tira-beero kañ ga ci, tuuyayañ iyya kañ i kande askia hääyaney se, cabe mate kañ no hino-borey nda niizer –ganda borey na alkuraana cawo no gaabi za jiirey-da-jiirey.

Alkuraana cawo na laasaabu-guuso yan bangandi alwaato-din ra. Mata kañ bayray-duura nda a kar-ka-sayyano te d'a, no ga laasaabu-guusey-din kañ fun alkuraana bayrayey ga, bangandi. Alhaali timmantey kañ i ga di tira-albarkanto wo cawo ga ka ci:

- taalibiizo alkuraana-cawañ furoyano ga hin ka fun baabo do ( da jiirey man kubay) wala zanka bumbo do (da a je-je).
- cawayan alwaatey ga dogon i baayan kulu si te kala guuru (5 ka koy guuru 20); fillayaney nda gosey ga koy ga saba da alwaato kan go borey se
- ciina kañ bora kulu ga ci ga no cawo ga te, nangu kulu kañ no ni cawo to;
- alkuraana cawo go boro kulu goray ra, boro kulu mo ga hin ka kande i ga gaakasina;
- ka kambe dañ banayano ra, a hina wone:
- jawo waate , kañ fari-goyey ban, cawkey nda alfagey ga naaru ka bayray ceeci
- cawo si boro kulu ganji goy fo teeyan, da a ga ci alfaga no, da a ga ci cawko no;
- boro kulu da nga kookaro no, jine-koyyano do haray; za cawka to i ma a bisandi, no a ga bisa, kañ man to a ma boro batu, amma yeerayano tilas alwaati kulu;
- borey kañ alkuraana bayra mooru, ga du beeray jamaa do.i ga hima i ma i dañ boro ce-kayantey ra, kañ i ga hin ka sawara d'a, alkuraana kariimo ma ga;
- bayrayey ga ka ga al-umma kulu nafa, alhaali kañ ga i daahirandi, bora kulu ga i hallasi;
- bayra dir-ka-windiyano ga dogon al-umma da care game ra, da a ga ci bayraykooney no, da a ga ci cawkey no, da a ga ci tyira-beerey no. Malikia cawo no ga ba niizer, ba day kañ caw-fey mo goono. Dudal no i ga ne naamo ra alkuraana cawo se, hari kañ go ga kande candi-canda foyan (meunier, dir..2009). Za mayray-futa waate, annasarey si ga naanay dudalo din ga, zama a si koy ka saba da anniyeey kañ go i se. Kañ annasaara bay kañ nga si hin ka dudalo ganji, ka nga lokkolo tilasandi borey ga, kulu a na madarsa feeri 1947, kañ ra i ga laarabu-ciina cawandi, naanay ma furo nga nda borey game ra. Madarsa si cawandi faransi-ciiri nda laarabu-ciine; da alkuraana bayrey foyan, faransi-ciine caw buuna-buuna jare ga. Madarsaa-din ga annasaara nafa, zama a ga no a ga alfagey bay, a ma du ka fitinantey kuru.

Bayray-cawo fondo ra, lokkol dumi hinza no go niizer: dudalo, annasaaraa wono nda madarsa. Kokorbanda wane hinka, na sintina nakasandi; kañ si ganji hala sohõ, dudal gonda ga-kuri al-umma do, a furo ka sisigi naamey ra.

## 1.2 Alkuraana cawo: mata kañ a go ga te naamo nda zaamaano game ra

Jiiri zanguri 20 ra, dudalo cawo nda madarsa cawo go ga alkuraanaa cawo te care banda. Amma madarsaa no gomnati go ga saajaw, ba day kañ dudal ba d'a. Wo-din na hirri dan zaamaani lokkolo da naamey game ra; nga ka kande (coulibaly,2010), zaamaani lokkolo wo, kambuwo-korfo, haali kulu no si a maanandi da borey teerey nda borey kañ a ga miila nga go ga gaakasinay, naamey.

Fondo followka ra, sow(2020) go ga joote kañ, hala ka ka sohõ, cawkey hayrayey baayañ kulu si bay i fo no ngey izey go ga caw zaamaani lokkolo ra; sanku i ma miila ka kande ngey gaakasinay cawo sijirey se. Sow ye ka tonton ka ne: iri go ga di hima-ka-sinay jana kañ go al-umma nda lokkolo game ra. Iri ga bay mo kañ, hari kulu kañ na jandi dañ zankey lokkol bayrayey nda i naamey bayrayey ga, ga nañ i bine-ma-fun lokkolo ga.(meunier, dir..2009). Wo-din si zanka nafa, zama a go ga candi-canda ndunnaa hinka game ra : bayrayey kañ a du naamo do, nda bayrayey kañ doole-doole lokkolo ga ba ka a no, kañ sinda a se maana, wala nafa.

Alkuraana cawandiyano do, (mahamane mahaboubou, 2017), di kan barmayyan boobo te madarsey, nda za mayray-futa man ka, dudaley do. Amma, ihinkanta day no barmayey din gunacinarey nda ce-dirawey nda lokkol koyyañ alhaalo, cazwandiyen baajine-baajiney, cawandikey banandey nda i wone jine-koyyano nda cawo sogonyano i ma ngey ga-feeri lokkolo sijiri beero se, nda wkc. Barmayyaney baayañ kulu si fun kala al-umma ga; i ga hin ka fun mo gomnato wala satey

kaŋ go ngey boŋ-ma ga, do. Miila hanney kulu kaŋ borey te, siiyaney wo boŋ, man te; dabarigayante jannay, mata kaŋ (mahaboubou na a ci da.)

Alwaato-din ra, alkuraana ga cawayan lokkol booboo kaŋ zaamaano alhaaley man tuku, go ga jamaa kulu candi, ga kande cawko booboo, boro yan no kay i se, i zaadayano ra. Walhā-beeri wo-ne kaŋ go ganda, no ga cabe barmayyaney kaŋ te lokkoley-din moy-duma nda i ce-dirawey ra.

Walhā 1. Silman yan ne, kaŋ ga cabe barmayyaney kaŋ te alkuraana ga cawo, lokkoley ra.

Takey	Haali zeeney	Haali tajey
Nangu kaŋ cawandikey fun	Alkuraana ga cawo lokkoliize-zeeney kaŋ si gomnati sijiro ra	Alkuraana ga cawo zaamaano lokkoliize-zeeney
Cawo gandey	Caw-jiney kaŋ i kar-ka-say: alkuraana,bayrey-tira kaŋ i ga hantumkey bay	Sogonyaney kaŋ ga ci zaamaani lokkolo: ikayna, i sasaba nda i beero
Cinarey	Kaŋ sinda alhaali (subu, kaka, tuuri- na bi-ra nda wkc)	Goy-jiney ce-kayanteyan (cansi, siminti nda wkc)
Caw-fattayan tira	Kan si ba ( me-ga cawayan no a baayan kulu)	Alwaati kulu
Nangey kaŋ i ga goni-tarey neesi	Borey da cara	Gomnati nda borey-da-cara
Caw alwaato neesijo	A sinda alwaati kaŋ i gaayi; borey soola day no	A gonda fondo sasabante yan
Mate kaŋ cawo jine-koyano ga te da	Boro kulu nga boŋ-ga	Sata-sata kunda kulu ra
Cawayan jinayey	Gisante, i na a deedandi te ka saba da kunda wala sata kulu	I ga ba gumo, kundey wala nufey boŋ
Cawayan sintina nufey	Me-ga caw nda alkuraana dursayan	Me-ga caw nda alkuraana dursayan nda teera fo yan
Caw ciina	Zankey ciiney hinne	Zankey ciiney nda larabu-ciina
Larabu-ciina cawo zalla	Kala da cawo mooru (alkuraana cawo bananta)	Alwaati kulu, kunda kulu do
Bayrayey kaŋ go sijirey ra	Addino hinne ma ga	Marga-marga: addino nda baayi kulu
Fonday kaŋ ga boro gomnati sogonyano ra	A si faala	Faala-bi

Barmayaney kaŋ te alkuraana ga cawo ra man fun kala anniya hanno yan kaŋ boro yan sambu: cawko hayra, borey kaŋ na lokkoley feeri, wala gomnato bumbo (meunier, 1995). Cinarey boryandianey, nda cawandianey dabarey boŋ no barmayyaney-din te.

A ga cawaŋ-goy-jiney guna, nda fonday kaŋ cawkey kaŋ ban ga gana ka furo goyey ra, laabo zaamaani zaadayano fondo ra. Mate kulu kaŋ i kande barmayan ka daŋ alkuraana cawandianyo ra, si a ka nga fondo sintiney boŋ, kaŋ ga ci: borey da cara wa-faka, imaanitaray, adamayne nda al-umma kulufahama, nda wkc. Niizer cawandianey sijiri-beero boŋ day no barmayyaney kulu ga te.

Walha 2. Mate kaŋ niizer cawandianyo moy-duma go kaŋ ga naŋ a ma saba da gomnati sijirey nda alkuraana ga cawo.

Lokkol dumi-dumey	Wo kaŋ ga saba da gomnati	Alkuraana ga cawo ba, kaŋ
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	sijirey	go gomnati sijirey ra
Gomnati lokkoley faransi-ciine	Ya-din	Yaamo
Borey faransi-ciine lokkoley	Ya-din	Sinda gaabi
Madarsa	Ya-din	Te daama
Alkuraana boj, kañ gomnati wala satey kañ go ngey boj-goray ra hanse	Ya-din	A gaboori
Alkuraana boj, kañ nooru-kooney hanse	a siino	A ga boori
Alkuraana boj naamey wona	A siino	a ga boori gumo

Walhā wo ga cabe kañ alkuraana ga cawo go bayray ceeciyaney kulu ra kala annasaarey lokkoley ra, kañ boj gomnati go ga kaaba. Ba no-din, annasaara cawañ lokkoley kañ ra i ga bana, ga cin ga laarabu-ciine cawandi wicirey wala ciney ra.zankey hayrayey mo no ga a ceci. Lokkooley kañ ga addina nda laarabu-ciina cawo te go day ga ba; sanku banayan lokkoley ra kañ hayrayey boona ga ci, cawo ma saba da lokkol kañ ga yarda zaamaani cawo nda addino wona ma gorkasinay. Da hayrey man du wo-din, i ga zankey hantum cin-caw, wala lokkol-fulanzama waate caw. Zanka fo yañ, za susuba ra no i ga koy alkuraana cawo do, ga wiciro ra, i ma zaamaani lokkolo do. Alhaalo wo ga cabe kañ, hino borey hima ka laasaabu taji te kañ ga fun waycetaray wone ra, kañ si boro kulu nafa: gomnati-naamey; zaamaani-addiini. Wangayey wo ga gomnati dañ a fizawayañ laalo te, al-umma kañ a ga hawzu se.wo-din no na gomnati dañ a na da barmay nga sijiri beeri tajo ra (psef, 2014-2024) kan anniya ga ci: "sijiro sintina ma barmayyañ tajo neesi ga di gomni fo no a hay, ka di hala i ga hin ka bambari cawo kulu ra." Fita 16. Psef, fo ga miila kañ "dirawo-din ga saba da zankey kañ hayrey si ba annasaarey lokkolo, suuji."

Nangu kulu kañ akluraana ga bisa, a ga muradudumi-dumi booboo feeri.

2.alkuraana kañ te cawandiyaj nda caw ba-jine-ba-jine caw-jinay.

Alkuraana ga cawandiyano taarifo ra, iri di kañ fondo hinka ra no a dira: boj-ga dursayano, nda hantumo kañ ga te da kambe wala mansin;(godin,2013). Kan ga nañ alkuraana ga cawandiyano ma zaada, a ma nga nufey kubandi, cawandikey ga dabari dumi-dumi kulu barmay.

## 2.1 tira, cawandiyaj goyey

Alkuraana wo fondo-beeri booboo no a ga cabe, kañ ra addiino bayrey guusey go. Alsilaamataray ganji guwa; addiino ganji idw'a; nda ganji-beeri followka kañ ga ci irkoy (swt), nda nga diya mohamad (psl) dahirandiyano. Fondey sogonyan ra, i ga hin ka ne sanda mata kañ qardâwi na a ci da (2006) alsilaamataray dirawey ga hin ka to fanni taaci kañ ga ci: wo kañ tabbat (aqîdah); ganayano (ibâdât); adamayzetara (muâmalât) nda ciito (charîa). Fondey wo ga iri fahamandi da korfo hinka, kañ ga ci: aqîdah nda ibâdât; nda wo kañ go nga da munadamayzey game ra (adamayzetara). Gorkasinay hadiiso ( nawawi hadis waytaaca) ga cabe kañ ihinkanta no ga sintina bangandi. Laasaabo-din fondey ga fahamandi kañ alkuraana fanni booboo no munadamayze cabe, mata kañ a go da, alsilaamataray fonda ra, manga no a fun; mate kañ a ga bara da ndunja ka guna alaahara; i ga fahamandi kañ al-ummey kañ na addiino gana, mate kañ i ba-funa nda i kokora boori da. Da ya haray, borey kañ na addiino taamu, boj-futey kañ zumbu i boj; deedandiyaj nda alhaali foyañ ga ka ga te waazu teera kulu kañ i sambu se. Alkuraana bayrey cawandikey go ngey hina kulu ga cawey sogen ngey al-umma cawo nda i dondanandiyano ma ga. Niizer si banda, sijiro-din ra.

Wo-din fondo ra, cawandika ga cawkey no tarbiya hanno yaŋ, a ga i fongandi teera hanno yaŋ, hariyaŋ kaŋ go ga te wala kaŋ te ka bisa alkuraana sanney boŋ. Bayrayey kulu no ga furo ka munadamayzo alhaalo nda a lakkalo cina (aldjazâiry, 2011), annabi mohamad (psl) sunna fondey ra. A jiiri 23 kaŋ a te ka du nga alkuraana bayra, a faham kaŋ, lalabu, wala i ma ne, lakkal no ga alsilaamey da cara ba-funa hawzu i ndunja gora ra. Wo-din yaŋ no kande alsilaamey gonda addino tilas fondo yaŋ, ciiti fondo yaŋ kaŋ boro kulu hima ka gana. Da boro ga a ni ma faham mate kaŋ annabi mohamad (psl) du nga alkuraanaa bayrayey, boro hima ka laasaabu mate kaŋ cawando-din te da, nda fondey kaŋ i gana. Da iri na cawandi dabarey guna, alkuraanaa mate kaŋ no bayrayey-din bangay da, nda sabiilo kaŋ se a te da ya-din: "(iri na alkuraana zumandi), kaŋ iri sogon, ni ma du ka a caw moso-moso, borey se. Iri na a zumandi mo no, gagari ka ka gagari. (17:106; "...ifo se i man alkuraanaa zumandi sorro follon?" Iri na azumandi ya-din ni bina ma du ka koggu a ga. Wo-din banda no iri na filla dilla-dilla..." (25:32- 33).

Mate kaŋn barbata-koyey na sourate 96 hantum da, i ne, alhaalo kaŋ ra zumbuyano te, annabi mohamad (psl) nda maleyka zibirilla (kaŋ ka cawandiko gurbi ra ) kubayyaŋ sintina, te annabi se sanday. Sanday beeri ra no a du versets gu sintiney, sourate 96 ra. Fonda-din ra, iri ga hin ka faham da cawandiyāŋ ce-diraw hinka: 1) boro kulu si du bayray da ni man taabi, da ni man gurzugay, da ni man muraadu yaŋ wi; 2) kaŋ ga naŋ dondonyaŋ ma tabbat, kala boro ma du cawandiko ce-kayante.

Mate kaŋ sourate 17 na a ci da, verset 106 ra, alkuraanaa dumbari-dumbarey kaŋ a zumbu da mafaaro ga ci, annabi mohamadu (psl), ma du ka dontoney gaayi i ma boori, mate kaŋ i go ga cawandi da. I na a ganji a ma waasu ka wo-kaŋ yaŋ a du, filla; zama dontonka daahirandi kaŋ nga cawandiyano sinda sikka. (alkuraan, 75: 16-18).

Cawandiyāŋ bayray hinka mo goono kaŋ ga cawandika wala cawandiyāŋ fondaey guna: i ma dondonandiyano te da lakkal-kanay, nda i ma fondo sambu kaŋ ga bayray duura ce-dirawey hallasi. Da i di kan cawka go ga fondo yaŋ gana kaŋ si koy da dondonyano, i hima no ka guna haro kaŋ na a daŋ haalo-din ra; ka du a se hanseyar, ka sanda boŋ-za, za kaajo do. Da cawka go ga hamburu no i ma si nga yana,

I hima ka a lakkalo kanandi, ka a gaakasinay, a ma kokari ka caley to, jine-koyyano fonda ra. Lakkal-kanadiyan go cawo ma booriyan teerey ra.

Alkuraana tabbatandi no kaŋ nga man dirgan caw-boŋ kulu(6:38). Al-umma biirima hima ka te da laasaabu hari kulu boŋ: alhaali hinka-hinkey, sanda; harey kulu ikayna nda harey kulu ibeero; hari kaŋ bangay nda wo kaŋ man bangay; haya-kulu nda haya kan gonda daama; hari kaŋ ga gay nda wo kaŋ si gay; nda wkc. Alkuraana ga i yaamar i ma bay mate ngey bumbo go da; wo-din fondo ra, alkuraana cawkey afaham da bayray yaŋ, sanda manga no munadamiizey fun? Hala i ga ngey boŋ guna ka di naamey fayankayano; hima-care yano; alkuraana ne wo-neyar kulu manti boro beeri da boro, wala boro bisa boro; haali yaŋ day no kaŋ ga naŋ boro kulu ma nga cala bay. Ya-din ga, gaharay nda laabey kaŋ ra borey fun; nda dumitarayey fayanka-fayanka man hima ka iri daŋ haali cindo ra. Alkuraana-cawo bayra-din no annabi mohamad (psl), dan, za alsilaamataray sintina, ka al-umma kulu, dumey kulu, nangu kulu kaŋ haray bora fun, ka borey lakkaley margu. Wo-din ka ka de a corey ra, boro dumi-dumey wo goono : souhayb, rome bora, nnasaara no; bilâl, ethiopie banna, ga-bi no; salmân, perse bon-kooniizo, nda boro jama da jama, laarabu nda wo kaŋ manti laarabu. Alkuraana albarka bisa haaley wo ga; ka cabe da-hanney kaŋ adamayne kulu hima ka du, ka gaayi. Sanda boŋ-jare 23, verset 2-11 na al-umma cawandi da da-beeri iddu kaŋ alsilaama hima ka du ndunna ka guna alaahara: boŋ-ye-gandayaŋ ka jingar (salât); i ma mooru furkutaray; i ma zakat ka; i ma sutura; i ma hagoy da amaana nda talfi; jingar beerandiyāŋ. Boŋ-jare 25 (verset 63-74) na da-beerey wo filla a ye ka afo yaŋ tonton i ga.

Kurkutu 1: *mate kaŋ cawka ga diya da ne wo, sanney kulu kaŋ i te ne-wo, manti kala alkuraana bayrey gusam kayna no. Amma i gonda fondo nda cawan bayrey booboo kaŋ ga al-umma nafa.sanda alkuraana cabeyano kaŋ ga filla ga ne, a ga jawaabi no bayraykooney ma ci mate kancawo-sijirey haaley nda i ce-dirawey go da.sijirey-din hima ka kubay, i hima ka boŋ-haway fooyan fassara kaŋ ga naŋ dondonka ma bay hari kaŋ se nga go dirawo ra; ifo no i ga batu nga ga, hari kaŋ ga nga infaani nda laabaari fo yaŋ koyne.wo-ne ma ga, cawandiyəŋ hanna ka ci, wo kaŋ ga dondonkey fahamandi kaŋ dontoney ga ndunja haaley kulu guna.*

Alkuraana na nga boŋ-cabe, sanda munadamayne kurko (sourate 2, verset 201). Verset zanguri booboo no i ka alhaaley kaŋ ga munadamayne faaba boŋ. Ndunjaa ba-funa wo mafaaro ka ci boro kulu ma irkoy daahirandi, nda nga diyawo kaŋ ga ci annabi mohamadu (psl), ka nga boŋ wa da furkutaray. Wo-din si te kala munadamayzey ma du bayrey booboo; wo-din se i ga batu bayraykuoney ga, i ma al-umma cawandi hari kaŋ ga boori nda wo kaŋ si boori. I hima ka i kabarandi kaŋ, suba banando si saba borey kaŋ yarda nda borey kaŋ murte game ra ( alkuran, 39:9.) Fondo follonka ra no i ne kaŋ bayray ceeciyan go alsilaama kulu boŋ. Annabi ne mo kaŋ bayra ceeciyano go alsilaama kulu bon za a hay kala a koy ga tu nga koyo se, sanda ndunja ba-funa kulu waate.

## 2.2 alkuraana caw-ba-jiney fondey

Alkuraana caw-ba-jiney fondey go nangu kulu haray. Tira-beero wo ga te nga bumbo cawo se, fondo; nda alsilaamataray bayray foyan kaŋ se a ga te ganji, tikisa wala gaabi. Wo-din ka kande kaŋ: “alkuraana cawayəŋ” nda “alsilaamataray cawan” koy ga hima care, ya-din mo no; maana follon ka no. Iri ma faham kaŋ, i si alsilaamataray cawandi kaŋ manti da alkuraana; ya-din mo no, i si alkuraana caw kaŋ manti alsilaamataray fondo ra. Ciito boŋ, bora kulu ga bay kaŋ alkuraana ga ci ciiti fondo sintina, alsilaamataray addino kulu se (ramadan, 1999). Wo-din se, nga ga ci ciito-cawo se ganji, nda sandayey kulu barbatey cinaro. Ciito borey ga du alkuraanaa ra verset nda dabari booboo kaŋ ga te seeda yan, cimi wala taari bangandiyan ga. A ga te gosi yan batame, sanda carmay, bine-laasaabu, gaayi-da-bine, laasaabu, sanni waaniyan nda wkc. Nga cawayəŋ ganjo fondo ra, alkuraana ga furo cawandika nda cawka game ra ka te batame kaŋ ra i ga gonitarey dumi-dumi yan bangandi kaŋ ga bayray-guuso fo yaŋ nafa.

## 1.3 Gaakasina kaŋ alkuraana bayray-guuso fo yaŋ ga kande.

Da i ga ne “alkuraana cawayan”, sanno din gonda maana booboo kaŋ ga za, za cawo sintina ka koy, bayray kulu kaŋ dumi no ga. Kaŋ na a ka me-ga-cawo, caw-ka-doono goono (*tajwîd*) kaŋ ga no cawo gonitara ga bangay; *tafsir* mo goono, kaŋ ga borey fahamandi bangayayano alwaatey nda hari kaŋ i kande. Wo-din ga cawkey fahamandi i ma si daray ka sanney dan care ra. I ga bay kaŋ madiina wala makka no bangayyaŋ wo-ne fun. Ga ka ka tonton wo-din ga, dabey nda fayankayaney cawo kaŋ go caw-boŋ verset da care game ra, sanku nangu kaŋ verset fo ga ka ka a fo sanni barmay: nga ka ci: sanni-wiiyan bayra. Kaŋ na a ka bayrayey wo, alkuraanaa cawka ga

larabu ciina dondon. Amma zaamaani wo-ne ra, za lonkonta (jiiri sintina) no cawkey ga ciina dondon.

Bayrey wo-ne yaŋ kulu banda, cawka ga bay nango kaŋ nga go alkuraana sogonyano ra; boŋ-jare 114, hizbs 60. Dumbu karyar fo sumi yaŋ ga cawka dan a ma hin ka alkuraana caw, jirbi iyye wala jirbi hinza (godin, 2013.) Gonitara fondo ra, tira-taji fo yaŋ fatta, kaŋ ga cabe dabari yaŋ (alwaato neesiyaŋ ra) alkuraana cawo dondonyaŋ sintina ga. Ngey ka ci tira fo yankar i go ga goy d'ey liisey ra. Tira fo yaŋ mo fatta borey da cara game ra, "boro ma hin ka alkuraana caw, caw-kanandi 12 ra." (salifou, 2010). Mate kaŋ te kulu, laarabu-ciina biiriizey cawo ga koy ka gana alkuraana cawandiyar boŋ-jare se.

## **2. Alkuraana cawandiyano kaŋ ga te sanda sanni-gonitaray haali.**

Niizeriizey ba yaŋ kulu si laarabu-ciine salaŋ. Sintina ga i si bay ciine kan ra no i na alkuraana hantum. Wo-din ga fahama sandandi hari kaŋ ka ci dondonyano bumbo nufa. Cawkey ciiney no cawandikey ga goy d'a ka du ka sanda-din boŋ-za.

*Kurkutiu 2. Cawandika gonitara nda a addiino bayra no a ga daŋ ga alkuraana bayrey cawandiyano te da, niizer naamey takey ra. Iri ciiney no ga fahama fondey feeri, kaŋ ga sanday kulu fasara jina. Iri ciiney gonda hari yaŋ, sanda haali yaŋ nda miila yaŋ. Ngey no ga azlkuraana sanney kwaarandi, i ma faham nd'ey. Dabari boobo kaŋ ya ga care kubay, no go cawandika nda cawka game, kaŋ ga naŋ i ma to cawo nufa ga. Bucaille (1976), nda mohamed (2010) goyey cabe kaŋ i si hin day no ka alkuraana bayrey guusey kaŋ bangay, yebanda. Wo-din no ga alkuraana te kodorko beeri kaŋ i ga gana ka koy bayrey guusey dumidumey kulu ga.*

### **1.1 Iri ma di cawkey ciina ga koy alkuraanaa ciina**

Alkuraanaa cawo si te da kala cawkey ciina. Wo-din no goono ba da cawo mooru, bayrey wala fahamey boobo no goono fonda-din ra: boro ga faham da nga bumbo ciinaa barayey, nda alsilaamatara bayray yaŋ. Ngey naamey nda ngey ciiney fahama ga dogon, ba day alkuraana cawo ga kond'ey alwaati fo yaŋ ra, taarifi nda laabu-gande fo yaŋ kaŋ i si bay ra. Cawo kuuyano nda a alhaalo kulu waate, tira boŋ no a kulu ga te. Zankey ciina ga cawo, nda tirey boŋ cawo, gonda dogonay, fahama ra. Hala i ga to tira boŋ cawo ga, walhā bo no a ga sintin da. Cawo jine koyyano waate, boro kaŋ ga ba, ga hin ka larabu-ciina nahaw (nah) wala hantumey alhaaley (sorf) caw. Da i to alkuraana baribata (tafsir) do ibn kathir tira, ga djalâl tira hinka no i ga sintin da, ba kaŋ i ga beeri (fitey ga ba). Ga i ma bisa ka to tafsir cima-cimey ga, sanda suyûtiy, nda qurtubiy, nda wkc. Mata kaŋ te kulu, alkuraanaa cawandiyano go nga boŋ-ga alwaati kulu kan cawkey go me-ga-cawo wala boŋ-ga-cawo ga. Cawka ga du nga jine-funey wala nga cawandikey do, tira kulu kaŋ i te a muraadu. Boro kulu cawo ce-dira si koy afo wane ga; a si koy mo alwaato ga, wala lokkolo ga; boro kulu ga kokari no, da cawandika gaakasina, ka nga boŋ-ka.

### **Kay-furu**

Mate kaŋ i na alkuraana cawandiyano te da, kande niizer ra teera hanno dumidumi yaŋ. Naamo cawandiyar dabarey ra, kaŋ zaamaano ka ga barmayyar daŋ a ra. Amma cawo sogonyano da a alhaalo ga no a kay. Sijirey nda jine-koyyano go ngey ce-diraw zeena ra. Da boro na alkuraana lokkolo darza guna, nda nufa booba kaŋ go a ra, iri ga dahirandi kaŋ, lokkolo-din te iri se arzaka kaŋ ga naŋ iri ma cawandiyar sijiri beeri cina iri bumbeey bayrayey boŋ, iri bumbeey zaadayano

fondo ra. A cindi hinne iri laasaabu mate kaŋ wo-din ga te da. Iri ga miila kaŋ dogonay go a ra, zama niizer na cawandiyaj fondo taji sambu kaŋ te jiiri yan. Niizer cawandiyaj sijiri beerey kaŋ ga ka, hima ka fondo ce-kayante ka, tirey ra, iri naamey se, da i ga ba jine-koyyaŋ nda zaadayaŋ hanno.

### **Bon-jare 3**

**Afirki naamey da hayrayeylokkol saaluyano: dabu fo no i game ra?**  
**Mohamed moctar abdourahamane**

#### **Dunguryandi**

Bon-jaro wo si salaq kala dabey kaq go lokkol nda hayrayey game ra, afirki naamey fondo ra. A gay kaq kurey hinka hima hari yaq kaq fay-fay, amma hunkuna, naanay furo hayrayey nda lokkolo game ra, zama i di kan ngey ga care sabayano nda gaakasina kaq ngey ga kande care se, ga nga zankey cawo nafa. Afirki naamey ra almayaaley sijirey alhaaley tinaa, si i ma maanu cara-gayano dogonandi. Ce-dira do haray, bon-jaro wo na nga bon jeeri tirey kaq i ceeci ka du ga, hantum bayrey guusey nda bayrey dogoney kaq go niizer doj al-umma teerey ra. Alwaati banda kaq bon-jara wo cabe teera hanney kaq ga hayrey nda lokkolo margu, furo sandey beerey kaq go cawandiyaq sijiri beero ra. Bon-jara na hayrey beera tilassandi a ma maanu lokkolo. wo-din ka te sabiili kaq nan i na yaamaryaq te cawandikey se, hayrey fahama do kaq ga zankey ga i ma goro lokkol, i ma du ka koy-jine alwaati kulu.

Sanniize timmantey: lokkol, hayra, kambe-danyaq, doj-bayray.  
kay-furu

Hayrey nda lokkolo gama sanno man jaq ka lokkolo hawzukey bon-haw. Taarifo ra, lokkolo nda almayaaley manti kala wayce hinka kaq hirrey ka ci: afo ga cawandi, afo ga biiri.jiirey ga bu ga tun,lokkolo ka ga ci “bayray guntu”, bare ka ka ga nga nga moy-duma feeri al-umma se. Sohō, kokaro kulu si kala kunda hinka ma wa-fakay zankey cawo fonda ra. Hunkuna, gomni boobo go lokkolo bande; porze boobo yaq ka kaq ga hayrey nda lokkolo sasabandi, i ma kambe-daj-care-kambe ra. (maubant nda lelec, 2008). Da hayrey kay ngey waani zankey cawo ga, cawandikey mo man miiri ngey nangey ra, boro kulu si goy da cawo hawzukey, jine-koyyan si tabbati. I ga bay mo kaq da bora kulu na kambe-daj-care-kambe ra, cawo ga boori day no.

Konkonsa-beerey kulu kaq i te, almayaaley biirma bon, cabe kaq hayrayey kaq izey to lokkol-fu sasabey do, wala jine, daamanterey do, no ga mo-daj cawandikey se (asdih, 2012.) Cawandikey sanney to nangu mooru ka bisa hayrayey heeni-heena nda i muttayaney. Cawandiko boobo ga di kaq hayrayey kaq i si di, mutte no; wo kaq yaq ga furo lokkolo haarakay ra mo, ga wata. Alaasiri foyaq ga ne “lokkol wangay” (thin,1999; périer, 2005), “hayra humburkumo” (verba, 2006), “kanyaq si hin ka ngey zankey hawzu”(lorcerie ndcarvalo, 2002).cawandikey wo diiyano ga, zankey cawo sanda si kala almayaaley hina-siyano ga, nda talkatara. Wo ka kande kaq cawandikey ga zankey daj ngey da hayrayey game ra, lakkal-kanay ma ka.(maubant,nda leclerc, 2008; asdih, 2012).

Al-umma diyano ga, afirko talaato kulu borey no si ba lokkol. Amma sohō, borey lakkaley go ga ka lokkolo ga, zama hayrayey baayaq kulu ga ba ngey izey ma caw zaamaani lokkolo ra. Iri ga bay kaq afirko ra hala niizer bumbo, mata kaq hayrayey go ga lokkolo guna d'a no ga kande zankey ma waani wala i ma kafana. Kaq i ga ba ngey izey ma waani se, ngey bon-me no i furo lokkolo dirawey ra. Alhaalo-din ga naq iri ma ne kaq hayrayey na sanka-sambu da kuluje, ngey zankey lokkol cawo ra. Tira-marguyaq ceeci-guusey fondo ra no i na bon-jaraa wo hantum; lakkal bayray guusey nda lakkal dogoney bon. A nufa beero ka ci, a ma cabe hayrayey se, gomno kaq go i kambe-danyano, lokkolo fondey ra, ka za da iri naamey bayrayey.wo kaq hima ga ci:

-i ma cawndikey no, gaabo kaq ga i ga i ma hayrayey danj lokkol dirawey ra ka saba da iri naamey bayrayey.

- i ma te hari ga cawandika danj a ma jeeri naamey bayrayey ga, ga naanay daj nga nda hayrayey game ra.

- i ma du dabari yaŋ kaŋ ga cawandikey ga hin ka hayrayey daŋ cawandiyano nda dondondiyano fondey ra.

## **1. Naamey biirima, afirki bayrayey boŋ**

### **1.1. Fassara**

Naamey biirima duura si jeeri kala afirki-gunto suuji nda gomney boŋ. Biirima-din si te kala da sanni, gomdoŋ, dondonyaŋ, goni-taray nda foori-foorey, konko-karyan nda gaani. Care-diyan, care gaakasina nda kundaa ma te boŋ-fo, ga no a na gaabi daŋ. Mun-adamayzo ma si mooru al-umma ka ci naamey-biirima nufey kaŋ banda a go. Kaŋ borey boona ka ci i ma duumi, i ga arra-daŋ barmayyaney se (sawadogo, dugué, rodriguez nda ouaba, 1994).

#### **1.1. Naamey biirima nda niizer hayrayey kambe-danyano**

Lakkal-cinayaŋ no niizer naamey biirima ga te d'a. Zanka ma ma nga hayrayey nda dottijo kulu se, go lalabey kaŋ i hima ka du al-umma ra. Niizer, "hausancayzo si ka jama ga da a man nga taamey ka, beerandiyan ma ga. Wala wayborayzo, wondiya, way-hijjo si ḥaawari wala hari no da manci a sambu no." (daouda, 1991, fita 121). Ya-din ga, al-umma kulu kambe no go biirima-din gurja ga, bora ma du

Da-hanno. (moumouni, 1968.) Mafaaro ka ci, nda bora man du lalabu, da-hanno, manci nga hinne taali no; wala a hayrayey, al-umma kulu taali no. Hausancey do "tabi'a" (lakkal) teeyan no bora kulu ga kookari d'a. Da din ga te i hanno, hausancey ma ne: "*tabi'a koray*" wala i laalo, "*muguya tabi'a*". (daouda, 1991, fita 121).

Hayrey cimi-cimey boŋ no goyo kulu go, zama ngey no ga izey biiriima sintin. Ko-ciya saajawko sintina ka ci nano kaŋ ga a si fun, kaŋ ga a baabu-baabu a ma du ka zaada. Sanku wayborayzo kaŋ biirima ga fayanka da alborayzo; wayborayzo maanu nano gumo zama i ga a alhaaley kulu gana a ma koy to wayboro beeri. Baabo goyo wo si kala goy dondonandiyāŋ nda al-umma ra goray waaniyaŋ. Goy fanni folloŋ no baabo ga hin ka a dondonandi (farmi, kuruyan, fatawci). Niizer al-umma naamey ra wo, di-ga-dondonyaŋ ga no zanka ga waani nga baaba goyo.

### **2. Niizer zaamaani lokkolo cawandiyano**

#### **2.1. Cawandiyāŋ sijiro**

Afirki laabey bon-duura jirbey ra, a fo kulu na nga cawandiyāŋ sijiri beeri ka, kaŋ ka ti hini-futa banda sijiro. Hunkuna, cawandiyāŋ sijiri beeri iddu no afirko tubu hini-futa ga (ingilisi wana, faransi wana,

Espana wana, portugal wana, jaamey laabu wana nda laarabu ciina.) Tubo kaŋ niizer nda afirki laabey kaŋ ga salaŋ faransi-ciine ga du, gonda laru yaŋ kaŋ fun hini-futa ga. Hala ka ka sohō, niizer lokkolo sijiri beero si ga goy da kala laabey-da-care gama ra, caw sijiri beero. Ngey mo no go ga ngey nooro dan a ra. (meunier, 2008), ne kaŋ wo-din wo manti kala za-ka-daŋ care-ra.

#### **2.2. Dabari timmantey kaŋ ga kande hayrayey ma furo lokkolo sanno ra.**

Niizer cawandiyāŋ sijiri beero sogonyano ra, almayaaley nda hayrayey kambe-daŋ lokkolo sanno ra si te kala fondo yaŋ kaŋ lokkolo poltik hawzukey ka; zama lokkolo manti kala almayaaley biirima tontono. Ya-din ga, hayrayey goyo ka ci:

-a ma nga izo hantum lokkol;

-a ma a kuru a ma koy lokkol;

-a ma lokkolo da nga nufa bay;

-a ma lokkolo ce-dirawey bay;

-a ma ceeći ka bay mate kaŋ zankey cawo go ga te d'a;

-a ma nga kambe fahama ci lokkolo hawzukey se, lokkolo fondey kulu boŋ ( i fo no zankey ga ciya cawo banda; i fo no i go ga i cawandi kaŋ hima d'a.)

-ama kambe-daŋ nooro kaayano ga;

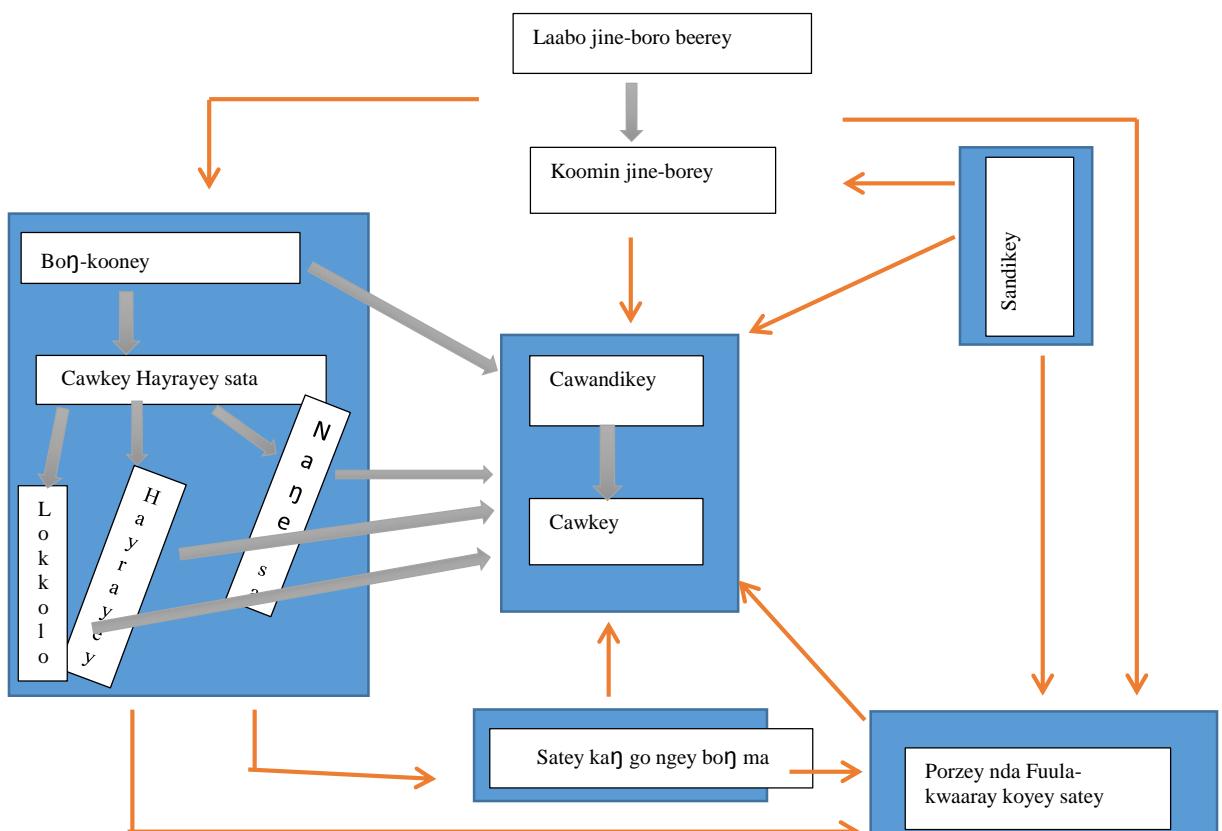
- a ma kambe-daj lokkolo hawzuyano ga;

Jiri 1989, kañ i na lokkoliizey hayrey kunda feeri, a na sanka yan sambu, kañ ka ci:

- Nga ma lokkoliizey baabey kulu boney margu lokkolo ce-dira fondo ra;
- Nga ma sabayañ da wa-fakay daj cawkey nda hino borey game ra;
- Nga ma kande nga kambe gaakasina lokkol ba-funa nda cawo fondo ra;
- Nga ma albahaarey no lokkoliize baabey se, cawo, nda biiriima nda dondonandiyano do haray.

Lokkoliizey baabey kunda banda, ñaney kañ-ga-biiri kunda mo goono; i man a kayandi kala noobambur jiri 2005. Kañ ga nañ gomnati anniya kan ga nga tinayey fay laabo-gande fay mo se, i na hawzuyañ kunjia fo daj lokkol kulu ra, wa-fakay ra. Kañ na a ka kunjia timmantey wo, alwaati ka ka alwaati, hayrayey ga care margu ka sanday fo bon-za lokkolo ra.

Iri ga hin ka wo-din deedandi te walhā wo ga:



Deedando wo ga lokkolo hawzukey sogen kanadi hinka; afey ga bangay zama ngey ka ci hawzuko timmantey (gomnati nda faasakey kañ ga ci sandikay). Borey no i ga di alwaati kulu, lokkolo haarakey ra. Sata fooyan, sanda (antampirzey kañ go ngey bon-goray ra, porzey nda fuula-kwaarayey kunjiyey) goono kañ si bangay gumo. Borey wo banda, sata fooyan mo goono, sanda hayrayey kañ ga fatta alwaati kulu, da gaaabi, da himma lokkolo sanney ra. Deedando ga cabe kookaro kulu kañ hayrayey go ga kande zankey cawo ma ga. Hangawiizey ga cabe

zugayano kañ hayrayey go te lokkolo se; a ga ci cawandikey boñ no, a ga ci cawkey bon no, a ga ci i sata hinka kulu bon, zugayan kañ cawandikey dan i ma ngey goyo te, cawkey mo ma kokari dañ cawo ra. Da masala fo ka lokkolo ga, hayrayey no, i ci i se, i man ci i se, ga a boñ-za. Anfooyan i ga bare satey ga (hayrayey, ñaney nda lokkolo sata), waati fooyan kwaara-koyo, wala limam, ka gaakasinay ceeci.

### 3. Lokkolo nda borey kañ go a jare ga.

Niizer zankey si ba kañ go lokkol; zama hala soho, almayaali yañ goono kañ si ba lokkol. Hayrayey kañ man di anfaano kañ go zaamaani lokkolo ra, ga wangí ka ngey izey hantum. Amma niizer borey boona ka ci alkuraana cawo; nga no ga i sawandi annasaara cawo ga.(barreteau nda tiné, 1999).

Lokkolo wo masala ka ci, ce-yaw lokkol no.manti niizer lokkol no. Da bayrayey kañ a ga cawandi si saba da iri boonayey, iri laabo, iri hambaro, iri laabo taarifo, iri naamey, a si hin ka te day no. Da iri sambu, annasaarayzo, za tunanta, i ga bay fondo ce-kayante kañ ra a cawo ga te; boro ga di zanka-kayna yañ ga dobo hari yañ te zama za da hinay no i na a dondon. Ne wo binde, bora ga caw ga fatta nibarsite, a si du goy. Nibarsita hima no ka boro yañ no tira yañ kañ ga i no goy, fondey kañ ga niizer laabo nafa.

Pr djibo hamani, taarificiiko goni, air info,saptambur, 20, 2018.

Niizer al-umma diiyano ga, lokkolo cawo, jañ ka laabo nufey guna, ka kande borey saw a ga. Niizer lokkolo kañ a tubu hini-futa ga, na kubay dan nizeriizo da nga hayrayey, nda al-umma, nda addino game ra.(moumouni, 1968.) Lokkol jañ ka waaniyano mo ma ka ka tonton wo-din yañ ga. Harey kulu no ka ka borey muttandi lokkolo ga.

“alambaana yañ no lokkolo go ga te, tono kañ sinda hari. Amma ay yarda kañ iri kulu taali no. Taali-teeri beero ka ci gomnati, ga iri kañ ci hayrayey!” (agadas lokkol fo sataa parsidano sanno kañ a te no.)

“ jiiri hinza caw banda ay go ga hamburu ay ize-wayo se, kañ si hima lokkoliize; a si waani cawañ, a si waani hantum, ay si bay hari kañ ay ga te” jiiri hinza caw banda ay go ga hamburu ay ize-wayo se, kañ si hima lokkoliize; a si waani cawañ, a si waani hantum, ay si bay hari kañ ay ga te”. Faatumata, ize-na fo sanni no, kañ ga alhaji ama, ize-baaba tonton ka ne “manti lokkolo kañ iri ga bay no, iri go ga banda-banda no boro kulu si bay nagu kañ iri go ga koy; da lokkolo wo kañ go ga mun sanda hari-hi kañ koma.”

Afirki al-umma lakkalo go ga ye ka ka, lokkolo ga, zama bayrey-kooni yan go ga furo sanno ra, kañ ga i cheick hamidou kane (tira fo kañ a hantum, l'aventure ambigu) margukasinay wala gorkasinay hanno ma furo naamey biirima nda alkuraana cawo, nda zaamaani lokkolo nda sankaa kañ a sambu ka di mata kañ i ga harey kulu cina d'a. Hayrayey farga da lokkolo kañ si muraadu kulu feeri, a na nga boñ te mo boro kañ tilas.cawandikey wo, wo kañ i di yan ne:

-i ne kañ hayrayey ce si ba lokkol, da i na i ce mo, i si ka;

-i ne hayrayey hima ka cabe kañ ngey ga ba zankey ma caw hanno te;

-hayrayey hima ka te cawandikey se gaakasinko, kañ manti da wayce-taray, amma kañ ga zankey zuga i ma ba lokkol;

-i ga hayrayey foy da kañ i si zankey cawo neesi ngey boñ se, ka bay hala zanka go ga goyey kañ i ne a ma te fu, te.

### 4. Hayrayey goyo kañ i ga te, izey cawano fondo ra

Sanniize yañ ne kañ ga almayaaley haaley bangandi; almayaali turaaban, fayyaney, ja wattantey, zankey kañ ga i na kambe ka, boro yañ ga ba ngey ma hayra fo yañ adani yañ, ka ne i se; almayaali barkatay, wala ce-kanda yañ, ce-yaw yañ. (thin, kañ boñ asdih salan, 2012;

turney nda kao, 2009). Afirko ra, almayaaley alhaaley furo-care ra, i ga ba barmay-barmay mo. Aldegheri (2010) cabe kañ almayaalo ga haali booboo barmay kañ ga saba da a ba-funa fondo hanna wala i laala. Wo-din ga kande hayrayey jañ-ka-ma-car-se yano.

Afirki wayno-kana ra almayaaley ga yarda da barkatayyano, dumi-tara sinda i ma ne borey (na da baabo) kañ na zankaa hay na; (cissé, falla, adjamagbo, nda attané, 2017). Wo-din ga kande dogonay dumi-taray foyañ ra; hayra-folloj koy, wande booboo kañ go fu wani-wani yañ ra, fayyaney, ize-yaamo hayyano, talfiyano (marcoux nda antoine, 2014). Fondo wo-ne yañ ra, dumi-tara si faala sanku biiriima do haray. Lokkolo nda hayrayey gorkasina, da a boori no lokkol ga hayrayey ka-baaru da albaharo hima d'a. Cawandikey nda ngey jine-borey ga miila kan laabaarey-din ga wasa hayrayey se; hayrayey mo ga miila kañ laabaarey-din hinne no ngey hima d'a. Care ka-baaruyano din dumi ga hayrayey no gaabi i izey lokkolo sanney ra, (zankey cawo gunayano, i ba-funa hinseyano, nda wkc.) Amma i sinda fonddo kañ ga bay cawandiyāñ fo- dumi no izey go ga du. Hayrayey gonda fondo i ma bay ifo no ngey izey go ga caw, da mate kañ a go ga te d'a. Hayrayey baayan kulu, ba wo kañ ga hari bay, ga miila cawo kañ izey go ga du, da mate kañ i go ga nonda, manti ngey sanni; cawandikey hinne sanni no. Niizer hayrayey kungia fo ne “iri hayrayey iri wano ga ci iri ma gomnati ga (dum) ka daahirandi kañ zankey go ga koy lokkol. Iri ga ne hayrayey se, i ma ngey izey kuru za cawo to handu hinka, furoyano banda, ka du laabaari, lokkolo borey do.”(faajikaaray wo-ne man fun kala air info do, kañ fatta saptambur, 26, 2018.

Almayaaley nda lokkolo gorkasina gonda sandey, a ga barmay no zama hayra kindo ga hay fo bay, afoyañ si hari kulu bay. I ba-funa do mo ga cabe alhaalo-din,( kawye boro wala gallu boro).niizer wo, lokkol ga no almayaali kulu ga hari fo batu nga izo se. “ waati kulu iri ga batu cawandika ma hari kulu te iri se.wo kañ a ga hin day no a ga te. Iri mo ga wo kañ cindi te, sanku fu!”(lokcoliize baaba fo sanni). Alhaalo wo man ti murayyañ, za day kañ hayra no ga haggoy nda nga izo lakkal-cinayano, nda almayaalo ra gorayyano.

Lokkol kaayano fonda ra, hayrayey wo manti day kala gaakasinko ngey izo cawo fonda ra. Hayra fooyañ ga lokkolo sijiro jance zama nga ka ci caw hanna zabuyano mafaaro. Hayra fo ne: “ iri cawandiyāñ sijiro kañ a gunguray. Kala iri ma mundun-ce kunkuni ka cawandiyāñ ce-diraw albarkante yañ ceece ka du ka a faaba.” Hayra fooyañ ga zankey jance ka ne ngey no si waani. Hayra fo kañ laabaari no ko fo hā, tu ka ne: “ i si kookari kulu dan ka caw fu, a ka ka samba da gomniti go nga hina kulu ga, zankey ma du ka caw.” A sanno ga, ngey wo goyo day ka ci i ma kookari zankaa ma koy lokkol. Wo-ne mo, hayra fo sanni no: “ hayra wo goyo day ka ci a ma du zankaa ma koy lokkol.”

##### 5. Niizer hayrayey dabari timmantey.

Konkonsa fo kañ i te cawkey se, cabe kañ i baayano kulu me-ga fondogoyyañ hinne no i ga du hayrayey ga. (daouda, abdourahamane nda chekaraou, 2015.) Niizer konkonso fo mo man koy kala hanseyano fondo ra, lokkol-kayne ra. Konkonsa-din ra, hayrayey ma no fatta, zama ngey ga no hanseyano ga caada; hayrayey ne kañ teera wo-din ga fayanka-fayanka dan zankey game ra. ( abdourahamane, 2015, fita 213). Za kañ zankey si ba-funay followka ra ngey kwaara, i si hin ka te afo ngey da ngey caley, hanseyano do haray.hayra fooyañ man yarda da hanseyano din sogonyano, zama zankey kañ se i ga a te, ga furo boro-jarey jine.

##### 6. Mate i ga te ka hayrayey dan lokkolo sanney ra?

###### 6.1 i ma hayrayey da bay zankey cawo fondo ra

Hayrayey lakkaley go ga fay-fay, fu-biiriima nda lokkolo cawo beerandiyano game ra. I sinda bayrey kañ ga i ga i ma izey cawo hawzu, zama i si bay mate kañ ngey ga te, wala zama i si hin ka a te (fotinos, 2014a). Iri cabe hayrayey da hinka zankey cawo fondo ra:

-“ay ba-si” borey kañ ga miila kañ cawo wo lokkolo hinne no a ga guna;

-almayaaley kañ sinda hina, kañ ga cawandikey yaamaryano filla zankey se; zama ngey wo ga kañ lokkol wo hari yaw no ngey se;

-almayaaley kañ si bay mate kañ i ga te, kañ ga ne ngey sinda ga-ko kañ ga cawkey yaamaryano filla zankey se.

-hayrayey kañ doona lokkolo, kañ caw, kañ ga hin ka cawandikey yaamarey hanse, wala ka ga fizaw i ra.

Hayrayey bayray jana ka te mafaari kañ cawandikey hima ka ni burne “i ma kambe-daj ngey hayra goyey ra.” (feyfant nda rey, 2006.) Hayrayey ga ba ngey ma faham da gorkasina kañ go ngey da lokkolo game ra, nda ngey izey goyo kañ i go ga te lokkol. Wo-kañ hima d'a ka ci i ma milla laalo wala sikka ka harayey lakkal ra, ka cabe i se hari kañ go ga te lokkol, da i ma i no sanno i ma ci hari kañ biney ra.

6.2 i ma guna ka di haali fo no hayrayey kambe-danyano ga te da, lokkolo fondo ra Gorkasina kañ i ga ba hayrayey ga hima i ma i cabe ce-dirawey, goyey haaley, nda i kambe kookaro lokkolo ce-dira ra. Hayrayey kafanayan kulu ga hima da i do, baara-baara wala i bine ma fun.(périer, 2012). Hayrayey kambe-danyano ga hin ka te alhaali boobo ra.wo-din fondo ra no (epstein, 2010), na deedandiyanj cabe kañ ga lokkolo ga hayrayey ba-funay, nda arzakaa do haray. Kambe-danyano-din ga te da takey wo:

-i ma zankey kuru, fu;

-i ma zankey cabe biiriimay nda laabiizetaray takey;

-cawandikey ma i burne, i ma du ka faham da lokkolo ra ba-funay fondey nda kookaro kañ zankey go ga te;

- i ma kambe-daj lokkolo goyey kulu ra;

- i ma lokkolo gaakasinay alwaati kulu kañ a hima d'a;

-i ma kambe-daj lokkol hawzuyano nda a ce-dira ra.

6.3 i ma goy da hayrayey

Hunkuna cawandikey do, harayey kambe-danyano ga tilas, zama lokkolo nda hayrayey ga care kubandi no ka sanka yañ sambu boro da bayrayey kañ go a se boñ. Lokkolo ka ci nangu followka kañ i ga biiriimay hanno te. Boro kulu no ga kookari nga izo ma du cawayanj albarka. (durning, 2006). Ya-din cawandiko nga hayra ma goy kambe-ga- care- kambe ra wo, tilas. I hima no ka batame faaru wo-din se. Laasaabu boobo cabe kañ cawandiko nda hayra sabayano go fondey kañ ra zankey ga zada. (feyfant, 2011). I ma hayrayey no ngey nango lokkolo ce-dira ra.

Lokkolo hima ka du hayrayey naanay. Almayaaley gaakasina hima ka te cawandika se a bayray sintina. Cawandika ga goy da zankey lokkol-fuwo ra, a ga goy mo da hayrayey; wo-din no ga biiriima kubandi. Amma, kala i ma bay kañ hayra ga ci izo biiriiko sintina. Biiri care banda man ti i ma cawandi care banda, a manti mo i ma almayaalo cawandi; amma i ma cina care banda. (asdih,2017; rayna ndarubio, 2010; humbeeck nda al. 2006). Biiri care-bandayano no ga hayrayey “zuga i ma du ka ngey biiriimay goyey te.” (giuliani nda payet, 2014).

Iri ga bay kañ gorkasina-din si jan sanday. Mate kañ boro kulu faham da nga goyo no ga kande i ma saba wala i ma si saba. Wo-din ka cabe kan cawandiko nda hayra kañ faham da care, gonda saaye i gora ma boori ka ba haali laala. Care humburkumay mo si sabayano te.hayra boobo ga humbu lokkol borey ma ngey sambu boñ-bi yañ wala boro yañ kañ sinda bayray kulu, (ouédraogo, 2016), ya-din no cawandiko yañ do, sanku da hayrayey hima ka furo caw-fuwo ra ka di mate kañ cawo go ga te d'a.

Manti dabari follow no goono kañ ga nan gorkasina ma te ka boori (ouédraogo, 2016). I hima ka sandayey boñ-za za i man fumbu. Sanda lokkolo ma moy-duma hanno cabe hayrey se; i ma cin ka i burne lokkol foori yañ waate, salmahaarey waate nda haali hanno kulu waate, wo-din ga naanay dan gorkasina ra. (hoover, dempsey nda sandler, 1997). Hayrayey burne ka dan lokkolo muraadey ra, ga gorkasina niinandi, ka nañ hayrey ma furo da gaabi lokkolo goyey ra.

6.4 masaala fo kañ ga cabe, hayrayey goyo, lokkolo teera foyanj hawzuyanj ga

Hassane boubacar manti kala fu-iddu ize fo no, kañ gonda niyyey kulu a du lokkol albarka. A si lati, a si formay, a ga hangan mo da lakkal. Gosey wala yoonayey ga, nga no ga du jeeri ka bisa bora kulu. Amma, hassane goyo sintin ka ye da banda, borey sintin ka joote; a da sintin ga barmay lokkolo ra; da a man lati, a si ka lokkol bumbo no; da borey go ga caw, a lakkalo go nangu fo haray; a bina kulu fun caw ga. A jeerey go ga zabu gumo-gumo.

Ma te no borey ga te? Cawandiyan dabari fo no i hima ka te? May yan no i hima ka ka-baaru waasi-waasi? May yañ koyne?

Hassane boubacar cawandika na dikteero ka- baaru. Dikteero na baabo ce lokkol:

-boubacar baaba: "assalaamu alaykum, dikteer!"

-dikteer: (kay nga ce-ga kayna) "wa alaykum salam!", albora boubacar no? (a na karga cabe a se). Bismilla, goro...goro.

Care fooyer kuuku banda, dikteero ci a se mafaaro kañ se nga na a ce.

-dikteer: "ni kwaara hassane fondo ra no ay na ni burpe ne. A alhaalo kulu barmay, ka na cawandika lakkalo sambu, a na ay ka-baaru.

A go ga hẽ d'a gumo-gumo; iri da na hari kulu te ka faham, a mongu, hambagar nin wo ga iri ka-kiubay.

- boubacar baaba: ay ga ni fo da goy, dikteer, sanno na ay di gumo, a gonda mafaari! A cawo go ay lakkalo ra gumo, ya-din ga, ay si ta ka fayda haalo wo ra. Day ay ga ni nwaaray ma batu hala wiciri, ay ma diya."

Wiiciro ra, za jingaro banda, baabo na izo ce, nano go ga kay;

-baabo: " i fo no jañ ni se lokkol? Caw-tira? Caw-jinay-jinayzey wala fulanzam-kayna nooru? Taali fo go nin da ni cawandika game ra no?

-izo: hañ, taali kulu siino lokkolo do!

- baabo: to, ni sobbay se no i na ay ce lokkol, i na ba ni gosi-tira cabe ay se, jeeri yaamo koonu go a ra, i na ay cabe lokkol-kaayan tira, ni latiyaney ba gumo, cawandika na barbata kuuku te ni alhaalo boñ. I fo no hassane? I fo no ka ni ga?

- (a te siw day a ga ba ka salañ), baaba, fu-iddaw wo ga dooru no.

- manti sanno no ya; ba da ya-din no, i fo se ni ga lati, ni si koy lokkol, da jañ-ka goro-mosoyano kañ ni ga te kalaaso ra? Iri si ni bay da yo-din! Ni ga waani cawayeñ, ni ga caram; lokkol-goy-jinayey kulu go ni se; ni gonda fondey kulu ka du ka caw; i fo ka to ni ma ni aloomaro sara? Ni dirgan kañ ni na sanka sambu ay se, kañ ni ga caw ka te ministar?

Za kañ hassane man hin ka baabo fahamandi, baabo na lakkalo candi, ka a ganji fattayañ kulu, a na a yaamar, a ne a ma te kañ jañ ka koy lokkol koyne, a ma si lati mo. Ane a ma soboy ka koy ka nga cawo sambu, a ne nano ma a guna nga se da nga fatta.

A wane suba, boubacar ye dikteero do, ka ci a se mate kan te. Hassane na sanka sambu kañ nga ga barmay, amma baabo ne nga ga konkose te ka faham da a da-din, mutteyañ. Kala i koy ka bay kañ lokkoliize-zeeno fo, kañ fun kurmi no go ga cabe zankey se arzakaa kañ nga du saajo ra; a sobay ka zankey boney wi. Boubacar koy ga ci dikteero nda kwaara-koyo se. Wo-din ka kande boubacar ha dikteero ga, i ma lokkol-kunjia kulu margu kwaara-koyo kwaara, ka salañ (deeni) yammayo se. Bora-din binde ba nga ma tugu, ga deeno kañ dikter nda maygari te a se, nañ a ka cimo ga, ka alhaahi jammaa ga.

Marga banda, boubacar na barbata te izo se, boro jama kañ ga dira ngey laabey ra ka koy laabi-waaney ra; borey din baayañ kulu ga bu-ganji, wala i ma ye ka ka fu da talka-taray zeena. Ya-din ga, yammayo din ga taari no, i fo no a kande? Ana lokkol infaano kulu ci izo se. Za hano din, hassane ye ka ka nga boro zeena, a ga caw, a ga du jeeri boobo yan. Hassane sanno wo, te waazu, cawandika kañ waasu ka ci nga dikteero se, kañ na hassane baaba ka baaru, na arra gaayi hasaraw ma si te. Iri ma lakkal danj dikteero alhaalo ga, a na hassane baaba kubay da farhã, da beeray kañ na naanay danj hayrayey da lokkolo game ra. Fahama kan hassane baaba du, kañ lokkol gonda

infaani, na a dañ a ma boro fo yan mo yaamar ka hagoy da hangasinay laalo, ize-futo, kañ ga kwaaraa zankey fooyan muttandi i lokkolo ma sara.

#### Kay-furu

Za niizer kala afirko nangu booboo ra, lokkol te day nangu “mansin” kañ ga furku yan ka-taray, boro yan kañ ga ngey naamey furu. Wo-din no ga hayra booboo dañ i ma wangu lokkol; wo-din jarga, fayanka-fayanka alhaali fo go lokkoley ra kañ si boori. Iri ma bay kañ iri naamey si ga goyo faalandi, iri ma naanay lokkolo ga. Iri afirki teerey ka ci zankey ma caw da i ka fu; annasaarey laabu wo, i ga zanka ga no a ma caw fu. Nan kulu kañ no, hayra ga tilas a ma izo cawo hawzu. Amma ma ti hayra kulu no ga wo-din bay. Jahaabi-beerey ra iri ga ma yaamarey fondey din ra, amma i si diya taray-kwaaray.

## Bon-jare 4

**Afirki naamey biirima teerey, kañ hima ga te bayray-sintiney, zaamaani lokkolo dondonyaney se.**

**Goza Nana Aicha**

**Dunguryandi**

Iri naamey biirima ra no niizer zanka ga tun, hala a ga furo zaamaani lokkolo ra. Ba day kañ, doñ teera fo yan go ga daray, a-fo yan ga cindi koyne.

Alwaati banda kañ iri faham mate kañ doñ biiriima nda zaamaani wana go da, iri ga ba laasaabu wane ma cabe, dabo kañ go, almayaalo naamo biiriima nda zaamaani lokkolo wana ra.

Iri na da-hanno duure caw-tira fo fisi, zankey kañ maanu lokkol furoyan do; iri di kañ almayaali biiriima dabaro wo, jandi ga no a jeeri, ka zankey cabe da-hanno alhaaley.

Nufa kañ go jandi ra ga ci kañ, da i ga jandi ka, zankey ga laakal danj ka hangan; i ga guna a ma boori; i ga haaru ga farhā; i ga kay ka laasaabu; mate kañ a hima nda, zanka ma du ka nga adamayzetara daahirandi.

Jandi kaayaño ga kande tontoni cawandika bumbo se, zama a ga di kañ, a ga hima cawkey se foori, kañ ga i go ga du bayray nda biiriimay hanno; mata kañ, fu bumbo, ya-din no bayra kulu go ga ka da.

*Sannize gaabikooney: biiriima takey; bayrey zeeney; jandi; zaamaani dondonyano; niizer.*

## Bon-dake

Borey ra furoyan hanna ma ga no, iri naamey ra biiriima ga te da.

I na a sijiri no, kañ ga nañ a ma al-umma muradey feeri, kañ ga himanda jamaa ra goray waaniyan; poltiko nda arzakaa do harey sanney. (mumuni;1998-24) daahirandi kañ, zankey nda sakaleyt zaadayan fondey kulu no a guna. A ga kookari ka ga-ham gaabo timmandi; ga da cina, ga zankaa no lalalu; ka a no lakkal nda ga-ham gaabi, kañ ga a nafa kambe-goy nda lakkal goyo ra. Doñ biiriima wo, halhaaley ga ba, jamaa mo no a ga guna.

Da hanno cinayañ; jamaa ra goray waaniyan; kambe goy, wala laasaabu goy yeeriyan, kulu, doñ biiriima dabariyañ no. Goy dum-dumey kulu no a ga guna; al-ummaa kulu se. Zankey ma waani andunja goray hanno, kulu si te kala foora waate, smk: jandi; deede kuuku; tu-ka-bay; ga-ham nootiyāñ alhaaley kulu, hala nda gaani. Wo-din kulu; kambu ga foori cawandiyano ra no a ga te.

Doñ bayrayey wo kulu duura banda, no, zankaa ga ka ga furo zaamaani lokkkolo ra. Nangu kañ a ga ka ga gar, kañ cawañ sijirey fay, i manti a fo.

Lasaabo wo nafa day ga ci, i ma doñ biiriima haaley kulu fassara.

Silmano day ga ci, a ma cabe kañ, zaamaani lokkolo hima ga goy da bayrayey wo kulu kañ , zankey fun da, banda.

### I. Almayaali dumi-dumey, fayankayano, nda biiriima takey.

Fondo wane ra no iri ga biiriimay hinka (doñ wana, nda zaamaani lokkolo wana,) fisi. Sijiri hinka kañ yan si saba, amma, kañ hima ga care kubandi, zankey zaadayano ma du ga te moy-duma.

I.1 iri naamu almayaalo, biiriima do fahama

Zaamaani laabaari nooyan fondey, fitilla beerey kañ i dan afirki gallu bayrey fondo beerey kulu bon, go ga biituru danj, niizer almayaalo fahama ra. Niizer zanka, a ga ci wo kañ go lokkol, wo kañ

furo lokkol ga ka fatta, wala wo kaŋ man bay ga furo lokkol pat, go bilim-bilim ra, kaŋ ga a ganji a ma zaamaano nda doŋ teerey fayanka.

#### I.1.1 almayaalo dunkaa ra.

Annasaara jiiri 2018 ra kabo, cabe kaŋ, niizeriizey kaŋ yan ba-funa si ga te kala kawya ra, si kala ngey boro 84, boro zango boŋ. Borey wo, go ga ngey hina kulu te kaŋ ga ngey naamey hallasi, i ma si koma.

Kawye wo, hala ka ka sohō, almayaalo go nga doŋ gurbo ra; za doŋ sogonyano ra; windi follonka ra, boro kulu go da nga bukayzo, baabo fu beero windantaa; sanda ganji kaŋ ga almayaalo no gaabi. Nangu foyaŋ, aru-usey kaŋ balaga, ga fun waani ka ngey bukey ciina, ka hiiji, kaŋ sinda a ma dottija mayra zabu.

Sijiro wo ra, zankey gonda nangu hanno. wo-din ka kande kaŋ, hantumko-beeri yan, sanda mumuni a (1964), nda saalifu (1977), cabe kaŋ, zankey gonda darza, almayaalo ra, mata kaŋ i gond'a alumma kulu do.

Hayyano do haray masaley kulu, jamaa no ga hagoy d'ey. Euro-ga-fatta kulu ra no borey ga furo nda hayyaŋ mongu boro fo se. Wayborey sinda nangu kulu kaŋ i si furo ka hayyaŋ ceeći. Kurjney mo ga hiiji ga tonton, ize ceeciyano fonda ra, dumo ma duumi.

Dobo nda dobo kulu no i ga di hayyaŋ waate. Za atakiryatara ra kala a ma fun wa. Wala iri ma ne, a ndunja ba-funa kulu alwaato ra. I hima ka a baabu-baabu ka a wa da: me laalo, mo futo, deene laalo, nda haw wala ganji futo.

Way-kuna man hima ka nga alhaalo ka taray za da hinay; ba day kaŋ, wo-din si boori lokotorey se, kaŋ hima ga a neesi alwaati ga ka alwaati.

Farhā beeri no go hay-taji ndunja kayano ra. Za no-din no, bora kulu ga a lallaasi, ga a cabe biiriimay hanno. A ga kwaasu boro kulu ga; beero, gorkasin ize-way kayna fo, kulu ga ka ga fooru a se, wala i ma di ga a gorandi, wala i ma ne i ma a hampa. Zanka kulu ga ka da nga maayo kaŋ i ga a zamu da.

Antuga ga nafa da gaakasina din hala manti moso; za no-din no ize nda ja care doona nda care ba-kasina ga sintin ( naanando waate, hampayano ga, kani ka naagu care ga do haray). Sandi (1993, fita 36;) na rive (1969) filla ga cabe kaŋ, baakasina kulu kaŋ i ga cabe hay-tajo se ga naŋ a lakkalo ma zaada.

#### 1.1.2. Jamaa, wala i ma ne, al-umma ra furoyano

iri niizer naamey al-umma, si kookari kala zankaa ma guna ga dondon, hari kaŋ bora kulu go ga te, arzakaa wala ndunja gora fondo ra.

Dabaro day ga ci : guna ga dondon.

Wo-din ra no zankaa ga faham nda ndunja gora kulu alhaalo : iri naamey nda ngey laasaabey, sata kulu da nga asuley.

Mate kaŋ i ne: "bayray wo tuuraaban no.", dondonyano-din sinda me, kala zeenay. Amma, teera laaley, darayyaney, i ga i tuuma; teera hanney wo, i ga i gomni no.

Wo-din ka kande kaŋ, bayray duura nda biiriimay hanna kulu go care bande. Kambe-goy nda boŋ ga laasaabo, kulu go care bande.

Wo-din ka kande mummuni, ma ne, (1964); naamo dabarey-din, bayra nda biiriima do haray, ga kayfandi, zama ba-funa kulu waate no a ga te. A sinda me, kala buuyaŋ

Nga no ga iri cabe kaŋ, alborayzo nda wayborayzo, afo kulu ga nga ndunja ba-funa fondey kulu bay. Iri ma ne kaŋ bayra nda biiriimay hanna kulu si te kala teerey nda jammaa ra gora ga.

### **1.1.3. Woyborayzo, da nga windanta ba-funa.**

Nango kañ day i ga boona wayborayzo biiriima nda a bayra hima ga to, ga ci, a ma faham ka nga hiijay fuwo, nda nga ize-na tara, bay, ka i di da gaabi. Nga ka kande kañ wayborey sata ra no a ga du nga biiriima. Biiriimay kañ ga jeeri addiino ga; ba kañ wo-din ga a ganji ndunja gomni fo yañ kañ a hima d'a. A biiriima nda bayra kulu si kay kala a ma te fu-koy hanno; ize-na ce-kayante. Bumbo nano nda wayborey sata kulu no ga a gaakasinay wo-din fondo ra. Gaakasina-din ga nañ a ma guna ga dondon, wayboro goyey kulu, za fu hanseyano, ga koy jammaa saajawyan, hala windo borey kulu hawzuyano, kala hinayano do haray. Lakkal duura do haray, i ga ba a ma te fu-koy nda ize-na timmante, kañ ga may, a ga boro beerandi, a ga lalabu, a ga saajaw, a ga gaakasinay, a ka boro kañ gonda suuru, nda bakaraw.

A ga tin, i ma kande way nda alboro sanni. Da a tilas, ja-zeeney, wayboro niiney wala sasaaley (konney) no i ga ne ma salan woyboriizey se.

Hanfoyañ, alfagey waazey ra no i ga kand'a.

Mate kañ te kulu, alhaalo din ga barmay, alwaati kañ waybora je, a hay ize booboo, wala a zeenu bumbo. Waato din, a ga furo sanney kulu ra. Al-umma booboo ra, waybora jiiri booba no ga a no beeray; zama a du ndunja bayray, kañ ga nañ a ma te yaamarko, hayyaney sanni ra, wala zanka kayney hawzuyano ra.

Wandiya wo biiriima gaabo kulu si kala i ma a soola hiijay se.

Lokkol kulu siino kañ ga alboro nda wayboro sanni cawandi; hina kulu no gomnati te, alfagey wanji i ma kande alboro nda wayboro sanni, cawo ra.

### **1.1.4 alborayzo, da nga windanta ba-funa**

Nga nda wayborayzo no ga tun car bande, alwaati kayne fo ra, kañ i ga i dondonandi taka nda teera hanney (lalabu, borfo beerandiyen, cimi ganayan, ga mooru taari, lakkal danyan, care gaayan, gaakasinay.

Za ne no i ga a fayanka da wayborayzo. I ga ne a se; alboro si hamburu, a ga yaaru no; a si hẽ , i si a dan wayboro goy kulu ra.

Nga waddey ra no a ga furo. Nangu kañ a ga hari booboo dondon, foorey ga. Hala a ka ga to jiiri iddu, bayrayey ga guusu; a ga furo arwosey kundaa ra, a ga koy fari, zardan, tamay wala darbay, kuray nda wkc.

Windanta ra gora, ga nañ a ma hari booboo bay: beena, ganda laabo, handirayayzey, hando, wayna, hawo kañ ga faaru, danji, hari, dullu. A ga guna ga cina (buka, mootho, beelo); a ga fooray-foorayyan te, nda ga-ham salleyan.

Alborayzo biiriima gonda tinay booboo, a hima ga hari booboo bay, a hima ga nin, ga du ga hin, lokkolo tinayey.

## **1.2 mate kañ zaamaani lokkolo nda biiriimey teerey ga faham nda almayaalo**

Ba day kañ itri naamu fo yañ ga cindi kawya ra wala gallu kurey fo yañ ra, almayaalo moy-duma taji fo go ga bangay gallo ra, kañ ga iri cabe biiriimay alhaali taji fo yañ. Margasinay nda boro kunda fo yañ lokkolo ra, na almayaalo moy-duma taji fo bangandi. Keita (1988) , kañ sandi filla (1993), fita 58, hatum ga ne "lokkol ga zanka ka nga hayrey ga. A ga hayrey biiriima gaabo baayan kulu ta i ga; a kande nga mo-teeyano, nga zaamaani gomdo harey, nda nga arzaka, ka bayray kañ hayrey si faham da a ra, hari kulu. Amma lokkolo ga iri naamey jance, ka i haw ka.

Almayaali baajina kañ lokkol kande, ga fay gumo da iri naamey wana. Boro kulu da nga wane, guunuwa, kañ ga fay gumo da margusinay nda care-diiyan kañ iri ga bay iri naamey ra. Kookaro kulu kañ i te, zaamaani lokkol cawandiyāñ fondey nda doñ biiriima ma koy care bande, man ganji kañ lokkol teera fo yañ si hin ga saba da doñ waney.

Da iri sambu caw-tirey do, wo kañ se i ga ne: "la famille boda", a gay niizer cawandiyano ra. Ba day kañ afirki almayaali sanni no go a ra, iri niizeriize ga gaabu kañ tun hayra yañ ra kañ ma, muse, madan; nda i ize hinka, alborayze fo wayborayze fo; hansi fo, maaje fo, mooto fo, nda wkc. Kañ na a ka, zaamaani lokkol bayra, taka fo yañ mo goono, kañ ga ci; galley alhaaley, bayray nda laabaari duure fondo tajey ga kande beeje hari nda gomdo hari yañ kañ si hima da iri naamey waney.

Sohō ra, iri go ga di almayaali gulla beerey go ga kar ka say, ka kay hinne; kurne nda nga wonde fo, nda ngey ize hinka wala i hinza ga. Zankey biiriima fun albeerey kambe ra ka furo goyze wandiyo kayne kambe ra, kañ si hari kulu bay kala zaamaani naanando, nda gaham kaynaa þumayyano. Naamu biiriima kañ ra zankey goro ga zaada kulu, go ga daray. Eerey zankaa si boro kulu bay kala nga ja nda nga baaba, zama hayrayey si ga kawya naaru koyne.

Doñ, zankey biiriima go albeeri kulu boñ. Da zankaa go ga hasaraw te fonda boñ, boro ga deeni a ga, wala ni ma a kar, kañ hari kulu si te. Zaamaani ize kañ ga boro lamba, ga hin ga to da boro kasu. Zanka bumbo ga hin ga kay ga ne: ni manti ay baaba me.windi-beeri darzaa kan, i te yaw yañ, zanka do.

Lalabu, beerandiyāñ, gaakasinay, care diiyan, naamey wo kulu go ga daray, ka kay windiizo hinne ga. Lokkolo si ga saba-ka sinay kulu ceeci ga hanse.,

Za 1960, k.zerbo na seela danj, i ma du ga cawo moy-duma hanse, ka a sijirey nda a bayrayey sasabadi da iri muradey.

Ki-zerbo ba-funa kulu ra, tangamo man koy kala lokkolo wo ga; lokkol kañ si iri nafa; lokkol kañ si hima da iri, nangu kulu, a na iri di, sanda kanji. Ciina kañ ga cawo go ga te si iri bumbey fahamandi sanku iri windanta, almayaalo kañ man caw.

Almayaali fo yañ ra, faransi ciine no bora kulu ga salanj; zankey si waani ngey ja ciina, i si waani ngey baaba ciina.

Zankaa te day ce-yaw nga niizer laabo ra.

### **1.3. Talfi, wala ta ga biiri, biiriimay teera no**

Niizer almayaali booboo no ga ize talfi, wala i ma no ga biiri. Fondo booboo ra no i ga a te. I ga a te, da zankaa ga ba ga fun wa; i ga zankaa no dumi kañ si hay se; i ga zankaa no amaana ra; i ga zankaa no wala i ma a talfi alfaaga se; i ga zanka talfi zaari kulu, ga koy goyo do ga ye ga ka. Da baayan, kaayi do no zankey ga koy; fondo wo-din ra, i ga ne zankaa ga te ize-gani, wala i ma ne zankaa ga ta sarante. Zama kaayo do hari kulu no i si a ganji; kala fundi-i-baayi.

I ga zanka talfi nga beere ga, kañ ga zeen'a gumo.

Arzakante fo yañ ga zanka, hayra koy wala alaatuumi, ta ga biiri a ma si taabi talkataray fuwo ra; zankey wo baayañ kulu ga ma nangey kaani; amma a fo yañ ga taabi gumo. Talfiyano wala biiriimay nooyano kulu si te kala da boro adilante, kañ gonda hina, kañ ga borey ga naanay. Talfiyāñ dumi fo mo goono kañ talkatara day no kanda; i ma zanka sarandi a ma koy laabu fo, boro fo bande wala bora do, ka goy a se wala ka kambe-goy fo te ga du nooru. Zanka sata wane ra no i ga du i booboo kañ ga taabi, kañ ga te jiiriyāñ i si ka fu. A foyañ wo ngey da fu, kala alciyooma.

Talfiyāñ wone dumo wo gomnati ga a jukke gumo, zama a hima da munadamiize wantare. Iri si dirgan dumey kañ ga zanka alborayze wala wayborayze talfi care ga; zanka ga du saajaw, a ga haalasi, amma, taali beero ga ci, kañ i si ta a ma koy lokkol.

Afirki wayna-kana laabu booboo na konkonsayan te, wana-wana pilon wana (2005), kañ cabe kañ talfi wo-din dumo ga zankey moorandi lokkol, sanku wayborayzey kañ si ba lokkoley ra, zama

cinarey si wasa lokkol, i na lokkoliizey, nankaniyey daabu, nwaari zabanyano zabu kutkey kwaara moorey ra.

Hayyan baayañ kande zanka booboo kañ ga ba i ma furo lokkol; i na tontono-din dimma laasaabu, a te 3,9%.jiiro ra.

Talfiyan dumi fo mo goono kañ ga lokkoliizey guna; wo kañ yan ga fun kawye ga ka gallu, alwaati banda kañ i caw ga saptika nda bursu. Afo yan si boro kulu bay gallu; afo yan mo kala i ma caw ga ban windi folonka ra. Afo yan si dirgan ngey fu –koyo, i ga a kayvana da gomni alwaati banda kañ i caw ga te goyteeri beeri yan.

Amma sohō, care gaakasina go ga zabu; talfo din si ga faala; talkatara go day ga bangay, zankey jiirey go ga ba, ba arzakantey na ngey gaakasina gaayi; hina kayna koyey sanni si. Sandi (1993), na konkonse te ka di kañ lokkol sasabey izey ga fu haya no ka ngey boñ sogen. Boro kañ i hā : mate no ni go ga te? A ma ne: ay go ga ay boñ jare no. Deeda me day ga ci, cawo si hin ga koy jine; gallu gora si faala; alborayze fooyan ma kookari, afo yan ma tanj; wayborayzey baayaño kulu tanj, ga mooru gallo kañ ra i si hallasi, kala hasaraw.

## II.biiriimayey teerey

### 2.1. Naamo, cawandiyajo

Naamo biiriima nda cawandiyajo kulu si jeeri kala al-umma muradey ga. I ma wangaariyan te kañ ga hin ga borey faaba, i ma alfari nda kambe-goyteeriyan te, sanda: zam, caakay, kusu cinako nda wkc. Kambe teerey, nda boñ ga laasaabey kulu go care bande, ya-din no biiriima nda cawandiyajo. Mumuni, (1964) hantum ka ne: “*biiriima wo dumi man du ka te kala kañ borey bay kañ ngey ba-funa no a ga nafa. Borey teerey nda wa-faka kañ go borey game ra, no zankey, i kayna ga i beeri ga, ga guna ga dondon.*”

Fayanka beero kañ go naamo biiriima ra day ka ci, jamaa kulu no a ga guna; fooray-fooray mo ra no a ga te. Aru-beeri kulu gonda fondo nda tilas a ma zankey kañ go a jare ga dañ fondo. Da yaamaryan no, da jukkeyan no, alwaati kulu, nangu kulu kañ ra no. Aru-beeri kañ si wone te, sinda sanni jamaa ra, a si du mo beetray boro kulu do, i ga himandi boro-yaamo.

Mumuni, (1964) di kañ: “*da zanka to dontoni, boro kulu ga hin ga a ce ga donton, nangu kulu kañ no, hari kulu kañ a ga hin ga te ra; i ga deeni a ga; i ga hin ga fondo konno sambu a se, wala i ma yaamar, i ma a lakkalo candi wala ka lakkalo kanandi; i ga hin ga faasa a se, wala i ma a gomni.*”

Dontoney din ga no zanka ga te, nga hayrey nda boro kindo se, dabu, alwaati banda kañ a waani sanni; biirimay hanno no a ga du dontoney din ra, sanda, doole a ma dontono sanno gaayi nga boñ ga, ga du ka a yeeri dala-dala mata kañ i na a ci a se da. A ga borey fayanka, dottijey nda i sasabey, nda i kayney; a ga baaba, nda ja, nda wayboro, nda aruwusu, nda wondiyo, fayanka, ga bay, i fo no ga i ka care ga, wo kañ zeenu afo, wo kañ beeri da afo, wo kañ te darza da afo. Fonda-din ra no a ga lalabu bayra cimandi.

Afirki al-umma cawandiyajo si jeeri kala boñ-ga-bayray boñ, kañ ga ci: jandi, yaasay, deede beeri, bay-ga-ci, dooni nda wkc. Kañ yan, ga zankey deesandi, i ma te lakkalkooniyanj.

Kañ sandi (1993, fita34,) na saalifu (1977) sanno deede, a hantum ka cabe kañ : “*iri deede beerey, deede beejantery no ga iri cawandi da don teerey; i ga fongandi wangaari beerey yaarukuma (...) Jandey mo ga iri bayrandi da gaayiyan, lakkldanyan nda haarandi nda farha (...) Da-hanna kan i ga iri cawandi da ga ci iri ma mooru, gunuwa, wongay, binyay nda fooma; amma a ne iri laasaabu, iri ma bakar, iri ma kay cimi ga, iri ma saabu, iri ma no, iri ma yaaru.*

Kañ na ka jammaa kambe danyano, biiriima do, aru-beerey hima ga te zankey se di ga dondon. Aru-beeri kulu kañ kafana wo-din ga, hima da i ma a jukke, wala i ma kaseete a ga. Iri naamey deede nda jandi dumi-dumey, yaasayey, bay-ga-ciye, ga ba gumo kañ ga no dondonyano go ga te, fooray alhaali ra.

### 2.2. Zaamaani dondonandiyajo

Afirki zankaa biiriima kañ ga nañ a ma furo borey ra, si te kala almayaalo ra, ga koy jamaa kulu do; cawandiyaj sijiri daahiranteyaj nda albarkanteyaj ga. Zaamaani lokkolo mo ka da anniya, nga ma bayrey boobo dañ kañ ga zankaa dañ borey ra. Da almaayaalo nda jamaa na gaabi dañ lalabu-cawo ga, mate no zaamaani lokkolo ga lalabu-cawo dañ nga cawandiyaj sijirey ra?

Iri niizer laabo wo fongu laasaabo din ga, nga ka kande kañ a na cawandiyaj ministeero maayo dañ: cawandiyaj, nda lalabu-cawañ, nda laabiizetaray bayray ministeero.

Za 1987, cawandiyaj na laabiizetaray bayra, nda lalabu-cawo dañ nga sijirey ra. Lalabu-cawo si nga gaabo dañ kala borey teera hanney kañ jamaa kulu daahirandi, boñ. A nufa ga ci nga ma zankaa no dooney hanno, kañ ga nañ i ma faham, i ma ngey teerey kulu te da laasaabu, borey naamu beerey boñ. A ga nañ cawkey ma cabe kañ ngey du ngey boñ-bayray; gomnati sijiri beerey kañ a tilasandi ne:

-doonay hanney duure, za lokkol jiiri sintina ka koy i hinkanta

-doonay hanney duura ma nin lokkol jiiri hinzanta ka koy i taacanta

-zankey doonay hanney fahama, ma to nangu kañ i ga goy dey, lokkol jiiri guwa ka koy, jiiri iddwa Lalabu-cawo na gaabi no "i hanno wala i laalo ga, i sogo nda hari kañ ga nafa, care gaakaasinay nda care diyan, care yaafayañ wala i ma bisandi care se, corotaray nda nakafosintaray; naamey wo kulu bayra ga zankaa dañ borey ra." Ba day kañ cawo gonda nafa, neesiyanj boobo te; chétima (1989;) sulayman (2015); isa (2018); cabe kañ laabiizetaray bayra cawo nda lalabu-cawo, si ga boori, i go ga i yababe. Hantumko beerey kulu ne kañ, a fo day, cawey wo, cawandiyaj no i man faham; i hinkanta, cawandiyaj fondo hanney no i man du. Ya-din ga, mate cawandika ga te ka goy da almaayaalo bayrey nooyan dabarey, kañ ga zankaa dañ borey ra?

Iri gonda baaru kañ almayaalo no ga zankaa no da-hanno nda lalabu. Almayaalo no ga teera-hanney kulu cabe zankaa se. Hayrayey ga gaabandi, bon-hinyañ ga, lalabo ga, cimi-ciiyanj ga, da zankaa mooru hayrayey, jamaa wala foorey, wala a waddey do no a ga du bayrey fooyaj; zama i ga kay a se lokkol gurbi ra, ka a daa cina ga koy boro baakaasinay ga, adilitaray ga, yaarutaray ga, care-diiyanj ga, taabi hinyañ ga, nda burkintaray cabeyañ ga.

Bon-ga-bayray dondonyano ga no zankaa ga goni nga ciina ga (sanni-barayan, deede, jandi, deede-kayfante, laasaabu bajina fooyan kan ga hima da yaasayey, laasaabu-ka-bayyan, sanni-beeri dumi-dumiyan bon faakaaray.) Foori fooyaj kañ ga koy ga hima laasaabu-kuuku, kañ ga nañ lokkolo ma to nango kañ a go ga ceeci, i hima ga dabariyanj dan goyo ra, kañ ga nañ zankaa ma du bayrey, gonitaray, ka du ka nga bumbo adamayzetara ce-kayandi. Cawandiyaj dabari beerey kañ i ga goy da ne: jandi nda laasaabu-ka-bay, deede-kayfantejanj, yaasayyanj, humburkumay, faajikaarey, naamey teerafoyanj, sanda dañ-banguyañ; nda wkc.

## Yaamaryaney

Mate kañ hantumko beerey na a ci da za beene, da mate kañ iri ga diya hantumey kañ go ganda ra, lalabu-cawo nda laabiizetaray-bayra cawo, kañ yan ga ci cawandiyaj ganjey, man du cawandiyaj hanno, zama i na i yababe. Iri ga cawandikey yaamar, i ma goy da cawandiyaj dabarey kañ ga ci: jandi, laasaabu-ka-bay, yaasey, deede-kayfantej, sanda cawandiyaj timmante.

Zankey kan mana furo lokkol sata beero, (jiiri 5 ka koy 6), lakkal-cawo (thème) boño ga ci: care-beerandijan; caw-kanandi (séance) taaki ga: kani-baani, foy-baani, foofo, kala a tonton, wala kala han-fo. Caw-kanandey kulu si te kala sijiro wo-ne ra:

Caw-sijiri (fiche)kan wayboro cawandiko fo te jiiri 2020/2021

Cawo-bojo: (thème) care beerandijan

Caw-kanandi (séance) fo kulu si te kala 10mn game ra

Nufa-beero (objectif général): zankaa hima ga boro kulu beerandi.

Nufa baajine kokoranta (objectif spécifique terminal ): zankaa hima ga hin ga boro fo kani-baani dogonay ra.

Gamo ra nufey (objectifs spécifiques intermédiaires): zankaa hima :

- ga hangan ga boori cawandika se
- ga kani-baani hantumo guna a ma boori
- ga hantumiizo ci ga filla
- ga tu hääyan kayney se
- ka du alhaali hanney

Zugayañ (motivation): cawandika ma cawkey hää : da arañ ka lokkol susuba ra, i fo no arañ ga ne cawandika se? Zankey ma tu: iri ga a kani-baani. Zanka kañ ga wo-din te susubay kulu, i fo no i ga ne a se? Zankey ma tu: i ga ne a gonda da-hanno (politesse).

Cawo bumbo (lecon du jour) kañ i ga te da haayañ booboo

I ma zugayañ filla. Da cawandika furo caw-fuwo ra, i fo no a ne? Tuuyan: arañ kani baani wala, arañ foy banni? Ifo se no a ga arañ fo? Lokkol hinne no borey ga care fo? Abada, borey ga care fo fu, fonda ra, nda nangu kulu kañ i di care. I fo se no borey hima ga care fo? Care fooyañ wo care beerandiyar seeda no. Borey kañ ga care fo mo, boro hanno yañ, iri mo ga ba iri te boro hanno yañ.

Bayra kañ cawka hima ka gaayi: ay ga borey fo alwaati kulu.

Cawkey ma a filla afo-fo, ga ngey marganta kulu.

Saati fo banda , i ma cawkey dondonandi : “foy baani; foofo; kala anfo”.

Caw-boño man sintin kala 09/10/2021 ka koy ban 02/12/2021. Caw-kanandi booboo ra no i sobay ga a yaara.

Iri ma si ba cawo do haray guna, iri ma iri boñ ha, seeda fo no a dondonandiyano ga cabe cawka ga?

Mata kañ i na cawo te da, a ga hin mo ka beerandiyano bayra cabe?

Za kañ cawka ga di alwati kulu, mata kan i ga fooyaney te da, ngey kwaara; a cindi cawandika ma terayañ kañ ga bayra- din niinandi cawkey lakkaley ra. Naamey ra gonda fondo booboo kan cawandika ga hin ga gana, ka nga cawandiyano te; sanda jandey, kañ ra bayrey booboo goono, kañ ga cawka ga: hangan, a ga mo-gaayi ka guna, haarandi, nda hari kañ ga lakkal di.

Iri ma sambu, “binta, alaatumiiizo” jando; kañ ga iri fongandi da-hanno duure caw booboo.

Alwaati banda kañ binta ja te-kasi, binta baaba gorkasinay, binta ma du boro kañ ga a sajaw. Amma, kas, waybora ga laala, garkasante mo no. Goy doorey kulu binta no ga i te; binta, kala haray.hanfo, waybora na binta kar, alwaati kan a go ga gaasu fo num. A te niine-kosi. Waybora ne: ize-way yaamo, koy ka gaaso-din num ay se alzanna bango do. Koociya koy, a ga bay mo kan alzanna bango ga mooru; fonda mo si boori. Alwaati banda kañ a na farey nda saajey farsi, farga na a zeeri tuuri-na fo cire. No-din no dottijo kwaaray koy fo bangay a se. A ne binta se: ay ga yaamarey wo te ni se:

-ay ga ni taabey kulu bay, amma, hin ni boñ, gaabandi ni boro-hannotara ga, ni ma si borey beerandiyano zabu

-ma goy d'ey ni naaruma ra, ni ga ye fu baani nda farhă.

Binta na dottija sanno gana; kumsey kulu kañ go fonda boñ, man a di. A ka ga to alzanna bango do; no-din, i na a yaaray da gaasu taaci kañ a hima ga bagu, afo fo, nañ kañ i ci a se, fu-yeyano ra. Fonda ra, borey fooyañ, nda i beerandiyano, nañ a du gomni booboo. A furo ngey kwaaraa ra da arzaka beeri. Boñ-kooney, boñ-kooniizey, wangarey, kulu no ka ga a hiijay hää, baabo ga. Binta binde, ngey laazbo boñ-koono no a fizaw.

Na-futa bu da dukuri.

jando kaayaŋ fo ga, i ne kaŋ ja-futa, kaŋ dukuro to a se, a na nga bumbo ize-wayo kar ka ne a ma koy alzanna bangu. A binde, kaŋ zanka laalo no, kaŋ si lalabu, a si boro kulu beerandi, a si boro kulu daŋ-me- ga, kaŋ a ye ka ka ga fun alzanna- bangu, kala hari futo, hari laalo koonu no na a gana ka ka.

Cawandikey ga hin ga goy da jando wo, alwaati kaŋ ga to jiiri, zama, caw-boŋ booboo no go a ra. Iri ma ne kaŋ jandi kulu ra no caw-boŋ fahamanteyaŋ go, lakkal teeyanjo wala dahanno duura do haray. Kaŋ na a ka haarandey kaŋ go jandi ra, iri ma bay kaŋ jandi ga zanka kulu lakkal di gumo. Jandi ga kande:

-da-hannay yaŋ, kaŋ ra i ga di; gomni teeri; care diiyanj; yaaru-taray; gomni-bayyaŋ. Teera laaley ( futay, jaŋ -ka saabuyaŋ; guunuwa; zaytaray, bine-laalay, nda wkc.) ; teerey wo kulu, i hima ga i yankar.

-ga, cawkey ma bay: naamey nda boŋ -ga-bayrayey taarifey; nangu kaŋ dumii fiilaana fun, nangu kaŋ teerra wala kabiya wone fun.

Jandi, yaasay nda bay-ga-ci dabari hanna ga ci kaŋ i ga hima da foori. Kaŋ i ga sobay ga i ci ga filla sorro booboo, ga naŋ cawkey ma faham gumo-gumo da bayrayey kaŋ go i ra. I ga naŋ zanka booboo da-laaley ma barmay; i ga naŋ zankey carma ma tonton; i ga naŋ i boŋey ma hari gaayi; ga du ga ciina dondonyanjo dogonandi. I ga kande zaamaani cawandiyano se, gaakaasinay albarkante.

## **boŋ-jine 5**

**Afirki wayno-kaŋay laabey wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyəŋ-dondonyəŋ : za dudalo gande kala a ma koy zaamaani lokkolo do**

**Abdou Moumouni issoufou**

### **Dunguryandi**

Afirki laabey ra, wangaaritaray jaabi manti kala me-sanni faakaaray dumi beerey ra afo. A manti kala mo maabey cawyəŋ kambu fo no dudal gande. A deeda ga cawka tilsandı a ma du gonitaray yaŋ alwaati kuuku cawyəŋ ra me-sanni alfa baabey/cawandiko beerey banda. Hari banda kaŋ cawandiyəŋ fondo ra no, hantumi wo-ne ga afirki wayno-kaŋay laabey wangaaritaray deeda cawyəŋ/dondonyəŋ maabey dudaley boŋ ce-dirawo gana, a ga guna mo ga di hala i ga hin ga a cawandi zaamaani lokkolo ra. Ce-dirawo din ganayaŋ boŋ konkonsa teeyəŋ fondo ra, dabaro kaŋ i sambu no ga cabe laabaari nookey kaŋ do i ga koy, a ga cawo ganda nda jamaa ci, a ga ci mo borey faakaara waate sanney marguyaŋ dabarey, nda sanney sambuyaŋey. Wo-ne yaŋ kulu banda a ga salaŋ duurey marguyaŋo nda i fisiyano bonj. Sintina day, hantumo gaayi kaŋ dudal gande cawka dondonandiyəŋ si te kala goy yaŋ kaŋ i hima ga te jina, fondo yaŋ, gagari yaŋ, dabari yaŋ nda cawey neesiyaŋ ce-kayante ra kaŋ ga koy nda cawo dumo nda a wane goyey boŋ. Ihinkanta, a ga fondo yaŋ kayandi kaŋ ga naŋ i ma i cawandi zaamaani lokkol ra.

**Sanniizey baajiney** : cawandiyəŋ/dondonyəŋ, wangaaritaray deede, afirki wayno kaŋay laabey, zaamaani lokkol

### **Boŋ-jina nda dumbo nufey**

Dumbi wo-ne si salaŋ kala afirki me-sanni faakaaray dumi albarkante cawandiyəŋo-dondonyəŋo boŋ. Wangaaritaray tarzam deede no kaŋ, sintina ga, borey ga te care se hala i ga a hantum, marguyaŋ goyey banda, i hantumyaŋo nda i toonandiyəŋo kaŋ annasaara, amirki, azi nda afirki bayraykooni boobo nda wkc te banda. Afirki wayno-kaŋay laabey ra wo, da baayaŋ kulu, kunda fo no a ga guna, kaŋ ga ti maabey kundaa. Laabey wo ra, hala maaba ga te deedeko, wangaaritaray deede goni, kala da a koy me-sanni dudalo gande go goro deedeyəŋ alfa beerey do. A go taalibey jinde banda boŋ i ma sanni yaŋ sijiri, i ma i deede, hala ga ka sohoŋ i ma i cawandi. Baaba ga ka ize no cawandiyəŋo ga gana, a si te mo kala bayray fu kaŋ i kayandi ra. Fu cawandiyəŋo din ga cawkey me-sanni waaniyanjey no gaabi ga tonton. Wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyəŋo ce-dirawo maabey dulaley boŋ kaŋ sanni i te dumbo wo ra, mana fun kala me-sanni cawandiyəŋ fu hinza ra (camara, 1992). Cawandiyəŋ fu hinzaa wo kaŋ boŋ i na konkonsa te si kala maali nda nizeer laabu. Duurey

marguyaŋ se, iri mana sambu kala fonda kaŋ ga i ga gana ga laabaari nookey suuban, ga cawo batama nda a borey ci, ga laabaarey marguyaŋ dabarey ci, ga ci mo mate kaŋ i ga duurey goy ga, i fisi nda. (ne-wo, cawo si gay goyo ce-dirawo boŋ). Sandayo alhaali hinkanta ga, wangaaritaray deeda ce-dirawo si ba kala i ma a yeeti cawandiyəŋ-dondonyaŋ fondo hanno boŋ, kaŋ ga ti zaamaani lokkolo cawandiyəŋ ce-diraw fondey ra.

Cawo wo ga ceeci jina, ga wangaaritaray deeda maana no, a ma a fayanka seedey ci, a ma a nango kayandi, nda a wane goyey afirki wayno-kanja dumey doŋ bufunay gora ra. Koyne, a ga maabey dudalo cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawo fisi hala a ga zaamaani lokkolo mo cawandiyəŋ kaŋ i ga hin ga te fondo fo yan mo sijiri.

Nufey kaŋ i gaayi dumbo wo se ne :

1. I ma wangaaritaray deeda maana ci ;
2. I ma deeda din nango nda a wane goyey bay afirki wayno-kanjay laabey dumey doŋ baafunay gora ra ;
3. I ma afirki wayno-kanja wangaaritaray deeda maabey dudaley bon cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawo bay ;
4. I ma afirki wayno-kanjay laabey zaamaani lokkolo ra wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyəŋ-dondonyaŋ fondo yan sijiri.

### **Wangaaritaray deeda maanaa**

Afirki wayno-kanjay laabey ra, wangaaritaray deeda manti kala baafunay nda goy hari kaŋ fun me-sanni goney do (dérive, 2012, kaŋ yan du cawandiyəŋ ga du ga wangaaritaray deedekey goyo te. « me-sanni jaabi » no. (bornand, 2005, p.14). Me-sanni goy no kaŋ ra maaba ga wangaarey teerey kaŋ te taariifo ra, kaŋ ga dambarandi deede. Borey kaŋ se wangaarey din deeda ga kaanu, se no i ga a te.wangaaritaray deeda kar ga say yan cine ra, maaba ga goy nda faakaaray dabari dumi yan, sanni dumi-dumi yan ga wangaarey kaŋ i go ga ce sifa. Me-sanni ciine no, maabey wangaaritaray tariifey deedey gonda hari yan kaŋ manti me-sanni hinne (gaagaari nootandiyəŋ, boro dondonyaŋ, haari-haarey, caale-caaletaray, care gunayaŋ,) wala mo jinda ga (sawti barmayyaŋ, jinde barmayyaŋ, jindey sambuyaŋ nda i ye ganda yan).

Naamu batuka nufaa wangaaritaray deeda ga, ga ti, afo day, a ma jamaa kaŋ ga ba ngey ma ma ngey wangaarey tarzamey lakkal ye nga ga ga i farhandi. Ihinkanta, a ma teerey gorandi borey kulu lakkaley ra, a ma te « fongandiyəŋ hari ». (saibou adamou & issoufou, 2020). Wangaaritaray deede gonda seede yan kaŋ ga a fay nda deede cindey.

## Afirki wayno-kaŋ wangaaritaray deeda fayanka seeda fo yan

Afirki wayno-kaŋ wangaaritara deeda, wane sanno ra, ga fayanka nda me-sanni dumi boobo kaŋ boro kulu ga hin ga ci, alwaati kulu kaŋ no nda ahaali kulu mo ra. A wane sanno ra, a gonda fayanka yan sanda tiyaatar teeyan nango do haray. Da baayan, wangaaritaray deeda si te kala batama ra kaŋ i soola bato ma ga : foori batame, hanna batama, bonkoonitaray windo me hala i go ga bonkooni didigi wala batu fo yan kaŋ ga jamaa baafuna guna. Ce fo yan, fooro batama ga ba ganji-haw. A ga te :

- Batame kaŋ i jeeri ga ganji-haw nda fijiri kaŋ ga anniya laaley kulu kosaray ; deedeka maanay-maanay windanta kulu batu ;
- Ba a wane batu darbayey kaŋ a ga daŋ, nda i ma goy nda goray teera fo yan kaŋ ga jin
- Hari kaŋ ga a wa nda haw laaley (ganjey) kaŋ deeda ceeyan sanney kaŋ i go ga te ga tunandi (seydou, 2008, p.152)

I ga gaakasinay ceeći ganji beerey ga, i ma mo ye fooro goyey ga a ma du ga te ga boori. Nufaa ga ti i ma deede a nda jamaa batu, bato mo ma du ga te ga boori. Amma hunkuna, za kaŋ wangaaritaray deede batey kaŋ i ga hanna ga te daray, foori nda nangu fo dumi no zaamaani jamaa ye ga du. Jamaa laabaari nooyan goy-jinayey nda wo kaŋ yan go ngey boŋ goray ra ga ti fondo hanney kaŋ yan i ga laabaari no nda.

Wangaaritaray jaabi seeda fo kaŋ ga waana, afirki wayno-kaŋyan laabey ra ga ti deeda alwaato. Hari kaŋ ga waana nda jamaa me-sanni cindey ga ti kaŋ nga wo i si a deede alwaati kulu, amma kala jamaa baafunay fondo fo yan boŋ, silmanj ga hala daŋ bangiizey fooro ga te. Bucey din waate, maaba beerey no ga wangaaritaray deede dumo te. Alwaato kaŋ i ga daŋ ga wangaaritaray deede din te mo ga ku (biebuyck, 2004). A ga hin ga te guuru yan wala zaari yan. (seydou, 2008) sanno ga, sundiyaata wangaaritara deeda si te kala hinne hala i ga kama-blon kaŋ go kangaba maali laabo ra jiiri iyye ga ka jiiri iyye fuwo hanseyan batey te. Kaŋ na a ka wangaaritaray deeda alwaato, i ga jamaa kaŋ ka ga hangan suuban no, bora darzaa wala a kunguyano nda safari se. Silmanj ga, sanda mate kaŋ (seydou, ibid) na a ci nda, mandingu wangaaritara deeda wo, bonkoonitaray almaayaali maabey hinne no ga a deede. Amma, wangaaritaray deede kaŋ ga ciya goy fo wane si te kala borey kaŋ ga goyo te jine ga i fongandi nda i teera beerey, goyo zaadayan ma ga.

me-sanni dumey kulu kaŋ i doonu wala i deede ra, wangaaritaray deede ga waana, nga wo moolo no ga sanno dum. Moolo nda sanno no ga koy care bande ga maaba deeda boryandi ga a baafunandi. « moola nda sanno care ganayaŋo », (fobah eblin, 2006, p.447) ga jaabo no darza, a ga

kambe dañ a cinayaño da a sokonyaño ga. Kesteloot nda dieng (2009, pp.30-31) wo se, « hala moolo si sanno banda, wangaaritaray deeda ga jañ nga darzaa, maaba mo si du sanno mo-banda ». Wangaaritaray deeda gonda darza beeri koytaray batamey kulu ra kañ ra a sintin.

### **Wangaaritaray deeda : a nango nda a goyey afirki wayno-kanay laabey don baafunay gora ra**

Afirki wayno-kanay laabey doñ baafunay gora ra, wangaaritaray deeda gonda darza beeri biirimay nda jamaa foori-foorey fondey ra. Me-sanni dumey ce-dirawo ra, wangaaritaray deeda go deede dumy beerey ra. A go mo boro-bi laabey fando se me-sanni beeje hari kañ ga waana nda waati kulu me-sanney. Goy dumy-dumey kañ a gonda jamaa naamey ra no ga a wane nafaa cabe.

Sintina day, wangaaritaray deeda wo foori hari no. A wane dursayaño manti kala bine-farhãy nda kuluuje jamaa se. Fondo no kañ ga jamaa ga gana ga ngey bine-kaanay nda kuluuje cabe. Haarey no wangaaritaray deeda ga tañ doñ dottijey ga kañ fari goy na i taka-baraw sanda sohoñ borey mo kañ yan go ga tangam nda ndunjña baafunay bine-hasarawo. Borey boney gasandiyaj fondo ra, kañ ga ti « taariifi hanganyañ nda a deedeyaj » (chevrier 2005, p.25) a ga hananandiyan nda safari goy yan te. Koyne, a wane zamuyañ fonda ra mo, a ga hangankey zuga, zugayañ kañ si hin ga te kala nda sanni deedandey nda jandiizey. Ciiyañ jaabo din nda moola kañ ga a dum nufaa ga ti a ma jamaa lakkalo di, a ga nañ i ma ma kaani ga daaru. Deeda si tu kala « suuraa kaaniyo se » mate kañ barthes (1973) na a ci nda, bine-kaanay kañ ga nañ jamaa ma kuluuje. Amma ce fo yan, boro ga hin ga ne kañ jamaa go ga ma « kaani beeri » wangaaritaray deeda teeyajo waate.

Wo-din banda, wangaaritaray deeda ga jamaa baafunay, poltik nda i diiyaney goy te hala a ga salañ boro fo kañ te darza a alwaato ra boñ. Teerey beerey zamuyañey din ga te a himcarey se di ga dondon i baafuna ra. Wangaaritaray deeda maanaa ga jamaa zuga ga koy poltik goy ga, a ga te mo kañ jamaa ma care di nafa fo ma ga, kañ fondo ra jine-fune fo go ga tangam. Koyne, a ga nañ borey ma care di, jamaa ma care margu ga te afo. Wangaaritaray deeda ga hima i se diji alhaali, kañ ra i ga di ngey boñ, i wane baafunay teerey laasaabey, i wane diiney waana-waana i wane borey kañ baafunay dumey kañ i ga ba ngey ma te ga du ga bay ngey ya boro kan yan no. Jaabi kañ gonda maana, a ga lakkaley yeeti «jamaa dumy taji hanno » sinjiyañ ga (vettorato, 2017, s.p). Wangaaritaray deeda ga mayray nda ce-diraw dumy fo sijiri kañ ga te jamaa se di ga dondon. Wo-ne ga ti a wane poltik, laasaabo nda jama baafuna goyo. (camara, 1996).

Da wangaaritaray deeda ga haarandi, ga boro dan jama ra, a ga boro cawandi mo. Cawayaj nda cawandiyan goy no a ga te kañ haali banganta ga ti a ma lalabu nda goray hanno no jamaa se. Tangami ra kookari cawandiyan mo no, tangami kañ alboro ga te ga taaley nda baara-baarey

bonza. Wangaaritaray deeda dumi ga laabu haggoyyaŋ nda haali hanno duure cawandi, ga tangam nda da laaley. Afirki wayno-kaŋay wangaaritaray deeda taariifi ga goy boobo te, za foori-foori ga koy cawandiyəŋ ga, ga bisa ga to jamaa zugayaŋ, baafunay nda poltik fondey boŋ, boro fo boŋ. Mafaari baajiney wo kulu ga cabe hari kaŋ se i go ga a cawandi maabey dudalo gande.

### **3. Afirki wayno-kaŋay wangaaritaray deeda maabey dudalo gande**

Afirki wayno-kaŋay laabey ra, maabayzo wangaaritaray deeda jaabo cawandiyəŋ ga te nangu hinka ra : almayaalo ra, nango kaŋ boro ga sintin ga dondon, nda cawyəŋ batama do nangu kaŋ boro ga kambe goy dondonyaŋ go. Almayaalo windanta ga ti kocciya cawandiyəŋ batame hanna sanda mate kaŋ ogandaga (2007, p.6) na a ci « almayaalo ga ti kocciya batame sintina kaŋ ra i ga daŋ a bojo ra bondumyaŋ, lalabay dottijey ga... kaŋ yaŋ ga ti teere baajine jama kaŋ ga goy nda naamu ra ». Nangu sintina no kaŋ maabayzo ga nga sanni dondonyaŋ sintina te nga hayrayey kuruyaŋo ra. Koyne mo, dondonyaŋ cimi-cimo mo si te kala nangu fo kaŋ i ka, i na a tabbatandi wo-din ma ga. « boro folloŋ goy dondonyaŋ [wangaaritaray deeda kambo do hare] ga naŋ hayra ma nga izo no bayray, goy waaniyan nda haali yan kaŋ ga koy nda almayaalo baafunay alaadey nda goyey. (diouf, mbaye & nachtman, 2001, p.8). Maabataray cawandiyəŋ dudalo tabbatanta wo maabey no a ga guna (wo kaŋ yaŋ bon konkonsa te : saaga nda liboore nizeer laabu nda kirina maali laabu). Batamey din ra, wangaaritarey deeda si te kala alwaati kuuku ra, a ga salan mo « cawandiyəŋ ce-diraw jootey boŋ » (camara, 1996, p.768), a gonda mo nga goyey kaŋ i ga jin ga te, nga gagarey nda nga fondey.

Maabey dudalo boŋ, wangaaritaray deeda waaniyaŋo gonda goy yaŋ jina. Hala i ga a cawandi, a ga tilas cawka ma funa maaba banda ga. (enkerli, 2004). Nooru kulu kaŋ cine burciniize ga wi wala jinay kaŋ a ga no, a si hin ga furo dudalo din cawo ra. Wo-din, hala i ga cawo sintin, sanda mate kaŋ iri laabaari nookey na a ci nda, maabayzo hima ga baranda jiiri 7 ga koy 8 laasaabay, kaŋ ga ti alwaato kaŋ ga koy nda cawyəŋ nda laabaari gaayiyaŋ. Jiiro kaŋ i ci nafa fo ga ti kaŋ alwaato din zankey mana sinti ga di sanday kaŋ ga i lakkaley ta ga i ganji i ma dondoŋ. « i wane lakkley mana to gumo », ya-din no laabaari nooko fo ci.

Hala boro ga koy dudalo cawo do, a ga tilas mo i ma maabayzo soola nda safari nda ḥwaaray. Wo-din ga hin ga te burciniize wala almankooniize atciriya hari kaŋ i na a numay nd'a hanyaŋ wala numay nd'a yaŋ. Teera din no ga maabayzo saaya tonton a gonitaray goyo ra, a ga cabe mo kaŋ a mana burciney kambe banda. Wo-din banda no i ga a dondonandi ne-ciine. Wo-din se, i ga goy nda biiri boobo, sanda gurum/tirayze yaŋ kaŋ ga a bayrayno lakkal ga tonton. Hala ba wo-ne ga te, a hima ga du « gonitaray sanni sintiney» no jina. (dolz & schnewly 1998, p.16).

Maabey dudalo do cawyaŋ, wangaaritaray deeda kambo do wo, cawyaŋ no kaŋ gonda fondo kayante. Adamayzeturay nda biirimay ma ga, ganjey wo boŋ no a go, sanda mate kaŋ iri laabaari nookey na a ci :

- Hangayaŋ ;
- Suuru kaŋ ga hangan ;
- Nda yaddayaŋ.

Cawyaŋ kulu me sanni no, a wane fondey ra fondo baajine ga ti lakkal kaŋ ga hangan cawandika se. Gagari sintina gonda hanganyaŋ soola kaŋ ra cawkey ga lakkal daŋ ga soola ga bayra kaŋ i ga cawandi nda te ga dondonyaŋ, ba hala goyo ga sintin. Hanganyaŋ gagaro ga ti boro ma lakkal ye cawo ga hala ba i ga to cawyaŋ cimi-cimo ga kaŋ ga ti hanganyaŋ banda gagaro.

Wangaaritara deeda cawandiyano gonda gagari booboo. Annasaara jiiri 2011, faakaaray fo kaŋ furo jaliba baaje nda garba game ra bangandi borey se gagari hinza :

Afo day, za jiiri iyye no cawka ga sintin ceeyaq wala kaayi ceeyaq kaŋ ga ti burcini almayaali fo kaayey maayey zamuyey wala almayaali tuuri-paŋo ciiyaŋo. Wo-din banda no deede dondonyaŋ kaŋ ga ti wangaarey taarifey ga ka. Bananta ga kaŋ ga ti gagari hinzanta, moola kaŋ ga sanno dum dondonyaŋo no. (pp.17-18).

Gagari sintina dondonyaŋo ga ti almayaali tuuri-paŋey ceeyaq jandiizey kaŋ i ka almayaali yan se kaŋ yan gonda darza beeri laabo ra, i wane arzaka wala i wane darza se. Wo-din banda, cawka ma dondon wangaari beerey deedey dursayaŋ. Gagari kokoranta no i gisi moola dondonyaŋ se. Amma gagaro din wo, hala boro ga baar'a no ni ga a te.

Dondonyaŋ ce-dirawo nda a gagarey banda, iri ma to sohoŋ kay mate kaŋ cine i ga wangaaritara deeda bayra dondon nda maabey dudaley boŋ. Wo-din se, i na cawandiyano soola yan gorandi kaŋ ibeero ga ti dudalo kaŋ se i ga ne cawandiyano nango. Nga no ga ciya kalaaso kaŋ ra cawandiyano goyey ga te. A wane ce-dirawo se, i ga jinay yan kaŋ i ga nafa nda margu sanda tonyaŋ tuuri nda hayni kwaari kaŋ i ga ton. Cawko kayney no ga jinayey din margu. Cawandiyano din ra, cawandika ga goy nda dabari booboo sanda wangaaritaray deeda kulu wala deeda jara (patarmi-patarmi) ci nda gaabi yan. Gagaro din ra, nga no ga ti salanko beero, satto din cawkey wo ga hangan day no. Wo-din ga no hanseyaq dumbaro ga ka ga furo, kaŋ ga cawandika ga cawandiyaney kaŋ a te ga bisa yeere-yeere.

Dabaro kaŋ i ga goy nda gumo wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyano ga, ga ti sanniizey kaŋ ga koy care banda « ciiyaŋ nda dursayaŋ » (toulou, 2008, p.293). Cawyey yeerayaŋ no afo-fo kaŋ cawandika ga te. Wo-din banda, cawka ma sanney yeera mate kaŋ cine sintinay bora na a ci nda. Cawandiyano dabaro din ga faajikaaray daŋ cawandika nda cawkey game ra cawandiyano waate.

Ne-wo wo, cawka ga goy gumo, a si te boro kaŋ hanganyaŋ hinne ga ti a wane sanda wangaaritaray deeda dondonyaŋ gaaba waate. Dabari hinza kaŋ maaba cawandika ga goy nda ga ti deeda dursayaŋ nda gaabi, a ciyaŋo nda a dursayaŋo ga hin ga te care banda wala i ma i barmay-barmay ga du ga to cawandiyar nufey ga.

Cawkey daŋ goyo ra yaŋo ga, maaba cawandika mo ga cabe goyo baagasinay beeri waana-waana cawandiyaro fondey. Za goyo sintina, maaba ga bangandi cawkey se cawo kaŋ boŋ i ga salaŋ, ya-din ga bayra kaŋ i ga dondon. Cawandika ga ci no, kaŋ sinda tuguray kulu, sanda silmaŋ ga kaŋ goyo ga sintin nda dumitaray tuuri-na deede yan. Cawandiyaro fondey kaŋ cawandika ga ci ga ti a ma fahamandi cawka se hari kaŋ a ga dondon. Koyne mo, cawandika ga ci a cawka se cawandiyaro ce-dirawo nda a tilas haaley kalaaso ra. Goy baagasinay alhaali ga, maaba cawandika ga goy nda bayray kaŋ a tubu, kaŋ ga ti « dabarey kaŋ cawandika ga daŋ ga cawkey zuga alwaati fo yan, a wane hawzuyaŋo ra, dondonyaŋ fonda ra. » (sensevy, mercier & schubauer-leoni, 2000, s.p). Maabey dudaley kaŋ kokonsa i te do, cawandiyar gonitaray barmayyaŋo kaŋ ga te nangu hinka. Sintina day, cawo sintina ga no a ga te ga cawkey bayrayey gosi.tina din dumo manti kala cawey kaŋ i te kaŋ fongandiyar. Ihinkanta, cawandika ga nga nango naŋ, buci fo yan ga, kaŋ a ga hā cawko fo yan kaŋ a suuban ma sanni taariifo deede te.

Cawkey ma cawyarey goyey te, i cawandika ga i hawzu. Maabey cawandika goy baagasinay kokoranta ga ti cawandiyarey neesiyaŋo kaŋ ga ciya han fo yan i wane bayray zeeney fatawyaŋ. Fatawyaŋo din ga hin ga te taariifo kulu yaarayaŋ wala binde dumbari zeeno yan.

Neesiyaŋo din kaŋ se i ga ne baafunanta nufa fa ga ti cawey boriyandiyar. Neesiyaŋ hinkanta ga ti wo kaŋ ga cawka cawey kulu guna. Nga ga ti cawo kulu neesiyaŋo kaŋ ga te cawyarey bananta ga. Wo-din se, cawandika ga batu beeri te kaŋ ga sanni goni tajo ga nga deede gonitara kulu cabe. Da a du ga zaame konkonsa ga, a ga du wangaaritaray deede galaŋ.

Iri me ciina wo ra, afirki wayno kaŋay laabey ra, me sanni dudaley kaŋ ga i ga maabey cawandi deedey nda mooley dondonyarey go ga daray. Darayyaŋey wo sabbe se, i si hin ga wangaaritaara deede naŋ sohoŋ lokkolo se ?

1. **Afriki wayno kaŋay laabey wangaaritaray deeda jaabo : fondey, bayrayey, dumbi wo-ne si salaŋ kala afirki wano-kaŋay laabey wangaaritaray deeda boŋ, sanda me sanni wo dumo kaŋ i ga hin ga cawandi annasaara lokkol ra. Alhaalo wo no ga cabe kaŋ i ga hin ga a cawandi liise jiiri sintina faransi ciine kambo ga. Amma fonda ga ba i ma cawey maanaa fondey nda dabarey ci. Iri ga bay, wangaaritaray deeda gonda nufa boobo (nufey din kulu i na i sanni te dumbey kaŋ bisa ra) kaŋ ga hin ga naŋ i ma a**

cawandi liise nda koloozey ra. Cawandiyajo ce-dirawo ga te nda suurey kañ ga koy nda faransi ciine cawandiyajo, nizeer ra. Deeda wo cawandiyaj sijiro fahama si kala sanney wo ra :

- Sintina day, wangaaritaray deede kulu ga cabe kañ adamayse baafunay haaley gonda cawayaj nda fahamay boobo ;
- Koyne, taarifo kambo do haray, wangaaritaray deeda ga nañ furtajey ma hari kañ te ga bisa nda i kaayi taarifey bay.
- Afo mo, jaabo ga afirki naamo cabe, a wane dumey nda jamaa darzey ga ;
- Bananta ga, iri ga ne kañ me-sanni no kañ gonda sanniize baafunante yañ nda kone-kone kañ ga zankey sanney nda i deedey boryandi.

Cawandiyaj fondey kulu murciyan kan wangaatarey deeda ga sambu ga nañ zaamaani lokkolo ma si ciya « faransi lokkolo kañ go afirki » ga barmay ga te « afirki faransi lokkolo » (saibou adamou & hamidou, 2008, p.58). Anniya kañ ga te silmanj ga i ma wangaaritaray deede cawandi nizeer ra si te kala nda liise faransi ciine cawandiyajo nufey nda sijiri-kaynej ra :

- Laabaari nooyaj nda me-sanni nda hantum hiney tonton ;
- Dabarey nda fondey kañ ga fahama, ciiti nda ka tarayyan zugaj ;
- Boro ma du naamu kañ ga koy nda alwaato, kañ ga goy nda hari kañ go ga te ndunjnaa ra. (koloozey nda liisey ra faransi ciine cawandiyaj sijiri-kayna, 2016, fita. 101).

Nufa sintina ga ti wo kañ ga gaabi dañ « laabaari nooyaj, me-sanni nda hantum hiney ga ». Ne-wo wo, i ga hin ga goy nda wangaaritaray deeda nafa-harey ga du ga cawkey goyo gonitara dogonandi, ga a zaadandi. Fonda wo ra, kañ i suubañ ga ti « ciine sanno cimi-cimi wana » (adam, 1999). Hala i jeeri ce-dirawo din ga, i ga hin ga wangaaritaray deeda dumo liise sanda suura dumbari ra (deede, ciyan nda fahamandiyaj...). Caw dumi kulu si te kala cawandiyaj dumbari haali ra kañ ce-dirawo mo gonda patarmi boobo. Silmanj ga, ciiney hima care seedey cawo ga, iri ga sijiri araj se dumbari deeda kañ gonda nufa wo-ne yañ.

**Nufa beero** : dumbaro cawo banda, cawandika hima ga hin ga suura deede te kañ gonda wangaaritaray deede te, me-sanni ga nda hantum ga.

**Nufa kayney** : cawka hima ga :

- Wangaaritaray deede suura kañ gonda deedeyaj haali cinaro ci,
- Boro beerey nda ikaynej kañ go wangaaritaray deede suuraa ra cabe,
- Alwaati nda nangu seedey waare wangaaritarey deede ra,
- Wangaritaaray deede ce-dirawo fondey gaayi.

Deeda dumbaro ce-dirawo ga te patarmi boobo ra, cawey kañ i gaayi boj. Patarmi sintina ga, cawandiyajo goyo ga hin ga te wangaaritaray deeda suuraa cinaro nda a cawey bayyan : sorro cawayaj, cawiizey kañ ga nañ sorra ma care ganayañ nda maaney kañ yan ga koy care banda suuraa kambej ma du ga care gana ga boori ma ga. Patarmi hinkanta ga, goy ga hin ga te wangaaritaray deede suuraa borey boj. Cawey murceyaney no a ga gana sanda wangaaritaray deeda suuraa sokonyajo sijiro, borey nda i wane goyey nda mo cawo ce-dirawo. Patarmi hinzanta ga, batama nda alwaato kañ ra wangaaritaray deede go ga te nda cawiizey wo : haaley, alwaato nda batama goyey, taarifi deede nda goy batama nda alwaato seedey. patarmi taacanta maaba te diiyaney wangaaritaray deeda bayyan (diiyanjo, ganayañ do haray). Kokoranta, patarmi guyanta ga salan suura deeda boj nda sawto.

Deeda dumbaro ce-dirawo banda, laasaabo ga koy nda jine nda liise wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyaj fondo hinkanta kañ ga hin ga te. A si furo mo kala faransi ciine sijiri kayna hinzanta nufaa ra, wo kañ ga ti « naamu duuyaj kañ ga koy nda sohoj alwaato nda wo kañ ga yadda nda ndunjnaa teerey ». Nga no ga ti i ma wangaaritaray deeda naamu darza cawandi nda yaasa kañ ga ne « cawandiyaj wo boro baafunay nda ni naamo no ». (ourghanlian, 2006, s.p), cimi no, afirki wayno-kañay laabey wangaaritara deeda naamu nda bon bayray ma ga, wangaarey deedey gonda luga boobo, wangaarey boj. I cawandiyaj liisey ra ga hin ga naamo tuku. Cawandiyaj fondo wone ra, nufey kañ i go ga ceeći ga ti afirki cawko tajey ma :

- Adamayze darzey nda naamey kañ wangaarey kañ bisa yan gaayi bay,
- Darzey din te nga wane ga du ga du haali taji.

Fonda din nufaa day ga ti i ma cabe hari kañ darza beejantey nooyaj ga kande liise lokkoliizey haaley ra. Cawey kañ yan i ga te a ra sanda farhā, gomni teeyaj, boj danyaj nda laabiizetaray. I ga hin ga i cawandi cawayaj kambo ra, goy fa ihinza ra, kañ i ka liise faransi ciina cawandiyajo se. Cawandiyajo ce-dirawo ga hin ga te caw kambu fo wana dumi. Alhaali laasaabo wo ga, cawandiyaj dabaro kañ i gaayi ga ciya cawayaj dabaro dumo sanda mate kañ liise sijiri-kayna cawandiyaj fondey na a gaayi nda.

Farhā bayra go wangaaritaray taariifi deedey kulu ra, wangaarey kulu mo ga goy nda da hanno darzaa din kañ ga ti ma kaani yan hari, boj sifa yan hari. Alboro kañ sanni ga to, wangaarey cabe kañ ngey bumbo boj se boro beeri yan no, waana-waana borey se ga du borey wane beerandiyajo. Farhā cawandiyaj nda wangaaritaray deeda fonda furo tajey se, annasaara lokkolo

ga kande gaakasinay i se, goray taji fo kañ ga ti boro ma lalabu ni boñ se, ni ma lalabu boro fo ga. Hala boro du farhā teera din, kulu i ga hin ga te darzante yan kañ ga furo jamaa mo ra.

Darza hinkanta kañ i ga hin ga du wangaaritaray deeda ra, kañ i ga hin ga cawandi mo annasaara lokkol ra, ga ti gomni teeyan̄. Gomni teeyan̄ din gonda nangu beeri wangaarey haaley ra. Gaakasinay fondo no kañ ga wangaaray ga boro nda kunda hina buuney ga. I dañ lakkal ra kañ i ma hari kañ go i se fay nda boro fo yan̄, i ga bakiilitara nda hari baakasinay kañ go fundi ra wi ngey biney ra. Annasaarey lokkol, hala a ga gomni teeyan̄ dañ lokkoliizey biney ra wangaaritaray cawandian̄ ra, ga hasan nda hina dabu bora kulu kaani ma ga. Lakkal duuyañ kañ boro haro ga to bora kulu, ga boro ma du ni hine boñ se, ni hinne ma te, ni hinne ma te arzaka miila ka boro bine. Gomni teeyan̄ lakkal ga nañ hunkuna cawkey ma te suba boro yan̄ kañ ga bara nda teeyan̄ bine kañ manti boro ma dañ boro lakkalo ra jamaa hari sambuyañ. Hala bora kulu na a gaayi, a ga konda jamaa nda jine kañ ga nañ boro kulu ga no boro fo yan̄ mo ma du se.

I ga hin ga wangaaritaray deeda dumo dañ ga laabu baakasinay duure wasiika tonandi. Laabo baakasina kañ bara lakkalo ra no ga nañ wangaaro ma nga boñ dañ jamaa muraadey ra. Wangaaritay deedey ra, laabu baakasina si boosu kala nda i kande wangu laabo ga, jamaa zaalumyañ, laabo goray kaana sarayañ, kaayi laabu komyañ nda wkc. Mate kulu kañ no, i ga ba laabu baakasinay wangaaray ga, alhaalo ma du ga barmay. Wangey ra, wankoy ga nga kookari kulu te ga laabo ka kambe. Liise cawandian̄ nafaa ga ti boñ dañyan̄ laabo baakasinay ga yan̄ ga nañ i ma du laabiize dumi taji yan̄ kañ ga ngey boñ candi ga ka boñ baakasinay ga, folloñ goray kañ sinda nafa. I ga kambe dañ gumo laabo poltik ce-dirawo nda baafuna ga, i ga tangam mo laabu arzakaa se. Bayra din toonandian̄ lokkoliizey do, waana-waana liise izey do manti kala jine koyyan̄ fondo beeri laabo se. A ga laabo baakasina gaabandi cawkey do nda tinay kañ ra i ga kambe dañ.

Hala i na da hanno dañ lakkaley ra sanda farhā, gorkasin gaakasinayyañ, tangam laabo se yan̄, wangaaritaray deeda darza ga ti i ma toonandi cawkey do alhaali hanno yan̄ jamaa goray ra se. Ndunjna goray, da hanney nda lalabuyañey cawandian̄ liisey ra, biirimay wo-ne dumo sanno kañ i yeera-yeera ga ti da hanney gaabandian̄ nda jamaa ra goray laalo ganandian̄. Deede cawandian̄ nda a ce-diraw goyo ga ti baafunay, lalabuyañ, nda naamu di ga dondonyaño gaabandian̄, zanka furtajey kañ go ga ka se.

Fondo hinka kañ i sijiri wangaaritaray jaabo se annasaara lokkolo ra, boñ jina wo ra, i ga tilasandi cawandikey ga i ma gaabi dañ cawandian̄ dabarey kañ se i ga ne kambe dañ ni dondonyaño goyo ga. Cawandika, a wane goyey ce-dirawo ra, ga cawkey kañ go salan̄ ga ye care me ra i wane naamo kañ boñ wangaaro sanno go ga te ma kambe dañ goyo ga, no a ga du gaabi. A ga cawandian̄ alhaali yan̄ ka taray, ibeero wo ga dira i boñ, a ma hina yan̄ mo

dañ i goray ra, i ma du ga dondon ga zaama. Cawandiyaj dabaro kañ cawka ga kambe dañ nga cawo ra ga ba cawka wala jamaa kulu ma ngey bayra ceeći ga waan'a. Wo-ne ma ga, wangaaritara deeda jaabo cawandiyaj alhaaley ga te nda jamaa goy. Cawandika goyo kalaaso ra ga ti a ma cawkey zuga cawandiyajo waate ga dañ lakkaley ra i wane batama naamey nda wangaaray deede dumo. Goy nda dabora kañ lokkoliizo ga kambe dañ nga cawo ra, cawandika :

Ga nanj cawka ma cimo bay hala a na kambe dañ goyo ra ; goy ga no boro ga te, a ga nga boñ te boro. Amma jamaa nafey no ga cawka zuga a ma goy. Cawandiyaj daba manti cawandika nda cawka salañ ga ye care me ra no, amma i jamaa goyo, kunda goyo kañ cawandika ga dañ i goray ra, lokkoliise care gaakasina. (altet, 1997, p.19)

Wangaaritaray deeda bayra cinayañ ra, cawandika ga nanj cawkey ma salañ ga yeeti care se, nda afo kulu nda nga cale care gaakasinay. Nga wo ma ciya yaamarko, hawzuko lokkoliizey se i wane cawo ra.

Afirki wayno-kañjay laabey, maabey ga furtajey dondonandi moolo, nda jaabi me sanni dumi-dumi. Wo-ne ciine ra, boro ga bay kañ maabayzo wo cawandiyaj hinka no a ga du. Sintina day, hayrayey no na a dondonandi me-sanni i batama ra. Ihinkanta, a gonda mo maabataray cawo kañ a du alwaati kuuku ra tubu yan dudal boñ. Amma hala a ga sintin dondonyaj ce-kayanta, a gonda tinay yan kañ a hima ga bonza : jiirey, i ma batu nda hñ, ciine me-sanni gonitaray nda waasi ga sanni bayyañ. Wangaaritaray deeda kañ ga te dudalo boñ gonda gagari, fondo nda dabari yan. Cawandiyajo ce-dirawo gonda dabari hinza : me-sanni ci nda gaabi yan, ceeyaj nda yeera-yeerayan. Cawandiyaj dabarey banda, wangaaritaray deeda bayra ce-dirawo ra, maabey cawandika ga goy nda teera boobo kañ bayra nooyan, dudalo do cawo nda neesiyaj, wo kañ ga caw hanse nda cawo bananta wana.

Wo kulu banda, boñ-jina cabe kañ i ga hin ga wangaaritaray deeda cawandi liise a goy booba se. A cawandiyajo si te kala fondo hinka boñ, afo ciine sanni no, afa mo naamu sanni no. Fondo sintina ga, i ga cawandi no sanda suura dumbari hinka hala i na dumbari te i na i sijiri jina cawandiyaj fo kulu dumi ga. Patarmi boobo no i ga dumbaro cawandi nda kañ yan gonda ngey nufey, ngey cawey nda ngey dabarey. Naamu fonda fa ga dira lalabuyañ adamayzeturay nda baafunay cawandiyaj nda dondonyaj darzey boñ. I cawandiyaj ga, wangaaritarey deeda ga adamayze darzante dumi fo bangandi kañ ga te di ga dondon cawkey se kañ yan ga du « jine-koyyan, naamu nda lalabuyañ », (van zanten & rayou, 2017, p.857).

## **Cawandikey nda cawkey se goy garantey fo yan ceeyan nda sijiri yan wangaaritaray deeda boŋ**

I ḥwaarey cawandikey ga i ma cawkey bayrayey dabarey hawzu afirki wayno-kaŋay wangaaritaray deeda boŋ, i ma naŋ cawandikey ma dudalo cawandiyao ce-dirawo bay nda koyne i ma di mate kaŋ annasaara lokkol dondonyao go ga te nda. Bayrayey gunayaŋo ga hin ga te nda goy dabarey wala goy garantey.

### **Goy 1 : i ma cawkey bayrayey baajiney si wangaaritaray deeda boŋ**

2. I ma wangaaritaray deeda jaabo maanaa no ?
3. I ma afirki wano-kaŋa wangaaritaray deeda fayanka-fayanka haali fo yan ci.
4. I ma deeda nango nda goy fo yan murciyan ci afirki wayno-kaŋay laabey baafuna ra.

### **goy 2 : i ma dudaley boŋ wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyao ce-diraw cabe**

1. I ma wangaaritarey deeda cawandiyao hääyaŋey kaŋ yan ga jin, fondey nda gagarey ci dudaley boŋ,
2. Cawandiyao dabari fo yan no i ga cawandi nda dudaley ra ?

### **Goy 3 : i ma wangaaritaray deeda cawandiyao nda dondonyao laawal yan sijiri annasaara lokkol se**

1. Ifo se no i ga afirki wayno-kaŋa wangaaritaray deeda cawandi lokkoley ra ?
2. I ma wangaaritaray cawandiyao laawal yan kaŋ ga hin ga te liisey ra ci.
3. I ma deede dumbari fo kaŋ ga tuku wangaaritaray deede suura ga caw, i ma a patarmey, a nufey nda a cawey cabe.

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## **Bon-jina 6**

**Afirki doŋ biirima wane darzey karni 21ta lokkolo se**

**Amadou Roufai Ali**

**Dunguriyandi**

Cawandiyən ga ti adamayze, arzaka, jama ra baafunay nda naamu zaadayən dabaa. Hunkuna, kambu no kaŋ barmayyaŋ booboo no go ga furo afirki cawandiyən ce-dirawo ra. Faajikaaray nda laasaabu booboo no go ga te a bon, jine-funey, fuula-kwaarey, cawandikey cawandikey, cawandikey bumbu nda goni dumi-dumey game ra, za ibeerey kala ikayne. Mate no iri ga te ga iri cawandiyənjey kaŋ go day ga ye banda kayna-kayna ce-dirawey hanse, wo-din ga ti hari kaŋ borey go ga care hā. Tira wo mafaaro ga ti a ma kande gaakasinay hāyaŋ wo-ne tuuyaŋ ceeciyən fondo ra. Hari booboo no i guna ga a hantum. I ra gonda tirey kaŋ afirki hantumkey nda afo yaŋ kaŋ manti afriki hantumko yaŋ te doŋ biirima nda zaamaani biirima bon, salaŋ ga ye care me ra yaney kaŋ furo iri nda jine-funey, goney, cawandiyən goyteerey game ra, nda bayrayey kaŋ go iri bumbo se a bon. Iri goyo ce-dirawo ga ti iri ma teerey kar care ga. Harey kaŋ iri guna fisiyən nda laabaari dumi-dumey kaŋ iri kokoso cabe kaŋ naamey ra biirima gonda nafa booboo kaŋ ga hin ga kande gaakasinay sohoŋ lokkolo hanseyən fondo ra. Margasinay go biirimay dumi hinkaa din game ra, ba kaŋ se laabey alhaaley go ga barmay-barmay. Lokkoley kaŋ ra cawandikey ga caw a fatta, wo kaŋ ra albeerey cawandikey ga caw wane cawandikey nda kalaasu waani-waney cawandikey, waana-waana lokkol kayney nda koloozey waney ga hima ga misaa din laasaabu, jina waney caw dumi-dumey cawandiyən ce-dirawo ra, ihinkanta mo kalaaso cawandiyənjey ra

**Sanniize baajiney :** doŋ biirimay ; zaamaani biirimay ; cawandiyən ce-dirawo ; lokkol darzey/naamey.

**Kayfurū**

i ga doona ga ne kaŋ hayyaŋ banda wo biirimay no ga cindi. Day, ifo ga ti biirimay ya-din ga ? Biirimay sanniizo maaney ga ba gumo kala i si a maana cimcimo bay. Annama, ba kaŋ se a maaney ga gaabu i ga fay-fay mo, iri ga ne kaŋ afo kulu nufaa ga ti « bayray nooyən ». Bayrayo kaŋ ga no cawko fo kulu hima ga du no ga kande goy waaniyən nda goray waaniyən. Baba moussa, a r., malam moussa, l. & rakotozafy, j. (2014, fita 29) ne « biirimay ga ti teera kaŋ ga bayray, ga-gaarey anneemey, lalabu, lakkal tonton mate kaŋ i ga miila, baafunay nda naamey alhaalo ra ». Kundaa ra baafunay hanna banda (care ra goray waaniyən biirimay), biirimay ga hima ga naŋ adamayze ma du hina kaŋ ga laasaabu (nga bumbu nda boro cindey), mate kaŋ ndujjnaa kulu laassabey go nda (lalabay biirimay).

Afirki laabey baayaŋ kulu ra, cawandiyən ce-dirawo gonda alhaali hinka kaŋ afo kulu gonda nda jamaa gora dumo. Afo day almayaali biirima go no kaŋ adamayo dan jamaa ra, wo-din banda zaamaani lokkolo kaŋ annasaarey mayra kande mo go no kaŋ nufaa ga ti a ma saruusi goyteerey cawandi. Afirki koyciya kaŋ i dan lokkol ga furo alhaali ra kaŋ naamu hinka go ga gurjay, doŋ naamey nda zaamaani waney. Alhaalo wo gonda lahani/taali yaŋ a cawyən nda a jamaa ra baafuna bon.

biirimay dumi hinkaa wo mantu care wayce yanaw ; i si care kakaw ba kaj se i go ga cee ci  
ga i dan care ga, i ga care kubandi no. Iri ga bay kaj doj doj biirimasi sintin kala almayaalo ra day  
a jamaa ma kond'a nda jina. Mate kaj abdou moumouni dioffo (2019) na a ci nda, biirima din wo,  
kambe boobokoy no kaj ra gonda zanka nda furotaji alhaali booboo. A nufa jina ga ti ga-ham hina  
tontonyan, da hanno nda lalabu ce-kayante gorandiyen nda goy waaniyan bayray timmantey  
nooyaen. Wo-din se no waati kulu a ga boro dan kambe-goy nda lakkal goy teeyan. A nufaa ga ti a  
ma zankaa, kaj ga ciya albeer, adamayzetara cina, a ma bayrandi hari kaj go fondo nda wo kaj si  
fondo, a ma lalabandi, a ma nañ a ma goy nafey bay, a ma albeerey, arkusu zeeney nda nga caley  
beerandi, a ma windanta hawzu... bayrandiyen dumi-dumey wo kulu no zankaa ga du za a go  
tataana. I na i sokon ga te gagari-gagari kaj ga koy nda koyciya jiro, a goy hina nda a lakkalo hina. I  
ga harey kaj i ga hima ga dondon zaamaani lokkol ra hirri ga gisi, a ma a soola day a ma a kubandi.  
ifo ga ti doj biirima ? A gonda nafa mo sohoñ lokkolo se, za day kaj boro yan go ga di kaj a yaayo  
bisa ? Mate no a ga te ga kande gaakasinay zangari 21ta lokkolo ma du ga to nga nufey ga ?

Laasaabo wo nufa baajina ga ti fahamay nooyaen. Cee ciyanjo kaj a go ga te ga margasinay dan  
don biirima nda sohoñ lokkolo, kaj go ga di sanday booboo, game ra mafaaro ga ti a ma fondo yan  
cabe cawandikey nda i cawandikey kaj ga ti cawandiyen teeko baajina hinkaa se i ma du ga ngey  
goyey boryandi. A sinda sikka kaj goyo wo riibaa cawyano boryandi cawkey se, kambe kulu hare.

Dumbi wo-ne ra, iri ga sanno alhaali ce-kayante booboo ñwa batu, sanda : i) mate kaj doj  
biirima bayra go nda sohoñ alwaato wo ra, nda mate kaj a go nda sanno suura hantumanter se, ii)  
a dabey nda a alhaale ; iii) a cinaro ; iv) a darza cawandiyano do hare ; v) zaamaani cawandiyen  
ce-dirawey nda vi) doj biirima nafa sohoñ lokkolo se.

## 1. Afirki ra doj biirima

Nduñnaa talaato jamaa kulu ra doj biirima gonda darza zankey cawandiyano ra, waana-waana  
afirki laabey ra. Hala ga hunkuna, biirima wo dumo kaj sintin za i na nduñnaa sinji ga ti fonda kaj  
ga borey care ra baafuna kayandi.

### 1.1. Ifo ga ti doj biirima ?

Hala boro ga ba boro ma salan doj biirima bon, sanday jina kaj boro ga du/di ga ti a  
fahama sandiyen laala. Boro si faham nda a alhaale ga boori, wo-din mo ga hin ga cawka darandi.  
Wo-din se no a ga hagu i ma cee ciyanjo te a bon ga du ga faham nd'a. Georges snyders si/ceeci ga  
kande fahamay fonda wo ra, a tira kaj ma *jine-koyyan cawandiyano, doj biirima nda biirimay tajo*. A sanno ga, doj biirima sanniizo gonda maana waani-waani hinka kaj ga ti « biirimay alhaali

fo sumi nda wo kaŋ go no sohoŋ kulu marganta kaŋ i si ga fay-fay, kaŋ ra kay-kayyanjey nda darayyanjey kaŋ fun sohoŋ gazeyanjey ga (snyders, 1975, fita 15).

Iri ma ceeci ga snyders laasaabo fisi. Maana jina kaŋ a no kaŋ ga ti biirimay alhaali fo sumi ga borey fongandi laasaabo kaŋ annasaara jiney te biirimay boŋ. Boro jiney wo mantu mo kala annasaara yan. I ra alain kaŋ ma cimcimo ga ti emile-auguste chartier go no, emile durkheim go no, jean-yves château go no, nda afo yan koyné. Borey jiney wo kulu se, doŋ biirima daba mantu kala anniya kaŋ i sambu ga konda koyciya/cawka « kala a ma to te-goy baajiney kaŋ adamayze te do » (snyders, 1975 : p.15). Te-goyey wo nafaa ga ti kaŋ i ga hima hari yan kaŋ a ga dondon kaŋ ga a dan fondo, kaŋ ga a ma kaanandi, ga a no darza, ga a fondey feeri. Doŋ biirima maana hinkanta snyders se ga sohoŋ lokkolo cabe nda nga duumi taali sumi-dumey kaŋ i ga hima ga hanse waati kulu.

Marcel inné (1988, p.199), wo se « i mana doŋ biirima sinji kala arkusey bayrey nooyan zankey se ». Cawandiyano wo sumi ce-dirawo gonda dondonandiyen te-goy yan kaŋ i ga te ga dake-dake care ga, kaŋ ga goy nda jamaa ra goray, alhaali nda baafunay ce-diraw boŋ. Teere no kaŋ kwaaraa arkusey ga te borey kaŋ mana nin jina boŋ. Kunda, jama ra baafunay boŋ no doŋ biirma ga dira. A ga koyciya waaniyano, fahamay gagaro, carma nda a ga-hamo hina laasaabu. A nufaa ga ti a ma koyciya no bayray, bayray nooyan mo si te kala naamey ra kaŋ si yadda i ma goy nda hari kaŋ mana hagu.

A ga jamaa kulu guna. Wo-din banda biirima wo dumo ga furtajey dondonandi goy yan kaŋ ga naŋ i ma kande ngey kambe nafaa jamaa kulu se. Cawandiyano kaŋ boŋ doŋ biirima go ga te si gomnati goray ra, iri ma ne kaŋ a si ga te lokkol kalaasey ra. Nangu kulu no a ga te nda fondo go no kaŋ ga a te : kaley ra, kuray batamey wala jama batamey ra, ce fo yan i ga a te nangu kaŋ ga mooru boro kwaaraa .... Me ga nda garay-garay no i ga a te. Alsilaamataray laabey wo ra danga nizeer, i ga goy nda hantumyan. Doŋ biirima gaabo ga ti kaŋ a ga goy nda baafunay fondey. Danga mate kaŋ paré kaboré afsata nda nabalam-bakyono rasmata. (2014, p.59), na a ci « afirka ra wo baafunay alwaato ga sintin za koyciya go gunde ra kala a ma furo saaray ra. Alwaati fo kulu no ga koyciya soola hino alwaato kaŋ ga ka se, gagari fo kulu ga afa kaŋga ka soola no, danga harey kulu go ga haw care ga no ». Fondo followka no biirima ga gana. Silmanj ga, wande nda kurne kulu suubanyaŋo si te kala afirki baafunay nda naaamu fonda ra. Ya-din no lakkal kaŋ i ga dan fondo gundekoy ga nda haggoyaŋo kaŋ i ga te a se, day nga nda nga izo se kaŋ beeriyaŋo ga te almayaali maanaa, almayaali beero nda kwaaraa jamaa kulu hawzuyaŋ ra. Kundey wo kaŋ iri kabu-kabu kulu marganta nufaa ga ti koyciya baani gora nda a biiriyaŋo. Alwaati boobo no go biirima din se.

Danga mate kañ borey kañ ga haggoy nd'a, alwaati hinzaa wo go care bande no ga care no gaabi. Annama, ba kañ se doñ biirima go ga goy hanno yañ te, a ga mooru nda kubay ga boori yañ sanda mate kañ abdou moumouni dioffo (1988, pp.201-202) na a filla : « biirimay wo-ne dumo sinda fondo wala hari kañ ga nañ a ma zaada nda bayray tajey dañ care ra ga no bora kulu se gagari-gagari. Afo-fo no i ga no borey se waani-waani ». I na doñ biirima dañ haali ra kañ i ga a yeere-yeere day no mate kañ a go sanda kañ sinda i ma barmayyañ kulu dañ a ra, kala day da barmayyañ beeri yañ no te jamaa baafunay fondey ra wala poltik ce-dirawo ra no barmayyañ hanno te kañ kande barmayyañey wo. Tiraak kañ na afirki doñ biirima nda a nafa baajiney kañ a s mungala (1982) te ra, a ne doñ biirima gaabo ga ti bumbu naamey, gagari ga ka gagari mo no a nooyaño ga te nda za afirko mana furo annasaarey mayra cira kala hunkuna. Ya-din ga, hunkuna wo doñ biirima na zaamaani biirima go ga te care bande no. A sinda alwaati kañ i ga ka a se, a sinda mo taaley kañ i go ga a tuume nda. A manti biirimay gazante kañ yaayo bisa. Doñ biirima wo biirimay no kañ ga windanta naamo laasaabu, sanda nga bumbo naamo : mate kañ a go ga nduunja laasaabu, a teerey, a ñwaayaño, a hanjaño, a bankaaray dañyaño. Da baayañ kulu me ga day no a ga te kañ bande diiyanjey nda dondonyanjey, gaaney, taalamey, foorey nda wkc go.

## **1.2. Hunkuna, iri ga hima ga salañ doñ biirima bon ?**

Hääyan wo-ne teeyajo mafaaro ga ti iri ma fun kwaaray hala hunkuna wo biirimay go no kañ afirki hinne wane no. Da ya-din no mo, biirimay fo kulu ma furo a ra ? Wala iri ma ne biirma sarayan fo wala barmayyañ fo kulu mana furo a ra ?

Da iri na taarifi guna, afirki mana bay ga goro waani fandu cindey jare ga sanku-fa a ma ne goy waani fo kulu mana furo nga teerey ra, wala harey kañ a tubu ra wala bine a arzakaa ra cawandiyañ do hare nda baafuna kambu cindey bumbo do hare. Za zangari 7ta no alsilaamotaray ka afirki fando ra kañ diina din sobay ga tatari ga koy nduunja 2 kulu ra. Za alsilaamotaray tun teeko banda, laarabey ganda ra kala a to ezipti ga koy magaraabu, ga ka afriki wayno-kanjey bori laabey ra, a mana kubay nda sanday kulu. Waato diinaa kañ gonda gaabi afirki fando ra ga ti tooru ganayañ, kañ ga ti naami (3) kañ bon fando din borey moyey feeri. Teere dum-dumi margasina sanda wo ra no alsilamotaray ka.

Vincent monteil si ga yadda hala « alsilaamotaray furoyaño te ga boori zama se a mana hin ga diiney kañ a gar ganandi » (monteil, 1964, p.65). Iri me ciina wo bon alsilamotaray nda tooru ganayaño no boro followkey go ga te care bande. Amma, ba kañ se alsilamotaray mana hin ga diina cindey ganandi, a sinda sikka kañ a na nga bon feeri naamu boobo se, cacaryan wala jan ga

bayyan ra. Alsilaamotaray biirimay go no kañ ga goy nda alsilaamotaray naamey, kañ go ga ne borey ma gana binda kaana.

Alsilaamotaray banda, annasaarey mayra mo kande naamu taji yañ annasaarey kañ ka ga goro ngey laabey ma ga cawandiyajo bande. Wo-din banda no afirki kunda booboo furo isa almasiifu diina ra. Hunkuna, alsilaamotaray nda almasiifey diina kañ ga ti diina yaw yañ bande no borey baayañjo kulu go, go ga kande barmayyan ga danjama biirma ra. Iri ga hin ga ne kañ alsilamotaray naamo, almasiifey naamo nda afirki doñ naamey kulu no go no. Biirimayey wo afo kulu no go no afirki fando bonj, wo kañ borey go ga di ga ti diina hinka ganayañ care bande.

Biirma ra gonda afirki naamey nda naamu waaney alhaalo wo ra, boro si hin ga ne kañ afirki hinne naamu go no, zama naamu booboo no furo a ra waana-waana annasaarey nda laarabey waney. Ba kañ se alsilaamotaray nda almasiifey naamey furo ga jaami biirma ra, nda mo annasaarey wala iri ma ne zaamaani lokkolo kañ zaadayañjo mana kubay, afirki biirma mana daray, i ga a no mo hala sohon.

## **2. Doñ biirma dabey nda alhaaley**

Afirki ra, doñ naamey dabey gaabo ga ti naamey cawandiyaj. Mungala (1982) wo do, naamu ga ti baafunay wala naamu teere kañ lakkal ga yadda nda, kañ ga koy nda adamayze lahaalo nda kañ ga adamayze jama baayañjo kulu boona beere ka i ga. Laasaabu baajiney yañ no kañ go borey lakkaley ra kañ ga furo borey baafuna ra ga cabe borey se hari kañ ga boori nda wo kañ si boori. Naamey din ga barmay-barmay no, i si ga kay nangu folloñ. Ngey no ga nañ adamayzo baafuna ma te ga boori nga bumbu fundo ra nda nga nda boro jarey. Naamu dumi hinka no go no : naamey kañ go alwaato bande nda wo kañ yañ gahatta ga te. Naamey kañ go alwaato bande kañ se i ga ne taarifi duurey ga ti zaamaaney kañ na care gana nda taarifi alwaatey naamu bayrayey kañ na care kubay ga margu. Nga wo si barmay koyne, ndujñaa kulu wone yañ mo no. Naamey kañ yañ gahatta ga te mo ga ti wo kañ yañ si taarifi bayrayey bande, harey kañ te sahā-din no ga i gorandi, i gayyañjo mo si bisa alwaato kayna kañ ra i te. Za barmayyan te baafunay alhaalo ra, alwaato wala naamo ra no i darzaa kulu ga kañ, i maanaa mo ga daray (mungala, 1982).

Doñ biirma gonda nga kambe alhaaley. Abdou moumouni (2019) nda mungala (1982) ne kañ jamaa jinay no za kañ manti almayaalo hinne no a ga guna, amma a ga kundaa, kwaaraa nda dumo kulu guna. Jamaa ra no koyciya ga nga dondonyaþey te, ya-din ga, a ga tilas a ga a ma jamaa fondey gana. Wo-din banda, doñ biirma wo si te kala teerey kañ i ga te garay-garay bonj, zama baafunay ce-diraw fonda bayra no ga a gorandi ; a ga boori zama a ga goy nda waati kulu ndujña baafunay bayray nafantey kañ nooyañjo ga te sahā-din me ga, zama hantumi kulu no si no. Koyne,

duumi hari no kaŋ dirawo ga te gagari-gagari, a ga sintin nda harey kaŋ ga dogon/faala goy koy wo kaŋ ga sandi do, sanda pati-pati yaŋ kulu no si koyciya zaadayaŋo alwaatey game ra, ~~kaŋ ga gasu~~ almayaalo, kunda nda dumo game ra, laasaabu nda teere game ra, biiri nda diina ra. Amma doŋ biirima ga te mo nda bande fo zama bayray kaŋ a ga no si barmay gumo i go mo jamaa biirimay ce-dirawo bande. Wo-din banda, doŋ biirima wo biirimay kubante no kaŋ ga goy nda alhaali kulu dumi zama a nufaa ga ti a ma adamayze kubante cina. Bananta ga, iri ma ne kaŋ doŋ biirima ga goy nda boro kulu zama a nufaa a ma margasinay nda beeray daŋ, adamayo nda nga jamaa game ra.

### **3. Doŋ biirima sokonyaŋ**

Afirki doŋ biirima boona ga ti a ma bayrandiyaŋ kubante no koyciya se a ma du ga te adamayze kubante nango kulu hare. Wo-din se no a si baafunay alhaali fo kulu yababe, ya-din mo no a si harey kaŋ margu ga adamayze cina kulu kambe banda.

Almayaalo kaŋ ga ti kwaaraa jamaa maraganay kayniya go ga goy hanno te adamayo kaŋ jamaa kulu wane no zaadayaŋo fondo ra. Boro fo kulu adamayzetara, a alhaalo nda a teerey si fun kala a almayaalo do jina hala a ga fun kundaa day kwaraa jamaa do. Hayrayey ga bay hala manti moso goyo kaŋ ngey ga hima ga te ngey zankey se day jamaa kulu se za kaŋ jamaa wane yaŋ no. Boro ma ni zanka biiri, biirimay hanno mo wo alhaku no, boŋ kayandiyao nda boŋ baakasinay no.

Almayaalo ra, biirmay goy jina si kala ja boŋ. Nga no gonda goy ce-kayante kaŋ a ga te koyciya baafuna ra, za a hayyaŋo ga kala a ma to jiiri iyye ga koy ahakku. A boŋ no zankaa baafunay ra daŋ fondo yaŋ jina go. Nga no ga a ɻwaayandi, nga no ga haggoy nda a ga-ham baano nda a zaadayaŋo. Na no ga jin ga ize dondonandi ciina zama a jare ga no a ga sanni jiney dondon. Nga ga ti koyciya haro kulu ; nga no ga ti a baafuna ganjo. Cimi no kaŋ abdou moumouni dioffo (2019, fita 10) hantum ga ne « borey kulu kaŋ na afirko ra ja guna ga boori no maamaci di hari kayna, teere booboo kaŋ a go ga te boŋ, kaŋ ga cabe haggoyaŋo kaŋ a go ga te nda izo se ... ».

Zankaa biirimay nda jamaa ra baafunay dondonyaŋo alwaati jina banda no biirima ga alboro wala wayboro laasaabu, sanda i ga guna no hala zanka wo wandiyo wala arwasu no ga a biirimay tajo sintin. A ga goro nga ja jare ga da wandiyo no wala baabo jare ga da arwasu no. Ne no afo kulu ga sintin ga nga goyey te. Ne-wo no biirmay nda cawandiyao fayyaŋo ga sintin ga bangay. Koyciya ga nga ja wala nga baaba ga fu waati kulu goyey ra, wala ce fo yaŋ alwaati ga ka alwaati goyey ra. Baaba ga nga ize-aro dondonandi nga alboro kambe-goyo, ja mo ga nga ize-wayo dondonandi goyey kulu kaŋ wayboro ga te. Wo-ne si goyey kaŋ sariya na zankey ganji i ma te guna zama i si zanka alahakey taamu. Goy teeyeaŋ wo-ne wo cawandiyao no kaŋ ga koyciya daŋ

baafuna nda arzaka fondey ra ; nufa baajina ga ti i ma nañ zanka nga goyo bay, a ma nga darzaa nda nga tinayey bay.

Kañ manti koyciya almayaalo, kwaaraa kulu no ga furo a biirima ra, biirmay soolayan alwaato kañ nañga haggoy nda banda. Albeerey nda dottijey mo ga furo koyciya biirima ra, afofo wala kunda ra ga kande ngey kambe gaakasina zama sohoñ biirima te bora kulu wane. Jiiri hinka fayanka no abdou moumouni ga te alwaato wo ra : « dontoney jiiro » nda dondonandiyan jiiro. Alwaati yañ no kañ ga nañkoyciya ma nga biirma kubandi, doñ biirma dondonandiyan ce-dirawo ra. « dontoney jiiro » ga ti alwaato kañ ra i ga sintin ga laasabu kañ koyciya to nangu kañ a ga hin ga windi ra goy dum-dumey te : i ga hin ga a donton a ma konda albahaaru boro fo kañ i ci a se do, a ma ye ga kande mo bora din tuuyaño mate kañ a go, sanda a ma si a maanaa sara, a ma kond'a se jinay fo wala a ma ye ga kand'a, wkc. Dondonandiyan jiiro waate no i ga i ga lakkal goyey nda gaabi goyey dañ care ra ga a soola a ma furo albeerey sataa ra.

Waati kulu, borey kañ kwaaraa borey suuban kwaara bumbo ra dondonandiyanjo (4) ma ga no ga furo a jine. Care bande no koyciya dondonandiyanjo nda a beera ga te mate kañ a ga hima nda sanda mate kañ abdou moumouni dioffo (2019, fita.12) na a filla : « kwaaraa talaato kulu no ga zanka, day furotajo gana ga guna wala ga dañ i ma a guna, a ga-hamo nda lakkalo beera waate ». Afirki doñ biirima wo se, « lokkol nda nudunja baafuna no ga te afo » (mungala, 1982, p.10). Afirki doñ biirima go ga goy/nafa nda nga kambe goy-jiney, nga hina deedandi, arzaka, politik nda baafunay alhaalo ra, ga kookari ga boro yañ no bayray hanno kubante.

Afirki naamey ce-dirawo ra, cawandianj goy jiney ga ba gumo ba kañ se hantumi si no. I ga haggoy nda ciina waaniyanjo zankaa wala furotajo cawandianj ra. Jandi, faajikaaray, foorey, humburkomay, kambe-goy dondoandianjey ga ti goy-jiney kañ i ga goy nda fonda din ra (abdou moumouni dioffo, 2019, unesco, 2016, mungala, 1982, caille, 2005).

Ifo ga ti naamu ra biirimay wo-ne nafa ?

#### **4. Naamey ra biirima caw nafaa**

Ba kañ se taali boobo go afirki doñ biirimara (hantumi janay, dondonyanj saruusi wala sata sanda lokkol nda kalaasu janay, sijiri janay, wkc.), a gonda darza cimcimi yañ.

Biirimay ce-kayante dumy no kañ ra bayrayey nda teerey go care bande. Wo-din se no i ga ne a ga boori a gonda nafa mo. A ga koyciya lakkalo nda ga-hamo beeriyano laasaabu. A ga laasaabu mo hala wandiyo no wala arwasu, boro fo kulu nda nga goyo kañ a ga waani, nga booney nda nga sandayey. Cawandiko boobo no ga haggoy nda zanka fo kulu kañ i ga cawandi (almayaalo, kwaaraa

borey), wo-din se no a cawandiyəŋ bayrayey ga fay-fay gumo. Biirima wo ga koy nda jamaa arzaka nda baafunay fondey. Wo-din se no a gonda maana. Hayo do hare wo, biirimay no kaŋ si caada zama borey kaŋ go ga furo a ra si ga a te kala ngey bumbo ma ga nda kwaaraa kaŋ nafa fondey i hima ga kayandi ma ga. Dondonandiyəŋ din ga naŋ koyciya ma goy nda windanta, i si a gaayi fu ra sanda kalaasu. Afirki doŋ biirimagonda alhaaley wo :

- A ga boro kulu guna, zankey kulu no i ga duw'a ;
- Borey kulu ga furo a ra zama a ga adamayzo soola jamaa ra furoyan se ;
- A gonda albarka zama bora ga goy fo kaŋ gonda riiba te biirima ra ;
- Jamaa kulu wane no zama boro maaney kulu no ga furo a ra (almayaalo, kwaataa borey) ;
- Duumi hari no zama a sinda me baafunay ra ;
- A sinda nanjan mate kaŋ i ga te lokkoley ra

## 5. Zaamaani cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawo

Afirki boŋ-duura banda, laabu tajey kaŋ i gorandikaŋ kaŋ du ngey boŋ na hari sambu kaŋ se hunkuna i ga ne “cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawo”. Laabu fo kulu no gonda nga cawandiyəŋ sijiro waani kaŋ laabo kaŋ na a may naŋ. Ya-din ga, cawandiyəŋ ce-diraw dumi booboo no afirki du annasaarey ga. Cawandiyəŋ ce-diraw baajiney ga ti faransi ciine wano, ingiliisi cinne wano, aspaanol ciine wano. Cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawey wo kulu go ga goro care ra nda naamey biirima.

Mate kaŋ tidjani amadou (2021) na a filla zaamaani cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawey kaŋ ka annasaarey mayra banda wane nufa jarey ga ti : adamayze ga-hamo, lakkalo hanseyəŋ ga zaadayəŋ fondey ce kayandi ; sijiriyaŋ nda goy gasandiyəŋ lakkal zugayaŋ ; laabo baakasinay gorandiyəŋ ga laabiizetaray lakkal cina ; laabiizetaray hanno lakkal, deemokaraasi, care diiyan no gaabi yaŋ ; i ma care gaakasinay, adamayzeturay, jine-funetaray, naanay gorandi, i ma yaddayaŋ nda ndunjnaa baafunay teerey nda adamayze hiney mo hakiikandi. Wo-din no ga naŋ cawka ma hin ga furo nda nga waaniyanjey laabo jine-koyyaŋ goyey ra ; i ma bisandi care, lakkal-kanay nda care beerandiyəŋ mo gorandi waana-waana alborey nda wayborey sasabandiyəŋ nda baara-baara kaayaŋ adamayzey baafuna ra ; i ma ciiney, diiney nda naamey kulu beerandi, wo banda i ma cawyəŋ fondo feeri adamayze fo kulu se, a ma du ga himma daŋ ga goyey te mate kaŋ a hima nda, kaŋ ga naŋ a ma nga boŋ nafa, a ma ye ga jamaa mo kulu nafa. Mate kaŋ day a go ga te afirki laabu jarey ra, nufey wo kulu go nizeer laabo mayray tiraal nda sariya tirey nda wkc kulu ra.

Sohor cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawey ga waana nda naamey ra wano zama nga wo gonda alwaati kaŋ i kosu, i si goy mo nda cawkey baafunay fondey. Da baayaŋ kulu ciine waani kaŋ manti cawka ciina ra no i ga a te, wo-din mo ga a moorandi a windanta baafunay goyey. Wo-din banda, zaamaani

cawandiyajo gonda lahani kañ ga ti zanka jañ ga faham nda nga windanta baafuna ce-dirawo, goy jañay nda ize-fututaray.

nangu kañ doñ biirma nda zaamani wano ga hima care ga ti kañ adamayne boñ no cawandiyaj dumi hinkaa kulu ga goy ( zanka, furo-taji, arkusu beeri) ga du ga a no bayray, goray waaniyanj nda goy waaniyanj kañ ga koy nda a booney nda jamaa ce-diraw fondey. Hari kañ i fay mo baayañjo kulu si kala i ce-dirawey nga goy-jiney kañ i ga nafa nda ga ngey nufey gasandi do hare

## **6. Doñ lookol maana karni 21ta lokkolo se, fahamey sanney**

Cawko yanj kañ gonda laasaabu hanno kañ du doñ biirma nda zaamaani cawo danga wo kañ i ga te nibarsite abdou moumouni ra, no na laasaabu te za gayyanj doñ biirimama zaamani lokkolo gaabandi a ma du ga to nga nufey ga. Ba sohoñ laasaabo gonda gaabi alhaalo kañ ra hunkuna lokkolo go se.

### **6.1. Laasaabey kan i te**

Doñ biirimawo, ba kañ se a alhalo ga a ga hima hari kañ bisa, hunkuna a bara sanda bayray kañ te zaamayanj afirki ra. Zaamayanjo mafaarey ga ti kañ a ga goy nda cawkey baafunay nda i windanta alhaalo, a cawey sokonyajo, cawkey nda jamaa booney laasaabuyaño, wkc. Alhaaley wo kulu i hima i ma i laasaabu no da i go ga cawandiyaj ce-dirawo nda cawandiyaj tirey sijri no, da i ga ba hunkuna lokkolo jine-koyyaj fonda ra caagaley ganandi. Iri ma care fongandi kañ lokkolo wo go ga du sanday booboo kañ go ga a ganji a cawandiyajo ma boori, a ma te mo nafa. Wo-din se no a ga hima hunkuna iri ma laasaabo din tajandi naamey cawandiyajo boñ, cawandiyaj ce-dirawey ra, ga du ga i cawandiyaj fondey bay, sandayey bonzayañ fondo ra. Abdou moumouni tar ga lasaabo wo te zama a di a nafa :

« ..sijiri taji kulu kañ ga ba nga ma ñwa cawandiyaj nda biirimay ra, kañ ga koy nda sohoñ alwaato alhaalo nda afirki boro bi laabey suba, da a ga ba i ma goy nda nga laabo ra, a ga hima ga sambu jina doñ biirma alhaali fo yanj ga i danj zaamaani ce-diraw guusa ra, wo-din banda a ma nañ nga nd'ey ma goro care ra alwaati kayna fo ra, day a ma ceeci ga i bare ». (dioffo, 2019, p.21).

Abdou moumouni miila ga ti i ma biirimay hinkaa din ma koy care bande (doñ nda zaamaani waney) kañ ga nañ i ma boro kubante yanj biiri ga cawandi kañ ga konda ngey laabo jina. Haro wo mo arzaka, baafuna nda poltik fondo ra kañ ra barmayyanj go ga furo kayna kulu, lokkol kañ ra i na cawyajo sokon sijiri-kayna yanj, nda mo cawandiyaj ce-diraw kañ ga mooru waati kulu baafuna. Care ra gora kañ i go ga ceeci gasu, afirki sohoñ boro fo kulu biirimay hinkaa din na a barmay (naamey nda zaamaano). Nangu fo te-goyey kañ borey sambu do hare mo, iri hima ga ceeci ga ihanney bay, wo kañ yanj te mafaari afirki biirma ma zaama.

## **6.2. Hunkuna lokkolo se darzey**

Laasaabu booboo kañ i te sanno wo boñ ga nañ borey ma bay te-gotey kañ i ga sambu doñ biirima ra kañ ga hin ga kande gaakasinay hanno iri hunkuna lokkolo darza kayandiyano se. Iri si ga cawandiyanj sjirey hantumkey nda cawayanj tirey goyey yababe goyo wo ma zaama fondo ra. Amma, cawandikey cawandikey day ga ti kokorbanda borey kañ ga hima ga guna fondo kañ i ga gana ga doñ biirimate-goyey nda goy teerey dañ care bande ga du i nafaa, kañ ga nañ lokkol ce-dirawo ma kay ga boori. Te-goyey ne-ya, goy dumi ga ka goy dumi :

### **1. Goy nda cawandiyanj dabarey nda cawandiyanj ce-dirawey kañ ga nañ nda cawkey ma kambe dañ cawandiyanj ra**

Hakiika, cawandikey cawandikey no ga hima ga cawandikey cawandi caw dumi-dumey ce-dirawo boñ, cawayanj saruusey ra. Fondo wo ra, i ga hima ga cawandiyan daba hanney cabe i se, wo kañ yanj ga cawka dañ a ma nga bayra ceeći nga boñ se. Da cawandida go ga cawandi, a ga hima ga cawkey no goy fahamante yanj no ga i goyey no gaabi ; a ma si cawandiyan te kañ ra nga hinne no ga salanj mate kañ a go ga te kalaasey baayañey kulu ra sohoñ. Cawandiyanj wo dumi sinda nafa hanno. Cawandika ga ti bora kañ ga nga cawkey margu, a ma i dañ fondo, a ma i yaamar da nda a to yaamaryanj ga.

#### **1. Cawka windanta baafunay fondey laasaabuyanj cawey ra**

A ga boori bayrayey kañ i ga cawandi ma koy nda baafuna alhaalo, lokkol bayrayey fahama ma du ga te ga boori se. Cawandikey cawandikey ga hima ga borey fahamandi ga boori kañ cawandika mana hima ga te nga cawandiyanj tira se tam. A hima ga moor'a no ga goy nda nga laasaabo ga garay-garay alhaali yanj cina kañ cawka doona. Alhaaley wo ga hin ga te waati kulu baafunay teera fo kañ ra nga bumbo go, wala kañ se a ga te seede wala gomdoko wala bine kañ te a se taali. A ga hin ga salanj harey wo boñ mate kañ ga nañ a ma dondon windante kañ a ga bay ra.

#### **2. Fayando kañ go biirimay/cawandiyanj nda dondonandiyanj game ra**

Biirimay gonda kuray hinza kañ ga ti cawandiyanj ( bayray duuyañ ) ; alhaali cinayañ ( lalabu nda laabiizetarey boñ cawandiyanj ) nda windanta kambe-goyey dondonyanj ( goy kañ ga kande

albarka, kambe-goy tandey nda kambe-goyteerey goy cindey do, goyteeri yan, wkc). Kuray hinzaa wo kulu no i ga hima ga laasaabu da i ga ba i ma ne i na cawyaŋ kubante no cawka se.

**3. I ma nafa nda cawkey ciiney kaŋ ga naŋ i ma du bayray ga boori, i ma i ciine hinkaa bayrayey mo gorandi.**

Ciine hinkaa kaŋ ga saba ga cawka zuga a ma furo cawandiyao goyey ra, a ga a bayray duuyaŋo mo dogandi waana-waana borey kaŋ mana furo lokkol, a ga naŋ a ma waasi ga caw, a ga laabo ciiney nda naamey mo no gaabi. A ga cawkey no saaye booboo a ma zaama cawo ra. Dabari no kaŋ gonda riiba kaŋ bora kulu ga bay. Cawandika ga goy nd'a waati kaŋ cawka si ga faham nda goyey kaŋ i ne a ma te zama a si ga faham nda ciina. Cawandika mana hima ga humburu nga ma hatta ga goy nda cawkey ciiney da a laasaabu kaŋ ngey ga ti fondo hanna kaŋ ga bayrayey gorandi, ngey no ga naŋ i ma faham nda sanniize fo wala i ma sanday fo bonza, wkc. Wo-din se no i ga ne nafayan sokonanta nda ciine hinka ga boori lokkoley ra.

5. Bayray nda teere daŋ care bande yaŋo ga naŋ cawandiyao ma te garay-garay ; i hima ga cawandiyao kaŋ ra sinda garay-garay goy gaayi zaamaani cawandiyao ce-dirawo ra. Cawandiyao ga hima no a ma dondonyao nda goy ra furoyao te care bande. Fonda kaŋ ra a ga te ga ti i ma ne cawandikey ma garay-garay goy yaŋ te kaŋ ra i ga windanta kambe-goyey byrayey daŋ

Habu boŋ caw fo silmaŋ ra, cawandika si kay cawandika tira fotey wala tiyaatar-kayne hinne ga nda cawkey, habu cabeyan se. A ga hima no a ma i dirandi ga kond'ey habu, a ma du ga windanta din cabe cawka se, waana-waana alhaaley kaŋ boŋ cawo ga te (hayciyan, dayyan, neerandi, dayko, neerandey gisiyen nangey, wkc.) Da i ye ga ka kalaaso ra, a ga ne cawkey ma goy nda hari kaŋ i di ga habo cabe, ga faajikaarey kaŋ i du nda neerekey yeere, wkc. Da cawo mana saba nda habu zaaro, za kaŋ barmayyan ga hin ga furo alwaato sijiro ra, cawandika ga hin ga a sosorandi wala ga a sarandi ga a te habo zaaro hane.

6. Laabiize dumi kaŋ i ga cawandi jamaa kaŋ ra cawka go baafuna nda naamu teerey sanda deemokaraasi ; laabiizetaray, lakkal-kanay gorandiyen, jama care diiyan nda a hawzuyan, laalayaŋ ganjiyan, da hannay, ganda ye ganda yan, adilay, yaafayan, bisandi care se yan, gaakasinay, doori/suuru hiniyan, wkc.

Cawandika hima a ma laabiizetaray nda lalabu cawey soola a ma boori zama da baayaŋ ngey wo i ga i yababe no caw cindey ma ga. Laabiizetary cawandiyao do hare wo, hari kulu kaŋ ga laabizetaray hanno fondey guna, a ga hima ga cawyɑŋ dumi kaŋ gonda maana suuban ga cawandi. Ya-din no lalabu mo cawandiyao kaŋ i ga salaŋ alhaali hanno, baafunay hanno adamayzeturay nda teere hanno yaŋ teeyɑŋ boŋ, wkc. Alhaali hinka wo, cawandiyɑŋ kuray hanno no sanda mate kaŋ kambe-goy dondonyaŋ, ya-din ga i mana hima ga i yababe. Lokkolo ma almayaalo nango sambo laabiizetaray cawandiyao din ra.

Waaniyaŋ dogonandiyao banda, doŋ biirima teerey laasaabuyaŋ, cawandiyɑŋ ce-dirawo ra ga hin ga kande gaakasinay sanday booboo bonzayaŋ fondo ra, baafunay, naamey, arzakaa, poltiko nda lalabu do hare.

### Kungayano

Afirki doŋ biirima te zaamayaŋ afirki borey ga-ham, lakkal nda lalabu cawandiyao do hare. Cawyɑŋ dumi no kaŋ i go ga te za doŋ-doŋ kaŋ go ga kay nga boŋ ga hala sohoŋ, ba kaŋ se taray biirimay go ga kande barmayan ga dan a ce-dirawo za karney kaŋ bisa ra. Doŋ biirima goyo ga ti a ma adamayne kubante cina, a ma du ga hin ga nga booney nda jamaa kulu waney gasandi.

Annama, iri ma bay kaŋ doŋ biirima gonda gazeyaŋ dumi jama waana-waana goy-jiney kaŋ do tooyaŋ si faala zama i na i bay nango ra kala i si hin ga goy nd'ey wala ga i bay nangu fo. A sanda nda a teerey zeeney gaayiyaŋ no si ga yadda barmayan, laasaabu taji yaŋ nda goy tajiyɑŋ ma furo a ra. Doŋ biirima gonda taali nga ra kaŋ ga ti kundey wala alborey nda wayborey jaŋ ga sasabandiyɑŋ. A jaŋ ga bara gomnanti goray ra, a sokonyaŋ, kabiyeŋ kaŋ go a sokonyaŋ ra, a cawey alhaali muula nda a duurey jaŋa kunda fo ra, ga ti gazeyɑŋey kaŋ go a se.

Amma, ba kaŋ se gazayaney wo go a ra, afirki doŋ biirima gonda maana ba sohoŋ iri lokkolo se. A manti zaamaani biirima wayce amma a ga a kubandi no. Lokkol go sanday cimcimi ra kaŋ go ga ku ba kaŋ se i na a bonzayaŋ fondo booboo sambu. Fondey wo ga, iri ga hima ga naamey biirimay ce-dirawo kaŋ i tubu tonton. Da cawandikey cawandikey nda cawandikey bumbo na a bay ga goy nd'a, a ga hin ga kande zaamaani lokkolo se gaakasinay a ma ye ga du nda darza.

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## Bon-jina 7

**Doŋ dondonyanęy nda bayrayey neesiyaŋo : mate no i ga te ga i daŋ sohoŋ lokkol goyey ra, afirki laabey ra.**

Mohamed Sagayar Moussa

### Dunguriyandi

Hantumo wo si salaŋ kala doŋ dondonyanęy sokonyanę kaj ganda baafunay teerey kande afirki laabey ra boŋ, waana-waana nizeer laabo ra. I na dondonyanę alhaaley gorandi kaj ga naŋ jamaa ma zankey sokon ga i no bayray nduŋŋaa kambu boobo boŋ. A ga sintin no kaj, sanda dondonyanę haaley ra, jamaa ga ciya no naamey gaayiko, a ga zanka kookarey neesi ga du ga a carma zaadandi. Sanni dunguriyandiyar hantumi no kaj ga afirki cawyanęy duurey dondonyanęy nda neesiyanę fisi, fisiyanę mo kaj ga te doŋ biirma dondonyanęy sokonyanę nda a jine-koyyanę nda a barmayyanę kaj ga saba nda iri alwaatey wo. Hantumo ga cabe mate kaj cine doŋ biirimay teerey nafa-harey ga hin ga naŋ i ma i cawandiyar annasaara lokkolo ra.

**Sanniize baajiney :** doŋ biirimay, neesiyanę fondo, dondonyanęy sokonyanę, laabey ra baafunay teerey.

Afirki ganda ra, cawandiyar nda dondonyanę haaley ga faakaaray daŋ alwaati yan cawkey nda cawandika game ra, nda mo cawkey nda care game ra. Wo-din ga naŋ i ma boro fo kulu goyo bay cawandiyar goyo ra. Cawandikey wo, bayray fo no i ga cawandi, cawkey dondonyanę ga ti i wane. Kalaaso ra cawandiyar gonda nangu beeri cawka dondonyanę ra nda a duurey ga. Kalaaso manti hinne nangu kaj cawka ga du laabaari ga goy nd'a hala a to fu, amma nangu no kaj ra i ga goy dondon. Lokkol batama wo, nangu no kaj cawandika soola kaj ra a ga bayray no kaj ra cawkey ga salaŋ ga ye care me ra. Cawandiyar din ga, iri gonda bayra, cawkey, cawandika nda goy-jinayey. Wo-din ga cabe kaj cawandiyar teera gonda :

- Mate kaj i ga bayray sambu a ma te hari kaj i ga hin ga cawandi, nga ga ti mate no i ga naŋ bayra din ma dogon cawkey se, goyo ma du ga dogon,
- Mate kaj i ga hin ga du alhaali hanno yan kaj ga bayra cina,
- Mate kaj i ga te kaj ga naŋ hari kaj i ci ma boori ga to hari kaj i du, i faham.

Afirki laabey ra baafunay teerey, waana-waana nizeer laabo borey ga care sokon no ga naamu foori yan gorandi kaj ga ci ya alwaati beeri yan kaj boro ga nangu barmay (baafunay, addiini). Boro ga du tabbatandiyar a wane hiney ra ga goy kaj koy jamaa se te. Afirki wayno-kajey laabey

ra, darza nooyav nda i dondonyaŋ goy ga no i ga a te jamaa ra, ga du ga to bayray fo gagari ga laabaari nooyaŋ nda naamu ganayaŋ ce-diraw ra. Jamaa care sokonyaŋ din si ga goro kala fondo yaŋ nda naamu haali yaŋ kaŋ ga dondonyaŋ no gaabi hala care nda cara no, nda dottijey (chan, c, et al., 2019) (sanni kaŋ i hima ga faham ne sanda borey kaŋ ga ciya wadde nda wadde lakkalkooni kaŋ i ga sambu di ga dondon, borey kaŋ koy ga diy'ey nda i yadda ga ciya tilas jamaa sanni hanno kulu ga.

Iri dumbo ga salaŋ dondonyaŋ nda neesiyaŋ duurey sanney boŋ afirki ra, kaŋ tiksa ga ti kambu dondonyaŋ fisiyaŋ sokonyaŋ doŋ biirma ra, nda a jine-koyyaŋo nda barmayyaŋo nda kalaasey goyey kaŋ ga hin ga te.

Dumbo patarmi jina si salaŋ kala afirki doŋ biirma neesiyaŋo bon. Biirma din dumo nda baayaŋ jamaa wane no, a ga nangu cindi mo payzetaRAY nda care gaagasinay.

Dumbi hinkanta ga salaŋ hari kaŋ ga hin ga bara doŋ birima nda dondonyaney neesiyaŋo afirki ganda teerey game ra. Nga no ga ti i ma hääyaŋ te biirimay neesiyaŋey darzey nda annasaara lokkol waney ce-dirawey bon. (yerly, 2017).

Dumbo patarmi hinzanta kaŋ ga ti bananta, iri ga fisi no ga ti mate kaŋ i ga hin ga neesiyaŋ hanno te kalaasey kaŋ gonda jamaa ra, nda mate kaŋ i ga hin ga hanseyyaŋ neesiyaŋo te sanda laawal kaŋ ga koy nda afirki naamey neesiyaŋo.

## **II. Laabey doŋ biirma teerey darzey**

Moumouni (1967, p. 13-14) no na afirki doŋ biirma seeda baajiney kaŋ ga jamaa naamey cabe :

- Nafa beeri no a gonda almayaaley nda jamaa do,
- Kundaa nda jamaa haali,
- Boŋ daŋyaŋ gomni teeyaaŋ nda lakkal baafunay fonda ra,
- Haali hanno duuyaŋ kambu kulu ra,
- Zanka lakkal nda ga-hamo zaadayaaŋ kayna-kayna.

Afirki laabiizey wo, alwaati kulu no i ga goy kambe ga kambe ra kaŋ gonda care nooyaŋ nda care gaayaŋ. Doŋ goray wo-ne dumy ga kaayi-kaayey addiney goyey no gaabi nda boro kulu yaddayaŋey adamayzetaRAY beerayey ga. Wo-din se no caille, (2019, p.7) na miila wo-ne ci « da boro na afirki boro-bi laabey dumey baayaŋo guna, nda i baafunay alhaali dumy sokonyaŋo kaŋ ga cabe fayankaa kaŋ go arzaka, poltik nda baafuna zaadayaaŋ do haray hala ba

annasaarey ga ka, boro ga di biirima kambo ra seeda baajine yanj kanj ga koy care ga, seeda yanj kanj ga cabe kanj dumey naamey kulu afo. »

### **1.1 doj biirima, fondey kanj baafunay teerey darzandi**

Dumi waani-waaney nda boro biyey care sokonyaño si kala fonda hinka kanj ga wo kanj se borey waafaku i ma ne doj biirimay darzaa/naffa cabe zama a sinda wadde no, a ga haggoy nda laabiizey ibaayo kanj ga kond'ey jine.

Afirki doj biirima gonda haali waani-waani taaci (caille, 2019) kanj ga jamaa baafunay ce-diraw nda teera hagante yanj cabe. Haali sintina ga jamaa baafuna darza kwaarandi kanj ga ciya di ga dondon adamayne margasinay kulu kanj ga ba a ma duumi se. Haali hinkanta ga doj baafuna biirima sambu sanda ganji haali kanj ga ndunjaa harey nda addiiney ganayañey darzandi. Borey biyey ga ganjey beerandi i wane laasaabey ra nda i wane miila kanj si hin ga te ra. Haali hinzanta wo boro bi goy boobo no a ga tabbatandi kanj yanj ga i baafunay dumi-dumey kulu cabe. Haali taacanta nda kokoranta si salanj kala zankaa zaadayaño boj, a wane almayaalo ra nda jamaa ra. I ga zankaa sambu sanda boro kanj go jamaa kulu goray ra a wane zankatara ra ; lakkalo nda ga-hamo kulu do haray. Jamaa laasaabey ganjo ga ti a wane borey ra furoyaño, jamaa mo se. Wo-din se « biirima kaaniyo ga ti jamaa kulu no ga kambe dañ gumo biiriyano ra haali kulu kanj cine no : dottijo fo ma kambe dañ zanka kulu kanj cine no biirima ra, a ma kocciya dondonandi biirimay goy fo yanj, haali yanj kanj ga barmay-barmay ra. Boro yanj kanj i suuban goyey din teeyanj se no ga i gasandi jamaa kulu ma ga. (caille, 2019, p .8).

### **1.2. Almayaali ra, jamaa kambe dañyanj biirimay gagari sintina**

Afirki almayaali go zanka se sanda nangu kanj ja nda baaba tataliyen hallasay nda biirimay nangu kanj ga dondonyaño fondo boobo feeri a se. Kocciya jaño no ga a hallasi, a ma ciya wayborayze wala alborayze. Jamaa ra goray alwaati no kanj ga zanka dañ nangu kanj :

« atciryatara kulu ra, ja boj no kocciya tina kulu go : a ma a ñwaayañdi, a ma a saajaw : boro mana hirri daaru hala boro ne zanka wo jaño ga-basi no za day kanj, sanda jañey kulu, afirki ja ga maar'a nga ga gumo hari kulu kanj lamba kocciya ga, wo-din banda mo nga no ga a naanandi nga fafa ga han kulu, a ma a suusu, a ma a kanandi nga jare ga, a ma hampa mo nangu kulu kanj a ga koy nga banda-daaro ra. » ( caille, 2019, p : 9-10).

Haggoyyaño din kanj sinda wadde, baabo mo ga a gana, ga a dum ga a no biirimay hanno a ma du ga furo jamaa ra, nda koyne a ga jamaa gaakasina ceeći i ma kambe dañ ga tonton nga biirima ra, biirima ma du ga gaabu. Kocciya mo ga boj dum, a ga hangan naamey

cawandikey nda i gaayikey se. Araŋ di kaŋ hayrayey go ga ngey goyey kulu te kocciya biirima se ga du ga a no nga boŋ-duura kaŋ a ga goy nda bangandiyaj ra wala tuguray ra, jamaa ra. Wo-din se no a ga boori boro ma faham « kaŋ baaba wala ja no ga cawandiko goy te, kocciya mo cawko ; a se no a ga boŋ dum albeero se a ga gaakasinay mo ceeci i ga. Baabo wala jaŋo boŋ no a go i ma kocciya daŋ fondo a ma furo jamaa goy ra (goy, jamaa goryey, wkc), a ma ndunŋna bayray nda hariyaj kaŋ ra a ga nga kambe daŋ jamaa goray teerey ra. Baabo no ga kocciya jina, ga furo tajo cawandi nda alboro goy mate ka baabo no ga kocciya cawandi cine ja mo ga wandiyo kayna, ga wandiya cawandi hari kulu ka baabo no ga kocciya cawandi ga koy nda wayboro wala ja goy. (caille, 2019, p.10).

### **1.3 don biirima : teerey barmayyaŋ guuso**

Doŋ biirima du barmayyaŋ beeri kaŋ annasaarey kaayaŋo kande, alwaati mo kaŋ na baafuna fondey butugu za kaŋ a mana jamaa goray fondey nda naamu fondey sambu (ki-zerbo, 1992). Annasaarey cire furoyaj mana teerey hinne barmay bo, a na ba boro biyey bayrayey daŋ care ra gumo-gumo ga i tilasandi i ma naamu fo teerey dondon kaŋ ga koy nda fondo yan kaŋ i gaayi (akkari & dasen, 2004). Afirki borey ga miila kaŋ : lokkol nda baafuna manti kala a folloŋ no afirki borey baafunayey ra, kaŋ yan ga hayyaŋ no darza, zankataray nda biirimay go a se beene, i ga goborotaray, hinne goray nda hari baakasinay no gaabi » (caille, 2019, p. Xiii). Zanka wo laabo kulu arzaka no, jamaa ra kanga fay, mate kaŋ hantumkey na a ci, nda : « annasaara banda borey kaŋ na hari baakasinay daŋ jine, nooru nda jinay baakasinay cabeyaj » (caille, 2019, p.58), wo kaŋ annassara mayra waate cawandiyaj kar ga say.

Wo-din se no, a wane alwaati sintina ra, « afirki zanka ga goro wayborey jare ga, (sanda mate kaŋ boro ga goro tuuro tiksa ga,) (caille, ibid. P. Xiii) hala i ga bora sambu sanda boro kaŋ ga jamaa kulu nafa afriki doŋ biirima ra. » (caille, p. Xiii). Laasaabo din kaŋ naŋ kocciya ma ciya boro kulu wane wo ciine si no koyne annasaara lokkolo diiyan ga.

### **III. Afirki lokkolo**

Annassarey mayra waate saruuso na dabari nda fondo yan te ga boro biyey no bayray. Boro bi laabey boŋ-duura banda, i ma annasaara saruusu gorandi ga tilasandi afirki borey ga. I ma sijiro hanna din kaŋ ga ti tilas gorandi ma ga, kala i ma konda goyo nda jine margasinay ra kaŋ kambu hinka kulu za-jindey mana bangay ga boori. Afirki borey kaŋ ga bay haaley din ga sinda hina fo kulu kala yaddayan, i ma ye ga kambe daŋ care kambe ra yanjo kaŋ sinda haali no gaabi ga boro biyey baafuna barmayyaŋ nda gaabi cine ra. Annasaara kaŋ ka ga goro ga ngey lokkol yan, albeerey

cawandiyaj nangu sinji ga cabe afirki borey se kañ teera hanno yañ no ngey ga i cawandi kañ ga nañ i ma wadaata.

Sanno wo ra, iri ga taariifi alhaali yañ sanni te ga cabe kañ annasaarey mayra kande barmayyanj iri baafuna se kañ ga ti iri wane addiney gananyarjej nda iri naamey darza. Iri ga kalaaso kañ gonda boro dumi-dumi, naamey nda dumey kañ yañ si koy care bande sanni te, nangu kañ borey ga koy day no ga cawandi wala ga dondon.

Cawandika goyo ga ti cawandiyaj (arañ ma faham ga ba kañ goy no kañ maana ga ti, i ma boro no bayray nafante a ma du ga nga hinayey tonton ga du gonitaray goy kambu fo ra). I ma nañ wo-din ma du ga te, cawandika ga goy nda cawandiyaj fondo hinzanta kañ ga ti bayrayey neesiyanj (fondo sintina ga ti cawo soolaa hantumyanj, ihinkanta mo cawandiyajo.) Annasaara zaamaani kalaaso ra, i ga lokkoliizey neesi no afo-fo, a gar mo doñ biirimay ra wo, kwaara dottijey no ga i neesi.

### **II.1. Taarifi neesiyanj**

Annasaarey cawandiyajo nufaa ga ti i ma baarici komi yañ cawandi kañ ga annasaarey ga i wane goyey nda i addiina ga. Mayray fondo wo-din duma ga cabe kañ boro biyey hima ga annasaarey naamey caw nda koyné boro gure-gure yañ no hima ga du zaamaani bayrayey kañ bayray timmante goy hinne no i ga guna. Afirki laabukoyey sambu mo kan dirawey din ga ti fondo hanney iri zankey biirma se, ngey kañ i sokon ga soola ngey wane naamey nda i addiney se.

Annasaara mayra banda alwaato na barmayyanj beeri te (i ma i neesi), a na bareyanj boobo te, (i ma i ci) a na dañ care yañ boobo te (i ma i fahamandi) a na fayyanj beeri yañ mo te (i ma faham i se) (bancel et blanchard, 2003). Annasaara mayra alwaato ra nda boro biyey mayra alwaato ra, barmayyanj beeri te doñ biirma ra. Iri fisiyanjo si dira kala kambu fo boñ kañ i na batama hanse, iri ma dabarey ci, iri ma ci mo wo kañ ba hagu mo afirki borey se.

Laasaabu no kañ i hima ga te i jine koyyaj fondo ra, i ma dañ ngey lakkaley ra mo i batamey zaadayañ i alwaato ra, jamaa sokonyaj ra kañ sinda dabe hanno yañ. Afirki borey baafuna, i wane laasaabey/miiley, i wane sankey haaley manti kala fondo yañ kañ annasaara ga ne i si laabu zaadandiyaj fondey ra. Lokkol sintiney feeriyajo no nañ cawandiyaj kambo zaada.

#### **II.1.1. Kuray baajine hinka : jamaa cawandiyaj nda goy dondonyaj doñ biirma ra**

Jamaa cawandiyajo si te gagari hinka boñ (caille, 2019) :

- Gagari sintina wo, almayaali nda jamaa baafunay dondonyajey doñ foori-foorey ga, dottijey hanganyañ, tuurey bayyañ, alsilaamataray nda cafaritaray bayyañ ;

- gagari hinkanta mo ga salaŋ naamu foorey boŋ kaŋ ga ciya jamma neesiyanj/yoonay kaŋ albeerey ga dum, i ga i hawzu ga du to nangu hanno borey do (furtaji nda sambantaasi, i ma du ga baafunay tinayey sambu.)

Goy dondonyan̄ cawo si gana kala :

- Farmi goy dondonyan̄ (boro ma dondon fari goy hayrayey wala beerey bande, nda kuray (boro ma konda almaney kuray) ;
- Danay, sacetaray, garaasataray nda caakaytaray/kaymi dabarey, silmaŋ ga.

### **II.1.2 doŋ dondonyan̄ gagari hinka neesiyanj̄ fondey**

I ma si dirgan almayaalo, jamaa nda borey nango afirki biirima do haray. Kundaa hinzaa kulu, afolloŋ no a ga te sokonyan̄ ga kaŋ ga boro fo kulu tinayey gaayi a wane jiřo ga wala a wane nango ga, jamaa ra. Da baayan̄, i si ne kala bora kulu wane no dondonyan̄ey duuyan̄ey nda i neesiyan̄ey mo (jamaa ra goy fo ga nangu/gagari daahirandiyan̄) kulu doŋ biirima haali no. Zamaani lokkolo cine ra boro follow-folloŋ se no i ga yoona te. Sijiri si no kaŋ i kayandi jaabey kaŋ te fondo ra, sanni yan̄ wala bayray yan̄ kaŋ i gaayi, i na i daahirandi afirki borey gora ra (akkari & dasen, 2004). Amma, iri naamey bayrayey zaadandiyan̄ kaŋ gonda darza yan̄, manti kabiizey laasaabante sanda zaamaani cawandiyano ra. I ga hin ga neesiyan̄ duurey daŋ jeeri-gaaru walhā kaŋ go ganda ra.

#### **Walhā 1. Neesiyan̄ sokonyan̄**

Kambo	Bayrayey
Jamaa sokonyan̄	Almayaaley nda kwaaraa mayra sokonyan̄ nda a ce-dirawo.
Baafunay darzey sokonyan̄	Baafunay darzey sillaa nda i nafa bonkoonitaray mayra ra
Baafunay darzey kanandiyan̄ kunda-kunda	Kwaaraa bayrayey sillaa nda cawey fahamandiyan̄
Naamey ra teerey fahamandiyan̄	Naamey ra teerey sokonyan̄ nda furtajey kaŋ i go ga si darzey (kookarey) sifayan̄ seedey
Bayrayey daahirandiyan̄	Neesian̄ fondey fahamandiyan̄ i wane

	kambo nda i wane bayrayey dondonyaŋ gagaro boŋ.
Waato bucey sokonyaŋ nda nangey alhaaley daahirandiyaŋ	Gonitaray fo wala jamaa jine-koyyaŋ fo darzandiyaŋ nda bayyan

### II.1.3 kalaaso, cawandiyəŋ nangu

Kalaaso wo, nangu hanna no kaŋ borey ga koy ga albahaaru ceeći, i ma goy, i ma dondon. Fonda din ra, afirki borey furo haali taji ra, kaŋ sandayey ga ti nango kaŋ i ga caw, cawandiyəŋ dumey, margasina kaŋ go ngey nda cawandika game ra, dondonyaney neesiyaney, sokonyaŋ beeri kaŋ ga ba boŋ daŋyaŋ ce-kayante nda barmayyaŋ borey baafuna ra. Cawandiyəŋ haali sokonyaŋ dumo wo ga hima nangu himcare taji yaŋ kaŋ bangay (perrenoud, 1999) nda sijiri kayante nda cawandiko kaŋ ga cawandiyajo sokon waato dottijey nango ra. Kalaaso ga ciya nangu kaŋ i ga cawandiyəŋ salaŋ ga ye care me ra yaŋ gaabandi bayray fo boŋ (chevallard, 1992). Barmayyaŋ alhaali laasaabo din ga lokkoliizey kundaa tilsandi a ma doona cawandika goyey sokonyaŋ, cawandiyəŋ ce-dirawey gonitarayey ga, nda boŋ daŋyaŋ bambata goyey kulu kaŋ i na i no teeyəŋ ga. Mate kulu kaŋ no, zaamaani lokkolo kalaaso hawzuyaŋ nda a sokonyaŋo kande barmay yaŋ beeri, nda ceeći ga sasabandiyəŋ kaŋ borey biirima ga guna afirko ra go ga te. I ma fun dudalo biirima ga ga koy teera taji yaŋ ga kaŋ yaŋ ga dondonyaŋ ce-kayante sokon, ga i daŋ fondo ciya misa kaŋ i ga guna ga du ga furo dondonyaŋ zaamaani taji ra. I ga faham kaŋ : « sokonyaŋ sanniizo ga laasaabu beeri tonton, a ga goy nangu mo gorandi kaŋ ga goyey nda salaŋ ga ye care me ra yaŋ fondey kayandi » (perrenoud, 1999, p. 540). Cawayəŋ fondo tajo banda, a ga boori mo boro ma **nga** boŋ hă hala :

« boro ga hin, cawandiyəŋ do haray, ga kalaaso hawzuyaŋo wala cawandiyajo kulu nango wala alwaato sambu sanda hari kaŋ i ga jin ga te jina, fondo ce-kayante boŋ, sanni kaŋ boro ga miila kaŋ cawandiyəŋ-dondonyaŋ ga hin ga te, a ga naŋ mo i ma dake care ga nda jine koyyaŋ, kaŋ sinda alwaati sarayaŋ, cawandiyəŋ gagarey dake-dake care ga yaŋ a ma boori ». (perrenoud, ibid., p. 541).

Kalaaso hawzuyaŋ nango cawandika cawandiyəŋ teerey kulu ra ga ti i ma dondonyaŋ duurey neesiyao nda i sokonyaŋo sanno te.

### **Iii. Duurey neesiyañ afirki cawandiyañ-dondonyañ haaley ra**

Afirki laabey ra, neesiyañ bayra manti kala teera no kañ i gaayi cawyañ guuso daba boñ, a manti mo kala sanni kañ laabo saruusey ayey gaayi. Doñ biirima ra, neesiyañ wo manti kala haali yañ kañ i gorandi kañ jamaa ga guna nda adamayne darzay bayyañ. Nayzeturay nda care gaayañ no afirki baafunay goray ra, i ga dañ jine. Naamo din kañ gay wo, hanseyan neesiyañ kañ ga ti ganji hinzanta cawandiyañ-dondonyañ na a ganandi (cawandiyañ soola hantumo nda cawandiyañ bumbo). Iri ga neesiyañ dumi hinka sanni te walhā wo ra ga du ga di i bare-bareyaney kañ i ga hin ga te.

Walhā 2 : neesiyañ dumi-dumey

<b>Afirki doñ biirima neesiyañ</b>	<b>Afirki zaamaani biirima neesiyañ</b>
<b>Sanno tunanta</b>	
Sanno nango nda a fonda baafunay gora ra	Goy waaniyañ duure kañ si barmay
<b>Nangey</b>	
Baafunay darzey	Kañ ga laabo saruusey guna
<b>Sokonyañey fondey</b>	
Almayaali nda jamaa gagaro	Kalaaso gagaro
Almayaali nda jamaa mamburey baafunay goray sokonyaño ga	Cawandikey cawandiyañ fondey kañ i gaayi ga
Goyo gasandiyáñ gagari baajiney	
Dottijey yaamarey	Cawandiyañ soolaa
Naamey ra teerey sokonyaño	Cawandiyañ gasandiyáñ
Duurey tabbatandiyáñ nda i daahirandiyáñ	Duurey neesiyañ

Walhā ra, i ga di fayanka beeri te ce-dirawo nda dabarey kañ yañ i goy nda ga. Doñ biirima fonda ra, jamaa ga bayray fayyañ care se no gaabi, nda i daahirandiyáñ marganay beeri teerey ra. Kalaasey ra neesiyañey mo jeeri no i ga no cawko kulu se.

Dabaro kañ ga hagu cawyañ neesiyañ fonda ra ga ti cawandika ga cawka dañ fondo no a wane lokkol goyo ra. A ga ceeći ga a sandayey bay ga du ga a dañ ce-diraw ce-kayante yañ ra a ma du ga konda nga dondonyaño jina. Neesiyan no kañ ga te cawandiyáñ waate nda dondonyaño goy kulu ga.

Haali wo-ne ra, neesiyañ wo, manti kala darza no. (perrenoud, 1999) :

- Cawka wo se, a ga naq a ma to jine gagaro ga, a ma nga waaniyanjey gaabo nda a sandayey waare, a ma ye ga gagari fo yeera (hala a tibi), a ma fatta cawandiyajo ra (kaayanj) nda a ma du sattifika wala caw banyaj tira fo ;
- Cawandika se, cawandiyaj teera no kaq ga naq i ma sinka sambu ga to jine dumbaro/patarmo ga, ga goy taji yan sijiri, ga cawandiyaj dabarey guna, ga ye ga di mo neesiyanj dabarey. Goyey kaq cawandika sijiri cawandiyaj haaley boq ga naq cawko fo kulu nda goy fo. Goy sanniizo ga cabe kaq a ga tilas cawka ga a ma dondonyaj goyey te.
- Cawkey hayrayey se, fondo no kaq ga naq i ma du laabaari cawka kookaro boq nda mo i ma du baaru cawka dondonyaj jine-koyyaq ce-dirawo boq.

Doq biirima ga neesiyanj dan hari kaq i cina jamaa goyey ra, kaq gonda seeda yan kaq ga naq borey ma bay hala i ga kookaro nda duurey daahirandi. Jamaa boq no tinayey go, i ma guna nda lakkal ga di hala cawka ga du darza fo (maa) wala a ga barmay nangu no ga du ga kambe dan kwaaraa baafunay nda arzaka zaadayano ra. I ga kocciya sambu no sanda kwaaraa kulu wane amma manti kocciya go kwaaraa ra hinne.

Jamaa dabaro din ga naq almayaaley ma ngey zankey biirimay tilso sambu, i ma haggoy nda adamayzey darzey hinne se. Fonda din ra no sohoq iri go ga kalaasey kaq gonda cawko boobo neesiyanj mo caw.

### **Iii.1 duurey neesiyanj, mate no i ga te ga i sasabandi afirki kalaasey ra ?**

Caw neesiyanj manti kala cawandiyaj teera fo kaq go cawandiyaj nda dondonyaj teera beerey ra. Cawandika teera hinzanta no cawo soolaa nda cawandiyaj bumbo banda. A ga cawandiyaj/dondonyaj banandi/daabu no nda goyo nafey gaayiyaq. Neesiyanj ga bangay sanda teera baajine kaq ga tilas i ma te cawandiyaj nda dondonyaj haaley ra. A te cawandikey se boq-haway beeri kaq te i se tinay nda goy beeri kaq yan gonda nafa yan i wane cawandiyaj dirawo se.

### **Iii.2 hanseyaj neesiyanj sanda laawal kaq ga afirki naamo nda neesiyanj dan care ga**

Neesiyanj dumi boobo no ga bara, boro ga du ihinka cawandiyaj-dondonyaj haaley afirki lokkol kayney nda cawandiyaj lokkoley ra. Ngey ga ti neesiyanj kaq ga te alwaati fo caw banyaj ga nda cawo hanseyaj neesiyanj. Sintinay wana no ga ba gumo neesiyanjey ra, kaq ga ti wo kaq cawka dondonyaj wana kaq i ga a bayrayey kulu gosi kaq ga ban nda jeeri nooyaj, gonitaray nda jine-koyyanj kalaasu fo ra. A ga saba nda caw gonitaray kaq boro du balasyaj.

Hanseyanj neesiyanj ga naq boro ma bay nangu kaq cawka to nufa fo ga. A ga naq i ma di hala i ga cawandiyav sijira barmay kaq go ga te barmay no, i ma ci mo nangu kaq cine lokkoliizo go nufa fo

se. A ga naŋ koyne, cawka ma bay nangu kaŋ cine a to cawyaŋ-dondonyaŋ ga, a ga naŋ mo i ma a lakkalo candi cawka ma du ga faham fondo yaŋ kaŋ i ga gana, kaŋ yaŋ ga gaabu/boori nda wo kaŋ yaŋ manti ya-din no : boro ma janceyaŋ laasaabu te boro bumbo goyo boŋ (shahvali et zrafshani, 2002). Hanseyan neesiyaŋo si te kala cawandiyanej waate. A nufaa ga ti a ma cawka fahamandi gumo, fahamay ce-kayante nda jando kaŋ go nga nda nufaa game nda sandayey kaŋ a go ga di ; koyne a ga cawandika laabaarandi mate kaŋ cine cawkey go ga faham nda a cawandiyano, a ma du ga hanse se.

Alhaali fonda din ra, a ga boori ma hanseyan neesiyaŋ sijiri, sanda laawal tabbatante kaŋ ga du ga konda afirki naamey neesiyaŋo nda jine.

Afirko ra, iri fahamandi kaŋ neesiyaŋo, hari no kaŋ bora kulu wane no, care gaayaŋ nda nayzeturay baafunante. Wo-din se no neesiyaŋo ga hin ga koy nda iri baafunay gorayey. Walhā kaŋ ga ka ra, iri ga hanseyan neesiyaŋo haaley cabe gagari sintina ra, gagari hinkanta ra mo dabarey kaŋ ga saba nda doŋ teerey.

Walhā 3 : neesiyaŋ haaley nda dabarey kaŋ i ga sasabandi

Hanseyan neesiyaŋ haaley	Fondey kaŋ i ga hin ga sasabandiyar afirki ganda ra (lokkol ma ciya nangu kaŋ ga cawandiyanej nafa harey guna.
Ga cabe nangu kaŋ cawka go nufa fo se	I ma cawkey sokon ga i dum mo, konkonse teeyan, i ma ngey kwaaraa taariifo, i hinayey waana-waana goyo kaŋ i ga hin ga te i jine-koyyaŋo fondo ra. I ga hin ga i gosi i wane hinayey kaŋ ga konkonse te, i ma duurey mo yeeti ga no.
I ma cawandiyanej-dondonyaŋ dabarey marmay	Iri ma iri ganda teerey no darza bayray nda naamu sanney do haray. I ga hin ga cawkey neesi i wane naamu nda gama teera sillaa hanney waareyan ga.
Cawandiyano waate no a ga te.	I ma ganda bayrayey sokon ga i daŋ cawandiyanej sijiro ra, ga laabo ciiney daŋ ga i cawandi : cawkey neesiyaŋo si te kala cawandiyanej fondo fo boŋ ga du ga ganda bayrayey laasaabu, i ma du ga i goy kalaaso ra.
A ga cawka kookari nda a sandayey ci a se.	I ma gonitaray cawey sillaa te nda ganda bayrayey neesi. Bayrayey neesiyaŋo si te kala bayray kundaa

Hanseyan neesiyan haaley	Fondey kañ i ga hin ga sasabandiyen afirki ganda ra (lokkol ma ciya nangu kañ ga cawandiyen nafa harey guna.
	nda cawey kañ ga koy nd'a.
A ga ci cawandika se fahama kav cawkey go ga du a cawandiyen ga, a ma du ga barmay	I ma cawandiyen hanseyan sijiri gorandi. Cawandiyen satey ra, cawandikey ga laasaabu ga di fondo, kañ ngey ga sambu ga du ga cawkey ka cawkey ga gonda sanday ga. Cawkey mo ga hin ga ga te kunda-kunda ga ngey sandayey ci cawandikey se.
A ga ka cawka lakkal cawo waate nda goy fo banda.	I ma haali yan te kañ ga nañ jamaa ma kambe lokkolo goyey nda a hawzuyaño ga. I ma lokkoliize baabey dan saware i ma laasaabu lokkolo kañ ga ti ncawandiyen nango. I ga hin ga lokkliizey neesi, hayrayey kambe danyaño nda i goyey lokkolo hawzuyaño ce-diraw fondo ra.
a ga cawka te dondonyaño hawzuko kañ ga nañ a ma nga darayyaney nda duuyaney hawzu.	I ma boro ma dondon boro boñ se no gaabi sandamate kañ a go iri doñ teerey ra. Cawandikey ga goymarguyen goy-jinayey soola. I ga cawkey neesi i wane goy marguyen gonitatara ga. I ga hin ga i neesi mo i wane goy hattayaney hawzuyaño nda hanseyan boñ.

Walhā ga iri laabaarandi dondonyaney neesiyan kañ ga hin ga te nda mate kañ i ga doñ biirima teera hanney sambu ga kalaasey ra wane hanse.

Afirki baafuna/arzaka nda naamey haaley ga nañ dondonyaño nda teera boobo ma te. I ga di kañ laawaley nda dabari yan wo go no. Cawandikey, cawandikey jine-funey, lokkoliizey hayrayey nda lokkliizey bumbey hima ga i warci no cawandiyen haali dum-dumey ra, laabo arzakaa boñ nda i ma i dañ biirimay cawandiyen sijirey nda nafa goy fondo ra. Wo-ne ga ciya fondo kañ ga batama baafunay/arzaka zaadandiyen boona gaabandiyen ga du ga cawandiyano bojo bare goyteerey cawo do-haray kañ ga boori farmi nda kura se. A ga nañ batama nafa-harey ma du darza. Alhaali fo mo ra, a ga boori i ma cawandiyen sijirey bojey bare ga du ga lakkaley barmay, i ma cawka mo

Iakkalo feeri caw-tirey darzandiyan ga. I ga hin ga cawandiyan sijiri gorandi kañ ga nafa-harey nda hinayey din kulu mo no darza. I ga hin ga ngey wo cabe caw-boñey wo ra :

- Gonitarayey caw-boñ ga dondonyan goy baajiney, gonitarey kañ i ga gaabandi, nangey kañ yanç i ga i gasandi, danyan alhaaley nda neesiyan kañ i ga goy nda dumey.
- Cawandiyan dondonyan nda neesiyan caw-boñey ga bayray-kundey gaayi, cawey kañ i ga danç, alwaati kabirjo, nda mate kañ neesiyañ ga te nda.

Iri ga gaabandi caw-tirey din ga, za day kañ lokkoliizey baayañga humburandi.

### **III.3 mate no i ga neesiyan ce-kayante te nda kalaasey kañ gonda dimmaa beeri**

Jomtien (ndunjnaa laabey ceeyajo kañ i bangandi kañ bora kulu ma koy lokkol ne ga koy annasaara jiiri 1990) ga koy dakar teera kundaa (i ma tu cawayan baajiney ga ne ga koy annasaara jiiri 2000) afirki laabu boobo na kookari beeri yanç te ga lokkol furoyan no gaabi. Za alwaato din no kalaasey dimmey beeri, waana-waana gomnanti lokkoley ra. Cawandikey kañ sinda cawandiyan gaabo kalaaso hawzuyañ nda a neesiyan gonda dimma beeri yanç. Haali wo-ne ra, a ga boori iri ma iri boñ hñ mate no i ga te ga ye ga cawandiyan fondey nda dabarey kañ ga nañ cawkey ma dondon, cawandikey mo ma du ga cawkey duurey neesi. Cawandikey hima ga ye ga di ngey cawandiyeney sijirey guna, nda i wane neesiyan ce-dirawey (prosser et trigwell, 1999). Iri ga dabarey sijiri kañ ga nañ, i ma neesiyan goyey danç borey goray ra.

#### **III.3.1 cawandiyan fondo tajey (cawandiyan dumi waani fo)**

Hunkuna, cawandiyan fondo taji yanç go no kañ ga no daama i ma cawandiyano te afo dumi, dondonyano afo dumi, neesiyañ mo afo dumi, cawandiyan taji fo dumi, kañ ga cawkey kambe danyajo no gaabi, cawandiyan teerey barmayyan, neesiyan dumey bare-bare nda goy nda gonitaray yanç (chamoux, 1986). Dabari wo-ne no iri ga sijiri aran se : laasaabu-kar care ga-toonandi kañ ga hin ga koy lokkoliize dimma beeri. A si dira kala fondey nda ce-dirawey wo :

« laasaabu-kar care ga-toonandi » dabaro wo i na a te no kañ cawkey kulu ma ngey boñ danç dondonyan ce-dirawo ce-kayante ra sata yanç ra. Cawkey ga laasaabu sanda fo wala hñyan fo boñ afo-fo day i ma tuuyaney kar care ga nda caley waney, ga i ma tuuyan hanna toonandi ngey kunda beero do.

- Ce-diraw

I ma ganji beerey waare, ihanney wala wo kañ i ga bay kañ ga sandi cawandiyan se.

1. I ma hääyan fo te, i ma naŋ cawko fo kulu ma nga laasaabo te (laasaabu) alwaati kayna ra. I ga hin ga ne boro kulu ma nga tuuyaŋo hantum i ma du ga i daahirandi se.
2. I ma cawkey hää i ma ngey tuuyanjeŋ kar care ga nda ngey caley wana nda sata kayna fo (kar care ga), i ma saba tuuyaŋ fo boŋ.
3. I ma boro hinka-hinka sata booboo hää tuuyaŋo kaŋ i du (toonandi). Cawandika ga hin ga gagari wo-ne wo hawzu, a ma hää boŋ wolanteeru yaŋ ga i ma salaŋ wala a ma tombala te ga boro hinka sata hää.

### **Iii.3.2 dondonyaŋ dumi-dumey (waani neesiyaŋ)**

I ma sijiri dondonyaŋ haali tajey se nufey kaŋ ga i ba i ma to se, i ma mo daŋ i cawandiyāŋ dabarey kaŋ i ga hin ga te se. Wo-ne ma ga, hala i ga dondonyaŋeŋ neesi, a ga boori i ma haali hagantey nda bare-bareyaŋey kaŋ go gagari hinza game laasaabu :1) dondonyaŋ nufey ; 2) cawandiyāŋ goyey ; 3) neesiyaŋ dabarey.

- 1) Dondonyaŋ nufey :** bayray fo no wala goy waaniyaŋ fo no cawka hima ga waani cawa banda ? Mate kaŋ i ga dondonyaŋ nufa hantum nda ne-ya : « cawo banda, cawkey hima ga + bloom lokkolo teera teeraci ».
- 2) Cawandiyāŋ goyey :** goy fo yaŋ no ay ga gasandi kaŋ ga naŋ cawkey ma dondon ? Cawandiyāŋ dabari fo no ay ga goy nda cawo gasuyaŋo se ?
- 3) Neesiyaŋ dabarey :** mate no ay ga dondonyaŋ neesiyaŋo te nda ?

### **Iii.3.3 neesiyaŋ dumi-dumey (waani neesiyaŋ)**

Cawkey dondonyaŋeŋ neesiyaŋo si bara kala dondonyaŋ/cawandiyāŋ ce-dirawo ra. A du ma ga boori se, ga te ce-kayante, ce-diraw wo-ne ga te a se ganji :

- I ma dondonyaŋ haali te kaŋ ga naŋ cawka ma goy fo te ;
- Goyo din teeyaaŋ ga, cawka hima ga du sanday fo, i ga gaakasinay hääyaŋ te a se, nda tilasandiyāŋ nda nafa hari yaŋ no a se ;
- Hala a ga gaakasinay hääyaŋ, nda tilasandiyāŋ nda nafa-hari guna, cawka ga laasaabu « ga goy » ga bayray taji cina : cawo nufaa
- Bayra din, hala a ban ga a waare, a ga hin a ma goy nda goyo waate.

### **Sanno bananta**

Iri sanno boŋ-jina ga kande sanniizey wo yaamaryāŋ nda bayray kaŋ boro ga du.

Doŋ biirimay nda dondonyaŋ ce-dirawo manti kala caw fondo hinka kaŋ furo afirki baafunay gorayey sokonyaŋo nda ce-dirawo ra (akkari et dasen, 2004). Laabiizey, i wane biirma diiyanjo ga, mana ngey boŋ daŋ kala haali hinza ra kaŋ ga ti toonandiyan, care gaayaŋ nda nayzeturay. Baafunay haaley nda boro dumi-dumey ga ti afirki ra dondonyaŋey kulu dumo dabey.

Dondonyaŋ fondey nda neesiyaŋ sijirey gay kaŋ i ga koy nda iri teerey kaŋ yaŋ te sanda afirki se bumbo dolle.

Iri ceci iri haaley nda teerey kaŋ annasaara kaayaŋo barmay biirma ra kaŋ na afirki laabiizey baafunayey daŋ care ra neesi

Sanno boŋ-jina na afirki dondonyaŋ haaley caw kaŋ gonda doŋ teerey nda ngey tilsey nda nafa-harey kaŋ gonda caagale yaŋ kaŋ ga naŋ i ma neesiyaŋ dabarey fisi i ma du ga koy nda annasaara cawandiyan wana.

Fisiyaŋ cabe kaŋ cawandiyan neesiyaŋo ga hin ga te cawey ce-diraw fondey ma te care banda, kaŋ ga ti i ma gaayi hari kaŋ boŋ iri teerey neesiyaŋo ga te nda darzey mo kaŋ go i banda. Amma, i ma faham ga bay kaŋ caw boŋ-jina teeyano ga, i na hääyan te mate kaŋ i ga hin ga i sasabandi nda hari kaŋ a ga hin ga kande cawandiyan teerey do harey.

Cawandiyan sijiro ga hin ga te ga boori sanda silmanj ga i ma nafa-hari ce-kayante yaŋ kaŋ ga koy nda baafunay gorayey, a ga cawkey goyey ci. Ce-dirawo mo, dondonyaŋ neesiyaŋey kaŋ ga koy nda boŋ wasayan, care gaakasinay nda nayzeturay, darza hinza kaŋ ga alboro kaŋ ga jamaa nafa soola, nda alboro kaŋ a arzakaa ga a muraadey te. (remillard, 2010). Iri ga ci kaŋ iri mana hari hinka sambu kaŋ i hima ga caw : goy gonitarayey kaŋ go cawandikey se doŋ biirma boŋ nda iri doŋ bayrayey kaŋ ra i hima ga du nafa-harey, -cawandiyan lokkoley hina kaŋ ga cawandikey cawandi i ma iri baafunay teerey sambu sanda di ga dondon hari, cawandiyan haaley ra nda dondonyaney neesiyan ra.

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## **Bon-jina 8**

**Yaasay nafaa cawandiyəŋ nda ciiney ra dondonyaŋ, afirki naamey lokkolo ra : arzakaa kaŋ i dirgan.**

**Amadou Saibou Adamou**

**Dunguriyandi**

Yaasay boŋ no hantumo wo-ne ga salaq, yaasay sanda baafunay ra te-goy nda sanni teere kaŋ i ga hin ga nafa nda afirki ciiney ra cawandiyano ce-dirawo ra,. Yaasay go nangu kulu afirki sanney nda hantumey ra, annama hari kaŋ ga boro dambarandi ga ti kaŋ sanni dunguriyey wo kaŋ ga hari boobo cabe, kaŋ ciina ra hantumo boori i gonda mo maanaa hanno naamey ra, si lokkol sijirey ra, ya-din ga i mana i laasaabu afirki lokkol cawandiyano ra. Dirgana wo ga kayfandi. Dumbi wo-ne kaŋ ga caawandiyəŋ ce-dirawo fo suuban ga ceeći ga yaasayey fisi ga nafey kaŋ go i se no zankey se, zaamaani lokkolo ra, waana-waana ciiney nda naamey dondonyaŋ se. Yaasay nango nda a goyo afirki dumey ra cabeyəŋ banda, hantumo wo ga i cabe sanda goy-jinay yan nda cawyəŋ kaŋ gonda nafa boobo ciiney-naamey cawandiyəŋ se ; bananta ga, dumbo wo ga goy fondo yan sijiri sanni fahamantey wo cawandiyəŋ-dondonandiyaŋ se afirki ciiney cawandiyəŋ kalaasey ra.

**Sannize baajiney :** yaasay, cawandiyəŋ-dondonandiyaŋ, ciine-naamu, sanni waaniyanje, cawandiyəŋ ce-diraw

## **Bon-jina**

Dumey kulu ra no i ga **yaasey** te wala i ma i sambu dumi waani fo ra. Doŋ borey ga no i na i tubu wala bine i na i te/cina alwaati kaŋ mana mooru gumo, ga fahamandi mate kaŋ borey bara nda + (wala i ga miila i go), ga ci mate kaŋ boro fo kulu go ga di nga cala ; ga baafunay alhaalo cabe. Sanni alhaali dunguriyo maanakoyey kundaa ra no i go, sanda sanni ganji, yaasayze, sanni dunguryo, sanniize.... Da baayaŋ kulu sooro yan no kaŋ gonda maana kaŋ jamaa baafunay bayrey no i ga toonandi borey do ga i boŋey feeri. Alhaaley kaŋ i ga a bay nda ga ti kongu bandayaŋ nda bayray nooyəŋ. Wo-din se no i ga ba ciiney cawyəŋ nda adamayzey baafuna cawyəŋ. Sanni dunguriyey wo cawyəŋ no kande cawo kaŋ ma yaasey cawo.

Afirki ra dumi fo yan (waana-waana kawya ra) na yaasay dan ngey zaari kulu me-sanney ra, kala a to nangu kaŋ i ga hin ga ne kaŋ yaasey gonda ngey kambe sanni ce-dirawo. Kayna-kayna yaasey go ga furo hantumey ra, waana-waana nda yaasey marguyəŋ, deede hantumey (kaŋ ra me-sanney go ga furo) nda feeyəŋ/tallayanje kaŋ yan ga goy gumo nda yaasay.

Ba kañ se yaasay gonda gaabi, i si cacar ga a dañ afirki lokkol cawandiyaj sijirey ra, ya-din no cawayaj tirey nda cawandiyaj mo ra. Yaasay wo goy-jinay hanno no afirki dumey sanney ce-dirawo ra, ciine nda naamu goy-jinay hanno, cawandiyaj nafa-hari ce-kayante kañ go borey kulu goray ra amma kañ i mana dañ lokkol laasaabey, waana-waana ciiney-naamey cawandiyaj-dondonyaj kambo ra.

Yaasay hima ga du nga nango ciiney nda naamey dondonyajo ra, i cawandiyajo ra nda mo, da baayanj kulu, afirki zankey biirima ra mate kañ a goro ga te za doñ. I ga hin ga nafa nd'a cawandiyaj-dondonandiyaj kambu booboo ra. Dumbi wo-ne nufaa ga ti a ma nafey kañ go yaasay cawandiyaj-dondonyaj se bangandi. Dalla-dalla ga, nufa baajine hinza no go gaakasina wo kañ iri kande se : yaasay nafaa nda a goyo afirki dumey se bangandiyaj ; i ma ci riiba kañ go a se da i na a te cawandiyajo goy-jinay ; i ma fondo yanj sijri kañ i ga gana ga goy nda yaasay afirki ciiney cawandiyajo lokkoley ra. Iri ma bay mo kañ sijirey din wo nangu kulu no i goy nd'ey manti cawandiyaj gagari fo hinne ra. Cawandiyaj laawal yan no kañ ga hin ga kande dondonyaj goy yan nda jinay yanj kañ ga cabe kañ i hima ga sanni dumo din laasaabu afirki ciiney-naamey cawandiyajo ra.

## I. Yaasey kaajey, i goyey nda i maaney

Yaasay boj sanni baajiney no iri ga dumbo wo sintin nda. Iri ga salañ kayna fo i kaajey, i maaney nda i goyey boj jamaa baafunay gorayey ce-dirawo ra.

### 1.1. Yaasey kaajey nda a goyey

Dumi kulu no ga nga wane yaasayey cina, day a ma goy nd'ey nga baafunay fondey nda nga booney ra. Yaasay wo ndujnaa kulu hari no. Amma man ga no a fun ? May ga yaasay ka taray ? Hääyanjey wo ga tuuyaj si hima kala boro ma ceeci ga yaasay dumi-dumey (iri ma ne yaasay sintiney) kañ adamayne te bay, alhaalo nda alwaato kañ ra i na i te. Hala iri ga hin ga laasaabu ga yaasayey kaajo ceeci yaasayey sillaa tira ra, wala deede hantumantey tira ra wala bine tira fo kulu kañ ra yaasayey go ra, iri ga bay kañ a gonda gaabi wala iri ma ne mo a si te pat yaasayey kañ si hantumante do hare wo. Iri ma bay day kañ doñ borey nda sohoñ borey kulu no na yaasay yan te fondo booboo wala alhaali waani-waani ra.

Misira (kañ ra i ne baafunay sintin ndujnaa ra) day no borey ga hima ga koy ga yaasay sillaa tira jina ceeci ( yaasay sanniiizo se no i ga ne *sebayt*, *misira ciina ra*). Tira ra din ga ti wo kañ se i ga ne ptahhotep cawandiyajo wala *ptahhotep* sanni daahirantey tira, kañ ptahhotep te jiiri 2400 hala

yeesu annabi isa hay. Tira din, faransi boro fo, kañ ga nangu caram, kañ ma ga ti émile prissee d'avesnes no diy'a jiiri 1843. Baafunay ra lalabu nda sanni gonitaray cawandiyajo ra i go ga goy nd'a alwaato don.

Doñ gareekey naamo mo na yaasay booboo te kañ se i ga ne *paroimia* ( man no parémie sanniizo sanda yaasay no-ya nda sooro daahirante cindey fun, parémiologie kañ maanaa ga ti yaasayey cawayaj nda parémiographie kañ maanaa ga ti yaasey hantumyan). Gareekey yaasey mana fun kala nda baayanj misira baafuna naamey ga. I na sorrey wo iboobo sambu ga hantum ga nisi tira yan ra sanda silmanj ga baytu teeka kañ se i ga hésiode (karni hakkanta hala yeesu annabi isa ga hay) *goyey* nda *zaarey*.

Mate kañ doñ tira hantumka kañ ma athanase, kañ mamoussé diagne (2005, fita 94) filla, ne « i ga ne i se *paroimia* (*para tou oimous : fonda caso kuuyan kulu ga*) zama i go hantumante *fonda caso ga du ga naarukey fahamandi* ; [...] *ya-din ga, naarukey kañ ga laasaabu hari kañ i go ga caw boñ ga du bayray* ». Yaasayey ga te fongandi nda baafunay hari, i ga tu hääyanjey kañ borey ga te boñ se ga, waana-waana borey kulu kañ ga naaru fondey boñ nda wo kañ yan go ga dira ga ndunjna bayray ceeći

Yaasay dumi-dumi yan go diiney tirey ra sanda linjiina (waana-waana tastaama zeena ra) nda kuraana ra. Hunkuna yaasay booboo go zaari kulu jaabey ra (sankufa kawey ra), poltikiizey sanney ra, feeyanjey ra, deede suura hantumanterey ra, yaasayey silley tirey ra, mate kañ yaasay hantumyanjo na a cabe (sanni dunguriyo fahamante sillla tira hantumyan) nda kañ i te yaasay hantumyanj dumi-dumey boñ (wo kañ ga yaasay sanni dunguriyo fahamante caw)

Hala za doñ borey go ga goy nda yaasey ngey sanney ra, ya-din ga sanney wo go ga i sanni muraadey, laasaabey nda ndunjna muraadey feeri no, i ma du ga te borey se fongandiyen hari, laabaari nooyanj hari nda mo baafunay fondey cawandiyen sanno.

## 1.2. Yaasay maaney

Yaasay maaney mana fun kala jamey kañ ga a te do, wala goney kañ ga yaasayey caw do (yaasay hantumkey). Za day kañ borey laasaabo ga no yaasay fun, iri ga tammahañ kañ jama kulu no na i no maana dunguriyo nda nga bumbo fondey kañ a kayandi. Yasay hantumkey mo do hare, i na fondey kañ i kayandi kañ ga koy nda bayray ce-dirawo kañ afo kulu ga goy nda gana ga yaasay maanaa feeri. Borey kañ ga dumey yaasey caw wo, fondo hinka boñ no i na yaasay maanaa cina.

Yaasay maana booboo no go no. Iri faajikaara wo ma ga, iri suuban wo kañ yañ afirki wayno-kañay dumey hinkaa sijiri, maali laabu bambarey nda nizeer laabu soñay borey nda zarmey nda wo kañ yaasay hantumko hinkaa te : joseph russo nda claude buridant.

Bambarey si ne yaasay se kala « n'dale » kañ fun « ne » (ay) nda « da » (tatari/yandi) ga. Ya-din ga « n'dale » maanaa ga « ay tatari/yandi» wala bine « i na ay tatari/yandi ». Zahan ne kañ bambarey se wo «*n'dale wo sanni no kañ ga miile/laasaabu feeri ga beerandi, zama bora kañ go ga yaasey deede anniya ga beeri nda/bisa sanney kañ a go ga te [...] bayray hinka no n'dale go ga kar care ga, afa, sohoñ wano, gonda himacare nda afa kañ ga doñ wano* » (mamoussé diagne, 2005, fita. 71). Iri ma ne koyne kañ yaasay wo alhaali hinka no a ga dake care boñ : sohoñ sanni teeyan alhaalo kañ ga salanko hinka dan care ga haali fo ra nda alhaali jina kañ ga sanno kañ i te sohoñ-da sambu ga kond'a naamey ra sanni fo do kañ te za doñ.

Soñay borey nda zarmey wo do, mate kañ a go dumi booboo do (waana-waana afirki ra), fayanka si no yaasay nda sanni dunguriyo cindey game ra. Yaasay wo, sanni maanakoy no, sanni kulu kañ i ga ganji.

Da i na yaasay sanniizo kaajo guna, i ne « *ya a say* » kañ i dañ care ga. A maanaa faransi ciine ga ga ti : « ay ma kar ga say » wala « ay ma a duma », « ay ma a fay ». Yaasa « kar ga sayyan » ga hima i ma a fifiri ga kopta ka, i ma a fisi ga du ga faham nda a maanaa. Ya-din ga bora kañ yaasa ga guna wo se, sanday no lakkal se, laasaabu kookari no, laasaabu burjeyan no (sahā-din wala kañ i ga kokorandi) kañ ga nañ boro ma du bayra kañ go sanni dunguriya din ra. Amma, yaasa « dumayan fayyan » ga ti i ma sintin gay a may, ga a dursu a ga du ga goy nd'a fondo fo yan ra kañ a ga hagu, kañ a kande maana hanno yan.

Yaasay hantumka kañ ma russo (2009) se « yaasay wo sorro dunguriyo no, kubante, kañ i si a teeka bay, kañ fun jine-funo zeeno do, kañ alhaalo ga barmay, kañ ga cimi gorandi , kañ ga no bayray yaamaryan kañ ga borey ga yadda ».

C. Buridant (kañ m. Diagne, 2005 fita. 64 filla) se, yaasay wo « " soola ga laasaabu no" wala "kolbo ra lalabu no" kañ ga jine-funataray wala bayra kañ a ga cabe margu ga te kanandi fo ga te hari kañ ga bora kulu guna. Yaasay day ga ti sanni burcini kañ sokon ga boori- fonda kañ a gana ga dira boro fo boñ no ga a sokon-, sanni sokonante no kañ gonda jinde seede yan nda maana yan, kañ si hima faajikaaray waney ».

Ba kaŋ se yaasay ga hima hari kaŋ ga faala, sanni sando no kaŋ maana ga barmay-barmay. Amma iri ga bay mo kaŋ, da i na harey kaŋ iri ci banda guna: (i) yaasay wo sanni no kaŋ kaŋ i daŋ care ra ga dunguriyandi (a si ku a gonda maana, wo-din se no, mate kaŋ soŋjay borey nda zarmey ci, i ma a « kar ga say » ga du ga faham nd'a) ; (ii) sanni no kaŋ ga boro kongu-band (wo-din se no a ga goy nda sannizey kaŋ ga lakkal candi wala kongu-band yaŋey ga du nga maanaa bangandi) ; (iii) naamu fo kulu no ga a alhaalo nda a maanaa kulu wala jara kayandi ; (iv) sahā-din da no i ga a maanaa feeri. Haaley wo kulu se nda afo yaŋ koyne se no i ga ba bora kaŋ ga yaasa te nda bora kaŋ ga a feeri se, i ma bara nda gonitaray, i ma du ga laabaari nda naamu goy-jinay hanno wo barebare mate kaŋ a ga hima nda : yaasay si kala nangu kaŋ ciina nda naamo ga care kubay. Ya-din ga dondonyan goy-jinay hanno no kaŋ ga cawkey ciiney, sanney nda naamey bayrayey tonton.

### **Iii. Yaasay nda ciiney-naamey cawandiyaj**

Silmaŋ ga, nizeer laabo ra wo, ba kaŋ se borey ga nafa nd'ey gumo (magar wo-din mo se no), i si ga yaasay laasaabu lokkol cawandiyaj sijirey nda tirey ra. Kala da iri koy ga guna annasaaray mayra waate no iri ga du lokkol tira kaŋ yaŋ ra i na yaasay laasaabu ga nangu gisi a se. Tira din ga ti *mamadou et binéta beeri* (tira no kaŋ i ga goy nda kalaasu gu a. Davesne nda j. Gouin hantum) kaŋ ga jandiizey nda yaasayey margu, faransi ciine sanniizey cawandiyajo ra, cawayaj fondo 36 kulu kaŋ i gaayi ra. Iri ma ne day kaŋ i si ga goy nda yaasay ciina nda naamo bayrayey gorandiyajo ra, nizeer lokkoley ra ; misaalo wo ga boro dambarandi da boro laasaabu kaŋ i ga ba gumo waati kulu sanney ra.

#### **3.1 yaasay, afirki doŋ biirima ra**

Da baayaŋ kulu afirki ra, waana-waana nizeer ra, arkusey no ga goy nda yaasayey ga zankey dondonandi jama ra goray. Hari kulu no i ga te nd'ey, waana-waana da i na alwaato guna a ga : fahamandi, deede, kaseeta, gaaray, lakkal candi, yaamar, cawandi, ganji, wkc. Mate a goro gareekey do, afirki ra mo i ga yaasayey te goy-jinay yaŋ kaŋ i ga zankey cawandi nda, ga i dondoandi jama ra goray. Borey wo mo ga i daŋ care ra no ga dursa day ngey mo ma soola ga i no, alhaali dumi-dumi ra, zankey kaŋ ga ka i banda se.

#### **3.1. Nangu kaŋ yaasay go afirki naamey biiriima ra.**

Yaasey wo hari ciyan alhaali no, diiyan nda miileyaj alhaali no ; boro baafunay alhaali no. Sanni toonandiyaj alhaali no kaŋ ga cabe, alhaali cacarante ra margasinay kaŋ go boro nda boro fo game wala borey kulu kaŋ ga goy nda game. Wo-din hinne hima ga te mafaari i ma yaasay daŋ afirki zaamaani lokkoley cawandiyaj sijirey ra, hala iri ga ba iri ma lokkol te nangu kaŋ i ga me ciine dondon kaŋ ga koy nda naamey.

### **3.2. Yaasay nda ciiney cawandiyajo zaamaani lokkoley ra**

Gagari hinka ra no i ga hin ga yaasay cawandiyajo dañ : sanda ciine hari yan, wala sanda naanu hari yan. Gagari sintina ra, i ga hin ga kande lokkol se ciine nda sanni bayray ; gagari hinkanta ra mo i ga hin ga kundey kañ go ga goy nd'ey bayrayey ; i baafunay fondey nda i laasaabu hanney no. Fondo wo-ne dumi ra, yaasay cawandiyaj ga hin ga te, silmaj ga, nda laabaari nooyaj bayray dumi taaci kañ ga ti : sanni fahamay, hantum fahamay ; sanni teeyaj nda hantumi teeyaj. I ga naamey mo tonton bayray taaci din ga zama care bande no i go. Yaasayey cawandiyajo ga hin ga te nufa dumi booboo boj : ciine waaniyan, sanni waaniyan (laabaari nooyaj) nda naamu waaniyan. Iri ma ne kañ yaasay bumbo no go ga ceeći nga ma furo afirki ra ciiney-naamey cawandiyaj-dondonyajo ra.

Hala iri ga yaasay cawandiyaj-dondonyaj goy yan sijiri ciine-naamu dondonyaj fondo ra, iri hima no iri ma salan jina cawkey furoyojo boona sanney wo dumi dondonyaj ra boj.

Mame couna mbaye (2015) na iri fongandi kañ « cawandiyaj-dondonyaj dabe fo ga ti cawkey boona sanno, sanda day baakisina kañ i ga cabe yaasay dondonyaj goy fo kulu ra furoyan se. Wo-din se, iri ga miila kañ yaasay duuyañ nda a bayyañ se, cawandika nda cawka hima ga goy care bande, cawkey nda care bumbo hima ga goy care bande ».

Yaasayey baayaño kulu kawyey no i fun. Ya-din ga iri ga hin ga ne kañ kawye cawkey wala wo kañ fun kawye no ga ma yaasayey din ga bisa wo kañ yan go galley ra. Iri ga hin ga ne mo kañ cawko kunda dumi hinka no go kalaasu ra : borey kañ doona yaasayey (kañ ga yaasay te nda baayan) nda borey kañ mana doon'a. Ya-din ga, gurja kañ cawandika go ga te ga du cawkey yaasay dondonyaj boona si te zaamayañ, da manti a ga hari hinkaa wo bay no kalaaso ra.

#### **3.2.1. Yaasay nda fahamay duuyañ**

Iri hima ga harey kañ te ga bisa guna ga bay kañ jaabi fahamay si faala ; jaabi fahama ga ba a ga sandi mo ce fo yan. Yaasay maanaa fahamyan mo ga sandi ga bisa sanni wano, a alhaalo nda fondey kañ i ga gana ga goy nd'a sanno wo dumo. Fondo wo-din ra, iri ga hin ga daahirandi jean-pierre cuq nda isabelle gruco (2013, fita157) kañ « maanaa fahama ga sandi ciine waani cawandiyaj ra, zama hari booboo no ga ka ga gaaru fahama nda a bareyaño se ».

Hala boro ga ba boro ma du yaasay fahama, boro hima ga lakkal te ciine haali booboo se : sokonyajo, jinda tunyaño wala zumbuyaño, maanaa, sanno ce-dirawo haalo, wkc. Hari yan go no kañ si ciine guna kañ ga furo yaasay fahama ra : laabaaro nooyajo alhaalo, salanko fo kulu nango darzaa, naamey ce-dirawo, nootiyajey, dondonyajey, monduma haaley, wkc. Hala cawandika ga

ba nga ma cawkey fahamandi yaasay, me ga wala hantumi ga, nga ma i dondonandi yaasay teeyan mo, i hima, silmanj ga, a ma yaasay maanaa kañ sanni iri te ga bisa laasaabu, a kulu wala jara. A ga hima mo ga cawandiyaj fondey wo guna ga nga goyo te.

3. Gagaro (lokkol kayney, koloozu wkc.) No i ga laasaabu ga fondo baajiney yan gana ga lokkoliizey dañ yaasey fahamay dondonyajo ra ; i ga hin, silmanj ga, ga te deesaj yan kañ gonda jinay kungukoy yan wala seeda yan ga du ga lokkoliizey lakkaley feeri kongu-banda sanni ga, waana-waana yaasay wana ga. Wo-din se iri ga hin ga :

- Laasaabu waaso te nda cawkey, silmanj ga caw fo ra, laabaari misaa nda a alhaaley (boro wala alman) boñ ; a dumi-dumey boñ (sanni wala kañ manti sanni) ; goy-jinay dumi-dumey boñ (jinde, ga-ham, hantumi, deesaj, talfo, wkc.)
- Ne cawkey ma jandiizey, dooni suurey, wangaaritaray deedey, hangan wala i ma i caw jinde beeri ; iri ma sanney wo dumo nda sanney kañ i ga te waati kulu kar care ga ; iri ma ne zankey ma laasaabu te suura dumi-dumey wo alhaaley nda i maaney boñ ;
- Iri ma batama te cawyanj batame, wo-din se, iri ma nangu gisi kalaaso caraw ga kanj iri ga suura dunguriyo yan kañ zankey ga hin ga caw kanji, kañ ga salañ i naamo boñ nda kañ ga naamu fo yan cabe : jandiize yan, yaasay yan, wkc.

Goyey wo, nda afo yan koyne, maanaa ga ti i ma margasinay dañ hari kañ boro ga dondon lokkol nda wo kañ i ga ci (te) game ra, waati kulu laabaari nooyanjej ra, kañ manti lokkol ra. Maanaa ga ti i ma cawkey boney feeri i ma hangan jaabey kañ go ga te i jare ga se, i ma du hanganyañ nda diiyanj alhaali hanno harey wo kulu kañ go ga te se.

Sanni fahamay dondonyajo do hare wo, cawandika ga hin ga yaasay cawandi mate kañ cawo nufey nda goy-jiney kañ go a goray ra na a no fondo a ma te. Gagari hinza ra no goyo din ga hin ga te : hala hanganyañ ga te, hanganyañ waate nda hanganyañ banda.

**Hala hanganyañ ga to** ga ti diraw jina kañ ga konda iri yaasay jaabo fahama do. Silmanj ga, a ga hin ga te alhaali cabeyanj kañ ra i ga cawka dañ haali ra kañ ga nañ a lakkalo ma feeri. I hima ga cawka fahamandi cawo nufey, cawo bumbo nda haro kañ a ga ma alhaalo, laabaari nooyanjej alhaalo boñ, wkc. I ga hin ga cawo nufaa, yaasa suuraa alhaalo guna ga hääyanj te a fahama boñ, silmanj cawo boño boñ, salañka boñ, nufa kañ i go ga ceeci boñ, yaasa sokonyajo nda a ciiyañ jinda boñ, alhaali fo yan kañ si sanno teeyajo ra boñ, sanda sawtu gaaba, jinday, wkc. Soolayañ gagaro wo nufaa ga ti i ma cawkey sootiya nda maayañ lakkalo boriyandi.

**Hanganyaŋ alwaato** ga ti yaasay sanno nda a cinayaŋ harey maayaŋ nda i fahamyaŋ : soora, sooro patarmey, sanniizey, harfey nda hantumiizey kaŋ go a ra. Sanno ga hin ga te yaasay kaŋ go nda waani (kaŋ ga wasa nga boŋ se) wala yaasay kaŋ go sanni kuuku ra. Cawandika ga hin ga albaaaro kaŋ i ga hangan ci, wala a ma ne cawko fo yanŋ kaŋ a soola ma a ci, wala bine a ma goy nda goy-jinay fo kaŋ i ka wo-din ma ga : araajiyo, araajiyo kaŋ ga sanni sambu, talfo, wkc. Cawandika goyo ga ti a ma haggoy cawka ma ma sanno ga boori. Da i na nufey laasaabu, i ga hin ga yaasa hangan hari kaŋ ga bisa ce fo. Hanganyaŋo wo manti sanno maayaŋo hinne no, alwaati no kaŋ ra cawka hima ga nga lakkalo kulu daŋ, a ma goy mo nda dabari hanno yanŋ ga faham nda sanno ga du ga tu hääyaney ga kaŋ i te hala hanganyaŋo ga to alwaato ga.

Hanganyaŋo banda alwaato ga, cawkey na goy yanŋ te ga tu hääyaney kaŋ i te i se hanganyaŋo alwaato ga. Fondo hinka no go no kaŋ iri ga hin ga gana ga faham nda me ga yaasay :

1. Hala yaaso wo sorra kundaa no kaŋ go waani, i ga hääyaney te cawkey se kaŋ me ga, ga naŋ i ma faham nda a maanaa. Hääyaney din ne :
  - sanni teeyanŋ (may no ga hin ga yaasa ci, may se, fondo fo yanŋ ra, wkc.) ;
  - sanni cinayaŋo haalo nda ciiyanŋo haalo ;
  - lakkal ra diiyaney kaŋ go sanno ra ;
  - yaasa maanaa nda a goyyaŋo haaley ;
  - naamey haaley ;
  - wkc.
2. Hala sanni kuuku ra no i na yaasa ci (deede, fahamandiyanŋ, faajikaaray, wkc.) I ga goy-jina guna no ga maanaa dondonyaŋ goyey te fondey wo boŋ :
  - alhaaley kaŋ sanni iri te beene kulu wala i jara,
  - (da a ga hin ga te) laabaari nooyanŋ nda a duuyaŋ alhaaley kaŋ yanŋ ra pootiyaney, dondonyaŋey ....kaŋ yanŋ go salanŋka naamo ra ;
  - salanŋkey nda i darzey,
  - yaasa maanaa alwaato kaŋ i cabe ra ;
  - yaasa garay-garay maana nda a kongu-banda maanaa :
    - yaasa goyey sanni teeyanŋ do hare nda laabaari do hare, suuraa ra ;
  - wkc.

Yaasay hantumante fahama si te kala da i na me ga wano fonda gana : **boŋ-feeriyanŋ alwaati** fo nda kar ga dan fondo ra kaŋ ga jin yaasa wala suuraa kaŋ ra a go **cawyaŋo bumbo** se ; sanno

**sambuyaŋ ga a goyyaŋo alwaato** (nga wo ga ku nda alwaati hinkaa jina) kaŋ ga kokoro ga ka ga sanni maanakoyo fisi nangu kaŋ hare i ga ba. I ga hin ga fisiyajo te sanniizey maanaa boŋ, sorra cinayaŋo boŋ, yaasa naamey alhaali fo yaŋ boŋ, wkc. Iri ma bay mo kaŋ yaasay wo goy-jinay hanno no teereco alwaato nda fondey kaŋ i ga goy nda sorra ra cawayan se.

A kulu no ga naŋ i ma du fahamay booboo hambara, amma a sinda sikka faham guuso sanno boŋ, da sanno ga wasa nga boŋ se no wala bine a gonda ciine, maana wala goy margasinay nda suuraa kaŋ ra a go hari jarey. Wo-din se, i ga guna no suuraa dumo (alhaali bangandiyan, deede, fahamandiyar, laabaari nooyan, daŋ goyyaŋ, baytu, feeyan, wkc.) I ga hin ga yaasa nango, a alhaalo nda a goyo suuraa ra caw.

Yaasey fahamay goyey banda (me ga wala hantumante), a ga boori i ma ne cawka ma salaŋ haro kaŋ i di nda wo kaŋ i waani yaasey sanney wo nda i goyo boŋ.

### **3.2.2. Yaasay nda teeyan bayrayey**

**Teeyan bayrayey** me ga wala hantumyan ga si kala fahamay bande. Bayrayey kaŋ boro du me ga wala hantumyan fahama no boro ga goy nda ga yaasay fo yaŋ te (me ga wala hantumante).

Me ga teeyano ga hima :

- yaasay fo wala iboobo cawayan nda jine beeri : i ga haggoy nda sanniizey ciyyaŋo, a ga lakkal ye mo yaasay ciyyaŋ jinde alhaaley ga mate kaŋ i cinaro go nda (harfu hinka wala ihinza, wkc) kaŋ ga fay wala kaŋ ga hima care ; mate kaŋ jinda go nda, mate kaŋ yaasaa maanaa go nda, wkc.
- yaasay maanaa fahamandiyar alhaali dumi-dumi ra (ga cabe bare-bareyaŋey hina kaŋ go yaasay maanaa se kaŋ ga koy nda fonda kaŋ ra i go ga goy nd'a) :
- i ga goy nda yaasey, fondey kaŋ cawandika sijiri ra. Cawandika ga hin ga alhaalo (nango, goyo), goyey kaŋ borey ga te (salaŋkey kaŋ a ga guna), nufa kaŋ i go ga ceeci (yaamar nooyan, goy danyan, jukkeyan, ..) Fahamandi cawkey se ;
- cawkey ma ci laabaari nooyan hanno alhaalo kaŋ ra i ga goy nda yaasey kaŋ ga hima nda ;
- yaasay kaŋ ga baafunay bayray fo dunguriyandi ga ci wala a ma a boŋ fahamay fo no ;
- yaasey teeyan me ga ga saba nda modeelu yan kaŋ i no (cinari kambu hinka wala ihinzakoy, kaŋ sinda wala kaŋ gonda lakkal diiyan, kaŋ ga goy nda goy nda almaney, tuurey, borey, ...) ;
- wkc,

Yaasayey hantumyaŋ do-hare wo, i ga hin ga a te goy dumi-dumi yan ra kaŋ cawandika wala cawkey sijri ; silmaŋ fo yan ne :

- Boro ma yaasay kaŋ boro ma wala kaŋ boro di (sanni fo ra, cawayan̄ ra) kaŋ kaanu borey se gumo hantum ga cabe ; cawka ga ci fondo kaŋ ra no nga du sanno din, a ga ci mo mafaari kaŋ se a ga kaanu nga se ;
- Kwaaraa ra, kura ra, bayraykooni fo do konkonse fo banda, i ma ganda yaasayey sillā hantumante fo cabe, hantumi ga ;
- I ma yaasaayey himcara maana do hare wala cinaro do hare guna ga i sokon ;
- I ma yaasay maanaa hantum ga fahamandi mate kaŋ laabaari nooyaŋ alhaalo go nda ;
- I ma gosi yaŋ kaŋ ra i ga kubandi no ga yaasasey cina ;
- I ma yaasay sanniize kaasum care ra day i ma ne boro ma i sokon a ma boori ga du yaasa ;
- I ma yaasayey kaŋ i ga bay alhaaley nda maaney gana ga yaasay yan te ga hantum :
- I ma taarifi wala alhaali fo dunguriyandi nda yaasay ;
- I ma deede te kaŋ yaasay ga a bananta dunguriyandi
- Wkc.

Fondēy kan go yaasayey se kaŋ boro ga hin ga gana ga faham wala ga adamayzey bayray fo yan ci, hantumi ga wala me ga ga ba gumo, wala iri ma ne a sinda ba me. Iri ga hin ga fahamandi kaŋ boro ma i hiney sambu ga goy ga ciiney dondonyaŋo no gaabi, a ga hin mo cawkey ma furo ngey widanta naamey ra ga boori, i ma hin mo ga feeriyaŋ te naamu waaney se.

### **3.3. Yaasay nda naamu cawandiyəŋ**

« naamu ga ti borey marganta teerey, i diiyan̄ alhaalo, laasaabu nda teeyan̄ kaŋ ga cabe hari kaŋ ga adamayo fun, iri ma ne tubey kaŋ i margu nda boro fo yan̄, kaŋ ga a asili cabe » (louis porcher, 1995, fita 55). Naamu ra gonda mo jaabi cinante yan̄ (ya-din ga laasaabu yan̄) teere margantey wo boŋ. Yaasay ra gonda naamu hari hinkaa din. Teere no kaŋ boro tubu, asili yan̄ laasaabu sanni no. Naamu barma cimcimi no. Laabaari nooyaŋ banda, yaasay gonda goy cekayante fo kaŋ i ga hin ga nafa nda naamey cawandiyarjo-dondonyaŋo ra. Naamu fondo hinza no i ga hin ga caw nda yaasey : naamu teere, naamey marga-marga teere nda naamey margasina teere.

#### **3.3.1. Yaasayey ra naamu teere**

Mate kaŋ jantey go, yaasayey mo ga goy nda adamayzey baafunay harey, almaney waney nda windanta harey ga nda laabaaro toonandi. I ga goy nda hari kulu kaŋ ga tuku adamayze ga. Iri ma bay kaŋ, goy-jinay kulu kaŋ yaasa goy nda ga fahamay fo no, boro se no a ga salaŋ, boro boŋ mo no a ga salaŋ.

Ya-din ga, cawandika nda cawkey ga hin ga goy-jina kaŋ yaasey goy nda guna ga baafunay laasaabey caw. Silmanj ga, mate kaŋ soŋjay-zarma yaasayey ga goy nda almaney nda baafunay ra teerey ga fahamay no hari fo boŋ (amadou saibou adamou, 2016).

Kwaara almaney kaŋ i ga hari fo cabe nda, soŋjay-zarma yaasayey ra, ga ba gumo. Silmanj ga, soŋjay-zarmey goyo alhaalo guna no ga yaasay yaŋ te. Almano din, bone hiniyaŋ no i ga a sifa nda, kala i na yaasa wo te a boŋ : *da hari mooru kala yo*. I cinaro (yo gonda kooma) si yadda a ma kani nga bandaa boŋ ; i ga wo-din laasaabu sanda burcinitaray darza : *yo ga bu a mana hangasu*. Annama, a kuuyaŋo kaŋ se alman booboo go ga beeje kaŋ (da i goy nd'a mante kaŋ a ga hima nda) hima ga baranda a se nafa beeri na a ma zeeri no : *yo du jinde no, a si waani a jaraw ; farkay kaŋ ga waani mo mana duw'a*.

Silmanj wo ga cabe kaŋ almaney (kwaara waney wala ganji waney) gonda alhaali gaarante waani-waani yaŋ yaasayey ra : ce fo yaŋ i ga i no darza, ce fo yaŋ mo i ga i darza zeeri no. Adamayze no ngey mo ga cabe nda ngey waati kulu alhaali gaarante-gaarantey.

Da baayaŋ kulu yaasayey ga borey no fahamay lalabay nda da hanno boŋ kaŋ jamaa gaayi, ce fo yaŋ mo windanta harey no i ga goy nda. Ya-din no i ga suuru cawandi nda : *suurante ga tondi hari zu wala suurante no ga zan waayi*. I ga mooru hani zaaray wala boŋ bayyaŋ, booney ceeći do hare : *talka ma doona kuunu ŋwaari*. Kuunu hama si boro kaŋ i doole a ma ŋwa kungu, a ma si taabi ga duw'a. Yaasay ga naŋ boro ma kookari kaŋ ga naŋ boro ma kay nga boŋ ga, zama : *ŋwaarrayyaŋ hari si to ga soori num*.

### **3.3.2. Yaasey ra naamey marga-marga teerey**

« naamey marga-marga teerey ga ti kunda waani-waani yaŋ, kaŋ afo kulu gonda nga naamo, ma goro nangu fo care bande ga te jama folloŋ ». (cuq et gruco, op-cit, p 59). Afirki laabey baayaŋo kulu dumi booboo no go i ra kaŋ afo kulu ga yaasa yaŋ te kaŋ ga nda nga baafunay bayrayey, nga muraadey nda nga ndujna laasaabey. Iri ga hin ga goy nda yaasay waani-waaney din ga caw silmanj ga :

- mate no jama fo kulu ga nga boŋ cabe yaasayey ra ;
- mate no jama fo kulu ga salaŋ ndujna baafunay jiney nda alhaaley boŋ ;
- kunda fo kulu boona baajiney (laasaabu, goy-jiney, lakkal, wkc do hare ;

Kunda waani-waaney yaasayey himcarey nda harey kaŋ ga i fay ;

- kundey laasaabey ga hin ga care kubay ;

Wkc.

### **3.3.3. Yaasayey ra naamey margasina**

Naamey margasina maanaa ga ti « diiyanjo kaŋ jama fo ga te jaama waani fo boŋ. Kunda hinka, a nda b, laasaabey, care maanuyanje garay-garay wala garay-garaysi (albahaaru nooyan fondey, silma, hantumi sokonantey, ma ga deedey, wkc.) Ga naŋ afo kulu ma du laasaabu nga cala boŋ, laasaabu kaŋ, ce fo yaŋ, ga waana wo kaŋ kunda gonda nga bumbo boŋ. Margasinay naamu wo, miile yaŋ kaŋ ga fay misa no kaŋ ga kande kunda fo kulu boŋ laasaabu. » (p. Charaudeau, 1987, 27). Wo-din se, iri ga hin ga yaasay fo yaŋ sambu sanda naamey margasinay sanni yaŋ. Silmanj, laasaabey kaŋ soŋay-zarmey nda fulaŋey dum hinka kaŋ go ga goro care boŋ, ga te care boŋ ne, yaasayey ra :

- da soŋay-zarmey ga ba ngey ma ne fulaŋ si kungu no i ga ne :

*i na fulaŋ no kambe a deebe ga jase di ;*

- hala i ga ba mo i ma i zamba wala i toona ci, i ga ne fulaŋey boŋ :

*fulaŋ ga fondo bay a ga fondo hā.*

Fulaney mo ga sanni silmanjey wo ci soŋay-zarmey (kaŋ se i ga kaado) boŋ :

- i ma du ga i da laala cabe se, i ga ne :

*nyande kaado haaduno hattay (za kaŋ kaada laala, a mana ye ga barmay koyne) ;*

- da i ga ba soŋay-zarma ma tar ga yadda no, kawrayzetarye cabe no i ga ne :

*ko kokkuda kaado fu no wundoto (hari kulu kaŋ i salle soŋay-zarma se no a ga ta nda bine fo).*

Ciiney naamey cawandiyano-dondonyano ra, naamu margasina nafa manti i ma laasaabey cabe/waare hinne no, amma i ma i bay ga du ga bisa i ga. Wo kaŋ i ga ba ga ti i ma naŋ cawkey ma fatta ngey naamey ra ga koy ga naamu waaney bay, sanda a ma alhaali taji sambu kaŋ ga yadda nda waaney. Wo-din kulu, i ma si du ga cara himandi sanda boro fa go no yaŋ hinne amma i ma a himandi sanda fayanka kaŋ ga boori boro bumbo cinyaŋo.

Fondo wo-ne ra, i ga hin ga goy yaŋ te nda cawkey yaasayey boŋ ga du ga, silmanj ga :

- Suuban jamaa yaasayey ra (marga-marga naanmu) wo kaŋ yaŋ ga hin ga kande laasaabu kayante yaŋ ;
- Konkonse banda, i ma laasaabu kayantey kaŋ go yaasayey ra kaajey (mafaarey) ceeci ;
- I ma laasaabu kayantey alhaalo, haro kaŋ boŋ i go nda haro kaŋ i go ga ceeci fisi ;
- I ma haro kaŋ boŋ laasaabu kayantey go nda haro kaŋ i go ga ceeci guna ga i sokon ;
- I ma guna yaasayey ra mate kaŋ boro fo kulu go ga nga boŋ laasaabu nga cala laasaabo ra ;
- I ma laasaabu kayantey nda baafunay teere cimcimey kar care ga (borey nda i teerey kaŋ boŋ yaasayey go ga salanŋ go ga di ngey boŋ mate kaŋ yaasayey ci ?) :
- I ma guna ga di hala darza yaŋ wala taali yaŋ no laasaabu kayantey go ga cabe ;

- I ma naamey himcarey nda hari kaŋ ga i fay ceeći yaasayey ra ;
- I ma boro fa darzey kaŋ yaasayey ci ceeći ;
- Boro ma nga bumbo naamu ra nango, boro cindey nangey neesi nda nangey kaŋ yaasayey cabe neesi ; wkc.

Iri ma bay kar cawandika goyo day ga ti a ma nafa nda yaasayey, kar ga nar cawkey ma faham, fundi-baayo banda hari kaŋ ga ti boro ma bara naamu fo ra, misa yan go no (laasaabu, lakkal, lalabu) kaŋ do cawandiyan hima ga konda boro.

### **Dooyando**

Dumbu wo ra, i na borey fongandi kaŋ yaasay go no waati kulu adamayne sanney ra, kaŋ i ga hin ga goy nd'a, kaŋ a gonda nafa nda goy booboo ndujna baafuna ra. Iri ma gaayi iri lakkaley ra kaŋ ciine nda naamu nafa-hari no kaŋ si koosu, kaŋ lokkol ga hin ga goy nd'a cawndiyan-dondonyan kambu booboo ra, waana-waana ciiney-naamey kambo ra.

Hala afirki lokkoley jine-funey nda cawandiyan ce-dirawo, a sijirey nda tirey hantumkey ga yadda yaasayey ma furo lokkol cawndiyan-dondonyanjo ra, cawandika ga hin ga goy nda sijirey kaŋ sanni i te beene ga du ga yaasayey te cawandiyan goy-jinay yan kaŋ gonda nafa ciiney dondonyanjo se. Annama, kala da i na naamey alhaalo nda i cawkey dondonyan gagarey waani-waaney laasaabu.

### **garay-garay goy sijiri yan**

- Jamaa kaŋ ra aran go ga baafunay wane laabaarey marguyaŋo waate, aran ma yaasayey kaajey ci ;
- Mate no jamaa kaŋ ra aran go ga baafunay ga yaasay maanaa feeri nda ? Maana fo no ga hagu aran diiyanjo ga, kaŋ aran ga hin ga aran lokkoliizey cawandi ?
- Ifo ga ti yaasay goy baajiney kaŋ aran gaayi ?
- Cawndiyan fondey kaŋ i sijiri yaasey cawndiyan se, wa suuban afo yan kaŋ ga aran cawkey ciine, naamu nda sanni waaniyarjo kayandi a ma boori.

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## **Kungayaŋo**

Afirki laabey baayaŋ kulu kaŋ ra niizer go, almayaalo si nga gaabo daŋ kala bora kulu ma te afo. Niiya kokoranta day ga ci, borey ma care di.wo-din kokari ra no bayrayey kulu kaŋ go ga zuru-gawindi go. Kaŋ na ka addiino ciina, da-hanno bayrayey si te kala foori-foorey ga; bayrayey kaŋ gonda maana cawkey se. Di-ga-dondon nda taanuyaŋ ga no a ga te. Bon-ga-beeray nda kambe ga teerey no ga furo care ra, ka care-ra-gora dogonandi.gonitaray cawandiyano, ga dogon, a ga beejandi mo. I ga hin ga te zaamaani dondonyaŋ se bayrey zeeney kaŋ ga i ga dabu. Da-hanno duure caw-sijiri fo kaŋ iri neesi ka guna, na iri cabe mata kaŋ niizer jandi foyar ga hin ga te cawaŋ hari, caw-boŋ boobo se; cawandiyano gagari , ba-jine-ba-jine yan se. Alhaaley kulu kaŋ iri di banda ga ka sohō , na iri cabe kaŋ nafa hinza no jandi ra: fooray-fooray haali fo; biiriimay haali fo, nda cawandiyano haali fo.

## **Ceeyaaŋ bananta**

I fo no iri hima ka gaayi tira wo cawyano banda, alwaati banda kaŋ iri faham kaŋ, bon-jare ahakku no a ra?

Sintina day, iri ma si a himandi sanda “ta-ka-dan”; sanda iri ma si ne, iri ma a cawandi, sohā-din da, dalla-dalla, lokkol -fuwey ra. Za tunanta, a anniya ga ci, hari kulu kaŋ i na cawandiyano tira jiney hantum nda, iri niizer ba-funa nda naamey bon, hima ga te a se tontoni beeri, kaŋ ga iri niizer lokkolo te, caw nda biirimay nangu ce-kayante, albarkante; nangu kaŋ si i moorandi da ngey kaajey kaŋ ga ci i naamey.

Tira wo ka ga fahamandi kaŋ, cawyano, bayra kaŋ fassara day ga ci : bayray followko, waaniyan nda adamayne-takey boryandiyano, kaŋ iri lokkolo go ga cawandi, gonda mun-adamayne-taray ce-kayante haali, kaŋ, riiba ga ci, iri cawkey ma te mun-adam kubante yan.

Cawyano albarkanta wo, ga ci, wo kaŋ ra bayray banganta nda tuganta ga margu ; nangu kaŋ i ga di, hari zeena nda i taajo ; hari kaŋ go lakkal ra nda wo kaŋ bangay ; nda wo kaŋ cindi (wkc).

Wo-din ga ci kaŋ, cawandiyano tira wo, man ne i ma nga gana, « hansi-ganayan » ; cawandiko wala dondonko kulu hima ga fisi a ra , hari kulu kaŋ ga a goyo dogonandi, ga kande a se fahamay, a cawandiyano wala a dondanandiyano fondey ra.

Iri ma faham mo kaŋ, cawandiyano tira wo man ne nga na bayrayey talaato kulu hawzu.

Cawaŋ jamilla kulu ra, bon-jare ahakku hinne bon no a goy.

Ya-din ga, a cine fo yan ga hin ga fatta a banda, wala iri ma ne, a cine boobo hima ga fatta a banda, kaŋ yan ra, bayray guuso yan ga fatta, iri cawo nda iri cawandiyano jine koyyanno fondo ra.

Iri ma gaayi kaŋ cawandiyano tira ce-kayanto wo, ka-tarayyano, ga fahamandi kaŋ, “goy go forro”, anniya go banda, iri niizer lokkolo ce-dirawo nda a moy-duma hanseyano fondo ra; a ma du ga ka, lokkol timmante, lokkol albarkante, lokkol kaŋ ga, niizeriizey kulu ga naanay; i na anniya sambu ka ngey kambe daŋ zaadayano fonda ra.

Pr amadou saybou adamou

Lokkol-beero kaŋ ra dokteerey ga fatta, dikteero

Namay, abdou moumouni nibarsita.

**Références bibliographiques:**

-démocratie et développement; lexique français/hausa/zarma, terminologie essentielle. Democratie 2000; collection “devenir citoyen”. Réalisé avec l'appui de la coopération suisse au niger.

-caractères spéciaux da l 'orthographe de la langue sonay/zarma.

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