

1 minjaakku minjaakku 1798 words

children jiibiiya

<1> fi wileed waahid ke, al mará fi mará waade ke, ?inda ha iyaal talaata, ho be bad'ina kula, inda bad'in

<4> qalbaana

<1> xalaas dedda, wai, ?albaana, xalaas dedda iyaala talaata da binšu leum le daar be?iide bidowwuru birehhilu loun banaat, halaas<sup>1</sup> bimši le daar ba?iide, halaas hi gaade ke gaade ke dedda wileed hana bad'ina da yaal la ke, ammi aloom da aldiini, dadda gaala waladí baldaak min ween, dedda gaal la agoodi foog al fundug , dedda geedat, xalaas deda marág mun wurkaha xalaas dada gaal la, ammi ween axayaanii, deda gaalat deda gaalat la, axayaanak mašó loun le daar ba?iide bidooru birehhilu, ammi maa lei deda gaal la ammi ma lei miize a, deda gal beleeg miizé, deda mašá le miizeeta, miizeetii, miizeetii, kan inti miizeetii hiil aš sayi aldi lei walád, deda wildat le tees, halaas gaal le teesí teesí kan inta teesí hana ş sayi aa ákubur dugut dugut tišiilni waddini le axayaaní, xalaas dedda kíbur, jaari ke jaari ke, dedda mašeel<sup>2</sup> ligí axayaana, deda axayaana al kabiir da bid'urut fie dedda al lubbaan gaal lea ya tud'urda ankuuni axuuna, deda al kabiir buguul

šuqúl dugub bas ammina halleena ?albaana<sup>3</sup> haadi tuguul dugud bas tilda, halaas deda al lubbaani gaal hallu nimši ke, tidowwuru ween min ad dinya, halaas anta mašó, aše ammal

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<sup>1</sup> The present speaker, as well as a number of other younger ones from this particular household and a few elsewhere in Maiduguri, exhibit an alternation between *h x* in words of etymological *x* (e.g. *xalaas halaas*).

<sup>2</sup> See n. in text 2.

<sup>3</sup> For the *q* variation, see n. in text 1.

banaat hi massaasa, halaas efarat lea nugura d'owiile, deda farrašat laaha buruuš, saddat fie naar farrašat lea buruuš nadiif, xalaas, deda gaalat loum, taalu agoodu taalu agoodu, gaalat la banaata ke, kan humma jo da guulu humma igoodu fi lub intu akujuru fookhum, dedda halaas anta mašoo, deda al banaat gaalan loohum intu agoodu fi lub, aniina nukújur fookku, dedda al wileed as saqayyir al wildó dadda, dedda gaal be yoom kula simiitu r rijaal geedo fi lub, an nuswaan kan biraa?u intu bas an nusuwaan tugoodu fi lub ar rijaal ar rijaal kan iraa ucuuku, halaas deda gaalo wai fa wai fa kalaamak da amma saii, deda alaas al banaat kan geedan

<4> hu da amma dabareema

<1> al banaat hinna ma bidooran , ba amman tiseyy ke, deda geedan, halaas ille bijilsu ke bijilsu ke bijilsu ke, anta gammo fi l leel dedda gaalo alaas aniina nirawwe aloom, fi dedda jaabum loohum gaal loom agiifu ad'iik aad'i, jawaadku alme, išarbu, halaas deda, addaagoomi, al wileed summa andagoomi gaal le teesa ke, inta ya tišarab al alme da, how ya taakul al gaj da, dedda gaal iyo maa baakula, dedda dassa usuba da fi lubb al alme dedda hettaa, al faddalo kan cat jawaatum širb al alme how akal al gaš, xalaas gammo jaayiin le l beet, maašiin ke maašiin ke maašiin ke, dedda humma mašó be??edo šiya ke deda iyaal a daxalo fi n nugura, xalaas deda gaalat hai ke aloom da bají baakul andaagoomi doola ba axayaana, ille taakul ke taakul ke taakul ke dedda ligát ušúb bittaha be l xaatum, deda badát tibki wai akál bittí andagoomi caacaani gad'a gal le tibki ke, deda gammat jaarye taabinnun wará jaarye taabinnun wara jaarie taabinnun wara, ille titiba fiium dedda, anta gaarabatum deda gaalat mine kula al jawaada širíb almeyí how akál gašší jawaada imuut, deda jawaada maat, cattum jawaattum wagá?,

<4> deda bigerrib

<1> wai catta wagó burbut, halaas dedda andagoomi gaalat ke, andaagoomi inta jawaadak širíb, aa teesak širíb alme hu akál gašší yalla igaa, bas gaal teesí ma širíb leeki šai ille uşubí deda kasár usbá, da uşuba zagala laaha, alaas dedda hu, gaala teesa da, kan teesí inta hana s sahi da abga leey d'awiil šiil axayaaní deda bigí d'awiil šaal axayaana humma ʔarba cat fooga, jaariin ke jaariin ke jaariin ke dedda waşşal al xille,<sup>4</sup> halaas ambaakir<sup>5</sup> fajír humma ma bidooru bas ambaakir fajír deda šaafu loum, sadara kabiire ke, hiil šiʔúl helú ke xalaas

Child maada, šuqúl waait ke azirak azirak ke

<1> hiil al ardeebá bas

<8> ardeeba bas

<1> uuhu bigat hiil al ardeebá

<4> walla magaleele

<1> aʔa ardeebá bas, bigat hiil al ardeebá dedda gal adaagoomi gaal, yaa naas al hille da yaa naadum walát, yiassir walaada irkab foog aš šadara di, maşşaaşa bas, mata šiftuua şaqayre ke anta tikibiri ke, jaat had'd'ata ke bas maşşaaşa ya tiʔassidu yaalku id'álu, ha fi waait migallam wo be ʔemiyaan tiit aš šadara di mata kula gaaydiin fi tiit aš šadara, halaas deda ambaakir as

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<sup>4</sup> < hille, idiosyncratic.

suug deda andagoomi gaal mine kula ikalli<sup>6</sup> iyaala fi lubb al beet ya ixallí imurgu le le l ardeebá di labbidu iyaalku, deda mine kula kalli iyaala fi lubb al beet, xalaas al mægallam be l eemiyaan da, dedda mašó al migallam deda d'álá foog al emiyaan, buʔoori fi l emiyaan darb mašó, le beet al iyaal, cet kašsoohum, halaas al iyaal cat d'álo foog al ardeebaa, xalaas al maššaasa d'aarat bohum, mašát bohum , humma gaaydiin baxadamu ú bisaru la be ʔanamá be bagarita waade, ho ʔalbaana, be labana ke ʔalbaana hi kan, halaas deda tisey

<4> darre guuli

<1> darre, uhu dedda tisey laha buraam, gaayde tisey laha buraam, la tidaffiihum, halaas andaagoomi, šaafha tisey fi l buraam dedda mašee leehum le l waadi, deda gaal loum untu aarfiin šunú, deda gaal aniina ma n nidiri šai, gaal laha, ha al bagara di, nišug bad'inha nisilla, ana kan baduxul fi bad'ina hayyid'uu, dedda halaas šaggo bad'inha salló, hu kan daxal fi bad'ina, anta mašó le l beet da dedda halaas bigí wald al bagara, deda wildita, anta wildita deda halaas, hu kan bimšu bixallu hu fi l beet, kan sowwat al buraam, kan garrab bieebas bas xalaas bənad'd'id' bənad'd'id' deda cat bikassirhan laha, binad'd'id' bikassiran, ambaakir kula ke, inta wal bagartí di inta da, daaminni kan ma wal bagartí da baguul inta andaagoomi, halaas deda gaalat, ambaakir šinu amšu be le s sára, xalaas al wad'á ašibaat, šaaló mašó be laa s sára, deda gaal leum intu aarfiin šinu, nitiba bagara da sílak, naakula nišawí naakula, dedda alaas cat dabó bagara sílak, šawó akalo sílak, deda gaal loum mine kula ihur waahid waid dedda harró galluud' galluud', harro galluud' galluud', šiya ke, deda gaal ha mine ku ikurub le ɖubbaanaay ihud'd'a fooga, deda karabo ɖubbaanay had'd'ó fooga, alaas anta gaalat loum haay al iyaal taalu, deda deda al ɖubbaan biguul laa yí yí yí hay al iyaal taalu, yí yí anta waššalo le l

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<sup>5</sup> *ambaakir* “tomorrow”; in narratives, “the next day”.

bukaan, dedda jaat ligát galluud’ dedda andaagoomi caacaani andagoomi caacaani halaas, dedda bigát mará nadiife mašát le hillit andagoomi doola, halaas andagoomi kan gal al mára di ya naadum iraxxala maşşaaşa, axú daagoomi maa simii, gaal ammi al mará di barahhila tára, andaagoomi gaal kan rahhalta katalook ma haajití, halaas dedda humma simi, ambaakir deda halaas, jaab kaare rehhelooem halaas andagoomi mata kula bimši bugoot lohum tiit as sariir, halaas kan jaat deda, hu da ma isíl ʔeena ke amši, hu da ma asíl ʔeena, deda hu buguul, uuhu bayyom kula ma simiit mará sallat een raajilaha, xalaas dedda, al wad’á kan ašibat dedda tuguul inta axuuk da mata kula bidaaminini tiit as sariir mata kula ma tud’urda, halaas kinni yoom ke dedda xalaas yoom waaid, anta sawwa laaha dedda, gaalta le l axú dedda áxu, d’arada, anta hu deda gaalat ambaakir ša<sup>7</sup> gaalat ke, ha ar raajil da ma asil zeena amši beya, halaas dedda hu síma širú maafi naadum alkallam da andaagoomi da sei maafi, dedda salsalat ʔeene mašát bahan, yanta jo ambaakir fajír, anta hi al mará maafi, hu sallalat ʔeené, mašát halaas deda al am bas tišiila ke, timši tibawwila timši tiharhira ke bas, hu kan gaaid matá kula maala ʔeene, dedda al am tišiil fi ndagoomi andaagoomi ámiš laha ke, aa ammi ana amši ana kula isalsilu eeneeyí a, buguul laha ke tišeed fie deda halaas gaal laha ke kan mi leeki ana ma bamši, deda mašá, deda alkaħħal be l mile, alkaħħal baha deda, mašá laha, deda yanta mašá biseyy salaamu aleekum min baʔiid dassa kaare ša hana axutaa, min baʔiid bibki jaay, deda gaalat le yaalaha al maşşaaşa, amšu šiifú ke, kan eena mukaħħalla be l mile, he emmikku bas kan mi mukahhala kan ya xalluuku bas, kan mi mikahhala ya t timši, xalaas kan mi mixaxxala<sup>8</sup> andaagoomi, yanta mašá raaʔooha, dedda jo, ammi, ʔeena makaħħala tará be l

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<sup>6</sup> The *x k* alternation (from etymological *x*) which very occasionally occurs with this speaker is very rare among the texts.

<sup>7</sup> *ša šaba* “like, as”.

<sup>8</sup> The speaker has three renditions for “made up with kohol” within three lines. The normal reflex would be the second, *mukahhala* < *mukaala*. The first, *mukaala* probably is a reflection of a certain confusion in the speaker’s mind about the form of the stem than an attempt to give an SA equivalent. The present speaker admits to no knowledge of SA, nor do any members of her immediate family. On the other hand, it may happen very occasionally that geminate *hh* is produced as a pharyngeal. The third alternative, *mixaxxala*, serves to underline the confusion. This variation is very idiosyncratic.

mile deda xalaas gaalat hallu minku haalitku bas amšu allaguuhum, mašó llaqooha jaat, halaas dedda gaalat ana bahud' leeki alme haami tara tillabbad deda halaas kan had'd'ata alme haami bifuur deda buguul, al gaayin ndaagoomi al maaši ndaagoomi gal ndaagoomi halaas deda buguul a?a, a?a šuqúl al biná di summa ndaagoomi kula nazzilii, deda nazzalata, gal had'd'at lehe baliile kula, al baliile anta tifuur deda tiguul al gayd daagoomi al maaši daagoomi daagoomi bas biguul a?a nazzili nazzili, had'd'at al weeke kula ke, bas had'd'at al eeš kula ke bas dedda gaalat, laha šinu jaabak deda gaal a?a šinu jaabki, a?a abuuna haadi tara salsalo ?eenii, bas gaal salsalo ?eení, wai, maalá deda gaal hu bas mašá le l waadi gal bijjiib leya šiqúl kan salsalo ?eení, halaas dedda gaal ke, ha ana salsal ?eene abun daagoomi sei, andaagoomi, ?aaši salleet ?eena axuuna dugut da hai anjamma sei, halaas dedda gaal leha hu jiibi leena ke, dedda jaabta dedda gaalat kan mašeet da, ad'ugga be wará hana d' d'ábag, deda halaas biduxul deda gaal yó alla ibaarik, inti sei sayyeeti daawa, da bas zeen sei, halaas šaala maša ya ša??atta, hi kila raddat be?iid deda gaala laa, ana bas andaagoomi caaceekki deda gaalat wai wai wai andaagoomi, caacaani andaagoomi caacaani halaas, badát tibki, ambaakir kula halaas, kinni yoom kan mašát da tisawwi leya xalaas humma andaagoomi doola gaalo a?a aniina da nisiir min al hille, deda halaas saaro, hi kan amman daggooni kan mišát xarazaataha fi lubb al hille, hi kan cat jaat ba iyaalaha mašaamše bidawwuru biyaakulú n naas, deda hi al ?am hana addaagoomi kan nisát xarazaataha, deda gaalat andaagoomi rud ámiš šiil leena al xarazá di

<4> al xarazá maxxalli igoot

<1> andaagoomi rud amiš šiil leena al xarazá di, ammi kan mašēet tidawwiriya yakuluuni a walla tidawwuri iktuluuni ana, inti ma tidawwuriini sei ille tišēet fie tišēet fie tišēet fie, halaas deeda mašaa, anta mašá deda ligí iyaalaha catta bugoo, šaal bool biddaalalu<sup>9</sup>

c iyaal al maššaasa

<1> wai ša d'eeb ke biddaalalu ke biddaalalu ke be l xarazaa, sawwooha šaal bool, da bizugga le gabiila da bizugga, hu kula deda bigí šabaaum, dahál, anta bizuggú le bizuggú le deda gal intu ma aarfinna d dalaat da tará, mine kula bimši be?iid yalla yalla bišiif raas gabiila digo sei naadum kan zaggó leya da bas, helú, deda gaalo wai fa da sahi da sahí da šahii, mašó ba?iid ma bišiif raas gabiilum kula tára, deda halaas amta biziggú leya da, zaggó leya la waaid zaggó le at taaniye deda halaas, as saalise zaraabaha gaal loohum ana bas daagoomi deda cat báko mašó le ammun halaas tammāt

<4> caadeeti

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<sup>9</sup> With final *-u* rather than *-o*. This is found among younger speakers, and among some speakers with an Ndjamenā background. Its precise dimensions require investigation.