444

FUUTA JALOO AND FUUTA TOORO

A comparative study of two Pulaar dialects

by

DJIBRIL DIALLO

Thesis submitted to the University of London
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Oriental and African Studies November 1979

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.

ProQuest Number: 10731682

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 10731682

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

The present thesis takes the form of a descriptive analysis of the two dialects of Pulaar/Fulfulde, as found in Fuuta Jaloo (Republic of Guinea) and Fuuta Tooro (Republic of Senegal).

The work is in six major parts. The first part is devoted to the phonology and the orthography (Chapter 1). The second part deals with the nominal system: General introduction (Chapter 2), distribution of classes in the two dialects (Chapter 3), Numerals (Chapter 4), noun substitutes and specifiers (Chapter 5). The third part is concerned with the verbal system; Chapter 6 deals with an introductory survey of the verbal piece. Chapter 7 concentrates on the tenses of the indicative mood whereas Chapter 8 takes a look at the tenses of the subjunctive mood and the forms of the imperative. In Chapters 9, 10 and 11 various patterns related to the verbal system are discussed and compared. Derivative infixes (Chapter 9), past anterior affix (Chapter 10), subject and object pronouns (Chapter 11).

In the fourth part an attempt is made to examine verbo-nominals (Chapter 12). The fifth part deals with the other parts of speech, which include adverbs and prepositions (Chapter 13), ideophones and onomatopes (Chapter 14). Concluding remarks are made in the sixth and final part (Chapter 15). The latter Chapter makes a summary of the previous findings which allow us to reach the conclusion that there are many similarities between the dialects of Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro; that, in spite of the differences, there is a very high degree of mutual intelligibility between the Pulaar of Fuuta Jaloo and the Pulaar/Tukuloor of Fuuta Tooro, such that these are without doubt two closely related dialects of the same language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A great many people have contributed towards making this thesis possible. I would like to thank as many of them as I can.

Most of all, I appreciate my family's unwavering support and I would like to extend a special thank you to my mother for her example of devotion, courage and creativity.

I would like to express my great appreciation of all the encouragement and advice I have received from Professor Jack Carnochan, My supervisor. He has extended himself beyond the call of duty and made many valuable suggestions concerning the grammatical analyses and style of writing. He has paid particular attention to assisting me to develop my critical eye.

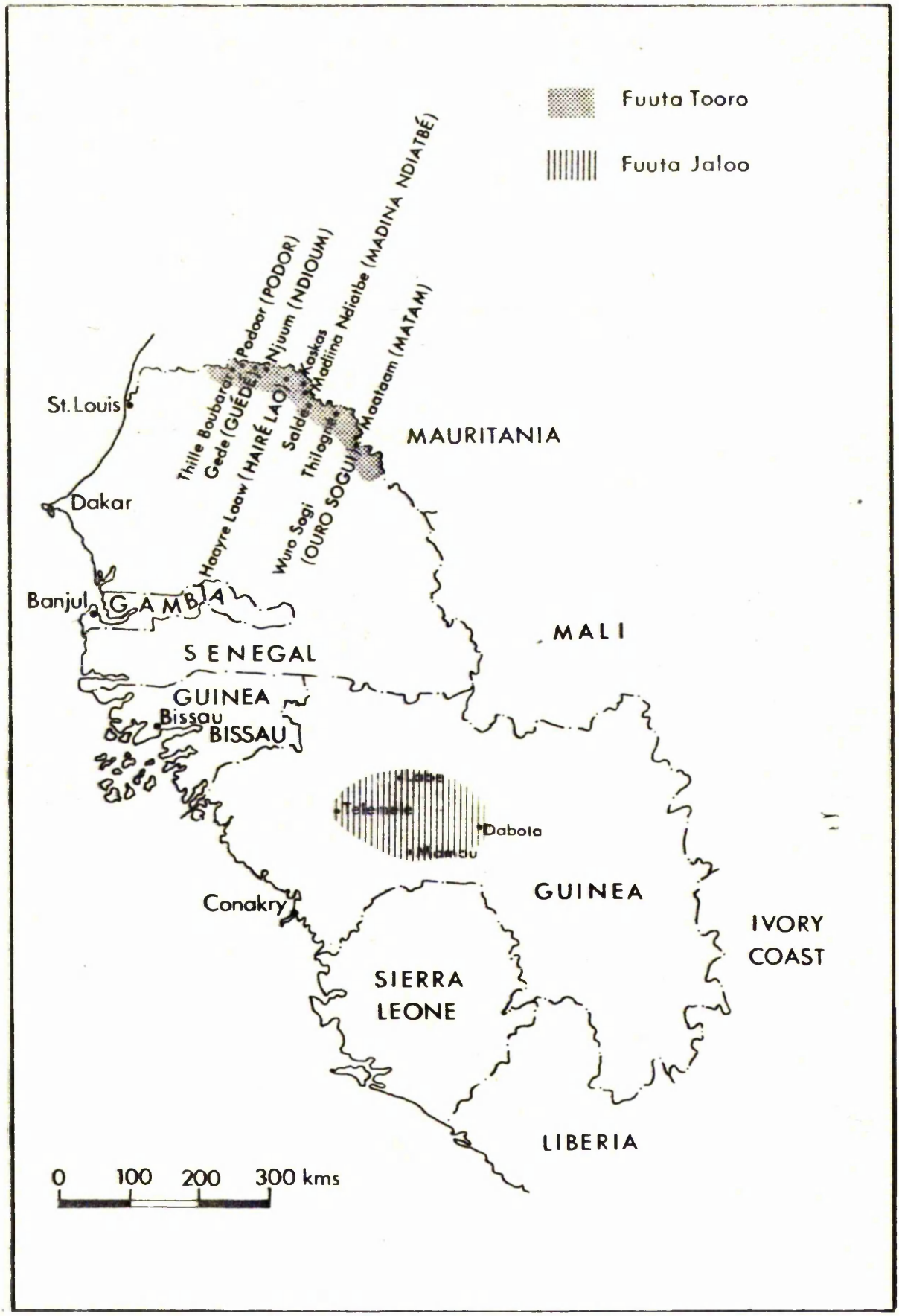
I would also like to thank Professor Arnott (D.W.) for being so closely associated with the early, and none the less important, stages of the thesis.

I am particularly indebted to the great many informants who kindly agreed to being interviewed and assisted me at various stages (some of their names are found in the introduction).

I gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance of the International African Institute, the Senegalese Government and the Central Research Fund (University of London). I owe a great deal more to the International African Institute and to its Director, Dr. David Dalby, for the excellent co-operation and facilities provided throughout this research. Finally, I would like to thank Julia Hoyte who has had the trying task of typing the first draft of the thesis, with so much patience and understanding.

CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction	2
PART I	
PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES AND ORTHOGRAPHY	
Chapter 1. Phonology and Orthography	5
PART II	
NOMINAL SYSTEM	
Chapter 2. Nominal class system - General	27
Chapter 3. Distribution of the classes	43
Chapter 4. Numerals	70
Chapter 5. Noun substitutes and specifiers	87
PART III	
VERBAL SYSTEM	
Chapter 6. Introductory survey of the verbal piece	127
Chapter 7. Tenses of the indicative mood	154
Chapter 8. Tenses of the subjunctive mood and forms of the imperative	217
Chapter 9. Derivative infixes	253
Chapter 10. Past anterior affix	316
Chapter 11. Subject and object pronouns	338
PART IV	
VERBO-NOMINALS	
Chapter 12. Verbo-nominals	369
PART V	
OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH	
Chapter 13. Adverbs and prepositions	386
Chapter 14. Ideophones and onomatopes	406
PART VI	
GENERAL CONCLUSION	
Chapter 15. Conclusions	420



Fuuta Tooro and Fuuta Jaloo Pulaar dialects.

INTRODUCTION

0.1. This thesis aims to describe and compare the phonological and the grammatical features of the Pulaar of Fuuta Jaloo and the Pulaar/Tukuloor of Fuuta Tooro. The two dialects are commonly referred to by their speakers as Pulaar Fuuta Jaloo and Pulaar Fuuta Tooro or Tukuloor. No attempt will therefore be made to deal, even in outline, with other varieties of the language that may be encountered in the two areas of Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro.

0.2. The material for the present thesis was gathered from both written and oral sources.

0.3. A list of the written sources is provided in the selected bibliography.

0.4. The major part of the material for the present study was gathered from oral sources.

0.5. The chief informants for Fuuta Jaloo were members of my family, being native speakers of the dialect, and from other native speakers. I was also able to make use of recordings made in Fuuta Jaloo by Professor Arnott. The major part of the material for Fuuta Tooro was gathered by me during field work from August to November, 1977. The names of the places visited, together with those of a selected sample of informants, are as follows:

A) Department of Podoor
(i) Madiina Njatɓe.
Sammba Muusaa Paam (Naalaŋke), Fisherman.
Muusaa Gay, Administrative Officer.
Alasaan Buubu Soo, Farmer.
Basiiru Janxaa, Blacksmith.
Saydu Nuuru Taal, School Teacher.
Iburaahiima Aadama, President of the local Cooperative.

Songs and stories were also recorded from the following children, in the same village:

Kadijata Gay, 14 years of age
Muusaa Gay, 13 years of age
Umar Gay, 10 years of age

(ii) Haayre Laaw
An interpreter at the District Office.

B) Department of Maataam
(i) Wurossoogi
Yero Baydi Sangoot, retired weaver.

(ii) Maataam
Abdul Sammba Tagurla, Shoemaker.
Haamidu Joop, Trader.
Cerno Yaaya Aamadu Abdul, Religious Leader.
Barka Baa, Male Nurse.

Recordings were also obtained from the National Archives Office, in Senegal, for the following areas:

(i) Gede (Department of Podoor)
Sammba Demmba Baa, Fisherman.

(ii) Njuum
El Hajji Muhammadu Abdul Nyaagaan, Religious Leader.

0.6. I obtained further information on both dialects, from my own speech, since I am a native speaker of the Fuuta Jaloo dialect and I am fluent in that of Fuuta Tooro.

0.7. Finally, it is important to make a few comments on the terms used in reference to the people in question and their language and dialects.

The terms used in this thesis for the two dialects are those used by the speakers themselves. English, French and German scholars have up to now used other terms, e.g. Fula, Fulani, Peul, Ful, to refer to the language and the people; but with the spread of education in Africa and the increasing use of the language, such 'foreign' terms are no longer appropriate, nor indeed acceptable. There is no single term acceptable throughout the whole area, to cover the language, as 'Fulfulde' used in eastern dialects (From Mali eastwards) is unknown in the western area (Mauritania, Senegal, Republic of Guinea, the Gambia, Sierra Leone); just as Pulaar/Tukuloor of the areas under consideration in this thesis is unknown in eastern dialects. The native speakers of Pulaar in Fuuta Jaloo call themselves Fulɓe Fuuta (singular: Pullo Fuuta), and the speakers of Pulaar/Tukuloor in Fuuta Tooro call themselves Haalpulaar 'en (i.e. speakers of Pulaar) or Tukuloor. These terms will be used in this thesis.

On the other hand, it is well to underline that the Haalpulaar 'en or Tukuloor do not regard themselves as Fulɓe, even though Pulaar is now their first language. It is alleged that they borrowed this language and they are proud to say that they are the keepers of the "pure" language.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

OUTLINE OF THE PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE TWO DIALECTS

1.1. This Chapter is concerned with an introductory analysis of the main phonological features together with the orthography of the Pulaar/Fulfulde language, as illustrated from the dialects of Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro.

1.2. The individual features described here have been arranged as follows:

A. Phonology and Orthography
B. Consonants
C. Vowels
D. Intonation
E. Final glottality

A. Phonology and Orthography

1.3. The consonants and vowels used by the two dialects are listed under sections B and C of this Chapter.

1.4. The system of transcription follows, with a few exceptions (cf.1.6.), the orthography recommended for the language at the UNESCO 'Meeting of Experts for the Unification of Alphabets of the National Languages', held in Bamako (Mali), in 1966.

1.5. In this orthography, the symbol is doubled in instances where single consonants are long, except for nasal compounds and the diagraph ny. In the latter two cases, it is the first element only which is doubled. (cf.1.8. for illustrations).

1.6. I have preferred to use ŋg and ŋŋg instead of ng and nng which were recommended by the Bamako Conference since the orthography

provides a separate symbol for the velar nasal.

1.7. I have included z, g, sh, x in this table, although these consonants do not occur in the indigenous vocabulary of the Pulaar language. They were adopted by the Bamako Conference to cover the occurrence of the relevant articulations in words borrowed from languages such as Wolof (sene-Gambia), Susu (Republic of Guinea) and Arabic. Such loan-words are pronounced with such articulations by Moslem intellectuals, but the phonemes, z, g, sh, x tend to be replaced by j, k, s, k respectively, in ordinary speech.

CONSONANTS

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar & Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
PLOSIVE							
VOICELESS	p		t		k	q	
VOICED	b		d		g		
NASAL	m		n	ny	ŋ		
NASAL-COMPOUNDS	mb		nd	nj	ŋg		
LATERAL NON-FRICATIVE			l				
ROLLED			r				
FRICATIVE + AFFRICATE							
VOICELESS		f	s	sh c	x		h
VOICED			z	j			
SEMI-VOWEL	w			y	w		
GLOTTALIZED	ɓ		ɗ	y			'

1.8. Illustrations of the consonants listed in the above table.

p	Paɗe "shoes"	pp	tappude "to hit"
b	Barme "cooking-pot"	bb	debbo "woman"
t	tuuba "trousers"	tt	tuttude "to spit"
d	darnde "standing"	dd	addude "to bring"
k	koyŋgal "foot"	kk	okkude "to give"
g	gaarawol "thread"	gg	giggol "love, liking"
q	qur'aan "Coran"	qq	(no example found)
m	mawɗo "old man"	mm	mummunte "animal"
n	nano "the left"	nn	nannude "to cause to hear"
ny	nyale "heifer"	nny	hennyude "to make room for"
ŋ	ŋari "beauty"	ŋŋ	baŋŋe "side"
mb	mbeewa "goat"	mmb	dammbugal "door"
nd	ndoondi "ashes"	nnd	anndude "to know"
nj	njaareendi "sand"	nnj	(no example found)
ŋg	ŋgesa "field"	ŋŋg	jaŋŋgude "to read"
l	ligge "work"	ll	wallude "to help"
r	rawaandu "dog"	rr	lorrude "to bother"
f	faamu "understanding"	ff	(no example found)
s	suudu "hut"	ss	(no example found)
z	zamaanu "generation"	zz	(no example found)
sh	shari'a "Law"	shsh	(no example found)
c	cellal "health"	cc	accude "to give up"
j	jalo "hoe"	jj	wujjude "to steal"
x	xaalis "money"	xx	(no example found)
h	horde "calabash"	hh	(no example found)
w	waare "beard"	ww	awwalu "tradition"
y	yawaare "contempt"	yy	layya "sacrificial ram" (Arabic)
ɓ	ɓaawo "back"	ɓɓ	haɓɓude "to tie up"
ƴ	ƴoyre "cleverness"	feƴƴude "to go past"	
'	'iwde "to come from"	(no example found)	

B. Consonants

1.9. In considering the Pulaar/Fulfulde language in general, as spoken from the Atlantic to beyond Lake Chad, one almost constant feature is the regular use of certain initial consonant changes helping to mark morphological distinctions between gramatically related sets of words, such as the singular and plural forms of nouns, and of verbs. Such related changes are not found for all the consonants. This applies to the Fuuta Tooro dialect but not to Fuuta Jaloo, where the distribution is quite different. The latter dialect seems to have simplified the phonology of the morphological processes, partially with regard to initial consonants.

On the other hand, such sets of consonants related through different grammatical forms can comprise two or three items; sets with three consonants are as follows:

w-, b-, mb-,
r-, d-, nd-,
w-, g-, ŋg-,
y-, j-, nj-,
'-, g-, ŋg-, (cf.1.14 for illustrations)

sets with two consonants are as follows:

1) Voiced

b-, mb-,
d-, nd-,
g-, ŋg-,
j-, nj-,

2) Voiceless

f- p-
s- c-
h- k-
(cf.1.16 for illustrations)

Group 2:
It comprises individual consonants from the above sets, but which are in no relationship at all.

f-, d-, nd-, nj-, k-, g-, ŋg-, h-
(cf. 1.20 for illustrations)

Group 3:
It includes those consonants which do not occur in any dialect yet examined, with any such relationship.
m-, ɓ-, t-, n-, l-, ɗ-, ny-, y-, ŋ-
(cf. 1.19 for illustrations)

I. Initial consonant alternations

1.10. In general, in many Pulaar/Fulfulde dialects, related grammatical forms of stems (for nouns) and radicals (for verbs) show initial consonant alternations, w/b/mb, r/d/nd, w/g/ŋg, y/j/nj, '/g/ŋg. Some items show all three of these sets; some show only two (the last two forms of each set). There are further sets of two forms, which are as follows: f/p, s/c, h/k.

The system of initial consonant alternations in stems and radicals is a typical feature of Pulaar/Fulfulde morphology, but with different detailed arrangements from one dialect to another.

1.11. The alternating sets mentioned under 1.9. can be divided into three sub-categories, where the letters S and R represent nominal stems and verbal radicals:

S1/R1: w-, r-, w-, y-, '-, f-, s-, h-
S2/R2: b-, d-, g-, j-, g-, p-, c-, k-
S3/R3: mb-, nd-, ŋg-, nj-, ŋg-,

It will be noted that the majority of consonants in the three sub-categories are respectively fricative, plosive and nasal compound.

1.12. S1/S2/S3 and R1/R2/R3 are grammatically relatable forms. For instance, in the Fuuta Tooro verbal system, where R1 occurs in the singular, R3 occurs in the corresponding plural form and R2 is used in the past participle; in the non-personal noun system S1/S2/S3 are respectively used in the singular, plural and diminutive plural:

R1. o warii "he has killed"
R2. bardo "the one who has killed"
R3. ɓe mbarii "they have killed"

S1. rawaandu "a dog"
S2. dawaadi "dogs"
S3. ndawalon "little dogs"

1.13. It should be pointed out that the order of occurrence of individual sets of consonants varies according to whether the initial consonant is part of a nominal stem or a verbal radical, or whether it belongs to a personal or a non-personal stem. The following order of occurrence of initial consonants is found with non-personal nouns and verbal. The order of occurrence for personal nouns is described later (f. 1.18).

S1/R1			S2/R2	S3/R3
w (before any vowel)	alternates	with	b	mb
w (before o or u)	"	"	g	ŋg
r (before any vowel)	"	"	d	nd
y (before any vowel)	"	"	j	nj
' (before any vowel)	"	"	g	ŋg
f (before any vowel)	"	"	p	p
s (before any vowel)	"	"	c	c
h (before any vowel)	"	"	k	k

1.14. The following illustrations are taken from Fuuta Tooro since, as will be shown soon (f. 1.17.) initial consonant alternations operate only partially in Fuuta Jaloo.

(i) Nominal stems (non-personal)

	S1 Singular	S2 Plural	S3 Diminutive Plural	Meaning
w	wojere	boje	mbojon	hare
W	wudere	gude	ŋgudon	cloth
r	rawaandu	dawaaɗi	ndawalon	dog
y	yeendu	jeeli	njeelon	ant-eater
'	'abbere	gabbe	ŋgabbon	grain
f	fowru	pobbi	pobbon	hyena
s	sawru	cabbi	cabbon	stick
h	hinere	kine	kinon	nose

(ii) Verbal radicals

	R1 Singular	R2 Past Participle Singular	R3 Plural	Meaning
w	wari	barɗo	mbari	kill
w	wujji	gujjuɗo	ŋgujji	steal
r	roni	doɗo	ndoni	inherit
y	yari	jarɗo	njari	drink
'	'ami	gamɗo	ŋgami	dance
f	faami	paamɗo	paami	understand
s	sumi	cumɗo	cumi	burn
h	hiiri	kiirɗo	kiiri	spend the evening

1.15. In the above illustrations, it will be noted that the

fricative/plosive occurrence is in terms of singular/plural relationships between the same nouns. This is not so for verbal radicals. In the latter case the singular/plural relationships between the same radicals involves a voiced fricative/nasal relationship between initial-consonants. The fricative/plosive relationship is between singular verbs and their past participle singular counterparts.

1.16. Voiceless consonants are not nasalised in Pulaar; this is the reason why in the cases of f, s and h the members of the last two categories S2/R2 and S3/R3 are identical and are both plosives. On the other hand, in cases where a stem or a radical has a plosive initial consonant which is not grammatically related to any fricative consonant, then S1/S2, R1/R2 remain plosives.

(i) <u>stems</u> (Fuuta Tooro non-personal)

	S1 Singular	S2 Plural	S3 Diminutive Plural	Meaning
f	fowru	pobbi	pobbon	hyena
s	saare	ca'e	ca'on	village
h	hoore	ko'e	ko'on	head
b	bolol	boli	mbolon	path
d	doomburu	doombi	ndoombon	mouse
g	gawri	gaweeje	ŋgawon	guinea-corn
j	jalo	jale	njalon	hoe

(ii) <u>Radicals</u> (Fuuta Tooro)

	R1 Singular	R2 Past Participle Sing.	R3 Plural	Meaning

(ii) continued

f	fusi	pusɗo	pusi	break
s	saami	caamɗo	caami	fall
h	huli	kulɗo	kuli	be afraid
b	betti	bettuɗo	mbetti	surprise
d	dogi	dogɗo	ndogi	run away
g	golli	golluɗo	ŋgolli	work
j	jali	jalɗo	ɲjali	laugh

1.17. The reasons why it is said that initial consonant alternations occur only partially in Fuuta Jaloo are as follows:

(i) Nominal stems:

Initial consonant alternations occur only in fricative and plosive relationships. There is no nasal counterpart. All the latter cases occur with plosive initial consonants, e.g.

wojere/boje/bojoy "hare"
rawaandu/dawaaɗi/dawaloy "dog"
wudere/gude/gudoy "cloth"
'abbere/gabbe/gabboy "grain"

(ii) Verbal radicals:

Initial consonant alternations do not operate at all in the verbal system of Fuuta Jaloo. It is the same initial consonant used in the singular of the verb that is found in all the corresponding remaining forms, e.g.

o wujji "he stole"
ɓe wujji "they stole"
wujjuɗo "the one who stole"
o wari "he killed"
ɓe wari "they killed"
warɗo "the one who killed"
o roni "he inherited"
ɓe roni "they inherited"
ronuɗo "the one who inherited"

1.18. Within the nominal system of both dialects, the order of occurrence of initial consonants depends upon whether individual nouns are personal or non-personal. In the latter case the order of occurrence is as described in 1.14 (i) - But in the former case the order is reversed and it is plosives that occur in the singular, whereas fricatives are found in the plural, e.g.

Pullo/Fulɓe	"A Pullo/Fulɓe"
Debbo/rewɓe	"woman/women"
gujjo/wuyɓe	"thief/thieves"
gorko/worɓe	"man/men"

1.19. Not all consonants enter into the system of initial consonant alternation. All the consonants listed under group 3, section 1.9. are invariable consonants which are outside this system, e.g.

	Singular	Plural	Meaning
t	taalol	taali	tale
m	maccudo	maccuɓe	slave
n	nagge	na'i	cow
ny	nyiiwa	nyiibi	elephant
ŋ	ŋawre	ŋawe	gap left by missing tooth
l	laawol	laabi	road, path
ɓ	ɓoggol	ɓoggi	rope
ɗ	ɗaɗol	ɗaɗi	root
y	yiiwoonde	yiiwooje	storm

1.20. There are a number of words in which initial consonants which are generally part of the alternation pattern do not change. Such consonants have already been mentioned previously (cf. 1.9. group 3) and are illustrated as follows:

	Singular	Plural	Meaning
p	puccu	pucci	horse
k	kammu	kammuuji	sky
b	beretewal	bereteeje	suitcase FT
d	dabare	dabareeji	poison
g	goobu	goobuuji	dyeing FT
mb	mbaacu	mbaaci	insect FT
nd	ndunngu	ndunnguuji	wet season
nj	njarki	njarkiiji	nickname for hyena
ng	ngawri	ngawriiji	guinea-corn
f	fuune	fuuneeji	albino FT
h	hawsaajo	hawsaaɓe	Hawsa man

II. Stems or radicals and endings

1.21. Within the morphology of the two dialects in question, stems and radicals can be extended by endings to form nouns and verbs of different semantic ranges. The ways in which stems and radicals meet various endings are phonologically regular and are dealt with below, in four cases.

(i) Case 1. (CVC- + -CV)

1.22. The stem or radical consists of CVC- structure and the ending is -CV. In Fuuta Tooro, the second and third consonants keep their separate identities; they are pronounced as a sequence.

CVC- + -CV gives CVCCV, e.g.

saw- + -ru gives sawru "stick"
ɓer- + nde gives ɓernde "chest"
hor- + -de gives horde "calabash"

saf- + -de gives safde "draw water from a well"
sek- + -de gives sekde "be angry"
war- + -de gives warde "kill"

As far as Fuuta Jaloo is concerned, the present case applies only with nouns. Corresponding verbs to the three above forms are saf-u-de, sek-u-de, war-u-de.

(ii) Case 2 (CVCC+ CV)

1.23. Where the stem or the radical is of CVCC- structure and the ending is - CV, a vowel is introduced between the third and the fourth consonants, as three consonants are not pronounced in sequence.

CVCC- +-CV gives CVCCVCV, e.g.

ranw- +-de gives ranw-u-de "to be white"
sulm- +-de gives sulm-u-de "to wash" (face)
dept- +-re gives dept-e-re "book"

(iii) Case 3 (CVC+ CV, where the second consonant is h, -y or -')

1.24. Where the final consonant of a stem or a radical is -h, -y or -', this consonant disappears in the nouns or verbs and the preceeding vowel is lengthened.

CVh- +-CV gives CVVCV, e.g. yah- +-de gives yaade "go"
CVY- +-CV gives CVVCV, e.g. fiy- +-de gives fiide "beat"
CV'- +-CV gives CVVCV, e.g. wi' +-de gives wiide "say"

(iv) Case 4 (assimilation)

1.25. The final consonant of the stem or radical harmonizes with the initial consonant of the suffix; this may be called assimilation. It is relevant, at this juncture, to devote some space to the description of the various cases of assimilation.

1) It occurs when a bilabial precedes another bilabial.

ko heɓ-ma? (lit. what happened - you) gives ko hemmaa
"what happened to you?
but ko heɓ-i Aali? "What happened to Aali?"

2) t, d, ʃ harmonize with the following t, d, or n, e.g.
t/d fot-+-de gives fodde "be equal"
juut-+-de gives juudde "be tall" (but omo juut-i
"he is tall")
t/ɗ pot-+-ɗo gives poɗɗo "the one who is equal".
juut-+-ɗo gives juuɗɗo "the one who is tall".
t/n waɗat-+-noodo gives waɗannoodo "the one who was doing".
coodat-+-noodo gives coodannoodo "the one who was buying".
d/ɗ cood-+-ɗaa gives cooɗɗaa "you bought".
d/n cood-+-noodo gives coonnoodo "the one who had bought"
ɗ/d waɗ-+-de gives wadde "do"
ɗ/n baɗ-+-noodo gives bannoodo "the one who had done".
ɗ/t waɗ-+-tude gives wattude "do again".

3) Another assimilation occurs when d harmonizes with g.
A somewhat similar pattern occurs to ɗ before ɓ and l, e.g.
d/g cood-+-gu gives coggu (from Codgu*) "price"
ɗ/ɓ wooɗ-+-ɓe gives woɓɓe "others".

It is well to note that in the last two examples the vowel shortens with the combination.

ɗ/l baɗ-+-le gives balle "different types of help".

4) Where there are such palatal consonants as ny, j, y, the palatization continues into the second consonant, e.g.
ko ndany-ɗaa gives ko ndan-y-aa "what do you have?".
sony-de gives sonje "to sow".

(Case 4 is limited to Fuuta Tooro; Fuuta Jaloo inserts the vowel u between the palatal consonants, and the second consonant).

C. Vowels

Pulaar has five short vowels and five long vowels, i.e.

Short vowels:

i u

e o

a

Long vowels:

ii uu

ee oo

aa

1.26. Examples of vowels:

i	idaade	"to be first"	ii	iidude	"to make a noise" (engine).
e	eggude	"to move"	ee	eeraade	"to shout"
a	abbere	"grain"	aa	aada	"tradition"
o	ommbude	"to close"	oo	ool	"yellow"
u	uddude	"to close"	uu	uũde	"to have a nice smell"

1.27. Diphthongs

iw ew aw ow

ey ay oy uy

1.28. Although these give phonetic diphthongs in pronounciation, the w/y behave like consonants in the phonology of the language, e.g.

rewbe "the ones who followed, or women"

rewii "he has followed".

D. Intonation

1.29. At this juncture it is relevant to say that Pulaar/Fulfulde is not a tone language. It is an intonational language. This means that intonation patterns depend less on individual words and complexes than the types of sentences, the tenses involved, the polarity etc.,

1.30. This thesis does not claim to make an exhaustive account of intonation patterns in Pulaar/Fulfulde. This study will be devoted to a general description of intonation as it affects sentences, nouns and ideophones.

In general the high pitch is on the penultimate syllable, but in particular cases it is on the final syllable or elsewhere. I shall illustrate this with the following cases: (the high pitch syllable is underlined)

1) Different types of tenses

(i) Penultimate

O looti (_-_) "he washed" (active)
O lootii (_-_) "he had a wash" (middle)
O lootaa (_-_) "he was washed" (passive)

(ii) Final

O lootii (_ _ -) "he has washed" (active)
O lootay (_ _ -) "he will wash" (middle)

(iii) Elsewhere

Jaŋŋgo o lootata (- _ _ - _ _) "he will wash tomorrow" (active)

Jaŋŋgo o lootototoo (- _ _ - _ _) "he will have a wash tomorrow" (middle)

2) Polarity

(i) Penultimate

O lootu (_ - _) "he did wash" (emphatic past active)

(ii) Final

O lootaa (_ _ -) "he did not wash" (emphatic negative active)

3) Different types of sentences

(i) Positive sentence

0 looti (_ - _) " he washed"
0 fini (_ - _) " he woke up"

(ii) Interrogative sentences

0 looti? (_ - ✓) " he washed?"
0 fini? (_ - ✓) " he woke up?"

In the above examples the high pitch syllable could be said to carry the main stress in the sentence.

E. Final glottality

1.35. There is a final glottal stop, or final glottality in pausal position with some items but never with others. A full phonetic examination of this has still to be done.

1.36. Final glottality can be heard with almost all nouns and adjectives,

Pullo' "A Pullo"
Fulɓe' "Fulɓe people"
Debbo' "A woman"
Rewɓe' "women"
Horde' "calabash"

It does, however, not occur with a certain group, such as monee "annoyance" (verbal noun), where there is a final long vowel.

1.37. Final glottality occurs with all the concordant forms of independant and possessive pronouns and possessive suffixes, the latter being found in Fuuta Tooro alone (cf. Chapter 5, section C), e.g.

(i) Independent pronouns

kaŋko'	(class 1 O)
kamɓe'	(class 2 ɓe)
kayre'	(class 3 nde)
kayri'	(class 4 ndi)

(ii) Possessive pronouns

makko'	"his" (class 1 O)
maɓɓe'	"theirs" (class 2 ɓe)
mayre'	"its" (class 3 nde)
mayri'	"its" (class 4 ndi)

(iii) Possessive suffixes (Fuuta Tooro only)

- iiko'	"his" (class 1 O)
- iiɓe'	"theirs" (class 2 ɓe)
- iire'	"its" (class 3 nde)

1.38. But it does not occur with non-concordant forms of the above pronouns, except for the first and second persons singular of independent pronouns.

(i) Independent pronouns

eneŋ/enen	(1 plur. incl.)
meneŋ/menen	(1 plur. excl.)
onoŋ/onon	(2 plur.)

but

miŋ'/miin'	(1 sg.)
aŋ'/aan'	(2 sg.)

(ii) Possessive pronouns

aŋ/am "my"

maaɗa ; ma'a/maaɗa ; maa "your" (2. sg.)

meeɗeŋ/meeɗen "our" (1 pl. incl.)

(iii) Possessive suffixes

- am "my"
- e "your"
- iimen "our" (1pl. excl.)

1.39. On the other hand final glottality does not occur with demonstratives, referentials, definitives and interrogatives, e.g.

(i) Near demonstratives

o'o	"this one"	(class 1 0)
ɓe'e	"these ones"	(class 2 ɓe)
nde'e	"this one"	(class nde)

(ii) Referentials

oŋ/oon	(gorko oŋ/oon "the man")	(class 1, 0)
ɓeŋ/ɓeen	(yimɓe ɓeŋ/ɓeen "the people")	(class 2 ɓe)
ndeŋ/ndeen	(horde ndeŋ/ndeen "the calabash")	(class 3 nde)

(iii) Interrogatives

hommbo "which, who" (class 1 0)

hombe "which, who" (class 2 e)

(for complete tables of all the above-mentioned pronouns, please see Chapter 5).

1.40 In the verbal system, final glottality is a feature of the following tenses, when, of course, the verb word is in pausal position. Examples of 3rd singular sentences are given, but it occurs with all persons, singular and plural.

1) Stative and continuous tenses

(i) Stative

Umaar no looti' "Umaar has washed" (active)
Umaar no lootii' "Umaar has had a wash" (middle)
Umaar no lootaa' "Umaar has been washed" (passive)

(ii) Continuous 1

Umaar no loota' "Umaar is washing" (active)
Umaar no lootoo' "Umaar is having a wash" (middle)
Umaar no lootee' "Umaar is being washed" (passive)

(iii) Continuous 2 (Fuuta Jaloo only)

Umaar no lootude' "Umaar is washing" (active)
Umaar no lootaade' "Umaar is having a wash" (middle)
Umaar no looteede' "Umaar is being washed" (passive)

2) Relative tenses, e.g.

(i) Relative past

0 looti' "he washed" (active)
0 lootii' "he had a wash" (middle)
0 lootaa' "he was washed" (passive)

(ii) Relative future

0 lootata' "he will wash" (active)
0 lootototoo' "he will have a wash" (middle)
0 lootetee' "he will be washed" (passive)

3) Secondary subjunctive

0 loota' "he is to wash" (active)
0 lootoo' "he is to have a wash" (middle)

1.41. Final glottality, however, does not occur with the following tenses:

1) General Past

O	lootii	"he has washed" (active)
O	lootaama	"he has been washed" (passive)

2) Emphatic Past

O	looti	"he did have a wash" (middle)
O	loota	"he was washed" (passive)

3) General Future

O	loototo	"he will have a wash" (middle)
O	lootete	"he will be washed" (passive)

4) Vague Future

Ma o looto	"he will have a wash" (middle)
Ma o loote	"he will be washed" (passive)

5) Negative Tenses

O	lootaaki	"he has not had a wash" (negative past mid.)
O	lootaaka	"he has not been washed" (negative past pass.)
O	lootataa	"he will not wash" (negative future active)

6) Primary Subjunctive

yo o looto	"let him have a wash" (middle)
yo o loote	"let him be washed" (passive)

1.42. Final glottality is also a feature of concordant object pronouns, e.g.

o lootii mo' "he has washed him"

o yi'ii ɓeˀnde ˀŋguˀ "he has seen them/it"

but it does not occur with non-concordant object pronouns, except for the long-vowelled second person singular maa, e.g.

O	lootii laŋ/kam	"he has washed me" (1 sing.)
O	lootii ma	"he has washed you" (2 sing.)

but

O	loota maa'	"he is to wash you"

1.43. This glottality is not a phonemic matter, as it is a feature of pause, and it is not heard when the item is no longer pausal, e.g.

Umaar looti Mohammadu	"Umaar washed M." (Rel. Part active)
O lootaa haa o laaɓi	"he was washed clean" (Rel. Past middle)

PART II: NOMINAL SYSTEM

CHAPTER 2. NOMINAL CLASS SYSTEM - GENERAL

2.1. The Pulaar/Fulfulde language is characterised by a class system similar to that found in many West African and Bantu languages.

2.2. Linguists and learners of the language have been conscious of its complexity, particularly the nominal class system. There seems to be much redundant morphology that bears little informational load: "la classification nominale apparait comme un mécanisme aussi encombrant que vain" (1)

2.3. The object of this chapter is to outline the main features of the nominal class system in the two dialects of Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro with a view to arriving at simple ways of describing their morphological complexities.

2.4. The analysis will be made in the following order:

I Principal features of the class system in the two dialects.
II Proposed groupings of the classes.
III Adjectives.
IV Other types of nominals.

I. Principal features of the class system in the two dialects

2.5. A class is defined as a pattern of agreement. In the particular case of Pulaar/Fulfulde, the agreement is between the noun-suffix and other elements: "Le nom foul se compose d'une racine et d'un suffixe qui sont en

---

(1) Manessy, M.in Martinet, A., 1967

relation étroite avec le pronom personnel qui désigne ce nom. Il résulte de ce mode de formation que tous les noms ayant le même pronom personnel constituent une classe" (2). Adjectives, including adjectival participles, numerals and pronouns agree in terms of class elements with the nominals they qualify and verbs in general will agree in number with their subjects.

2.6. In the Fuuta Jaloo examples below rawaandu "dog", nagge "cow", ŋgaari "bull" and puccu "horse" are assigned to different classes on the basis of their agreement, e.g.

Mi addii	rawaa-ndu(3) ɓalee-ru nduŋ,	haɓɓu	ndu	wata	ndu	dogu
"	nagg-e ɓale-we ŋgeŋ	"	ŋge	"	ŋge	"
"	ŋgaa-ri ɓalee-ri ndiŋ	"	ndi	"	ndi	"
"	pucc-u ɓale-wu ŋguŋ	"	ŋgu	"	ŋgu	"

word-for-word translation:

I have brought	dog	black	the,	tie	it	not	it	run
"	cow	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	bull	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	horse	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

approximate translation:

I have brought	the black dog,	tie	it	up	to prevent	it	from	escaping
"	the black cow,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	the black bull,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	the black horse,"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

---

(2) Gaden, H.1913, p 17

(3) A hyphen is used here to indicate the junction of the nominal stem and the suffix, although nominals will normally be written as one word.

Table 1: List of classes found in Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro

Class no.	Class Name		Examples
	FUUTA JALOO	FUUTO TOORO	
	PERSONAL		
1	o	o	debbo "woman"
2	ɓe	ɓe	rewɓe "women"
	NON-PERSONAL		
3	nde	nde	wudere "cloth"
4	ndi	ndi	ŋgaari "bull"
5	ndu	ndu	sawru "stick"
6	ŋge	ŋge	nagge "cow"
7	ŋgo	ŋgo	jawo "bracelet"
8	ŋgu	ŋgu	puccu "horse"
I X	ŋgii	NON-EXISTANT	balii "sheep"
10	ŋgal	ŋgal	Leggal "piece of wood"
11	ŋgol	ŋgol	laawol "path"
12	mba	ba	ŋgesa "farm"
13	ka	ka	laana "canoe"
14	ki	ki	woŋki "soul"
15	ko	ko	haako "leaves"
XVI	kol	NON-EXISTANT	nyalahol "calf"
17	ɗaŋ	ɗam	njaraŋ "drink"
18	ɗuŋ	ɗum	goɗɗuŋ "something"
19	ɗe	ɗe	gude "cloths"
20	ɗi	ɗi	pucci "horse"
	PERSONAL AND NON-PERSONAL		
	DIMINUTIVE		
21	ŋgel	ŋgel	gudel "small cloth"
22	kal	kal	dihal "small quantity of water"
XXIII	kuŋ	NON-EXISTANT	puluŋ "little fulani"
24	koy	kon	puloy "little fulanis"
	AUGMENTATIVE		
25	ŋgal	ŋgal	gudal "large cloth"
XXVI	ŋgii	NON-EXISTANT	maccuŋgii "big slave"

Table 2: Class elements in the nominal system

NOUNS	ADJECTIVES	PRONOUNS OF REFERENCE	SUBJECT PRONOUNS	OBJECT PRONOUNS
rawaa-ndu	ɓalee-ru	nduŋ	ndu	ndu
nagg-e	ɓale-we	ŋgeŋ	ŋge	ŋge
ŋgaa-ri	ɓalee-ri	ndiŋ	ndi	ndi
pucc-u	ɓale-wu	ŋguŋ	ŋgu	ŋgu

2.7. Table 2 sets out the class elements used in the sentences given above for these examples. The sentences are merely illustrative and other concordial agreements will be dealt with in later chapters of the thesis.

II. Proposed grouping of classes

2.8. Let us consider Fuuta Jaloo first because, as will be seen later, this dialect shows more classes than Fuuta Tooro.

2.9. Nouns have five forms: a singular form and a plural form, singular and plural diminutive forms and augmentative singular forms[4]. Each of these forms is a member of a different class[5], e.g.

Pullo, Fulɓe, pulel, puloy, pulii "A Pullo"
wuddere, gude, gudel, gudoy, gudii "cloth"

2.10. The words which are governed by nouns have not only five such forms but also sufficient forms to have singular and plural forms, diminutive singular and plural forms, and augmentative singular forms for every class of noun.

Table 3: Sample of nominal chains

Singular, plural, diminutive (sg./pl.) and augmentative forms, for the same stems in Fuuta Jaloo[6].

Class name	Singular	Plural	Diminutive		Augmentative	Meanings
			Singular	Plural		
1. o	maccudo	maccuɓe	maccuŋgel	maccukoy	maccuŋgii	"slave"
3. nde	wudere	gude	gudel	gudoy	gudii	"cloth"
4. ndi	ŋgaari	ga'i	ga'el	ga'oy	ga'ii	"bull"
5. ndu	sawru	cabbi	cawel	cawoy	cawii	"stick"
6. ŋge	nagge	na'i	naggel	nakkoy	naggii	"cow"
7. ŋgo	jawo	jawe	jawel	jawoy	jawii	"bracelet"
8. ŋgu	puccu	pucci	puccel	puccoy	puccii	"horse"
IX. ŋgii	baalii	baali	baalel	baaloy	baalal	"sheep"
10. ŋgal	Leggal	Leɗɗe	Leggel	Lekkoy	leggii	"piece of wood"
11. ŋgol	laawol	laabi	laawel	laawoy	lawii	"path"
12. mba	tuuba	tuube	tuubel	tuuboy	tuubii	"trousers"
13. ka	ŋgayka	gayɗe	gaygel	gaykoy	gaygii	"hole"
14. ki	laɓi	laɓe	laɓel	laɓoy	laɓii	"knife"
15. ko	haako	kaaki	kaakel	kaakoy	kaakii	"leaf"
XVI. kol	nyalahol	nyalbi	nyalel	nyaloy	nyalii	"calf"
17. ɗaŋ	ndiyaŋ	di'e	dihal	dihoy	di'ii	"water"
18. ɗuŋ	winndirɗuŋ	winndirɗi	winndirgel	winndirkoy	winndirgii	"any instrument used for writing"

Table 4: Nominal class system in Fuuta Jaloo

Class name	Normal suffixes (common to nouns and adjectives)			
	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D
Personal				
1. o	-o	-jo	-ɗo	-ɗo
2. ɓe	-ɓe	-ɓe	-ɓe	-ɓe
Non-personal				
3. nde	-re/-de	-re	-de	-nde
4. ndi	-ri/-di	-ri	-di	-ndi
5. ndu	-ru/-du	-ru	-du	-ndu
6. ŋge	-e	-we	-ge	-ŋge
7. ŋgo	-o	-wo	-go	-ŋgo
8. ŋgu	-i	-wu	-gu	-ŋgu
IX. ŋgii	-ii	-wii	-gii	-ŋgii
10. ŋgal	-al	-wal	-gal	-ŋgal
11. ŋgol	-ol	-wol	-gol	-ŋgol
12. mba	-a	-wa	-ba	-mba
13. ka	-a	-ha	-ka	-ka
14. ki	-i	-hi	-ki	-ki
15. ko	-o	-ho	-ko	-ko
XVI. kol	-o-	-hol	-kol	-kol
17. ɗaŋ	--aŋ	-jaŋ	-ɗaŋ	-ɗaŋ
18. ɗuŋ	-uŋ	-juŋ	-ɗuŋ	-ɗuŋ
19. ɗe	-e	-je	-ɗe	-ɗe
20. ɗi	-i	-ji	-ɗi	-ɗi
Personal and non-personal Diminutive				
21. ŋgel	-el	-wel	-gel	-ŋgel
22. kal	-al	-hal	-kal	-kal
XXIII kuŋ	-uŋ	-huŋ	-kuŋ	-kuŋ
24. koy	-oy	-hoy	-koy	-koy
Augmentative				
25. ŋgal	-al	-wal	-gal	-ŋgal
XXVI. ŋgii	-ii	-wii	-gii	-ŋgii

Table 5: Nominal class system in Fuuta Tooro

Class no.	Agreement represented by subject pronoun	Normal suffixes (common to nouns and adjectives)			
		Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D
Personal					
1.	o	-o	-jo	-ɗo	-ɗo
2.	ɓe	-ɓe	-ɓe	-ɓe	-ɓe
Non-personal					
3.	nde	-re/-de	-re	-de	-nde
4.	ndi	-ri/-di	-ri	-di	-ndi
5.	ndu	-ru/du	-ru	-du	-ndu.
6.	ŋge	-e	-ye	-ge	-ŋge
7.	ŋgo	-o	-wo	-go	-ŋgo
8.	ŋgu	-u	-wu	-gu	-ŋgu
10.	ŋgal	-al	-yal	-gal	-ŋgal
11.	ŋgol	-ol	-yol	-gol	-ŋgol
12.	ba	-a	-wa	-ba	-ba
13.	ka	-a	-ha	-ka	-ka
14.	ki	-i	-wi	-ki	-ki
15.	ko	-o	-ho	-ko	-ko
17.	ɗam	-am	-jam	-ɗam	-ɗam
18.	ɗum	-um	-jum	-ɗum	-ɗum
19.	ɗe	-e	-je	-ɗe	-ɗe
20.	ɗi	-i	-ji	-ɗi	-ɗi
Personal and Non-personal diminutive					
21.	ŋgel	-el	-yel	-gel	-ŋgel
22.	kal	-al	-yal	-kal	-kal
24.	kon	-on	-yon	-kon	-kon
Augmentative					
25.	ŋgal	-al	-yal	-gal	-ŋgal

2.11. Table 1 shows that there are four diminutive classes and two augmentative classes.

2.12. If we put these aside for the moment, we can recognize that there are seventeen classes of nouns in the singular and three classes in the plural.

2.13. The words that these nouns govern have therefore some seventeen different forms in the singular and three different forms in the plural as well as six different forms for the diminutives and augmentatives, a total of 26 different forms.

Class suffixes

2.14. Each of the classes of table 1 has up to four different suffixes: " Nouns and adjectives belonging to the same

---

(4) Both dialects have the augmentative class 25 ŋgal but Fuuta Jaloo also has an alternative form, class XXVIŋgii.

(5) However class 10ŋgal and the augmentative class 25 ŋgal, and class IXŋgii and the augmentative class XXVIŋgii make the same agreements respectively.

(6) This table is a re-arrangement of table 1 and it shows the different forms with which noun stems are regularly associated, according to their grammatical status and class. Class 2 ɓe (for the plural of personal nouns) is represented by "maccuɓe" in the plural column; class 19ɗi by plurals ending in -i; class 20 ɗe by plurals ending in -e; class 21 ŋgel (dim. sing.) is represented by the examples in the diminutive singular column (except for class 17, which is represented by dihal). Class XXIII is not represented. Class 24 is represented by all the entries in the diminutive plural column. As for classes 25 and 26, they are respectively represented by "baalal", augmentative of baalii (class IX) and the rest in the augmentative column.

class may have different suffixes, there being sometimes three, sometimes four distinct shapes to each class" (7). These class suffixes have been given different names by different linguists. Arnott calls them "grades" and Klingenheben "suffix stufen". I accept Arnott's classification of these suffixes into grades A, B, C, D because it agrees with my own findings, in both dialects.

2.15. Table 6 indicates the relationship between grades A, B, C, D. The nouns used in Grade A combine with adjectival stems of Grades A, B, C, D.

2.16. As indicated in table 6, the set of forms of a nominal have suffixes of the same grade except in very limited cases. This could be illustrated further by a paradigm including the following sub-groups:

- singular classes
- plural classes
- diminutive classes
- augmentative classes

2.17. The Fuuta Jaloo stems wud- "cloth", mbuuto- "leopard", gerto- "hen", koy- "leg" have been used in the table below. The same rules apply to Fuuta Tooro. On the other hand, table 6 shows that a noun stem has all its forms in the same grade, e.g.

wud - all in grade A
mbuuto - all in grade B
gerto - all in grade C
koy - all in grade D

---

(7) Arnott, D.W., 1970, p.68

Table 6: Sample of nominal chains showing suffixes of grades A, B, C, D in Fuuta Jaloo

Class name	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D
		Adjectival stems		
	aran-"first"	ɓale-"black"	haɓir-[8]	woɗ-"another"
Personal				
1. debbo "woman"	aran-o	ɓale-e-jo	haɓir-ɗo	goɗ-ɗo
2. rewɓe "women"	aran-ɓe	ɓale-e-ɓe	haɓir-ɓe	woɓ-ɓe
Non-personal				
3. wudere "cloth"	aran-e-re	ɓale-e-re	haɓir-de	won-nde
4. ŋgaari "bull"	aran-i-ri	ɓale-e-ri	haɓir-di	won-ndi
5. sawru "stick"	aran-u-ru	ɓale-e-ru	haɓir-du	won-ndu
6. nagge "cow"	aran-e	ɓale-we	haɓir-ge	woŋ-ŋge
7. Jalo "hoe"	aran-o	ɓale-wo	haɓir-go	woŋ-ŋgo
8. puccu "horse"	aran-u	ɓale-wu	haɓir-gu	woŋ-ŋgu
IX baalii "sheep"	aran-ii	ɓale-wii	haɓir-gii	woŋ-ŋgii
10. paɗal "shoe"	aran-ʔl	ɓale-wal	haɓir-gal	goŋ-ŋgal
11. kuɗol "grass"	aran-ol	ɓale-wol	haɓir-gol	goŋ-ŋgol
12. ŋgesa "field"	aran-a	ɓale-wal	haɓir-ba	wom-mba
13. laana "boat"	aran-a	ɓale-ha	haɓir-ka	wok-ka
14. laɓi "knife"	aran-i	ɓale-hi	haɓir-ki	wok-ki

(to be continued)

Table 6 continued.

15. haako "leaves"	aran-o	ɓale-ho	haɓir-ko	wok-ko
XVI nyalahol "calf"	aran-ol	ɓale-hol	haɓir-kol	gok-kol
17. ndiyaŋ "water"	aran-aŋ	ɓale-jaŋ	haɓir-ɗaŋ	god-ɗaŋ
18. goɗɗuŋ "something"	aran-uŋ	ɓale-juŋ	haɓir-ɗuŋ	goɗ-ɗuŋ
19. gude "cloths"	aran-e	ɓale-e-je	haɓir-ɗe	goɗ-ɗe
20. pucci "horses"	aran-i	ɓale-e-ji	haɓir-ɗi	goɗ-ɗi
Personal and non-personal				
Diminutive				
21. gudel "small cloth"	aran-el	ɓale-wel	haɓir-gel	goŋ-ŋgel
22. laŋkal "a bit of salt"	aran-al	ɓale-hal	haɓir-kal	gok-kal
XXIII deyuŋ "little woman	aran-uŋ	ɓale-huŋ	haɓir-kuŋ	gok-kuŋ
24. deyoy "little women"	aran-oy	ɓale-hoy	haɓir-koy	gok-koy
Augmentative				
25. gudal "big cloth"	aran-al	ɓale-wal	haɓir-gal	goŋ-ŋgal
XXVI deyii "big woman"	aran-ii	ɓale-wii	haɓir-gii	goŋ-ŋgii

(8) This adjectival stem refers to the means or instrument used for fighting.

Table 7: Representative nominal paradigm

Category of class	Class name	Grade A wud-"cloth"	Class name	Grade B mbuuto-"leopard"	Class name	Grade C gerto-"hen"	Class name	Grade D koy-"leg"
Singular	nde	wud-e-re	ndi	mbuuto-o-ri	ŋgal	gerto- gal	ŋgal	koy-ŋgal
Plural	ɗe	gud-e	ɗe	mbuuto-o-je	ɗe	gerto-o-ɗe	ɗe	koy-ɗe
Diminutive								
Singular	kuŋ	gud-uŋ	kuŋ	mbuuto-huŋ	kuŋ	gerto-kuŋ	kuŋ	koy-kuŋ
Plural	koy	gud-oy	koy	mbuuto-hoy	koy	gerto-koy	koy	koy-koy
Augmentative								
Singular	ŋgii	gud-ii	ŋgii	mbuuto-wii	ŋgii	gerto-gii	ŋgii	koy-ŋgii

2.18. It will be noticed from tables 4 and 5 that, in some cases, similar suffixes, have been assigned to different grades. For instance, this is the case with classes 3 nde, 4 ndi, 5 ndu where suffixes -re, -ri, -ru are found in both grades A and B and -de, -di, -du are in grades A and C. This distinction proves necessary since the same suffixes are found in different grades in other classes. Thus in table 7 plural suffix -ɗe (class 19) in gerto-o-ɗe corresponds to the singular ŋgal (class 10) with grade C suffix -gal (i.e. gerto-gal) whereas -ɗe in koy-ɗe goes with a grade D suffix as seen from the singular form koy-ŋgal.

III Adjectives

2.19. There are fundamental differences between nouns and adjectives, and these differences can be summarised as follows:

Nouns are limited to a clearly defined range of classes, e.g. a particular singular class and a particular plural class.

- within the constraint of semantics, an adjective can be used with a noun of any class and it must formally agree in terms of class, with this noun. According to the dialect, a noun has up to seven forms and these are members of seven classes (see table 3 which gives five of these forms) whereas an adjective has up to 26 forms and these are members of all the 26 nominal classes (see table 6).

2.20. On the other hand, the adjective and the noun it qualifies may belong to different grades of the class, as illustrated by table 6.

2.21. In both Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro adjectives can be used attributively; they are then always found immediately after the noun(s) they modify, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro:

Nagge mawŋge "a big cow"
ŋgaari mawndi "a big bull"
rawaandu mawndu "a big dog"

2.22. When adjectives are used as predicates they are preceded by the particle ko which may or may not be immediately before them, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

ŋge'e nagge ko mawŋge "this cow is big"
Ndi'i ŋgaari ko mawndi "this bull is big"
Ndu'u rawaandu ko mawndu "this dog is big"

2.23. Adjectives may have corresponding forms in the verbal system, in the stative tense, and similar meanings can be expressed alternatively by the predicative use of the adjective (with ko) or by this stative construction, e.g.

ŋge'e nagge ko mawŋge "this cow is big"
OR
ŋge'e nagge no mawni "this cow is big"

Ndi'i ŋgaari ko mawndi "this bull is big"
OR
Ndi'i ŋgaari no mawni "this bull is big"

2.24. According to the semantics, the dialects offer in certain cases an adjective, or a past participle, or a verbal form, all possibly associated with the same stem or radical, e.g.

Neɗɗo moyy-o "a good person" (adjective)
" moyy-u-ɗo "a person who is good" (past participle)
" no moyy-i "a person is good" (verbal form)

Further stems of this type are as follows:

bon - "bad"
Juut - "tall"
tedd - "heavy"
fanɗ - "little"
yaaj - "wide"

2.25. There are other cases of a different nature, e.g.

ɓale - "black"
woɗe - "red"
rane - "white"

In all the above cases, there is no verbal form, as there would be for the items in 2.24. These items are here referred to as adjectival stems.

ŋgaari ɓale -e-ri "a black bull"
ndi ɓawlii "it has become black" (not ndii*ɓalii)

ŋgaari mbodɛ-e-ri "a red bull"
ndi wojjii "it has become red" (not ndi *bodɗii)

ŋgaari ndane-e-ri "a white bull"
ndi rawnii "it has become white" (not ndi *danii)

Further examples

neɗɗo daɓɓ-o "a short person"
himo raɓɓiɗi "he is short"
rawaandu ŋgor-du "a male dog"
ndu ŋgorɗii "it has become brave" (ŋgordude, lit. "to be male", and brave by implication)

2.26. Apart from nouns and adjectives, other nominals include the classes of items listed below .

Numerals	Noun substitutes	Specifiers
	Independent pronouns	Demonstratives
	Possessive pronouns	Referentials
	Possessive suffixes	Interrogatives
		Definitives

Subject pronouns
Object pronouns
Genitive pronouns
Relative pronouns

2.27. The next three chapters will give a further description of the morphology of nominals and will be arranged as follows:

Chapter 3: Distribution of classes in the two dialects
Chapter 4: Numerals
Chapter 5: Noun substitutes and specifiers

CHAPTER 3. DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES IN THE TWO DIALECTS

3.1. The previous chapter dealt with an outline of the class system. This chapter concerns itself with a detailed examination of the classes in the two dialects. The subject is dealt with in two main sections - Firstly, classes found in both dialects, secondly variations between the two dialects.

3.2. Before analysing the classes found in both dialects it will be pointed out that no one has been able to find the reasons why the various classes were formed. Gaden noted this difficulty in the following statement:
"Les conceptions de la nature qui se sont traduites autrefois par la formation des classes et la réunion dans la plupart d'entre elles de groupes homogènes et de choses diverses..... Ces conceptions sont probablement ignorées aujourd'hui des Peuls" (1).

3.3. There is no space in this chapter to speculate about the reasons behind the assignments of nouns to individual classes. Generalisations covering meanings of nouns are based upon close examination of lexical items found in each class.

I. Classes found in both dialects

3.4. The following list of pronouns of reference shows that there seem to be twenty-one classes common to Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro:

Personal classes

1. o
2. ɓe

Non-personal classes

3.	nde	6.	ŋge	10.	ŋgal	13.	ka	17.	ɗaŋ(2)
4.	ndi	7.	ŋgo	11.	ŋgol	14.	ki	18.	ɗuŋ(2)
5.	ndu	8.	ŋgu	12.	mba(2)	15.	ko	19.	ɗe
								20.	ɗi

Diminutive classes

21. ŋgel
22. kal
24. koy(2)

Augmentative

25. ŋgal

3.5. The description follows the above order, i.e. personal/ non-personal, diminutive/augmentative classes.

Personal classes

Class 1 o
Class 2 ɓe

---

(1) Gaden, H, 1913, p.50

(2) mba, ɗaŋ, ɗuŋ, koy have been selected to represent the variety of forms found in both dialects. Phonetic variations between the classes will be examined later in this chapter.

3.6. Classes 1 o and 2 ɓe are the personal singular and plural classes. They include in both dialects derived and non-derived nouns, e.g.

(i) derived

debbo, plur. rewɓe, "woman" (lit. the one whose task it is to follow, derived from the verb rewde "to follow")

lando, plur. lamɓe, "king" (lit. the one whose task it is to rule, derived from laamaade "to rule")

sanyoowo, plur. sanyooɓe, "weaver" (lit. the one whose job it is to weave, derived from the verb sanyude "to weave")

baylo, plur. waylubɓe "blacksmith" (lit. the one whose job it is to change, to give shape to metals, derived from the verb sanyude "to give shape")

(ii) Non-derived

neɗɗo "person"
yimɓe "persons"

3.7. It has been argued that, of all classes in the language, personal classes are among the most homogenous; but even here there are a few items in the o class which do not refer to human beings and a few items referring to human beings which are not in the o class. These will be mentioned where they occur.

3.8. The next classes to be examined are the non-personal ones.

Class 3 nde; plural in class 19 ɗe

3.9. This class includes items with a wide range of meanings, e.g.

a) Some little creatures and birds of prey, e.g.

wojere	"hare"
jiire	"squirrel"
yaare	"scorpion"
segeleere	"hawk" (FJ only)

b) places and times, e.g.

juulirde	"mosque"
jaŋŋgirde	"school"
ruumirde	"summer encampment"
seeɗirde	"dry-season encampment"
dabbirde	"cold-season emcampment"
fitaare	"forest"
nyalaande	"day"
hitaande	"year"
yontere	"week"

c) grains and fruit, e.g.

abbere "grain"
ɓoore "monkey-nut"

d) certain parts of the body, e.g.

hoore "head"
yiitere "eye"
ɓernde "heart"

holɓunde "ankle"
hinere "nose"
daande "neck"

e) A large number of abstract nouns

tikkere "anger" (FT only)
yawaare "disrespect"
innde "name"
yennoore "insult" (FJ only)
huunde "thing"

f) Miscellaneous

horde "calabash"
woofoonde "egg" (FJ only)
hootonde "ring"
basalleere "onion" (FJ only)
suddaare "blanket" (FJ only)
kembuure "charcoal" (FJ only)

3.10. Nde occurs with three nouns referring to persons, one in Fuuta Tooro and two in Fuuta Jaloo, eg.

FT: maccuŋgerde "big slave", side by side with maccuŋgal (class 25 ŋgal)

FJ: kiikalaare "old man"
maamaare "old lady"

All three nouns have pejorative meanings.

Class 4 ndi; plural in classes 19 ɗe and 20 ɗi: (cf. 3.15)

3.11. This class is well known for containing nouns of male animals: "Tous les noms d'animaux de cette classe désignent des mâles" (3); this is true for the two dialects considered here.

ɓujiri "fat ox" (plur. ɓuji, class 20 ɗi)
kalaldi (kalhaldi) "bull" (plur. kalali, class 20 ɗi)
ndamndi "he-goat" (plur. damɗi, class 20 ɗi)
ŋgaari "bull" (plur. ga'i, class 20 ɗi)
pallardi "lizard" (plur. pallarɗe class 19 ɗe)

3.12. This feature is all the more important as the language does not usually have the means of making male/female distinctions such as are found in many European leanguages. Classes 1 o and 2 ɓe refer to male and female human beings alike. For the moment it will suffice to mention that the male/female distinction is made by the use of the appropriate form of the adjectival stems wor-"male" and rew - :"female".

e.g. cukalel gorel/cukalel deyel "little boy/little girl"

3.13. Class 4 ndi also occurs with items having the following meanings.

a) uncountables and abstract nouns

leydi "earth, country" (pl. leyɗe, class 19 ɗe)
njaareendi "sand" (pl. njaareeje, class 19 ɗe)
cuddi "fog" (pl. cuudiiji, class 20 ɗi)
njuuri "honey" (pl.njuuriiji, class 20 ɗi)
ɓurtaari "profit, advantage" (plur. ɓurtaariiji, class 20 ɗi)

---

(3) Homburger, L, 1929, p. 105

b) Various types of grains, some meals and metals

ŋgawri "millet" (plur. gawe, class 19 ɗe)
nyiiri "food" (pl. nyi'e, class 19 ɗe)
lacciri "couscous" (pl. lacce, class 19 ɗe)
njanndi "metal" (pl. njanɗe, class 19 ɗe)

c) Various

njooɓaari "provision for a trip" (plur. njooɓaaje, class 19 ɗe)

3.14. The class also includes the Fuuta Tooro mboomri "virgin".

3.15. In general, nominals in class 4 ndi referring to animals have their plural in class 20 ɗi whereas nouns referring to inanimate objects have theirs in class 19 ɗe, e.g.

ŋgaari pl. ga'i (di) "bull"
leydi pl. leyɗe (de) "country"

Class 5 ndu; plural in class 20 ɗi

3.16. The meanings found in this class include,

a) Names of some quadrupeds and birds, e.g.

rawaandu "dog"
fowru "hyena"
waandu "monkey"
saafaandu "monkey"
foondu "pigeon"

b) Names for certain circular and cylindrical objects, e.g.

faandu "gourd"
suudu "hut"
defirdu "kitchen"
Lewru "moon"
serdu "flute"
wowru "mortar"

c) Names for certain parts of the body

reedu "stomach"
wuddu "navel"
nowru "ear"
howru "knee"
enndu "breast"
ɓanndu "body"

d) Nouns derived from certain verbs

nyaamndu "manner of eating" derived from the verb
nyamde "to eat"

asdu "manner of digging" derived from the verb
asde "to dig"

aawdu "manner of sowing" derived from the verb
awde "to sow"

e) Miscellaneous

henndu "wind"
weendu "lake"
habaaru "news" (Arabic)

Class 6 ŋge; plural in class 20 ɗi

3.17. Class 6 ŋge comprise 4 items in Fuuta Jaloo, "sun", "fire"[4], "cow" and "hunger";

naange "sun"
yiite "fire"
nagge "cow"
heege "hunger"

3.18. This has prompted some scholars to suggest that the "sun", "fire" and "cow" being major benefactors for the Fulɓe, have all been grouped in the same class; but this theory is weakened by the presence in the same class, of heege "hunger".

Class 7 ŋgo; plural in class 19 ɗe

3.19. Class 7 includes the following:

a) Certain abstract nouns, e.g.

miijo "thought"
suno "covetousness"

b) Certain parts of the body

yeeso "face"
juŋŋgo "hand, arm"
ɓaawo "back"

---

(4) three in Fuuta Tooro where the noun for "fire" is a different word (i.e. Jayŋgol) and it is in class 11 ŋgol.

c) Various

jawo "bracelet"
wuro "village"
jalo "hoe"
maayo "river"
luumo "market (FJ only)

Class 8 ŋgu; plural in class 20 ɗi

3.20. Among nominals occuring in the ŋgu class one may distinguish;

a) Names of certain animals, e.g.

puccu "horse"
cewŋgu "leopard"

b) Some abstract nouns, e.g.

nyawu "disease"
nayewu "old age"
ŋgorgu "courage"
cukaaku "youth"

Class 10 ŋgal; plural in class 19 ɗe

3.21. It includes nominals referring to "wood", e.g.
leggal "wood" "piece of wood"
bullal "thorn" (giyal in Fuuta Tooro)
undugal "pestle"

3.22. Class 10 also includes names of some large birds, some parts of the body and some abstract nouns, e.g.

a) large birds,

dutal "vulture"
gerlal "francolin"
jigawal "vulture"

b) parts of the body,

koyŋgal "leg"
yi'al "bone"

c) Abstract nouns,

munyal "patience"
danyal "gain profit"
kuugal "deed"

d) Miscellaneous,

beembal "granary"
meselal "needle"

Class 11 ŋgol; plural in class 20 ɗi

3.23. Class 11 ŋgol includes names of long and thin objects, e.g.

ɓoggol "rope"
leeɓol "animal hair"

---

(5) Gaden, H 1913, p. 291

gaarawol "thread"

3.24. Furthermore some nominals point to length in space or time and abstract nouns found here generally contain an idea of duration, e.g.

a) length
laawol "path"
keerol "frontier"

b) Abstract nouns
kulol "fright, fear"
diwol "flight"
jaaŋgol "cold"

3.25. Such nouns as "proverb", "tale" and the Fuuta Tooro word for "fire" are also found in class 11 ŋgol, e.g.

tinndol "proverb"
taalol "tale, story"
jayŋgol "fire"

Class 12 mba (ba in FT); plural in classes 19 ɗe and 20 ɗi

(cf. 326-27 for appropriate use of ɗe, ɗi)

3.26. This class includes nouns with the following meanings:

large animals, e.g.
nyiiwa "elephant"
mbabba "donkey"
ŋgeelooba "camel"
noora "crocodile"

All these nouns have their plurals in class 20 ɗi.

3.27. ŋgesa "field, farm" seems to be the only noun in this class that does not refer to living creatures and it may be significant that it should make its plural in ɗe. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the initial consonant of the pronoun of reference in Fuuta Tooro is a bi-labial plosive b and not a nasal compound, as in Fuuta Jaloo.

Class 13 ka; plural in ɗe

a) Abstract nouns,

ɗoŋka "thirst"
haala "words, speech"
ŋguyka "theft"

b) Miscellaneous

laana "canoe"
ŋgayka "hole, often in the ground"

3.28. This class seems to have been chosen for receiving loan words ending in -a, in both dialects, e.g.

sokla "need" (Arabic)
haala "words, speech " (Arabic)
lampa "lamp" (French)
horma "respect" (Arabic)
janfa "treason" (Manding)
diina "religion" (Arabic)

Class 14 ki; plural in ɗe

3.29. It is the "tree" class, as opposed to the "wood" class (ŋgal), e.g.

tamaro-hi "date-tree"
leemunne-hi "orange-tree"
ɓohehi "baobab-tree"
jaɓɓehi "jujube-tree"

3.30. Class 14 ki also includes a variety of other nouns, e.g.

daŋki "bed"
laɓi "knife"
naafki "armpit" (FT only)
woŋkii "soul"

Class 15 ko; plural in class 19 ɗe

3.31. ko is the "grass and foliage" class, e.g.

huɗo "grass"
haako "foliage"

3.32. hunduko "mouth" is also found in this class.

Class 17 daŋ (ɗam in FT) plural in class 19 ɗe

3.33. This class occurs with "liquids", as underlined by Gaden. "C'est la classe des liquides y compris le sel ...." (6), and as in the following illustrations:

---

(6) Gaden, H, 1913, p. 47

Fuuta Jaloo		Fuuta Tooro
kosaŋ	"milk"	kosam
ndiyaŋ	"water"	ndiyam
njaraŋ	"drink"	njaram
landaŋ	"salt"	landam

3.34. Besides it includes abstract nouns such as,

Fuuta Jaloo		Fuuta Tooro
ngurdaŋ	"life"	ŋgurdam
kiraŋ	"jealousy"	kiram
endaŋ	"later"	endam

Class 18 ɗuŋ (ɗum in FT)

3.35. This class is often regarded as the neuter; it does not have any nominals peculiar to its class and it is used to avoid reference to any particular class, e.g.

lootirgal "wooden object used for washing" (class 10 ŋgal)
lootirdi "metallic object used for washing" (class 4 ndi)

But

lootirɗuŋ "any object used for washing" (class 18 ɗuŋ)

Plural classes 19 ɗe and 20 ɗi

Class 19 ɗe

Class 20 ɗi

3.36 ɗe and ɗi are the plural counterparts of non-personal singular classes. The occurence of these classes has been dealt with during the description of individual singular classes.

3.37 Having dealt with personal and non-personal classes, it is to diminutives and augmentatives that we now turn.

3.38 Diminutive and augmentative forms occur with appropriate nouns of both personal and non-personal classes. They have no nominals peculiar to their classes. This description will start with a look at diminutive classes.

Diminutive classes

Class 21 ŋgel

3.39. This class may convey an idea of smallness or physical weakness according to the item, it is sometimes used to express such feelings as affection or hate.

suka "young man" gives cukalel "child" (affectionate)
wudere "cloth" gives gudel "small cloth"
debbo "woman" gives deyel "little lady" (affectionate)
gorko "man" gives gorel "little man" (pejorative)

Class 22 kal

3.40. Class 22 refers to small quantities in mass or uncountable nouns, thus,

landaŋ "salt" gives laŋkal "small quantity of salt"
kosaŋ "milk" gives koccal "small quantity of milk"
ndiyaŋ "water" gives dihal "small quantity of water"
leydi "earth" gives leykal "small quantity of earth"

Class 24 koy/kon

3.41. Class 24 is the plural counterpart of diminutive singular classes, thus

gudel "small cloth" gives gudoy (FJ)/ŋgudon (FT)
"small cloths"

cukalel "child" gives cukaloy (FJ)/cukalon (FT)
"children"

deyel "little lady" gives deyoy (FJ)/ndeyon (FT)
"little ladies"

gorel "little man" gives goroy (FJ)/ŋgoron (FT)
"little men"

Augmentative class 25 ŋgal

3.42. This class is associated with augmentative singular meaning, thus,

rawaandu "dog" gives dawaŋgal "big dog"
debbo "woman" gives deyal "big lady"
gorko "man" gives goral "big man"
wudere "cloth" gives gudal "big cloth"

3.43. The two dialects have no regular augmentative plural forms although other dialects do. Augmentative plural meaning is expressed for instance by the use of the appropriate plural form of "big" with the ordinary plural of a noun. For instance, the augmentative singular form of wudere "cloth" is gudal, but the augmentative plural form will only be gude (plural of wudere, in class 19 ɗe) and mawɗe (plural of mawnde "big", in ɗe).

3.44. After the classes common to the two dialects we now turn to consider the variations that occur between the two dialects.

Variations between the two dialects

3.45. The following plan will be adopted for the study of this variation.

I	Equivalence of classes
II	Corresponding words in different classes
III	Variations in agreement
IV	Variations in the category of consonants
V	Variations in the forms of class suffixes

I Equivalence of classes

3.46. There is equivalence of classes when a missing class is replaced by a different class. This feature occurs with the four Fuuta Jaloo classes missing in Fuuta Tooro, i.e. IX and XXVI ŋgii, XVI kol, XXII kuŋ.

3.47. Nominals of the ŋgii class in Fuuta Jaloo occur in

class 8 ŋgu for non-personal singular and class 25 ŋgal for augmentatives, e.g.

class IX ŋgii/class 8 ŋgu

Fuuta Jaloo: baalii "sheep" (class IX)
nyaakii "bee" (class IX)

gives in Futta Tooro: mbaalu "sheep" (class 8)
nyaaku "bee" (class 8)

3.48. The equivalence between classes IX ŋgii and 8 ŋgu occurs mostly with insects.

class XXVI ŋgii/class 25 ŋgal

Fuuta Jaloo: guudii and gudal "big cloth"
give gudal "big cloth" in Fuuta Tooro

3.49. Nyalhol "calf" is the only member of the kol class in Fuuta Jaloo. It has two corresponding forms nyalel and nyale in Fuuta Tooro where they are members of the ŋgel and ŋge classes.

3.50. Fuuta Jaloo nouns in the Kuŋ class occur in Fuuta Tooro as members of the ŋgel class, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo: gudu ŋ "small cloth"
gudel "small cloth" in Fuuta Tooro

II Corresponding words in different classes

3.51. As a rule nominal stems remain in the same singular classes

in the two dialects. Furthermore even in cases where there are different stems from one dialect to another they still remains in the same singular class e.g.

"dog"	(class 5 ndu)	rawaandu, bareeru, kutiiru, Kalbuuru etc.
"cooking pot"	(class 3 nde)	wureere, defirde, fayannde etc.

3.52. Occasionally there occurs some interchange between the various classes, but the class suffix that is common to the two dialects often remains as an alternative form. For instance galle "house, home" is usually a plural noun in de class, but some speakers in Fuuta Tooro tend to use it in the singular class 1 o, galle o. Its plural counterpart is then galleeji "houses". It is not in the scope/interchangeability since "the class of suffix with which a given stem is associated in a nominal of a given meaning is strictly a lexical not a grammatical matter".(7) It will however prove interesting to take a look at random examples and show the different usage in the two dialects.

i) Fuuta Tooro: lekki "tree" and "medicine" (class 14 ki)
leggal "piece of wood" (class 10 ŋgal)

Fuuta Jaloo: leggal "piece of wood and also tree" (class 10 gal)
lekki "medicine" (class 14 ki)

---

(7) Arnott, D.W., 1960, p. 270

/ of this chapter to make an exhaustive investigation of such cases of

The Fuuta Jaloo leggal assumes the meanings of both lekki (class 14) and leggal (class 10) in Fuuta Tooro.

ii) Fuuta Tooro: meccal "occupation" (class 10 ŋgal)
mecce "occupation/occupations"
(class 19 ɗe and class 1 o)

In Fuuta Tooro mecce "occupation" has two pronouns of reference, ɗe plural and o singular. There is also a form meccal (class 10 ŋgal). In Fuuta Jaloo only mecce occurs with pronoun of reference ɗe;

Fuuta Tooro
kala ko ŋgaddanɗaa sakke e meccal o liggoto tan
(literally "whatever bring-you shoe-maker as job he will work only")

"A shoe-maker is able to do whatever job that is brought to him"

3.53. The same thing occurs when gollal "work" (class 10 ŋgal) is used alongside golle "work" (class 19 ɗe) in Fuuta Tooro, e.g.

So tawii Alla waawnii kam ŋgal gollal ma mi naftor ŋgal
(literally "if it occurs God teaches me this skill shall I make use of it")

"If God permits me to learn this skill I shall make great use of it"

3.54. Fuuta Tooro has a further variant for the word paɗal "shoe" commonly used in Fuuta Jaloo.

iii) Fuuta Tooro: faɗo "shoe" (class 7 ŋgo)/paɗal "shoe" (class 10 ŋgal)
Fuuta Jaloo: paɗal "shoe" (class 10 ŋgal)

3.55. In some localities of Fuuta Tooro there are instances of overlapping between ndi and ki in ɗowdi, ɗofki, ŋguleendi and ŋguleeki.

iv) Fuuta Tooro: ɗowdi "shade, shadow" (class 4 ndi)
ɗofki "shade, shadow" (class 14 ki)
ŋguleendi "heat" (class 4 ndi)
ŋguleeki "heat" (class 14 ki)

Fuuta Jaloo: ɗowdi "shade, shadow" (class 4 ndi)
ŋguleendi "heat" (class 4 ndi)

III Variation in agreement

3.56. It occurs when a word may have agreement with pronouns of reference of more than one class.

Normal agreement:

mbaroodi ɓaleeri ndi (literally lion black this)
"this black lion" (class 4 ndi)
puccu ɓaleewu ŋgu (literally horse black this)
"this black horse" (class 8 ngu)

Variations in agreement

mbaroodi 'o "this lion"
puccu 'o "this horse"

3.57. It will be interesting to have a look at the various attempts to explain the reasons of such variations.

One of the reasons put forward has already been mentioned earlier. Present day Fulɓe, and above all Pulaar speakers from Fuuta Tooro, do not seem to be able to define the reasons that led to the assignment of nouns to the various classes. Therefore new words will be assigned to the language on the basis of their external features: " Les conceptions de la nature qui se sont traduites autrefois par la formation des classes, (ces conception) n'ont peut-être jamais été connues des Toucouleurs pour lesquels le Poular est de leur propre aveu, une langue d'emprunt. C'est ce qui explique que, lorsqu'ils adoptent un mot étranger, ils ne répugnent pas à le placer dans la classe dont il se rapproche le plus par son aspect extérieur " (8).

This may be the reason why tuuba "trousers" and musiiba "mishap" are assigned to the same class. A similar case occurs when maaro "rice" is assigned indifferently to classes 1 ɗo, 7 ŋgo, 15 ko. This stem is usually found in class 15 ko in both dialects,

maaro o
maaro ŋgo "rice"
maaro ko

3.58. The second explanation suggests that the importance of agreements depends upon the level of language. Obviously agreements will be respected in formal speech and written materials but they will tend to be more relaxed in ordinary speech: " Les accords du nominal et de l'épithète

sont observés dans tous les textes pouvant être assimilés à une forme d'expression littéraire ou un exercise de valeur littéraire ... Dans les récits contes dans la langue journalière par les peuls, l'expression de la détermination épithétique s'écarte beaucoup plus des normes du peul standard"[9].

IV Variations in the category of consonants

3.59. Normally initial consonants are the same in both dialects, but there are a few instances of differences, as shown in table 1. The nasal compound in Fuuta Jaloo is replaced by a simple stop in Fuuta Tooro; initial consonants g and s in Fuuta Jaloo are replaced by j and c in Fuuta Tooro.

Table 1. Instances of variations in initial consonants

Name of class	Category of initial consonant	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Meaning
10. ŋgal	g/j	gerlal	jarlal	"bush-fowl"
11. ŋgol	g/j	gimol	jimol	"song"
8. ŋgu	mb/b	mbatu	batu	"gathering"
1. o	mb/b	mbileejo	bileejo	"magician"
5. ndu	nd/d	ndowru	doomru	"mouse"
4. ndi	ŋg/g	ŋgawri	gawri	"millet"
1. o	ŋg/g	ŋgaynaako	gaynaako	"shepherd"
8. ŋgu	s/c	sukaaku	cukaagu	"youth"

(8) Gaden, H, 1913, P.50

(9) Lacroix, H, 1967, pp 305-6

3.60. There is a tendency for variations to occur in a number of nominal stems, as shown in table 2 below.

Table 2. Instances of variations in nominal stems

Name of class	Category of Consonants	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Meaning
3. nde	-n-/-m-	linsere	limsere	"rag"
11. ŋgol	-n-/-m-	concol	comcol	"clothing"
10. ŋgal	-y-/-s-	koyŋgal	kosŋgal	"leg"
13. ka	-y-/-s-	ŋgayka	ŋgaska	"hold"
5. ndu	-w-/-f-	nowru	nofru	"ear"
5. ndu	-w-/-f-	howru	hofru	"knee"
13. ka	-ŋ-/-m-	doŋka	domka	"thirst"
10. ŋgal	-ŋ-/-m-	deŋŋgal	demŋgal	"tongue"
19. ɗe	-'-/-h-	ba'e	bahe	"beards"

V Variations in the forms of class suffixes

3.61. Most class suffixes tend to have the same forms in the two dialects; but phonetic variations occur in the forms of a number of suffixes.

(i) The Fuuta Jaloo final velar nasal is m in Fuuta Tooro, e.g.

class name	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Meanings
17. ɗaŋ/ɗam	ndiyaŋ	ndiyam	"water"
17. ɗaŋ/ɗam	kosaŋ	kosam	"milk"
18. ɗuŋ/ɗum	goɗɗuŋ	goɗɗum	"something"

(ii) The final palatal semi-vowel y in Fuuta Jaloo is replaced by n in Fuuta Tooro. This occurs with the diminutive plural class, as exemplified below.

Class name	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Meanings
24. koy/kon	puloy	pulon	"little Fulbe"
24. koy/kon	gudoy	ŋgudon	"small cloths"
24. koy/kon	jawoy	njawon	"small bracelets"

(iii) There occur variations from Fuuta Jaloo to Fuuta Tooro in the suffixes of the following classes:

6. ŋge, 10 ŋgal, 11 ŋgol, 21 ŋgel, 24 koy/kon, 25 ŋgal.

In Fuuta Jaloo all these classes have a suffix with a w-initial consonant, except for class 24 koy which has an h, e.g.

-we, -wal. -wol, -wel, -wal for ŋge, ŋgal, ŋgol, ŋgel, ŋgal
-hoy for koy.

In all these cases the labio-velar semi-vowel w and the glottal fricative h in Fuuta Jaloo are palatal semi-vowels y in Fuuta Tooro; this feature is shown by the following table.

Class name	Examples of nouns common to both dialects	Rane - "white"	
		Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
6. ŋge	nagge "cow"	rane-we	rane-ye
10. ŋgal	gertogal "hen"	dane-wal	dane-yal
11. ŋgol	loocol "stick"	dane-wol	dane-yol

Table continued...

Diminutives			
21. ŋgel	gertogel "chicken"	dane-wel	dane-yel
24. koy/kon	gertokoy "chickens" gertokon	dane-hoy	ndane-yon
Augmentative			
25. ŋgal	gudal "big cloth"	dane-wal	danė-yal

Summary

There are very few clear-cut relationships between the classes and the meanings of the members of any one class. Apart from the personal class, singular classes are extremely heterogenous. Nouns of certain semantic categories are assigned to several different classes, specially parts of the body, birds, animals.

In general the two dialects share most of the features of the nominal class system.

CHAPTER 4: NUMERALS

A. Cardinal numerals

Table 1: List of cardinal numerals in the two dialects.

Category	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
1	go'o	go'o/goo
2	ɗiɗi	ɗiɗi
3	tati	tati
4	nayi	nayi
5	jowi	joyi
6	jeego'o	jeegom
7	jeeɗiɗi	jeeɗiɗi
8	jeetati	jeetati
9	jeenayi	jeenayi
10	sappo	sappo
11	sappo e go'o	sappo e go'o/goo
12	sappo e ɗiɗi	sappo e ɗiɗi
20	noogay	noogaas
30	cappanɗe tati	capanɗe tati
40	cappanɗe nayi	capanɗe nayi
50	cappanɗe jowi	capanɗe joyi
100	teemedere	teemedere
110	teemedere e sappo	teemedere e sappo
200	teemeɗɗe ɗiɗi	teemedde ɗiɗi
300	teemeɗɗe tati	teemedde tati
500	teemeɗɗe jowi	teemedde joyi

To be continued....

Table continued...

1000	wuluure	ujunere
2000	guluuji didi	ujunaaji didi
1000000	milyoŋ	milyoŋ

4.1. Cardinal numerals in both dialects have single words for half (feccere) 1,2,3,4,5,10,20,100,1000, 1000000 (cf. Table 1 for illustrations). Remaining numerals are derivatives; forms from 6 to 9 are obtained by adding 1 to 4 to the figure 5, i.e.

jowi/joyi e go'o "5 and 1" gives jeego'o/jeegom
jowi/joyi e didi "5 and 2" gives jeedidi "seven"
jowi/joyi e tati "5 and 3" gives jeetati "eight"
jowi/joyi e nayi "5 and 4" gives jeenayi "nine"

4.2. As shown in Table 1, the forms indicating tens are sappo "ten", noogay/noogaas "twenty" and a combination of the relevant unit number with the terms cappande/capande for forms from thirty to ninety, e.g.

cappande/capande tati "thirty" (cf. 4.9)
cappande/capande nayi "forty" (cf. 4.9)

4.3. Singular and plural forms are used in both dialects in order to distinguish 100 and 1000 from their multiples, e.g.

(i) teemedere "one hundred" gives teemeɗɗe/teemedde[1] ɗiɗi "two hundred"

(ii) wuluure/ujunere "one thousand" gives guluuji/ ujunaaji ɗiɗi "two thousand"

4.4. The term milyoŋ "million", found in the two dialects, is a loan from the French language million.

4.5. Some space will now be devoted to a number of phonetic and syntactic variations between the two dialects, as shown in Table 1.

4.6. The bi-labial w in the Fuuta Jaloo form Jowi "five" is replaced by the palatal semi-vowel y (joyi) in Fuuta Tooro.

4.7. The Fuuta Jaloo form jeego'e "six" takes a final bi-labial nasal m, instead of the glottal stop and the subsequent vowel,

jeego'o/jeegom

4.8. The palatal semi-vowel y, found in the Fuuta Jaloo form noogay "twenty" is replaced by a duplication of the final vowel a, together with the addition of an alveolar s, in Fuuta Tooro,

noogay/noogaas

---

(1) but see also 4.10

4.9. The Fuuta Jaloo term cappaⁿde "multiples of ten" is characterized by the dropping of one of the bi-labial plosives in Fuuta Tooro,

Cappaⁿde/capaⁿde

4.10. The glottalized consonants ᵈᵈ of the plural form teemeᵈᵈe "multiples of hundred" are replaced by alveolar plosives dd in Fuuta Tooro, i.e.

teemeᵈᵈe/teemedde

4.11. It will be mentioned that both dialects tend to prefer the contracted forms of cappaⁿde/capaⁿde and teemeᵈᵈe/teemeᵈᵈe - such forms are obtained by a replacement of suffixes -ᵈe/-ᵈe with a glottal stop, e.g.

cappaⁿde/capaⁿde -----> cappan'/capan'
"multiples of ten"

teemeᵈᵈe/teemedde -----> teeme'
"multiples of hundred"

(v) As shown above, the plural suffix -ᵈe (teemeᵈᵈe "hundred") is -de in Fuuta Tooro,

teemeᵈᵈe ----> teemedde "multiples of ten"

Both cappaⁿde/capaⁿde and teemeᵈᵈe/teemedde tend to be reserved for emphatic sentences and formal speech.

(vi) Separate words are used for "thousand" e.g.

Yimɓe beŋ naŋŋgaa. Wuluure sokaa. Wuluure accitaa.
"The people were caught. A thousand were jailed and a thousand released" (Fuuta Jaloo)

Tawi heen fergo nelaaɗo ina yaara ujunere
"It was in the year 1000 (Mɔslem calendar)"

4.12. Separate words are used in the two dialects to refer to the term "thousand". This is wuluure (plural guluuji) in Fuuta Jaloo and ujunere (plural ujunaaji) in Fuuta Tooro.

B. Ordinal Numerals.

As shown in Table 2 below, the stems of ordinal numerals are based on those of cardinal numerals, except for 'first' where the stem is aran-, which is clearly not connected with go'o "one".

Table 2: Ordinal stems in the two dialects

Category	Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro
1st	aran-
2nd	ɗiɗ-aɓ-
3rd	tat-aɓ-
4th	nay-aɓ-
5th	jow-aɓ-/joy-aɓ-

To be continued....

Table 2 continued...

6th	jeeg-aɓ-
7th	jeeɗid-aɓ-
8th	jeetat-aɓ-
9th	jeenay-aɓ-
10th	sappo-ɓ-

Table 3. Examples of ordinal numerals

Category	Personal debbo/rewɓe "woman/women"	Non-personal hor-de/kor-e "calabash/calabashes"	Diminutive
1st	Aran-o	aran(e)-re	Aran-el
2nd	ɗid-aɓ-o	ɗid-aɓ(e)-re	ɗid-aɓ-el
3rd	tat-aɓ-o	tat-aɓ(e)-re	tat-aɓ-el
4th	nay-aɓ-o	nay-aɓ(e)-re	nay-aɓ-el
5th	ñjow-aɓ-o	jow-aɓ(e)-re	jow-aɓ-el
6th	njeeg-aɓ-o	jeeg-aɓ(e)-re	jeeg-aɓ-el
7th	njeeɗid-aɓ-o	jeeɗid-aɓ(e)-re	jeeɗid-aɓ-el
8th	njeetat-aɓ-o	jeetat-aɓ(e)-re	jeetat-aɓ-el
9th	njeenay-aɓ-o	jeenay-aɓ(e)-re	jeenay-aɓ-el
10th	sappo-ɓ-o	sappo-ɓ(e)-re	sappo-ɓ-el

4.13. Ordinal numerals from second to ninth are obtained through a succession of two combinations.

(i) Cardinal stems are combined with the ordinal affix -aɓ-, and (ii) the result is combined with relevant nominal suffixes, e.g.

ɗiɗ-aɓ-o "second" (class 1 o)
tat-aɓ-o "third" (class 1 o)
nay-aɓ-e-re "fourth" (class 3 nde)

(cf. Table 3 for further illustrations)

4.14. The ordinal "tenth" is composed of the full cardinal sappo "ten", the affix -ɓ- and relevant nominal suffixes, e.g.

sappo-ɓ-o (class 1 o)
sappo-ɓ-e-re (class 3 nde)
sappo-ɓ-i-ri (class 4 ndi)

(this case and the case below are illustrated in Table 3)

4.15. As for the stem aran- "first" it does not combine with any ordinal affix, presumably because it is an ordinal stem itself. It combines directly with relevant nominal classes instead, e.g.

aran-o (class 1 o)
aran-e-re (class 3 nde)
aran-i-ri (class 4 ndi)

C. Adjectival numerals

4.16. The types of numerals listed in table 4 below behave like adjectives; they have concordant and non-concordant forms and some are subject to initial consonant alternations.

Table 4. List of adjectival numeral stems in the two dialects.

Category	Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro
1	woot-
2	ɗiɗ-
3	tat-
4	nay-
5	jow-/joy-
6	jeego'o/jeegom
7	jeeɗiɗ-
8	jeetat-
9	jeenay-
10	sappo(i)
11	sappo e go'o(i)
12	sappo e ɗiɗ-
20	noogay/noogaas(i)
30	cappanɗe/capanɗe tat-
40	cappanɗe/capanɗe nay-
100	teemedere(i)
200	teemeɗɗe ɗiɗi(i)
1000	wuluure/ujunere(i)
2000	guluuji/ujunaaji ɗiɗi(i)
1000000	milyoŋ(i)

(i) These adjectival forms do not undergo any changes. (cf. 4.17, 18, 19 and Table 5)

Table 5. Illustrations of adjectival numerals with personal/ Non-personal and diminutive suffixes (nominal stems nedd- "person, jal- "hoe", suka "young person").

Category of Numeral	Personal nedd-o/yim-be "person/persons"	Non-personal Jal-o/Jal-e "hoe/hoes"	Diminutive cuka-lel/cuka-loy "child"
1	goot-o	woot-o	goot-al
2	did-o	didi	did-oy/on
3	tat-o	tati	tat-oy/-on
4	nay-o	nayi	nay-oy/-on
5	njow-o/njoy-o	jowi/joyi	njow-oy/-njoy-on
6	njeego'o/njeegom	jeego'o/ jeegom	njeegoo/njeegom
7	njeedid-o	jeedidi	njeedid-oy/-on
8	njeetat-o	jeetati	njeetat-oy/-on
9	njeenay-o	jeenay-i	njeenay-oy/-on
10	sappo	sappo	sappo
11	sappo e go'o	sappo e go'o	sappo e go'o
12	sappo e did-o	sappo e didi	sappo e did-oy/-on
20	noogay/noogaas	noogay/ noogaas	noogay/noogaas
30	cap(p)ande tat-o	cap(p)ande tati	cappande tatoy/-on
40	cap(p)ande nay-o	cap(p)ande nayi	cappande nayoy/-on
100	teemedere	teemedere	teemedere
200	teemedde didi	teemedde didi	teemedde didi
1000	wuluure/ujunere	wuluure/ ujunere	wuluure/ujunere
2000	guluuji didi	guluuji/ juunaaji didi	guluuji/ujunaaji didi
1000,000	milyoŋ	milyoŋ	milyoŋ

4.17. It is well to mention that concordant forms are here taken to mean the numerals the endings of which agree with the suffixes of relevant nominal groups; in contrast, non-concordant forms do not have concord suffixes.

4.18. The concordant suffix for personal numerals is -o; concordant forms of this category include the following: (cf. Table 5)

a) Numerals 1 to 5 and 7 to 9, e.g.

Walyaaɓe njow-o.	"five saints"
Sukaaɓe ɓeŋ timmay nay-o maa njow-o	"there could be four or five young people"
Debbo oo funi ɓiɓɓe did-o ɓe inniri oo biddo Jalla, ɓe inniri oodoo Umayru	"The woman gave birth to twins. One was named after Jalla, the other one after Umayru"

b) Forms between 12 and 19, e.g.

Gurupmaa fow so famdii famdii ma won yimɓe sappoo e njoy-o	"However little a group is, it cannot be less than 15 peoples"

(Context: Rice planting groups along the River Senegal, in Fuuta Tooro)

Almaami Bookar and Teekuŋ muŋ felli ɓe kadi, ɓe liɓi Mbodi yaayaa e yimɓe makko buy, hono sappo e ɗiɗ-o.	"Almaami Bookar and his army shot them, they killed Mbodi Yaayaa and several of his followers, about 12 of them" (2)

c) Multiples of ten from 30 upwards, e.g.

Yimɓe capan' tat-o	"thirty people"
Heeferɓe cappanɗe njeeɗiɗ-o	"seventy pagans"

Non-concordant forms of personal numeral include, 6, 10, 11, 20, 100 and its multiples, 1000 and its multiples.

Almaamiiɓe njeego'o faabii mo. Haaɓe buy nanngaa,Lappol ŋgol yonay yimɓe teemeɗɗe jeeɗiɗi	"6 Kings came to his rescue. Several people were made prisoners. The column can reach 700 people"

4.19. For non-personal numeral stem, the only concordant form seems to be "one", e.g.

Jalo wooto	"one hoe"
leggal gootal	"one stick"
rawaandu wooturu	"one dog"

All the remaining non-personal forms are the same as cardinal numerals, e.g.

---

(2) Sow, A.I. 1966, p. 210

Mbaala, Gural ŋgal inde jeedidi	'Mbaala, Big City with seven nouns" (Fuuta Tooro)
Guruppaaji capan' tati e jeedidi na ni do e gesa he	"thirty seven groups are here, as part of this farm" (Fuuta Tooro)
Iwde yaltugol Timbo, ruuma Tuubaa, fella Turubaŋ, arta faa to Dombiyaaje, hewtita zurriya, ko duubi jowi	"From the time when they left Timbo, including the rainy season spent in Tuubaa, the battle of Turuban, the return to Dombiyaaje and the arrival at Zurriya, five years elapsed"(3) (Fuuta Jaloo)
Be lammini sori.... o haɓi leyde cappande jowi laamii duubi cappande tati e nay	"they crowned Soru..... He fought fifty countries (and) ruled for thirty-four years"(4) (Fuuta Jaloo)

4.20. For diminutive numerals

Concordant forms include numerals one to five, seven to nine and twelve to nineteen, e.g.

ɓe addi caw-oy tat-oy	"they brought three little sticks" (Fuuta Jaloo)

---

(3) Sow, A.I. 1966, p.232
(4) Sow, A.I. 1966, p.216

ko kon cukalon	"they are thirteen
sappo e taton	youngsters" (Fuuta Tooro)

Non-concordant forms are the same as the ones found in personal and non-personal numerals, e.g. 6, 10, 11, 20, 21 and its multiples, 1000 and its multiples.

Initial consonant alternation

4.21. As in the case of nouns and adjectives, the consonants of numerals are sub-divided into fixed and alternating categories.

(i) Fixed consonants are encountered in initial position in the following cases:

did- "two", tat- "three",
nay "four", noogay/noogaas "twenty",
teemed- "hundred", ujunere "thousand",
milyoŋ "million"

All these are outside the pattern of initial consonant alternation.

(ii) Alternating initial consonant are found in the following circumstances:

woot- "one", jow- "five", sappo "ten",
wuluu- "thousand"

The distribution of alternation of these consonants is however different from the one described in chapter 1, Section B.

4.22. In order to show this difference, variform consonants will be divided into the following three categories:

The first category includes sappo "ten", wuluu- "thousand"
The second category comprises only one stem jow- (or joy-) "five"
Like the second category, the third only involves one stem woot- "one"

4.23. The first category of stems includes consonants the alternation of which depends on singular-plural relationships. It is appropriate, at this stage, to throw further clarification on what is meant by singular/plural relationship in this context, since it has been argued that because such stems as sappo, "ten", wuluu- "thousand" all imply plurality "only plural classes are relevant in the pattern of consonant alternation."(5)

The singular/plural dichotomy is here taken to mean the opposition between "10", "1000" on the one hand and "multiples of 10, 1000" on the other hand, e.g.

yimɓe/depte sappo "ten people/books"
yimɓe/depte cappande tati "thirty people/books"
(alternating consonants: S/C)

julɓe/jale wuluure "a thousand moslems/hoes"
julɓe/jale guluuji tati "three thousand moslems/hoes"
(alternating consonants: W/g)

---

(5) Arnott, D.W., 1970, p.168

4.24. As mentioned above only the stem jow- (or joy-) is believed to include the second category of consonants under consideration. It has been felt necessary to treat this stem separately since the basis of its consonant alternation differs from that of sappo "ten", wuluu- "thousand" and, to a certain extent, from woot- "one". By way of opposition to the former, the pattern of consonant alternation of jow- does not depend on a singular/plural relationship. It depends rather on the type of nominal that is being considered. The initial-consonant will be plosive with non-personal nouns and nasal with personal nominal, e.g.

jale/boje/gude jowi (or joyi) "five hoes/hares/cloths"
Fulɓe/Julɓe/rewɓe njowo (or njoyo) "five Fulɓe/Moslems/women" (alternating consonants: j/nj)

4.25. Woot- "one" has got common characteristics with the stems of both categories one and two. The pattern can depend on both singular/plural relationships and the type of nominal, as illustrated below,

1) Singular/plural relationship

Wudere wootere "one cloth"
Gude goote "cloths of one kind; some cloths"
ŋgudon ŋgooton "little cloths of one kind; some little cloths"

Woot- "one" has therefore got all three forms of consonant alternation patterns described in paragraph I, section B, Chapter 1, e.g.

W/g/ŋg

N.B. This alternation operates fully only in Fuuta Tooro since Fuuta Jaloo equivalents are characterized by the use of the plosive g for both plosive and nasal counterparts in Fuuta Tooro (cf. 1.1.7)

gude goote/gudoy gootoy; g/g

2) Category of Nominal

This concerns the first form of initial consonants. It is not always a fricative. It is fricative with non-personal nouns, as in the example above and plosive with personal nouns, e.g.

Wudere wootere "one cloth" but Pullo gooto "one Pullo"

Repetition

4.26. Both dialects express repetition by the stem laaw- "occasion, time" and the appropriate numeral form; e.g.

laaw-ol gootol	"once"	(lit. "one way")
laab-i didi	"twice"	
laab-i jowi	"five times"	
laab-i sappo	"ten times"	
laab-i sappo e go'o	"eleven times"	
laab-i noogay	"twenty times"	
laab-i cappande tati	"thirty times"	
laab-i teemedere	"hundred times"	

4.27. Nde is also used sometimes;

nde wootere "once"
nde ɗiɗi "twice"
nde tati "three times"

Equal-distribution

4.28. It involves total reduplication of the numeral in both Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro;

go'o-go'o "one by one; one at a time"
ɗiɗi-ɗiɗi "two by two; in twos"
tati-tati "three by three"
nayi-nayi "in fours; four each"
sappo-sappo "ten by ten; ten each"
noogay-noogay "twenty by twenty; twenty each"
cappan'tati- cappan'tati "thirty by thirty; thirty each"

CHAPTER 5 NOUN SUBSTITUTES AND SPECIFIERS[1]

5.1. The above terms include the following pronouns.

Noun Substitutes	Specifiers
Independent Pronouns	Near and far demonstratives
Possessive Pronouns	Referentials
Possessive Suffixes	Interrogatives
	Definitives

5.2. This chapter will endeavour to make an examination of the relationships between the set of pronouns in the two dialects. The procedure of study will be the one that has been adopted so far for this thesis:

--- Forms found in both dialects
--- Variations between the dialects
--- Forms found in one dialect and not the other

Noun substitutes

5.3. In both dialects, there are two types of noun substitutes: Concordant and non-concordant forms. The latter include first, second and third person forms and do not have concord suffixes whereas the former have concord suffixes that are related to the classes they refer to.

---

(1) cf. Arnott, D.W., 1970, p.170

A. Independent pronouns

Table 1. Non-concordant forms

Person	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
1. singular	miŋ	miin
2. singular	aŋ	aan
1. plur incl.	eneŋ	enen
1. plur excl.	meneŋ	menen/minen
2. plur	onoŋ	onon
3. singular	kanyuŋ	kanyum/kanjum/kay
3. plural	kanyun'eŋ	kanyum'en/ka'en

5.4. In both Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro, independent pronouns are mostly used for emphatic purposes:

Fuuta Tooro

ko mbi'ataa koo nafataa ko onon. Minen ɗomin ŋgoni ɗoo ina nafa amen no feewi.

"your saying of it being useless only applies to you. It is very useful to us where we are."

(Two shepherds talking about the validity of trying to grow a certain type of grain);

Table 2. Concordant forms

Class name	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
1 o	kaŋko "as for him"	kaŋko "as for him"
2 ɓe	kamɓe "as for them"	kamɓe "as for them"
Non-personal		
3 nde	kayre "as for it"	kayre "as for it"
4 ndi	kayri	kayri
5 ndu	kayru	kayru
6 ŋge	kaŋge	kaŋge
7 ŋge	kaŋgo	kaŋgo
8 ŋgu	kaŋgu	kaŋgu
IX ŋgii	kaŋgii	Fuuta Jaloo only
10 ŋgal	kaŋgal	kaŋgal
11 ŋgol	kaŋgol	kaŋgol
12 mba/ba	kamba	kamba
13 ka	kaŋka	kaŋka
14 ki	kaŋki	kaŋki
15 ko	kaŋko	kaŋko
XVI kol	kaŋkol	Fuuta Jaloo only
17 ɗaŋ/ɗam	kanjaŋ	kanjam
18 ɗuŋ/ɗum	kanyuŋ	kanyum/kanjum
19 ɗe	kanje "as for them"	kanje "as for them"
20 ɗi	kanji "	kanji "
Diminutive		
21 ŋgel	kaŋgel "as for it"	kaŋgel "as for it"
22 kal	kaŋkal	kaŋkal
XXIII kuŋ	kaŋkuŋ	Fuuta Jaloo only
24 koy/kon	kaŋkoy	kaŋkoŋ
Augmentative		
25 ŋgal	kaŋgal "as for it"	kaŋgal "as for it"
XXVI ŋgii	kaŋgii	Fuuta Jaloo only

Aan, mbiimi hoɗo ummiɗaa e leydi men?	"I say, you, where do you come from?"
Minen jooni min mba'i ko no majjiraa ɓe ni	"We just look like people who lost something"
A- Burboos, kanjum jooni won ɗo ɗum danyi e leydi he?	"Can the grass called burbos still be found in this region?"
B- Burboos, burboos na ni ɗo haa heewi	"Burbos, there is plenty of burbos around."
A- Aɗa waawi mi heen danyande?	"Can you get some for me?"
B- ii! Mi hoɗaani ɗo	"Well I don't live here."
A- Min kay si a hoɗaani ɗo, miin ina jarani mi arde. Minen ɗo min ŋgoni ɗo alaa ko woni ɗo.	"As far as I am concerned, even if you don't live here it is worth my coming to you. There is nothing where we live."

Fuuta Jaloo

Ngaari mbeewa woo: O fenay. Miŋ ko ka damal ɗo'o o tawimmi. Mi nanii ŋgayuuri ko lamɗo, miŋ ko mi karamokoojo. Si mi windaniima a ɓuray baaba gootooɓe maa fow darja(2).	"The he-goat said: He is telling lies. It is at this door that he met me. I heard that you, lion, are the king. I am a teacher. If I write for you, you will be more prestigeous than any of your father's children."

O dogi, kaŋko landɔ ɔŋ; tawi ko kaŋko, e mbatulaaɓe didɔ wondi

"he, the king himself, ran away; he was with two of his courtiers."

1. Non-concordant forms

5.5 It is well to note the following points on first and second person plural forms:

Arnott believes that "there is no particular grammatical reason for assigning these 'you and I forms' (ie the en series) [3] to the first person rather than to the second person. On the contrary, in the language, the 'en series have more in common, grammatically, with the 'on series than with the min series, and it will be convenient on occasion to refer to the 'en and the 'on series together as 2nd person plural forms. Consequently the 'en series are here referred to as "2nd person plural inclusive" (ie including the speaker), the 'on series as"2nd person plural, exclusive" (ie excluding the speaker)"[4].

Although I can see Arnott's grammatical reasoning, I find it hard, as a native speaker of a Pulaar dialect, to accept enen or en for anything other than first person plural forms.

Along with the informants I have met so far and traditional grammars, I find it more natural to divide first and second person plural forms in the following manner:

---

(2) Sow, A.I., 1966, p.218 the translation is my own.

(3) the words in the preceding brackets are my own adding.

(4) Arnott, D.W., 1970, p.134

(i) the en series have been treated as first person plural inclusive forms (ie including the people addressed)

(ii) The first person plural exclusive counterpart is men (ie excluding the people addressed).

(iii) The only second person plural form is the on series eg.

Fuuta Tooro

enen kam gese men moyyaani hikka	"as for us our crops were not good this year"
ko min ŋgarta gaa kɔɔtawi ko minen fof ŋgondi	"When we were coming here it was all of us that were together."
Onon kam on njettii Alla e Nulaaɗo mum, gese moyyi.	"You should thank God, your crops were good".

5.6. The forms of the third person singular and plural are the same as those of the neuter class 18 ɗum. Further investigations will be made on them in due course; for the time being I shall only provide examples illustrating the various uses of third person singular neuter forms (cf. 5.9 (iii)).

Fuuta Tooro

Julaaɓe ɓee ina njogii toon yimɓe, kanyum'en woni golle mu'en ko ŋguyka sukaaɓe. Kanyum'en ngujjat tan sukaaɓe. Debbo oo ne ko yoyyo no feewi. Kanyum ne deyyi tan haa jamma, o dogi. "The traders had people over there, young people. They always kidnapped young people. The girl was very clever. She waited till nightfall and escaped".

2. Concordant forms

5.7. The basic principle in the formation of these forms is the same in both dialects. Concordant independent pronouns are obtained by combining concord suffixes with initial elements kay-/kan. Before illustrating the above statement, it is worth mentioning that where the nasal occurs, it is homorganic with the following consonants, e.g.

kan- + ɓe	kamɓe	(class 2 ɓe)
kan- + ge	kaŋge	(class 6 ŋge)
kan- + go	kaŋgo	(class 7 ŋgo)
kan- + ka	kaŋka	(class 13 ka)
kay- + re	kayre	(class 3 nde)
kay- + ri	kayri	(class 4 ndi)
kay- + ru	kayru	(class 5 ndu)

but also

kan + je	kanje	(class 19 ɗe)
kan + jaŋ/-jam	kanjaŋ/kanjam	(class 17 ɗaŋ/ɗam)

5.8. The same form, kaŋko, is found for classes 1 o and 15 ko in both dialects; compare,

ko kaŋko noddumi "It is him that I called"
ko kaŋko (huɗo koo) tayumi "It is the one (the grass) that I cut"

5.9. The variations between the two dialects could be summarised as follows:-

(i) First and second person singular forms are marked by the alternance in the length of vowels.

Fuuta Jaloo has short vowels i and a in min and an; but the same vowels are long in Fuuta Tooro ie: miin, aan.

(ii) The second variation is in terms of final nasal consonants. Where in Fuuta Jaloo there is a velar nasal, there is an alveolar in Fuuta Tooro. This phonological variation occurs with first, second and third person forms where a nasal is in final position; it is part of the general variation, whereby final nasals in Fuuta Jaloo are always velar, but in Fuuta Tooro some nasals are alveolar (-n) and some are bi-labial (-m), none velar.

1 sing. miŋ/miin
2 sing. aŋ/aan
1 plur. incl. eneŋ/enen
1 plur. excl. meneŋ/menen

(iii) Some space will now be devoted to examples from the neuter form ɗum, or ɗuŋ, since not only does it contain the above mentioned variations but also there are such forms as kanjum, kay that seem to be peculiar to Fuuta Tooro only.

Fuuta Tooro

ko waɗi giirŋgal ina wi'ee ina neeni ko kay adotoo huɗo fudde

"the reason why girngal grass is said to be good is that it grows before other types of grass."

A- Mbar won ko ndanyon e gese he?

A- "did you have good crops?"

B- Kanjum dey ko ɗum mawɗum. No ɗum wa'i ɓaf ɗe kanjum samori gese waalo ɗe mbannoɗen ɗe

B- "Can't complain. Whatever the crops they are better than the ones we used to get from our riverside fields".

(Two informants contrasting collective rice growing methods with traditional ones)

Lewru kaˈe koode "the moon and stars"

(Both kay and ka are short forms of kanyum)

Ndunŋgu hikka ŋguu kam ko mawɗum. Miin mi yi'ii ɗo kaawel ɗoo, ɗo gesa Amarak ɗo, kanjum e ɗum waɗi layanteeri. Tabaari kalla, Kala ko jabbanoo heen ina seɓori. So tawii Alla e Nelaaɗo muuɗum rokkii men jam,hokkii men ndiyam, eɗen njaakora heen yaakaar moyyo; Kanjum ko ɗum ɓuri heew hikka e layanteeri, kanjum ina waɗi fof.	"Thank god for this year's rains. At Kaawel village, in Amarak's field, I saw a lot of plants. Thank god, everything that was sown has grown. If God and his messenger give us peace and water we will be very hopeful. There are a lot more plants this year".

Fuuta Jaloo

Nyarke woo::	"the hyena said;
- ko hommbo nii?	who is that?
Ngaari mbeewa woo:	the he-goat said:
- ko miŋ Alahajji mbeewa	- It is me Alahajji Goat
- Alhajji mbeewa?	- Alahajji Goat?
- Ii!	- yes!
- e wonaa mbeewa ko woni ga hoɗo koŋ?	- Isn't it the goat found in the village?
- ko kanyuŋ	- yes, it is
- e wonaa mbeewa ko waalata ka kula?	- Isn't it the goat that spends the night in the goat-pen?

- ko kanyuŋ	- yes it is
- ko honto fewɗaa?	- where are you going?
- Miɗo yaha hajju Makka(5)	- I am going on a pilgrimage in Mecca."

B. Possessive pronouns

5.10. Possessive pronouns are formed with may - plus the concord suffixes, giving,

may- + ɓe	maɓɓe	(class 2 ɓe)
may- + ge	magge	(class 6 ŋge)
may- + go	maggo	(class 7 ŋgo)
may- + gal	maggal	(class 10 ŋgal)
may- + ba	mabba	(class 12 ba/mba)
may- + re	mayre	(class 3 nde)
may- + ri	mayri	(class 4 ndi)
may- + ɟam	majjam	(class 17 ɗam)
may- + ɟum	majjum	(class 18 ɗum)
may- + ɟe	majje	(class 19 ɗe)
may- + ɟi	majji	(class 20 ɗi)

(The full list is given in Table 4 below)

galle maɓɓe	"their house"
hoore magge (nagge)	"its (cow's) head"
ndiyam maggo (maayo)	"its (ie. river) water"
gite maggal (gertogal)	"its (ie. chicken's) eyes"
koyŋgal mabba (mbabba)	"its (ie. donkey's) leg"

---

(5) Sow, A.I., 1966, p.236

dawol majjam (ndiyam)	"its (ie. water) way"
innde majji (na'i)	"their (ie. cow's) names"
" mayre (wojere)	"its (ie. hare's) name"
" mayri (ŋgaari)	"its (ie. bull's) name"
" mayru (fowru)	"its (ie. hyena's)name"

5.11. On the other hand, just as in the case of independent pronouns, there is a single possessive form for both classes 1 o and 15 ko: makko; ... innde makko "its name" can consequently refer to either neɗɗo "a person" or huɗo "grass".

5.12. Further examples will now be quoted from my texts to illustrate the various uses of concordant possessive pronouns.

Fuuta Tooro

Lamɗo oo jippii, omo wondi e sakke makko, e maabo makko, e labbo makko, e bambaaɗo makko. Be noddi mawɗo maɓɓe diine oo.	"The king came down, he was with his shoemaker, his weaver, his woodcutter and his griot. They called their religious chief."
Wayri noon ko lasli laamndiɗaa, kamɓe laamiiɓe ɗoo wurosoogi ɓee fof, lasli maɓɓe mo na laamoo, kamɓe laamiiɓe doo fof ɓe lamoyii ko Mboolo Aali.	"Since you are inquiring about origins, all those kings that ruled in Wurosoogi, their origin is Mboolo Aali. In the past, before any of them ruled, he had to be crowned in Mbooli Aali"

Laamdo kaŋkaŋ oo ari e makko	"The king of Kankan came to him"

(Talking about Sayku Umar, a king and religious leader from Fuuta Tooro).

Fuuta Jaloo

Saa warii yumma aadeŋ e beŋ makko, on weldataa	"If you kill a person's father and mother, you will not get on with that person."
Neene makko noddi ɓe. o wi'i baaba maɓɓe: ko ɓiɓɓe mo oŋ nii	"his mother called them. She said to their father: There are your children".

2. Non-concordant forms

5.13. These will be mostly dealt with in terms of variations between the two dialects. Although the great majority of non-concordant forms exist in both Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro, there are phonological differences in almost each set of forms. Most of these differences relate to the final nasals, as mentioned in the previous section (cf. 5.9ii).

Before examining the rest of the variations some space will be devoted to a general description of the behaviour of non-concordant possessive forms in the two dialects.

Table 3. Possessive pronouns: Non-concordant forms

Person		Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
Singular			
	1	aŋ	am
	2	maaɗa, ma'a, maa	maaɗa, maa
	3	muuɗuŋ/mu'uŋ/muŋ	muuɗum/majjum/mum
Plural			
	1 incl	meeɗeŋ/me'eŋ/meŋ	meeɗen/men/meen
	1 excl	ameŋ	amen
	2	moodoŋ/mo'oŋ/moŋ	mooɗen/mon/moon
	3	munɗuŋ'eŋ/mu'eŋ/muŋ'eŋ	munɗum'en/mum'en

(where there are alternative forms, the most commonly used is the one underlined).

Table 4. Possessive pronouns: Concordant forms

Class name	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
Personal		
1 o	makko	makko
2 ɓe	maɓɓe	maɓɓe
Non-personal		
3 nde	mayre	mayre
4 ndi	mayri	mayri
5 ndu	mayru	mayru
6 ŋge	magge	magge
7 ŋgo	maggo	maggo
8 ŋgu	maggu	maggu
IX ŋgii	maggii	Fuuta Jaloo only
10 ŋgal	maggal	maggal
11 ŋgol	maggol	maggol
12 mba/ba	mabba	mabba
13 ka	makka	makka
14 ki	makki	makki
15 ko	makko	makko
XVI kol	makkol	Fuuta Jaloo only
17 ɗaŋ/dam	majjaŋ	majjam
18 ɗuŋ/dum	muuɗuŋ/mu'uŋ/muŋ	muuɗum/majjum/mum
19 ɗe	majje	majje
20 ɗi	majji	majji
21 ŋgel	maggel	maggel
22 kal	makkal	makkal
XXIII kuŋ	makkuŋ	Fuuta Jaloo only
24 koy/kon	makkoy	makkon
Augmentative		
25 ŋgal	maggal	maggal
XXVI ŋgii	maggii	Fuuta Jaloo only

5.14. In both Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro, 1st person plural inclusive, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural forms consist of the following elements:-

a) initial elements maa-, mee-, moo-, muu- that could be analysed as a bi-labial nasal m preceding a long vowel.

b) final elements -ɗa, -ɗeŋ/ɗen , -ɗoŋ/ɗon, ɗuŋ/ɗuṃ, ɗuŋ'en/ɗuṃ'eŋ. All these forms have contracted counterparts in both dialects, as outlined in table 3, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

	long forms	short forms
2 sing	maaɗa	ma'a/maa
1 plur- incl	meeɗeŋ/meeɗen	me'eŋ/meŋ/men/meen
2 plur	mooɗoŋ/mooɗon	mo'oŋ/moŋ/mon/moon
3 sing	munɗuŋ/muuɗum	mu'uŋ/muŋ/mum/muun

Examples

baaba maaɗa/baaba maa "your father"
kaaw meeɗeŋ/meeɗen; kaaw me'eŋ/meŋ/men "our uncle"
Nagge mooɗoŋ/mooɗon; Nagge mo'oŋ/moŋ/mon "your cow"
Alla e Nelaaɗo muuɗuŋ/muuɗum- Alla e Nelaado mu'uŋ/muŋ/mum
"God and his Messenger"

Fuuta Tooro

.Wata faarndor na'i maa haa debbo maa ɓoccito maa yaha laawol mum

"Don't boast about your cattle to the point of losing your wife".

.Maaro men koo fof moyyii hikka	"All our rice was good this year"
.Naannee banndiraaɓe moodon e ligey he	"Provide jobs for your relatives"
.Alaa ko ɓuri ladde men welde	"There is nothing as nice as our fields".
. Itten haggilaaji men e ŋgaynaaka kaa ɓola. Ndatten haqqilaaji men e gannde jaarinooje sukaaɓe men yeeso	"Don't let us put all our minds to cattle breeding only. Let us also think about the skills that will advance our children".

Examples of muudum/muudun

a) Fuuta Tooro

Soko tawii gooto e mon yaarata tan ko Alla e Nelaado muudum e fewndude hoore muudum, ma en peew.	"If each of you endeavours to go by the word of God and his Messenger, and to be honest, we can only go forward".
Neddo fow anndi ko ganndal mum. Gooto fow e ganndal mum.	Each person is versed only in his own field of knowledge. Everybody has got his own field of knowledge".

b) Fuuta Jaloo

.Bonooru nduŋ naati ka nder fammeere. Tawi no niɓɓiti nder toŋ. Gite mayru natti hentaade tuŋ ndu fonndi e ngayuuri no metta takkere muuduŋ,wi'i: "Neene mi yakkay teew bonooru"	"The hyena entered the cave. It was dark in there. As soon as her eyes became clear. She saw a lion licking its paw. The little lion called its mother: Mmmy, I'd like to eat some hyena meat."
.Mo maayii anndaa finnde mu'uŋ luttay e yiite	"Whoever dies without belonging to any religion will be sent to Hell forever."
.Ko heɓuɗaa woo heɓay wondiiɓe maaɗa.	"Whatever happens to you will happen to your neighbours".
.Si gorol maa haɓii ma ko ka deyol maa huccirtaa.	"If your father's line of descendants set themselves against you, it is your mother's descendants that you turn to."

5.15. Full forms tend to be found in formal speech or written material whereas contracted ones are generally used in ordinary day-to-day conversations, it should however be stressed that there are mere tendencies and not hard and fast rules in any way.

5.16. First person singular 'aŋ/'am and plural exclusive 'ameŋ/'amen have no contracted counterparts:

5.17. Examples illustrating the use of first person forms:

Fuuta Tooro

Mboɓo yewtida e musiɗɗo <u>am</u> oo	"I am talking to my relative"
Mboɗe anndi dewgal <u>amen</u> juuttaa	"I know that our marriage is not going to last lóng".
o wii ɓe: "bannde <u>amen</u> so nduŋŋgu siltii en ndanyii ɗo yentuɗen".	"He said to them, my dear brothers when the rains are over, we have somewhere to go back to".

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko Allahu lamɗo joomi <u>ameŋ</u> suɓii waɗi Makka suudu <u>ameŋ</u> yo moyyube waŋŋgo suudu <u>ameŋ</u>[6]	"It is God, our Lord, the Supreme Master, that chose Mecca and made it our place of residence, for the best to take a walk in our house".
ɓe warii baaba <u>aŋ</u>	"they have killed my father"
ko a biɗɗo <u>aŋ</u>	"you <u>are</u> my son"

(6) Sow, A.I., 1966, p.66

5.18. Coming back to the variations between the two dialects, it will be noted that among the short forms mentioned under 5.14 there is a Fuuta Jaloo series that tends to keep a glottal stop in its contracted form. The glottal stop is often absent in the same context in Fuuta Tooro: thus instead of the Fuuta Jaloo ma'a, me'eŋ, mo'oŋ, one tends to meet maa or ma, meen or men, moon or mon in Fuuta Tooro, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

No mantora Makka Yimɓe me'eŋ E fii rokkeede ɓurɗo me'eŋ[7]	"Boasting about Mecca, our people are, for being given it by our Lord".
Ko non dey ko ɓiɗɗo mo'oŋ Ko ɓiɗɗo suɓaaɗo ɓurɗo mo'oŋ Ko oo ɓuri hay e mawɓe mo'oŋ Mo danyunoo feere biɗɗo mu'uŋ wa oo 'iwataa e takko mu'uŋ wanaa fii woɗditoo 'e mu'uŋ wa o'o giɗo towɗo aljanna[8]	"Of course he is your child, He is your best child, He is better than even your ancestors" "Anybody with a son like this one will strive to keep him by his side; he will not let this friend of Paradise be far from him".

5.19. It should be stressed, however, that these forms are hardly used in ordinary speech nowadays, even in Fuuta Jaloo.

---

(7) Sow, A.I., 1966, p.66

(8) Sow, A.I. 1966, p.71

5.20. On the other hand, there exists a form majjum (class 18 ɗum) that I have not encountered in Fuuta Jaloo.

Since class 18 ɗuŋ/ɗum has the greatest number of alternative forms of all classes and because of its widespread usage it has been thought helpful to give further illustrations of this class[9].

Fuuta Tooro

Taki wi'eede nagge ɓuri mbeewa ɓuri mbaalu ko diwnat ɓiyum diwna hoore majjum	"The reason why a cow is thought to be better than a goat or a sheep is because it saves its calf and itself".
Hammadi ɓaleejo turii, o wutti Hammadi Boɗeejo, oon maayi. O jaggi gawlo mum e bambaaɗo mum, o haɓɓi ɓe haa tiiɗi	"Hammadi Baleejo bent over, he blew over Hammadi Bodeejo the latter dies. He arrested the latter's griot, his bambaado, he tied them very tightly".
Neɗɗo yo yaa haaju mum	"Let everybody go about his own business".

(9) this class has been treated in great length by Arnott (cf. Arnott, D.W., 1970, Chapter 26)

C. Possessive suffixes

5.21. This refers to suffixes that combine with nouns, mostly to show relationship, or to indicate possession. Possessive suffixes seem to occur in Fuuta Tooro only, and are not encountered in Fuuta Jaloo, except in a very limited number of fixed phrases such as joom-aŋ "my owner, my master" (in reference to God).

Fuuta Tooro

baab-am	"my father"
yumm-am	"my mother"
maam-am	"my grand-father"
kaaw-am	"my uncle"
baab-e	"your father"
mawn-e	"your big brother/sister"
miny-e	"your younger brother"
ɓiy-e	"your son"
baaɓ-iiko	"his father"
yumm-iiko	"his mother"
maam-iiko	"his grand-father"
kaaw-iiko	"his uncle"

Examples in Context

Debbo kala mbo njiɗɗaa fow	"If you love a woman and
ina yiɗmaa res, ɓiɗɗo fow	she loves you, marry her.

mo njibindina on ko ɓiy-e	Any child that comes out of the marriage is yours"
saa naanii galle wonaa gall-am miin tan-	"My house should not mean a house for me alone"
seedeeji golle hakkund-am e Hammadi, kuugal-am e makko	"Witnesses of my battle against Hammadi, my namesake and of my victory"
saa resii debbo aɗa hoddi e yumm-um, yumma oo feewaani, saa yattiima ɗum tan, ummoo naatoya suudu yumm-um	"If you get married and stay in the same house as your mother-in-law; if the latter is not lenient, whenever you have an argument with your wife, she will run to her mother"
O wi'i rawaandu nduu salminoy yumm-um Baaru. Rawaandu nduu yehi haa yottii, joodii e koyde yumm-um Baaru. O wi'i baamm-um Baaru; Rawaandu nduu feyyi joodoyii e koyde baammum Baaru	"He told the dog to go and greet Baaru's mother. The dog went all the way and sat on Baaru's mother's feet. He said: Baaru's father ; the dog went and sat on Baaru's father's feet"
Taki wi'eede nagge ɓuri mbeewa ɓuri mbaalu ko diwnat ɓiy-um, diwna hoore mum	"The reason why cows are said to be better than goat is that the former can protect themselves and their calves against the attacks of hyenas".

5.22. Fuuta Jaloo uses ordinary possessive pronouns in all instances where possessive suffixes are encountered in Fuuta Tooro; thus the three sets of examples above become in Fuuta Jaloo.

baaba	an	"my father"
yumma	an	"my mother"
maama	an	"my grand-father"
kaaw	an	"my uncle"

baaba	maaɗa	"your father"
mawniraawɔ	maaɗa	"your big brother"
mioyiraawɔ	maaɗa	"your little brother"
ɓii	maaɗa	"your little son" (or ɓiɗɗo maa)

baaba makko	"his father"
yumma makko	"his mother"
maama makko	"his grand-father"
kaawu makko	"his uncle"

5.23. Of the formation of non-concordant possessive suffixes Arnott writes: "The 1st and 2nd person plural forms each have a first element -ii- combined with a suffix resembling the subject element. The 1st and 2nd person singular forms, and both 3rd person forms, on the other band, are simple suffixes -am, -a, -um, -um'en, with no preceding -ii- elements".(10)

5.24. A full list of possessive suffixes in the Fuuta Tooro dialect is provided in Tables 5 and 6.

---

(10) Arnott, D.W. 1970, p. 141; please refer to Table 6 for illustrations

Table 5. Possessive suffixes in the Fuuta Tooro dialect: Non-concordant forms

Person	Possessive suffix
1 sing	-am
2 sing	-e
1 plur incl	
1 plur excl	-iimen
2 plur	-ii'on
3 sing.	-um
3 plur	-um'en

Table 6. Possessive suffixes in the Fuuta Tooro: Concordant forms

Class name	Possessive suffix
Personal	
1 o	-iiko
2 ɓe	-iiɓe
Non-personal	
3 nde	-iire
4 ndi	-iiri
5 ndu	-iiru
6 ŋge	-iige
7 ŋgo	-iigo
8 ŋgu	-iigu
10 ŋgal	-iigal
11 ŋgol	-iigol
12 ba	-iiba
13 ka	-iika
14 ki	-iiki
15 ko	-iiko
17 ɗam	-iijam
18 ɗum	-iijum
19 ɗe	-iije
20 ɗi	-iiji
21 ŋgel	-iigel
22 kal	-iijal
24 kon	-iikon
25 ŋgal	-iigal

Table 7. Demonstrative pronouns in Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro

Class name	Fuuta Jaloo		Fuuta Tooro	
	NEAR	FAR	NEAR	FAR
Personal				
1 o	o'o	oya	oo	oya
2 ɓe	ɓe'e	ɓeya	ɓee	ɓeya
Non-personal				
3 nde	nde'e	ndeya	ndee	ndeya
4 ndi	ndi'i	ndiya	ndii	ndiya
5 ndu	ndu'u	nduya	nduu	nduya
6 ŋge	ŋge'e	ŋgeya	ŋgee	ŋgeya
7 ŋgo	ŋgo'o	ŋgoya	ŋgoo	ŋgoya
8 ŋgu	ŋgu'u	ŋguya	ŋguu	ŋguya
IX ŋgii	ŋgi'ii	ŋgiya	Fuuta Jaloo only	
10 ŋgal	ŋga'al	ŋgala	ŋgaal	ŋgala
11 ŋgol	ŋgo'ol	ŋgola	ŋgool	ŋgola
12 mba/ba	mba'a	mbaya	baa	baya
13 ka	ka'a	kaya	kaa	kaya
14 ki	ki'i	kiya	kii	kiya
15 ko	ko'o	koya	koo	koya
XVI kol	ko'ol	kola	Fuuta Jaloo only	
17 ɗaŋ/ɗam	ɗa'aŋ	ɗama	ɗaam	ɗama
18 ɗuŋ/ɗum	ɗu'uŋ	ɗuma	ɗuum	ɗuma
19 ɗe	ɗe'e	ɗeya	ɗee	ɗeya
20 ɗi	ɗi'i	ɗiya	ɗii	ɗiya
Diminutive				
21 ŋgel	ŋge'el	ŋgela	ŋgeel	ŋgela
22 kal	ka'al	kala	kaal	kala
XXIII kuŋ	ku'uŋ	kuma	Fuuta Jaloo only	
24 koy/kon	ko'oy	koya	koon	koya
25 ŋgal	ŋga'al	ŋgala	ŋgaal	ŋgala
XXI ŋgii	ŋgi'ii	ŋgiya	Fuuta Jaloo only	

Specifiers

A. Demonstratives (cf. Table 7 for a complete list)

5.25. They are sub-divided into near and far demonstratives.

I. Near demonstratives

5.26. Near demonstratives are obtained in Fuuta Jaloo by inserting a vowel and a glottal stop after the initial consonant; the vowel being the same as that of the pronoun of reference; in Fuuta Tooro just the vowel, without the glottal stop, is inserted.

5.27. A few Fuuta Jaloo examples showing the use of near demonstratives;

Fii jaahu no hulɓinii! Ngo'o junŋgo almaami saadu tayaaŋgo, ko mi seedee ŋgo'o winndu kaamilu jeeɗiɗi ko mi seede ŋgo'o junŋgo defaaki e suddiido janano. Ko fii laamu woni sabaabe makko. Allahu Lamɗo yaltin laamu ga cuuɗi ameŋ miŋ e makko.(11)	"Glory matters are dreadful! This amputated hand of Almami Saadu, I can (certify, testify) that it has never used sand or stones for ablutions. I testify (certify) that it copied the Coran seven times and that it never touched other people's wives. It is because of power struggle that the Almaami was killed. May God, rid our two houses of power for ever."

(11) Sow; A.I., 1968, p. 42

(Power struggle between Alfaa Saalihu and Almaami Saadu. The latter has just been killed and the former mourns him).

Almaami Ibraahiima Doŋol Feela hawtiti mawɓe ɓeŋ. Ɓe wi'i ɓe yi'aani (jihaadi ndiŋ) e ŋga'al	"Alhaami Ibraahiima Doŋol Feela assembled the elders. The latter said that the expedition did not reveal itself to them this time".

(Almaami Aamadu was about to start an islamic war. He asked for Almaami Ibraahiima's approval)

II. Far demonstratives

5.28. The formation of far demonstratives is the same in both dialects. If the class pronoun ends in a vowel, -ya is added, and if it ends in a consonant, -a is added, e.g.

class 1 o	o-ya; oya debbo "that woman"
class 2 ɓe	ɓe-ya; ɓeya rewɓe "those women"
class 3 nde	nde-ya; ndeya horde "that calabash"
class 6 ŋge	ŋge-ya; ŋgeya nagge "that cow"
class 10 ŋgal	ŋgal-a; ŋgala leggal "that stick"
class 11 ŋgol	ŋgol-a; ŋgola laawol "that path"
class 21 ŋgel	ŋgel-a: ŋgela cukalel "that child"

5.29. Apart from the above mentioned types of near and far demonstratives there are other different forms that are obtained in the following manner: Where the

concord element ends in a vowel, this vowel is lengthened, and ɗoo "here", or ɗaa "there", or too "over there" is added. Where the concord element ends in a consonant, the ɗoo, ɗaa, or too are added without further change, e.g.

(i) ɗoo "here"

class 1 o	ooɗoo "this one"
class 2 ɓe	ɓeeɗoo "these ones"
class 12 m̀ba	m̀baadoo "this one" (field, trousers etc.)
class 13 ka	kaaɗoo "this one" (hole etc.)
class 15 ki	kiiɗoo "this one" (tree etc.)

(ii) with ɗaa "there"

class 15 ko	kooɗaa (huɗo) "that grass"
class 19 ɗe	ɗeeɗaa (boje) "those hares"
class 20 ɗi	ɗiiɗaa (laaɓi) "those paths"
class 21 ŋgel	ŋgelɗaa (cukalel) "that child"
class 22 kal	kalɗaa (leykal) "that ground"

(iii) with too "over there"

class 3 nde	ndeetoo (wojere) "that hare"
class 4 ndi	ndiitoo (ngaari) "that bull"
class 5 ndu	nduutoo (suudu) "that hut"
class 10 ŋgal	ŋgaltoo (leggal) "that stick"
class 11 ŋgol	ŋgoltoo (laawol) "that path"

5.30. Further Fuuta Tooro examples showing the uses of near demonstratives with ɗoo and ɗaa.

Holko woni ligey maa e ndiiɗoo leydi?	"What do you do in this part of the world?"
Baaɗoo mbeewa ko koɗa	"This goat has not lived here before"
ɗuumɗoo ɓuri ranwude ɗuumɗaa	"This one is whiter than that one"

Usage of demonstratives

5.31. As a general rule, near demonstratives refer to something near, whereas far demonstratives point to something distant. However, the semantic area covered by these terms is not as clear cut as it appears. Firstly far demonstratives are not as much used as the near ones. In the following examples both "this one" and "that one" are expressed by "this" reinforced by ɗoo "here".

Baaɗoo ŋgesa bi'eteeba Nyaŋŋga ko ba nafba leydi ndii	"The field called Nyannga has proved very useful to the region.

(Although the speaker is in Thiewle village, fifteen miles away from Nyaŋŋga he still uses a near demonstrative to refer to a field in the latter).

Mi in e naamnotoodo ngaldoo naamnal ko min soowanaaɓe. Ko dumdoo dey woni ɓeedoo ɓe tawdaa doo.	"Both myself and the man asking these questions belong to the Sow Family. These are the people you found here".
Jooni noon e oodoo jamaanu mo ngondεn, keddii ko rewɓe.	"There are only women left in today's world"
Debbo deftoowo law noon deftata ko ndiidoo yehii, ndiidoo araani, defa doon bottaari; bottaari lommbiindi hakkunde muudum e bottaari ndi; ɗuum min mbi'ata dum ko puukri	"A woman who is an efficient cook is a woman who cooks after this meal is eaten and before the next has been prepared. She cooks in-between meals. A meal that is between breakfast and lunch; that is what we call Puukri."

5.32. In stories and tales, both types of near and far demonstratives are used, as indicated by the sentences below:

Wonnoo doo ko worɓe didɔ. Be poodoondiri; ɓee mbi'i ko ɓoggol, ɓee mbi'i ko tekkere, ɓee mbi'i alaa ko njooɓaari maɓɓe. Jooni noon oya jaggi, oya wii ko kanyum jeyi noon; Oya heɓɓitii wi'i accu kaakam, oya wi'i mi accaani. Oya wi'i	"Once upon a time, there were two men. They had a disagreement; some people say (the disagreement) was about a rope, others say it was about a rag, others say it was about the food they took with them. Now, one of the two men took

miin jeyi, oya wi'i a jeyaa; oya wi'i ɗal, oya wi'i mi ɗalaani

hold of it, the other said it was his; one said: Leave it alone it is mine, the other replied: No I shan't leave it; One said: Give it back to me, the other replied no; one said: It is mine, the other replied: It is not yours; one said: Let go, the other said no".

(As will be noted, the two sets of forms used here are ɓee---ɓee, oya---oya instead of ɓee---ɓeya, oo--- oya).

Soo nelaama, o wi'aama addu ɗuma, omo ummo o adda; Kono noon o haalataa

"He is told; Bring that object. He would get up and bring it but he wouldn't talk".

5.33. Referentials and definitives will be dealt with together for convenience. The following tentative definitions will however show the difference between these two types of pronouns.

5.34. Though both referentials and definitives refer to "the one in question" "the one mentioned earlier", there is a semantic difference between the two.

Referentials and definitives

Table 8. List of referentials and definitives in the two dialects.

Class name	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	
	Referentials and definitives	Referentials	Definitives
Personal			
1 o	oŋ	oon	oo
2 ɓe	ɓeŋ	ɓeen	ɓee
Non-personal			
3 nde	ndeŋ	ndeen	ndee
4 ndi	ndiŋ	ndiin	ndii
5 ndu	nduŋ	nduun	nduu
6 ŋge	ŋgeŋ	ŋgeen	ŋgee
7 ŋgo	ŋgoŋ	ŋgoon	ŋgoo
8 ŋgu	ŋguŋ	ŋguun	ŋguu
IX ŋgii	ŋgiŋ	Fuuta Jaloo only	Fuuta Jaloo only
10 ŋgal	ŋgal	ŋgaal	ŋgaal
11 ŋgol	ŋgol	ŋgool	ŋgool
12 mba/ba	mbaŋ	baan	baa
13 ka	kaŋ	kaan	kaa
14 ki	kiŋ	kiin	kii
15 ko	koŋ	koon	koo
XVI kol	kol	Fuuta Jaloo only	Fuuta Jaloo only
17 ɗaŋ/ɗam	ɗaŋ	ɗaam	ɗaam
18 ɗuŋ/ɗum	ɗuŋ	ɗuum	ɗuum
19 ɗe	ɗeŋ	ɗeen	ɗee
20 ɗi	ɗiŋ	ɗiin	ɗii
Diminutive			
21 ŋgel	ŋgel	ŋgeel	ŋgeel
22 kal	kal	kaal	kaal
XXIII kuŋ	kuŋ	Fuuta Jaloo only	Fuuta Jaloo only
24 koy/kon	koy	koon	koo
Augmentative			
25 ŋgal	ŋgal	ŋgaal	ŋgaal
XXVI ŋgii	ŋgiŋ	Fuuta Jaloo only	Fuuta Jaloo only

5.35. Definitives will correspond more closely to the definite article in such languages as English or French whereas referentials tend to be closer to the English demonstrative "that one". This difference will be emphasised by the position of the pronoun. Definitives follow the noun and referentials precede the noun. They are adjectival in these circumstances. Referentials are also pronominalised but definitives are not; (the class pronoun would be used instead). The following are examples of definitives and referentials in the two dialects.

Referentials

Fuuta Tooro

Min ŋgaawat gawri bi'eteendi Mayram Sawdatu. Ndiin iwri amen ko funnaaŋge	"We also sow a millet called Mayram Sawdatu. It was brought to us from the East".
Mbi'aa ko miin wii noon, miin Malal Cekel, mbo no firta e ko kaalmi koo, yo oon jibine nji'aa ɗum	"Say that I said so, I, Malal Cekel, whoever disagrees with what I said, let that person be born and you see him" (in other words the person that will disagree with what Malal Cekel said is not born yet)
So Pullo dadiima, feewii e na'i ina ɓira ina yarna	"If a Pullo getsready, goes and milks his cows, gives the

hoɓɓe, ina okka miskineeɓe, oon woni Pullo.	milk to visitors and poor people, that is a Pullo".

Fuuta Jaloo

Maama Bano jibini ɓiɓɓe muŋ ka Daleŋ. Oŋ jibini Cerno Saadu mo Maama Bano...	"Maama Bano had his children in Dalen. He begot (Maama Bano's) Cerno Saadu".
Cerno Jaafaaru mo Cerno Saadu, Oŋ jibini Musee Abdur-Rahmaani oo ministir Kooperatif wondo Konaakiri do (12)	"Cerno Saadu's Cerno Jaafaaru, he begot Mister Abdur-Rahmaani, the Minister of Cooperation in Conakry".
Fellindiraa Talansaŋ. Allaahu okki Fulɓe ɓen poolal. Ko ndeŋ haure wonoyi fuɗɗunde jihaadi ndiŋ e Fuuta Jaloo. Fuɗɗu-ɓe ndiŋ jihaadi ko ɓe sappoo e ɗido (13)	"There was a battle in Talansan. God gave viftory to the Fulɓe . That was the beginning of islamic wars in Fuuta Jaloon. Twelve people started that war".

Ndiŋ in the last two sentences is typical of the way in which Fuuta Jaloo manages to render the ideas of definite and referential. As a matter of fact, although used with the same word jihaadi "Islamic war", ndiŋ plays the role of a definitive in jihaadi ndiŋ and a referential in ndiŋ jihaadi, in other words "the war" as opposed to "that war".

---

(12) Sow, A.I., 1968, p.86

(13) Ibid, p.86

Examples of Definitives

Fuuta Tooro

Min kiwa colli haa maaro koo daroo, min mbaɗa ndiyam e leydi hee. Maaro fuɗko koo fudda e ŋgesa hee, mbedemin cuɓtoo huɗo koo haa maaro koo dany lewru. So min ummiima e oon palaas, min ŋgona e liggo gese ɗe. Min ŋgarita ndiyam ɗam, min ponnda ndiyam ɗam. So maaro koo ɓenndii, ko laamu ŋguu jeyi koo yetta, ko min njeyi koo artira e juuɗe amen.	"We scare the birds away until when the rice grows. We water the field. The rice that has grown does so with some weeds. We get into the field and pull the weeds out until the rice is a month old. After that, we go on working in the field again. We then stop the water, and measure it (the water). When the rice is ripe, the authorities take their part and hand us back ours".

(Description of rice growing processes in Fuuta Tooro).

Waɗɗiiɓe bamɗi ina ummii Jolof to wi'etee yaŋ yaŋ. Been waɗɗiiɓe ŋgari haa tawi debbo oo.	"Donkey riders came from Jolof, from Yan-Yan village. Those riders came up to the woman."

5.36. The variations between the two dialects as far as referentials and definitives are concerned, could be summarised in the following manner:

(i) Difference in the final nasal. It has already been dealt with in the course of this study (see 5.9 (ii) and 5.13)

(ii) Presence in Fuuta Tooro of separate definitive forms.

(iii) Fuuta Jaloo does not have separate definitive forms but uses the same forms to express referential and definitive ideas.

C Interrogatives (see Table 9 for complete list)

5.37. Interrogatives are the same in two dialects. They functions as adjectives or pronouns.

Fuuta Jaloo

(ko) hommbo ari haŋki	"who came yesterday?" (class 1 o)
(ko) hombe nii	"who are these (people)?" (class 2 be)
(ko) nagge hoŋŋge tayyi	"Which cow broke it's rope?" (class 6 ŋge)
(ko) hoŋŋgu yiidaa	"which one did you see?" (class 8 ŋgu)
(ko) hoŋŋgal joggi haŋki	"which one crowed yesterday?" (class 10 ŋgal)
(ko) hommba burani maa	"which one do you prefer?" (class 12 mba)

5.38. There is a difference in the formation of interrogatives in the two dialects. Fuuta Jaloo prefixes the grade D suffix forms by hon- and Fuuta Tooro by ho-; the n in hon- represent a nasal consonant homorganic with the initial consonant of the suffix.

Fuuta Tooro

Almaami Fuuta wadi pucci neli koolaado mum yoo yaa haa yi'a Samba Nguma, haa o annda hombo woni oo gorko, arta haalan dum; hombo woni oo nyaagotoodo no taccude lesdi muudum, ina abboo sayku Umar, bi'eteedo Samba Nguma	"The king of Fuuta asked his messenger to go by horse and see Samba Nguma, find out who that man is, come back and tell him. Who is the man who is asking for permission to cross his (i.e. the king's) country in order to follow Sayko Umaar, a man called Samba Nguma".
Hol gorko gardo to lekkol too hanki?	"Which man came to the school yesterday?" (class 1 o)
Hol hudo kesdaa?	"Which grass did you cut?" (class 1 ko)
Hol nagge njeydaa?	"Which cow is yours?"
Hol rawaandu dogannoo e mbedda hee?	"Which dog was running in the street?" (class ndu)

Table 9. List of interrogative pronouns

Class Name	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
Personal		
1 o	hommbo	hombo
ɓe	homɓe	hoɓe
Non-personal		
nde	honnde	honde
ndi	honndi	hondi
ndu	honndu	hondu
ŋge	hoŋŋge	hoŋge
ŋgo	hoŋŋgo	hoŋgo
ŋgu	hoŋŋgu	hoŋgu
IX ŋgii	hoŋŋgii	Fuuta Jaloo only
10 ŋgal	hoŋŋgal	hoŋgal
11 ŋgol	hoŋŋgol	hoŋgol
12 mba/ba	hommba	hoba
13 ka	hoŋka	hoka
14 ki	hoŋki	hoki
15 ko	hoŋko	hoko
XVI kol	hoŋkol	Fuuta Jaloo only
17 ɗaŋ /ʄam	honɗaŋ	hoʄam
18 ɗuŋ /ʄum	honɗuŋ	hoʄum
19 ɗe	honɗe	hoʄe
20 ɗi	honɗi	hoʄi
Diminutive		
21 ŋgel	hoŋŋgel	hoŋgel
22 kal	hoŋkal	hokal
XXII kuŋ	hoŋkuŋ	Fuuta Jaloo only
24 koy/kon	hoŋkoy	hokon
Augmentative		
25 ŋgal	hoŋŋgal	hoŋgal
XXVI ŋgii	hoŋkoy	Fuuta Jaloo only

Conclusion

In general this chapter has shown that while there are certain differences in detail between the nominal systems of the two dialects the similarities are considerable. There is indeed a marked tendency of uniformity of behaviour in the nominal class systems of both Fuuta Tooro and Fuuta Jaloo.

PART III: VERBAL SYSTEM

Chapter 6. Introductory survey of the verbal piece in the two dialects

6.1. The morphological complexity of Pulaar/Fulfulde has sometimes led to a certain amount of confusion in the description of the verbal system. Differences between linguists can be noted over the treatment of the tense system, the content of individual tenses etc. Limitations of space make it impossible to provide a fuller review of such issues in this thesis.

6.2. I have spoken of "verbal piece" in order to include consideration of the subject pronoun, the verb word, the object pronoun as well as the past anterior affix, as they vary for example from tense to tense. This chapter is just an introductory survey and the terms and categories are dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters. The material examined requires the formal recognition of the following categories:

Category I: Mood

(i) Indicative; (ii) Subjunctive; (iii) Imperative

Category II: Tense

A) Tenses of the indicative mood

(i) General Past; (ii) Emphatic Past; (iii) General Future; (iv) Vague Future; (v) Continuous; (vi) Stative; (vii) Negative Past; (viii) Negative Future/habitual; (ix) Emphatic Negative; (x) Relative Past; (xi) Relative Future.

B) Tenses of the subjunctive mood

(i) Primary Tense; (ii) Secondary Tense.

Category III: Form

Forms of the imperative mood

(i) General Form; (ii) Polite Form; (iii) Iterative Form.

Category IV: Polarity

(i) Positive; (ii) Negative.

Category V: Voice

(i) Active; (ii) Middle; (iii) Passive.

Category VI: Number

(i) Singular; (ii) Plural.

Category VII: Person (Related to Number)

(i) First person singular; (ii) Second person singular; (iii) Third person singular; (iv) First persons plural inclusive and exclusive; (v) Second person plural; (vi) Third person plural; (vii) Impersonal forms.

Category VIII: Past anterior affix

Category IX: Transitivity

(i) Transitive; (ii) Intransitive

Category X: Derivative infixes

(i) Modal and comparative (-ir-/-or-); (ii) Associative and comprehensive (-id-/-od-); (iii) Reciprocal (-indir-/-ondir-); (iv) Dative (-an-); (v) Reversive, reflexive, repetitive, retaliative, intensive etc. (-it-); (vi) Distantive (-oy-); (vii) Causative (-in-); (viii) Others.

Category XI: Verbo-nominals

(i) Infinitive; (ii) Past Participle; (iii) Future Participle.

Category I: Mood

6.3. The material examined points to the existence of three moods, indicative, subjunctive and imperative. Such moods will be illustrated under their relevant tenses and forms outlined below.

Category II: Tense

6.4. There is a difference in the interpretation of the term tense in the Pulaar/Fulfulde language from what occurs in many European languages; this term has traditionally implied an idea of time, past, present, or future; it allows one to determine clearly the precise moment when an action is performed; by way of opposition, Pulaar/Fulfulde is less concerned

by the time of performance of an action, it is more concerned about the process of the latter; The tense system could be sub-divided into two major categories, for this purpose: Tenses for actions that have been performed and tenses for actions that remain to be performed, as rightly pointed out by Labouret: "L'European et le Peul ont en matière de conjugaison des idées qui ne concordent pas; Le premier s'attache en effet à déterminer avec exactitude le moment précis où l'action s'accomplit, où l'état est acquis; Son verbe est donc conçu et employé surtout pour exprimer le temps. Le second n'éprouve pas cette préoccupation, en revanche, il cherche à décrire avec soin la façon dont l'acte est réalisé, dont la mamière d'être est obtenue. En conséquence son verbe s'attache à détailler ce que les grammairiens nomment le procès"(1)

It should therefore be emphasized that individual tenses used here should be viewed in this context, even though they bear traditional names such as General Past, General Future etc.

6.5. Individual tenses of Pulaar/Fulfulde are distinguished mainly by the tense suffix. There will be separate suffixes for the majority of tenses listed under Category II.

6.6. There are, however, other features that intervene in the differentiation of individual tenses, as mentioned

by Arnott: "Although in many cases the suffix is itself sufficient to differentiate one tense from another, nevertheless a full description of the characteristics of any tense is impossible without reference to other features. These other features include not only the shape of the subject pronouns, but also the arrangement of the elements, the place of the verbal form in the intonation pattern of the sentence....." (2)

The following illustrations of the features mentioned above will be supplemented by further examples of individual tenses, the complete list of which has already been made under category II (cf. category II)

In the first set of examples,

subject pronouns are represented by the numeral 1 (3)
verbal radicals " " " " " 2
tense suffixes " " " " " 3
object pronouns " " " " " 4
past anterior affixes " " " " " 5

1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 3
Mo hul-ii maay-ay, mo suus-ii maay-ay
"The brave will die, the coward will die" (lit. he who is afraid will die, he who is brave will die)

---

(1) Labouret, H, 1952, p.55

(2) Arnott, D.W., in Journal of West African languages, no 1, 1965, p.5

(3) cf. categories VII and VIII for further details on subject and object pronouns and the past anterior affix.

1 2 3 4
Mido loot-i ɓe "I have washed them"

1 2 3 5
O loot-i-no "He had had a wash"

6.7. It is interesting to note that some of the morphological differences within the tense system are carried by intonation and final glottality. The syllable with the highest pitch is the one that is underlined in the examples below.

Glottality occurs with the final short i vowel as in the middle voice emphatic past o faggi and in the active voice, relative past intransitive as in o ari "he came", but only when these items are pausal. The glottal stop will disappear as soon as another item follows the tense suffix. This is the reason why it is absent in ko o faggi haŋki "he did feed himself yesterday" or in o ari haŋki "he came yesterday" where the verb is no longer pausal (cf. Chapter 1, Section E)

1) Active Voice

General Past:	o fagg-ii ndu	"he has fed it"
General Future:	o fagg-ay ndu	"he will feed it"
Relative Past:	o fagg-i ndu	"he fed it"
Emphatic Past:	o fagg-u ndu	"he fed it"
Negative Past:	o fagg-aali ndu	"he has not fed it/ did not feed it"
Negative Future:	o fagg-ataa ndu	"he will not feed it"

2) Middle Voice

General Past:	o fagg-ike	"he has fed himself"
General Future:	o fagg-oto	"he will feed himself"
Relative Past:	o fagg-ii	"he fed himself"
Emphatic Past:	o fagg-i	"he fed himself"
Negative Past:	o fagg-aaki	"he has not fed himself/ did not feed himself"
Negative Future:	o fagg-ataako	"he will not feed himself"

3) Passive Voice

General Past:	o fagg-aama	"he has been fed"
General Future:	o fagg-ete	"he will be fed"
Relative Past:	o fagg-aa	"he was fed"
Emphatic Past:	o fagg-a	"he was fed"
Negative Past:	o fagg-aaka	"he was not been fed/ was not fed"
Negative Future:	o fagg-ataake	"he will not be fed"

6.8. It is useful to point out that the place of the high pitch syllable is retained for the same tense in all three of the voices; for the General past and the Negative past, the high pitch is on the syllable following the stem e.g.

o faggii
o faggike
o faggaama

For the General Future, the Relative Past and the Emphatic

past the high pitch is on the first syllable of the verb, i.e. fag-, whereas it is on the -taa- suffix for the Negative Future. On the other hand, the high pitch syllable usually has the greatest prominence to the ear, and it may be considered as the "stressed" syllable. The subject of final glottality has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 on phonology.

6.9. Following Arnott's description of the verbal system in the Pulaar/Fulfulde language [4], the tenses of the indicative mood have been grammatically classified into general and relative groups, as outlined below.

(i) General tenses

General Past
Emphatic Past
General Future/habitual
Vague Future
Negative Past
Negative Future/habitual
Emphatic Negative
Stative
Continuous

(ii) Relative tenses

Relative Past
Relative Future

---

(4) cf. Arnott, D.W., 1970, p.181, § 29.5-6

6.10. Details about the above classification are provided in Chapters 7 and 8. For the moment it is sufficient to say that the difference between the two groups is mainly grammatical and not semantic.

6.11. The tenses of the subjunctive mood have been sub-divided into primary and secondary tenses; the reasons for this sub-division are provided in Chapter 8, together with a detailed analysis of the two tenses of the mood.

Category III: Form

6.12. This category is limited to the imperative mood of the verb and the differences correlate for instance with degrees of politeness. I have not therefore found it possible to deal with the differences as related to tense. This is set out in Chapter 8.

Category IV: Polarity

6.13. This category has been set up to handle such differences as lootii "has washed"/lootaali "has not washed". It comprises two terms, positive and negative which can be applied to the tense system. A full list of positive and negative tenses of the verbal system of the two dialects is provided below. It is followed by further illustration of polarity in singular and plural forms.

A. Positive tenses and forms

(i) tenses of the indicative mood

General Past
Emphatic Past
Relative Past
General Future/habitual
Vague Future
Relative Future/habitual
Stative
Continuous

(ii) tenses of the subjunctive mood

Primary tense
Secondary tense

(iii) forms of the imperative

General form
Polite form
Iterative form

B. Negative tenses

Negative Past
Negative Future/habitual
Emphatic Negative

Examples of polarity

(i) Positive

o	lootii horde ndeŋ	"he has washed the calabash"
o	looti horde ndeŋ	"he washed the calabash"
o	lootay horde ndeŋ	"he will wash the calabash"
	lootu horde ndeŋ	"wash the calabash"

(ii) Corresponding negative

o	lootaali horde ndeŋ	"he has not washed the calabash"
o	lootaali horde ndeŋ	"he did not wash the calabash"
o	lootataa horde ndeŋ	"he will not wash the calabash"
	wata lootu horde ndeŋ	"don't wash the calabash"

NB The above examples have been taken from Fuuta Jaloo but illustrations of this usage are also found in Fuuta Tooro. Variations in the negative forms of the two dialects will be dealt with separately under negative tenses (cf. Chapter 7)

Category V: Voice

6.14. Some verbs in Fuuta Jaloo and in Fuuta Tooro have a set of three infinitives with endings (i) -ude, (ii) -aade, (iii) -eede which are analysed here under the category of voice; other verbs have one or two infinitives and from a syntactical point of view, verbal radicals can be sub-divided into three major classes on the basis of their voice-potential:

(i) One-voice radicals

(ii) Two-voice radicals
(iii) Three-voice radicals
(cf. Tables 1, 2 and 3 for illustrations)

6.15. It is well to point out that differences of forms treated under voice include not only infinitives as given here but also finite tense forms and participles.

Table 1. One-voice radicals

ACTIVE ONLY	
INFINITIVE	MEANING
mawn-ude[5]	grow up
rawn-ude	be white
Juut-ude	be tall
yoor-ude	dry up
ɓeeɓ-ude	dry up
faaɗ-ude	be tight
huny-ude	frown
tedd-ude	be heavy
weeɓ-ude	be cheap

Examples of their use:

o faalaaka mawn-ude "he does not want to grow up"
" juut-ude "he does not want to be tall"
" huny-ude "he does not want to frown"

---

(5) A hyphen has been used to highlight the suffixes of the various voices;

MIDDLE ONLY	
INFINITIVE	MEANING
yeyyit-aade(5)	look back
welt-aade	be cheerful
du'-aade	pray
sal-aade	refuse
awl-aade	use as a pillow

Examples:

o waawata yeyyit-aade "he cannot look back"
" du'-aade "he cannot pray"
" sal-aade "he cannot refuse"

PASSIVE ONLY	
INFINITIVE	MEANING
faal-eede(5)	want, feel like
mal-eede	be blessed
haaŋg-eede	become crazy

Examples:

Ko kaŋko ɓuri faal-eede ɗuŋ/ɗum "he is the one who wants it more" (lit. he is the one who exceeds in wanting it)
" mal-eede "he is the one who is more blessed"
" haaŋg-eede "he is the one who is crazier"

Table 2. Two-voice radicals

ACTIVE-MIDDLE

ACTIVE	MEANING	MIDDLE	MEANING
wodd-ude waal-ude	be distant spend the night	wodd-aade waal-aade	move away lie down

Examples:

(i) Active voice

Ko Maataam ɓuriPodoor wodd-ude
"Maataam is further than Podor" (lit. Maataam exceeds Podoor in being distant)

O Sali waal-ude toŋ/toon
"he refused to spend the night there"

(ii) Middle voice

Noddu mo doo e o wodd-aade "Call him before he moves away"
O Sali waal-aade ka dow mbaldi "He refused to lie down on the bed"

ACTIVE-PASSIVE

ACTIVE	MEANING	PASSIVE[6]	MEANING
toɓ-ude naat-ude	rain enter	toɓ-eede naat-eede	be washed by rain be entered

ACTIVE-PASSIVE table continued

heew-ude	fill up, be full	heew-eede	be filled up
dog-ude	run	dog-eede	be run
aaw-ude	sow	aaw-eede	be sown
ɓur-ude	beat, exceed	ɓur-eede	be exceeded
yah-ude	go, visit	yah-eede	be visited
sopp-ude	cut	sopp-eede	be cut

Examples:

ndiyaŋ wayrii toɓ-ude ɗo'o	"It is a long time since it has rained here"
... naat-ude e nder suudu	"... to enter a hut"
... aaw-ude ŋgawri	"... to sow guinea-corn"
... sopp-ude leɗɗe	"... to cut wood"

(iii) Passive

Maataam wayrii toɓ-eede	"It has not rained in Maataam for a long time" (lit. Maataam was a long time since it was washed by the rain)
ŋgesa mbaŋ gaynaama aaw-eede	"All the grains have been sown" (lit. the field has been finished in being sown)

Nde'e saare waawetaake yah-eede	"No one can go to this town" (lit. this town cannot be visited)
Luumo ŋgoŋ fuɗɗaama ar-eede	"People have started coming to the market" (lit. the market has started to be come)

MIDDLE-PASSIVE

MIDDLE	MEANING	PASSIVE	MEANING
Ligg-aade	work	Ligg-eede	be worked
ad-aade	precede	ad-eede	be preceded
ɓad-aade	be near	ɓad-eede	be approached
soyn-aade	see in the distance	soyn-eede	be seen in the distance
waɗɗ-aade	mount	waɗɗ-eede	be mounted
memmb-aade	search	memmb-eede	be searched
jooɗ-aade	sit	jooɗ-eede	be sat
laam-aade	rule	laam-eede	be ruled
toppit-aade	look after	toppit-eede	be looked after
hirt-aade	have supper	hirt-eede	have supper
seed-aade	witness	seed-eede	be witnessed

(6) This is a use of the passive which is unusual in many European languages. Gaden was struck by it, and he wrote: "Les verbes aller et pleuvoir, sont en foul des verbes actifs, mais s'emploient également au passif comme si une action était exercée sur le lieu où l'on va et sur celui où il pleut.

Podor yaar-ete koyde "Podor est allé à pied" C'est à dire "on va à pied à Podor" ... Ces exemples montrent que les verbes français Correspondants ne sont pas toujours les équivalents exacts des verbes fouls" (Gaden, H, 1913, p.54)

Examples

(i) Middle voice

... Ligg-aade e ŋgesa	"...to work in a field"
... ɓad-aade saare	"...to get near to a village"
... waɗɗ-aade puccu	"...to mount a horse"

(ii) Passive voice

ŋguŋ puccu gasataa waɗɗ-eede	"this horse cannot be mounted"
Ɓaa ŋgesa gasataa Ligg-eede	"No one should work in this field" (lit. this field cannot be worked)
O arti ado hirt-eede	"he came back before supper-time" (lit. He came back before supper-was-had)

Table 3. Three-voice radicals

ACTIVE-MIDDLE-PASSIVE

ACTIVE	MEANING	MIDDLE	MEANING	PASSIVE	MEANING
rutt-ude	take back	rutt-aade	go back	rutt-eede	be taken back
saak-ude	disperse	saak-aade	disperse	saak-eede	be dispersed
fagg-ude	feed	fagg-aade	feed oneself	fagg-eede	be fed
hocc-ude	collect, pick up	hocc-aade	jump	hocc-eede	be collected

to be continued....

ACTIVE-MIDDLE-PASSIVE Table continued

hipp-ude	invert	hipp-aade	wear on the head (hat)	hipp-eede	be worn on the head (hat)
wayl-ude	change	wayl-aade	change oneself	wayl-eede	be changed
lanc-ude	disperse	lanc-aade	disperse	lanc-eede	be dispersed
sokk-ude	squeeze	sokk-aade	squeeze oneself	sokk-eede	be squeezed
ɓet-ude	measure	ɓet-aade	measure onself	ɓet-eede	be measured
loot-ude	wash	loot-aade	have a wash	loot-eede	be washed

Examples

(i) Active voice

o suusataa rutt-ude ɗe — "He will not dare to take them back"

o suusataa saak-ude ɗe — "he will not dare to disperse them"

o suusataa fagg-ude ɗe — "he will not dare to feed them"

(ii) Middle voice

ƁeƁ jaɓaali rutt-aade — "they have refused to go back"
ƁeƁ jaɓaali saak-aade — "they have refused to disperse"
ƁeƁ jaɓaali fagg-aade — "they have refused to feed themselves"

(iii) Passive voice

ƁeƁ roŋketaake rutt-eede — "It is not impossible to take them back"
ƁeƁ roŋketaake saak-eede — "It is not impossible to disperse them"
ƁeƁ roŋketaake fagg-eede — "It is not impossible to feed them"
ƁeƁ roŋketaake loot-eede — "It is not impossible to wash them"
(lit. they will not be failed to be taken back, dispersed etc.)

6.16. The functions of the three voices have been defined as follows:

-The Active voice indicates an action performed by the subject or a "quality" (e.g. to grow up, to be tall, to be white etc.)

- The middle voice refers to neutral or reflexive actions.

-The passive voice indicates that the subject is the goal of the action.

Category VI: Number

6.17. This category is concerned with number in the verbal piece. The important point is that the Pulaar/Fulfulde language is characterised by a system of initial consonant alternation in nouns and verbs This alternation feature has already been treated in chapter 1. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to provide some illustrations of such alternations. The following examples have been taken out of a questionnaire devised by the author, for field work in Fuuta Tooro.

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Alternating Consonants
o dogi	ɓe ndogi	he/they ran	d/nd
o asi	ɓe ŋgasi	" " dug	'/ŋg
o ari	ɓe ŋgari	" " came	'/ŋg
o yi'i	ɓe nji'i	" " saw	y/nj

to be continued...

o yeeyi	ɓe njeeyi	he/they sold	y/nj
o haɓi	ɓe kaɓi	" " fought	h/k
o hooti	ɓe kooti	" " went home	h/k
o wi'i	ɓe mbi'i	" " said	w/mb
o wari	ɓe mbari	" " killed	w/mb
o soki	ɓe coki	" " locked	s/c
o seeki	ɓe ceeki	" " tore	s/c
o seki	ɓe ceki	" " were angry	s/c

Category VII: Person

6.18. This category is concerned with personal and non-personal subject and object pronouns. The two dialects have several types of subject pronouns. A whole chapter (i.e. chapter 11) has been devoted to subject and object pronouns; for the moment, illustrations will only be provided for one type of subject pronouns. In the examples below, subject and object pronouns are respectively found before and after the verb in the General Past tense (yaafike).

Mi	yaafike	ma	"I have forgiven	you"
A	"	meŋ	" You have	"	us "
O	"	eŋ	"He has	"	us"
Eŋ	"	mo	"We have	"	him"
Meŋ	"	oŋ	"We have	"	you"
Oŋ	"	ɓe	"You have	"	them"
ɓe	"	laŋ	"They have	"	me"

Category VII: Past anterior affix

6.19. This category refers to the feature whereby an element, -no/-noo[7], combines with a particular tense to take a particular action further back into the past.

The following Fuuta Jaloo examples provide an illustration of the use of the past anterior affix.

Mi lootii-no Umar "I had washed Umar"
O Suudii-no Demba "He had hidden Demba"
(General Past active + Past anterior affix)

Mi looti-no-ke/Mi looti-noo-ma "I had had a wash"
O Suudi-no-ke/O Suudi-noo-ma "He had hidden"
(General past middle + past anterior affix)

Mi loota-noo-ma "I had been washed"
O Suuda-noo-ma "He had been hidden"
(General past passive + past anterior affix)

Mi lootay-no Umar "I was going to wash Umar"
O Suuday-no Demba "He was going to hide Demba"
(General Future active + past anterior affix)

Mi loototo-no "I was going to have a wash"
O Suudoto-no "He was going to hide"
(General Future middle + past anterior affix)

Mi lootete-no "I was going to be washed"
O Suudete-no "He was going to be hidden"
(General Future passive + past anterior affix)

---

(7) Please see Chapter 10 for relevant use of -no or -noo.

Category IX: Transitivity

6.20. There are certain differences in verbal classes which suggest a division into two major groups: Transitive and intransitive clauses.

6.21. Transitive clauses occur where the verb is followed by a pronoun or a noun - phrase as the object, e.g.

O ɓoodii puccu am	"He has bought my horse"
O ɓoodii ŋgu	"He has bought it"

There are clauses with more than one object pronoun, e.g.

O yeeyii ɓe ŋgu	"He has sold it to them"
Mi okkii mo ŋge	"I have given it to him"

6.22. Intransitive clauses occur where the verb does not take any object, e.g.

O maayii	"He has died"
O majjii	"He has got lost"
O ɗaanike/ O ɗaanniima	"He has fallen asleep"

Verbs of motion may be followed immediately by a place noun but this is not the object of the verb, nor can the noun be pronominalised, e.g.

O yehii Dakar "He has gone to Dakar"
(Dakar is not the object of yehii; nor can we say O yehii nde "he has gone it")

Category X: Derivative infixes

6.23. The two dialects have three types of radicals: Simple, derived and complex.

6.24. Simple radicals are basic radicals; they always remain a single entity and cannot be broken down into any further morphological components.

6.25. Derived radicals are generally simple radicals plus affixes of the kind listed in Table 4. Such radicals are semantically different from simple radicals. This definition of derived radicals is similar to the one made by Stennes for the dialect he studied: "stem extensions are suffixed to the root and alter the meaning of the original form"(8).

6.26. Derivative infixes occupy an important part in the two dialects and in Pulaar/Fulfulde as a whole, since they provide the possibility of always creating a wide range of semantic nuances from simple radicals. Noye believes that they are among the features that contribute most to the richness of the language: " Une des richesses de la langue peule provient de la possibilité de former, à partir de racines simples, differents verbes dérivés qui indiqueront certaines modalités de l'action. Le français utilise pour cela surtout des

---

(8) op. cit. stennes, p.129

préfixes de dérivation, qui sont placés à la suite de la racine et forment un nouveau radical qui reçoit pour la conjugaison les mêmes terminaisons que le verbe simple"(9).

6.27. The same infix may have several different meanings according to the types of radicals. As a matter of example, the infix - it - has reversive, repetitive, intensive, retaliative and other types of meanings.

6.28. In his study of the dialect of Gombe, Arnott points out that individual infixes, which he calls extensions, "are differentiated on a phonological and grammatical basis, viz on the basis of

a) their form
b) their behaviour in regard to voice-potential and transitivity (10).

6.29. Before providing an illustration of derivative infixes in Table 4 below, it is worth mentioning that they are fully described in Chapter 9.

---

(9) Noye, D., 1974, p.766
(10) op. cit. Arnott, p.333

Table 4. Illustrations of derivative infixes(11)

Types of infixes

Infixes	Name	Illustrations
t-/-it/ut		
	reversive	haɓɓ-ude/haɓɓ-it-ude "tie/untie"
	repetitive	naŋŋg-ude/naŋŋg-it-aade "catch/ catch again"
	reflexive	pii-de/pii-t-aade "hit/hit oneself"
	retaliative	jal-de/jal-t-aade "laugh/laugh back"
	intensive	
id-/ud-/-od-		
	Associative	naat-(u)de/naat-id-ude "enter/ enter together"
	comprehensive	nyaam-(u)de/nyaam-id-ude "eat/ eat up"
-ir-/-or-		
	modal	haɓɓ-ude/haɓɓ-ir-de "tie/tie with"
	locative	yaa-de/yah-ir-de "go/go by ... "

(11) cf. Chapter 9 for use of relevant voices with infixes.

Category IX: Verbo-nominals (12)

6.30. There are three groups in this category: Infinitive, past participle and future participle, as illustrated below.

Table 5. Illustrations of verbo-nominals

Voice	Infinitive	Past Participle	Future Participles
Active	suud-ude "to hide"	suud-udo	suud-oowo
	rutt-ude "to return"	rutt-udo	rutt-oowo
	saak-ude "to disperse"	saak-udo	saak-oowo
	femmb-ude "to shave"	femmb-udo	feemb-oowo
	fagg-ude "to feed"	fagg-udo	fagg-oowo
Middle	(reflexive meaning)		
	suud-aade "to hide"	suud-iido	suud-otoodo
	rutt-aade "to return"	rutt-iido	rutt-otoodo
	saak-aade "to disperse"	saak-iido	saak-otoodo
	feemb-aade "to shave"	femmb-iido	feemb-otoodo
	fagg-aade "to feed"	fagg-iido	fagg-otoodo
Passive	suud-eede "to be hidden"	suud-aado	suud-eteedo
	rutt-eede "to be returned"	rutt-aado	rutt-eteedo
	saak-eede"to be dispersed"	saak-aado	saak-eteedo
	feemb-eede "to be shaved"	feemb-aado	feemb-eteedo
	fagg-eede "to be fed"	fagg-aado	fagg-eteedo

(12) cf. Chapter 12 for details on verbo-nominals.

6.31. Finally, the findings on the verbal piece are described in the ensuing chapters:

Chapter 7: Tenses of the indicative mood
Chapter 8: Tenses of the subjunctive mood and forms of the imperative
Chapter 9: Derivative infixes
Chapter 10: The past anterior affix
Chapter 11: Subject and object pronouns
Chapter 12: Verbo-nominals

CHAPTER 7: TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE MOOD

7.1. Tenses of the indicative Mood have been sub-divided into general and relative groups by Arnott, partly on morph_ological and syntactic ground.

The general group include all the tenses where all the subject pronouns precede the base, i.e. general past, emphatic past, general future, vague future, continuous, stative, negative past, emphatic negative, negative future. By way of opposition, the relative group includes tenses where for some persons the verbal base precedes the subject pronouns. It includes the relative past and the relative future.

General Future

Fuuta Jaloo

Jaŋŋgo mi l̰oot-ay[1] horde nden "Tomorrow I shall wash the calabash"

Jaŋŋgo a nyaam-ay nyiiri ndiŋ "Tomorrow you will eat the food"

Relative Future

Fuuta Tooro

Ko jaŋŋgo loot-at-aa "It is tomorrow that you will wash"

Nde ŋgar-t-aa? "When will you come?"

---

(1) the tense suffix under consideration is indicated by a hyphen that separates it from the verbal radical.

Table 1: Suffixes of General Tenses

Tense	Voice					
	Active		Middle		Passive	
	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro
General Past	-ii	-ii	-ike	-iima	-aama	-aama
Emphatic past	-(u)	-(u)	-i	-i	-a	-a
General future/ Habitual	-ay	-at	-oto	-oto	-ete	-ete
Vague future	Non-existant	-(u)	Non-existant	-o	Non-existant	-e
Negative past	-aali	-aani	-aaki	-aaki	-aaka	-aaka
Negative future/ Habitual	-ataa	-ataa	-ataako	-ataako	-ataaḳe	-ataaḳe
Emphatic Negative	-aa	-aa	Non-existant	Non-existant	Non-existant	Non-existant
Stative	-i	-i	-ii	-ii	-aa	-aa
Continuous 1	-a	-a	-oo	-oo	-ee	-ee
Continuous 2	-(u)de	Non-existant	-aade	Non-existant	-eede	Non-existant

NB The brackets indicate that the -u is optional with all simple radicals (i.e. of CVC- or CVVC- structure) ending in f, s, r, l, w, k, m, n and ɓ. The same thing occurs with the general imperative active as well as the active infinitive and past participle (cf. Chapters 8 and 12). It should however be emphasized that the omission occurs more frequently in Fuuta Tooro than Fuuta Jaloo. The latter tends to maintain the -u with the above types of radicals.

The following extract ~~my~~ mŋ from Fuuta Tooro material will further illustrate the difference between general and relative tenses. In this case relative past forms (wad-i, won-i art-i, heɓ-i etc.) is used for narrative purposes whereas general past forms (art-ii, fellan-ii, takk-ii etc.) are used in conversation.

ŋolo wad-i aŋŋgaas; o won-i e armee, omo fellana tuubakooɓe haa o heɓ-i seneral. o art-i. o yeh-i Ndar, o wi'-i tuubakooɓe mi art-ii, mi fellan-ii on haa mi takk-ii seneral na ni.	"ŋolo volunteered for the army; He remained in the army and fought (lit. he has been fighting) for the white men until he became a general. He came back. He went to Ndar (and) said to the white men: I have come back, I have fought for you until I have become a general as you can notice (lit. here it is)"

7.2. We will now make a close examination of the individual tenses. We will start with general tenses and then go on to relative tenses.

The General Past

Active: -ii

Middle: FJ -ike(2)
FJ -iima

---

(2) FJ an d FT stand for Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro. These will be used whenever tense-suffixes are different in the two dialects.

Passive: -aama

Examples:

Active (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)

1 sg	Mi loot-ii Umar	"I have washed Umar"
2 sg	A loot-ii Umar	"You have wahed Umar"
3 sg	O "	"He has washed Umar"
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	"We have washed Umar"
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	"We have washed Umar"
2 pl	Oŋ/On "	" You have washed Umar"
3 pl	ɓe "	"They have washed Umar"

Middle

	Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Meaning
1 sg	Mi loot-ike	Mi loot-iima	I have had a wash
2 sg	A loot-ike	A loot-iima	You have had a wash
3 sg	O loot-ike	O loot-iima	He has had a wash
1 pl incl	Eŋ loot-ike	En loot-iima	We have had a wash
1 pl excl	Meŋ loot-ike	Men loot-iima	We have had a wash
2 pl	Oŋ loot-ike	On loot-iima	You have had a wash
3 pl	ɓe loot-ike	ɓe loot-iima	They have had a wash

Passive (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)

1 sg	Mi loot-aama	I have been washed
2 sg	A loot-aama	You have been washed
3 sg	O loot-aama	He has been washed
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En loot-aama	We have been washed
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men loot-aama	We have been washed
2 pl	Oŋ/on loot-aama	You have been washed

Further examples of their use:

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi yett-ii Alla	"I thank God" (I have thanked God)
Alla jaar-aama	"Thank God" (God has been thanked)
Almaamiijo lontin-aama	"A king has been appointed"
O halfin-aama diina kaŋ	"He has been entrusted with the leadership of the religion"
O halfin-aama miskinɓe ɓeŋ	"He has been made responsible for the care of the poor"
O halfin-aama yimɓe laawol beŋ[3]	"He has been made responsible for the care of travellers" (lit. The people of the road)

Fuuta Tooro

Mi rokk-aama haalde no Pari yimretee	"I have been entrusted with making poems about Paris" (lit. I have been given to talk how Paris is to be sung)
Mi nan-ii sakke ko ceeloowo cawɗi	"I have heard that a shoe-maker is someone who slices animal skins"

7.3. Only general tenses are used after such particles as si or so "if, whenever" ɓayri/ɓaawo "since, because" e.g.

---

(3) Adapted from Sow, A.I. 1968, p.36

(i) si

Fuuta Jaloo

Si mi itt-ii a tampay	"If I take it away you will suffer"
Si lekki haar-aama nyawndataa	"Too much medicine does not cure anybody" (lit. if a medicine has been taken to one's full satisfaction it will not cure).
Si diina aadeŋ tiid-ii o juulay	"If a person's religious belief is strong he will perform his devotions.
Si bilakoroojo suuw-ike wullaani haray mawɓe makko yett-ii Àlla	"If a boy goes through circumcision without crying his parents praise God for it (lit. if a boy has been circumcised (and) has not cried it will be (that) his parents have thanked God."
Si almaami taar-aama ga juulirde Fugummbaa, tabalde nde piy-aama, mawɓe ɓeŋ nodd-aama, meetelli diŋ wadee e horde addee teddiniree mawɓe ɓen fow	"Whenever the king has been crowned in the Mosque of Fugummba, that the drum has been beaten, that the elderly have been called, the turbans are put in a calabash and shows to the latter."

(ii) ɓayri/ɓaawo (since, because, when etc.)

Fuuta Tooro

ʔBaawo o res-ii debbo sukunya omo woni laaɓɗo, ɓiɗɗo ɓe njibindini fow laaɓataa	"Since he (has) married a cannibal and he is not one, their child could become it (lit. Any child they got together will not be clean).

Fuuta Jaloo

ʔBaawo Fuuta e Fuladuu fellindir-ii yimɓe Fuladuu ɓeŋ eggi	"When Fuuta Jaloo and Fula duwfought each other, the Fuladuu people moved away"
ʔBayri leydi ndiŋ sennd-aama mo kala jonnaa geɓal mu'uŋ	"When the land was divided, each individual was given his part"

The Empahtic Past

Active

(-u)

Middle

-i

Passive

-a

7.4. This tense is used where the emphasis falls on the meaning on the verb radical, e.g.

ACTIVE

Fuuta Tooro

Ko mi sudd-u ɗum	"I did cover it"
Ko o yan	"He did fall down"
Ko o loot ɗum	"He did wash"

(Compare with the emphatic statements in the relative past, mentioned in 7.34 where emphasis is not on the verb meaning but on some other element in the sentence)

Ko haŋki o sudd-i ɗum	"It was yesterday that he covered it "
Ko haŋki o yan-i	"It was yesterday that he fell"
Ko haŋki o loot-i ɗum	"It was yesterday that he washed it"

MIDDLE

Ko mi sudd-i	"I did cover myself"
Ko mi loot-i	"I did wash myself"
Ko o suuɗ-i	"He did hide"

Compare with:

Ko haŋki o sudd-ii	"It was yesterday that he covered himself"
Ko haŋki o loot-ii	"It was yesterday that he washed"
Ko haŋki o suuɗ-ii	"It was yesterday that he hid"

PASSIVE

Ko ɗum def-a	"It was cooked"
Ko o huɗ-a	"He was cursed"
Ko o taw-a e dow debbo janano	"He was found on top of someone else's wife"

Compare with:

Ko ɗum def-aa	"It was that one that was cooked"
Ko kaŋko huɗ-aa	"It was him that was cursed"
Ko haŋki o taw-aa e dow debbo janano	"It was yesterday that he was found on top of someone else's wife"

The General Future

ACTIVE

FJ -ay
FT -at

MIDDLE

-oto

PASSIVE

-ete

Examples: (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)

Active

1 sg	Mi loot-ay/Mi loot-at Umar	I shall wash Umar
2 sg	A loot-ay/A loot-at Umar	You will wash Umar
3 sg	O loot-ay/O "	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ loot-ay/O "	we "
1 pl excl	Meŋ loot-ay/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ loot-ay/On "	you "
3 pl	Be loot-ay/Be "	they "

Middle

1 sg	Mi loot-oto	I shall have a wash
2 sg	A "	you will "
3 sg	O "	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	we shall "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/on "	you "
3 pl	Be "	they "

Passive

1 sg	Mi loot-ete	I shall be washed
2 sg	A "	you will be "
3 sg	O "	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	we shall "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/On "	you will "
3 pl	Be "	they "

7.6. The general future is used in both dialects to refer to some action that one thinks is certain to happen, as in the following Fuuta Tooro example:

Hammadi Satigi ko kaarɗo,	"Hammadi Satigi is arrogant,
ko ɓii laamɗo, ko	he is the son of a king,
baammum will fof won-at	whatever his father says
	will happen"

7.7. This tense is also used in both dialects after such particles as so/si "if", ɓayri "because" which are tied to general and not relative tenses.

a) so/si "if" (conditional clauses)

(i) Fuuta Tooro

Sikaa maccuɗo, won maa ŋgartaa	"If you belong to the
e baamma, tawa won jontaaɗo	slave caste and if you
ma e diŋŋgiral, mbi'aa aɗa	ask your father to help
yiɗi ɗum resde, nyande	you marry a free girl you
heen a fiy-ete salambure, sabu	had befriended in the village,
on kawrii e diŋŋgiral kono	he will beat you up that day
oŋŋgonaa gootum.	because even though you
	met that girl you are not
	marriageable (lit. if you
	are a slave, you may come
	back to your father, when
	your girlfriend is in the
	village, you say you want
	to marry her; that day
	you will be beaten up (with)
	a stick, because you
	met each other in the village
	but you are not the same)"

(ii) Fuuta Jaloo

Si o maay-ay you o maayu	"If he is going to die, let him die"
Si ɓiraaɗaŋ ɗaŋ yon-ay yimɓe ɓeŋ, addu ɗaŋ	"If the milk is going to be enough for everybody, then bring it."
Si oŋ hald-ay ko ɗoo haldotoŋ teppere tew o sottataa	"If you are going to talk you are going to do it here, you are not going to move an inch from here"

b) Causal clause

ɓayri o yah-ay ka luumo yo o naɓor minnyiraaɓe makko ɓeŋ	"Since he is going to go to the market let him take his brother with him."

The general future can also be the main clause in the sentence containing subordinate clauses, e.g.

(i) after a Conditional clause

Doŋŋgal ɓiraadaŋ no metti ronndaade; si ɗaŋ yeyaama ɗaŋ hibb-ay	"A pot of milk is hard to carry on the head; When (the pot) is tilted the milk gets spilt."

Fuuta Tooro

Mbeewa so waalii e ladde tan boy nyaam-at	"If a goat spends the night in the bush it will be eaten up by jackals"
Saa[4] addii kaŋŋe ma, a hald-at e baylo	"When you bring your gold, you will discuss the price with the goldsmith"
Hade so mi innii ma, Mbaalam, mi yi'-at Jaara Yaayam, hono waɗetee haa mi waasa yidde ma?	"Since at the simple call of your name, my Mbaalam, I see my dear mother Jaara, how can I be made to dislike you?"

(ii) after a Relative clause

Fuuta Jaloo

Mb hulii Maay-ay, mo suusii maay-ay	"The coward will die, the brave will die"(lit. He who is afraid will die, he who is brave will die)
Mb ndaaranii ma ɓiddo maa har-ay heɓii ma	"He who looks after your child will turn you into your friend"

7.8. The general future is also used for habitual meaning with regard to an habitual activity of a permanent nature.

---

(4) Saa is a commonly used spoken form of so a "if you".

Fuuta Tooro

Ko mi demoowo; Mi rem-at gaw-ri, mi rem-at maaro	"I am a cultivator I cultivate guinea corn or rice (lit. I shall cultivate guinea corn, I shall cultivate rice).
Ɗaɗi nyawndirɗi asoytee ko to ladde; woni heen ɗi pasn-ete woni heen ɗi mbaɗ-ete tan ndiyam haa wukka ɗi njaree	"The roots that heal are usually dug from the bush. Sometimes they are boiled, sometimes they are just heated up in water and given to the patient to drink (lit. sometimes they will be put only (in) water until warm, they are drunk)"

7.9. Furthermore there is another special use of the general future: It is often found at the beginning of a series of descriptive sentences, where the same action has been repeated several times, e.g.

Fuuta Tooro

Debbo maabo oo wii kanyum hay gooto ɓamataa ɗum so wonaa nyalluɗo sanje gila subaka haa naaŋge muta tawa ɗaldugal mum saamaani e leydi. Maabuɓe fof nani. Maabo ar-at tan nyalla sanje haa naaŋge daroo e hoore, ɗaldugal mum saama e leydi	"The weaver-woman said that no one would marry her except for the one who would spend a whole day weaving without dropping his needle. All the weavers heard about it. A weaver would come and work till noon, and then his needle would fall to the ground."

7.10. It is used in both dialects to express future meanings in reported speech and in interrogative sentences, e.g.

(i) Reported speech

o wii o nodd-at kam	"He said he will call me"
o wii o loot-at kam	"He said he will wash me"
o wii ɓe njaaf-oto mbo	"He said they will forgive him"
o wii ɓe loot-oto	"He said they will wash"
o wii o fiy-ete	"He said he will be beaten up".
o wii loot-ete	"He said he will be washed"

(ii) Interrogative sentences

Mi yi'-at ma jaŋŋgo?	"Shall I see you tomorrow?"
A ar-at jaŋŋgo?	"Will you come tomorrow?"
Debbo oo tawi gorko oo na lelii na fortii sikki ko maaydo; o wii: Miin noon, mi woy-at haa mi gayna nde mi fudda nyaamde walla mi nyaam -at haa mi gayna nde mi fudda woyde	"The woman found the man stretched out on the floor, she thought he was dead. She said (to herself): Shall I cry before eating or shall I eat before crying?"

7.11. Fuuta Jaloo uses it for simple future meanings, when Fuuta Tooro uses the vague future, e.g.

o loot-ay jaŋŋgo	"He will wash tomorrow"
o nodd-ay mo jaŋŋgo	"He will call him tomorrow"
-Mi loot-oto faɗɗi jaŋŋgo	"I shall have a wash the day after tomorrow"
-a yaaf-oto mo faɗɗi jaŋŋgo	"You will forgive him the day after tomorrow"
-Mi loot-ete si mi ara	"I shall be washed before coming"
-Mi nodd-ete	"I shall be called"

The Vague Future

7.12. This tense does not seem to occur in Fuuta Jaloo; the general future is used in contexts where the vague future appears in Fuuta Tooro. Before giving the list of the suffixes of this tense, it is important to emphasize that they are always used in combination with a specific particle "ma" which may be regarded as a tense prefix.

ACTIVE - (u)
MIDDLE - o
PASSIVE - e

7.13. The vague future is used to indicate future meanings in direct speech e.g.

Ma o nodd-u ɓe	"He will call him"
Ma ɓe nodd-u on	"They will call you" (plural)
Ma o yaaf-o mi	"He will forgive me"
Banndel, ar wonndu e am, ma mi innir ma woŋkam	"Sweet Love, come and stay with me, I shall name my heart after you"
Ko pulaar mbiiɗaa ŋgarɗaa jaŋŋgu saa ummiima ɗoo maa nawt-u ko laaɓi	"You said you came to learn, you will be fully satisfied by the time you leave this place."
Ma mi sood ŋgaari ndii ujunnaaji joy	"I'll give you (lit. buy) five thousand for the bull"

7.14. The vague future is also the main clause of a sentence with subordinate clauses introduced by such particles as so "if" and it is not used in interrogative future sentences, for which the general or relative futures are used.

So gesa baa liggaama ma enen fof en ɓejj-u heen	"When the field yields it will be beneficial to all of us"
Saa yottiima e wuro hee maa yii ɗoon weendu heeda maa e funnaaŋge. Nde ŋgarɗaa fof saa tawaani mi ɗoon maa	"When you get to the village you will see a water well towards the east. Whenever you come, if you don't find me, you will find my wife

taw jom suudam walla ɓiyam walla neenam. Saa soyniima funnaange maa soyn-o cuudi Demmba Aysata, oo dariido ɗoo oo. Saa yottiima ɗoon no mbaaɗen fof ma en njiid-u	or my son or my mother. If you look towards the east you will see Demmba Aysata's hut; if you get there you will meet by all means"

The Stative(5)

Examples: (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)

Active

1 sg	Miɗo/Mboɗo loot-i Umar	I have washed	Umar
2 sg	Hiɗa/Aɗa loot-i Umar	You	"
3 sg	Himo/Omo loot-i Umar	He has	"
1 pl incl	Hiɗeŋ/Eɗen loot-i Umar	we have	"
1 pl excl	Meɗeŋ/Emin loot-i Umar	we	"
2 pl	Hiɗoŋ/Oɗon loot-i Umar	you	"
3 pl	Hiɓe/Eɓe loot-i Umar	they	"

Middle

1 sg	Miɗo/Mboɗo loot-ii	I have had a	wash
2 sg	Hiɗa/Aɗa loot-ii	you	"
3 sg	Himo/omo loot-ii	he has	"
1 pl incl	Hiɗeŋ/Eɗen loot-ii	we have	"
1 pl excl	Meɗeŋ/Emin loot-ii	we	"
2 pl	Hiɗoŋ/Oɗon loot-ii	you	"
3 pl	Hiɓe/Eɓe loot-ii	they	"

(5) Please refer to Tables 1 (Page 178) and 2 (Page 179) for the suffixes of the stative and to Tables 2 and 3 (Page 181) for the accompanying subject pronouns.

Passive

1 sg	Miɗo/Mbodo loot-aa	I have been washed	
2 sg	Hiɗa/Aɗa loot-aa	You	"
3 sg	Himo/Omo loot-aa	he has	"
1 pl incl	Hiɗeŋ/Eɗen loot-aa	we have	"
1 pl excl	Meɗeŋ/Emin loot-aa	we	"
2 pl	Hiɗoŋ/Oɗon loot-aa	you	"
3 pl	Hiɓe/Eɓe loot-aa	they	"

7.15. A verb such as anndude "to know" has forms which are considered as "stative" and others which are non stative, so that for the present purpose "stative" is not applied just to a class of verbs as is the case in such languages as English; it has been treated as a tense by Arnott in his book "The Nominal and Verbal Systems of Fula" (1970). In order to give a clearer understanding of the meanings of this tense, I shall compare it with the general past (Gp) when the latter indicates a completed action. First of all I shall make a distinction between dynamic and non-dynamic verbs. The former can be given a dynamic use, ie. they can be put into the progressive form, e.g. nyaamude "to eat", yawde "to climb", wallude "to help", ittude "to pick", arde "to come".

Non-dynamic verbs which are not used in the progressive form include verbs of inert perception or cognition, e.g. moyyude "be good", bonde "be bad" welde "to be tasty", anndude "to know", mawnude "to grow up", sattude "to be difficult".

1) Dynamic Verbs

ACTIVE

Mido yaw-i	"I am up the tree" (ie. I have finished climbing and I am still up the tree)
GP: Mi yaw-ii	"I have climbed" (and I may not necessarily still be up the tree; I may have come down).
Mido nodd-i mo	"I have called him" (but he may not have answered the call yet)
GP: Mi nodd-ii mo	"I have called him" (He may have answered my call since then)
Himo nyaam-i maaro	"He has (just) eaten rice"
but	
GP: O nyaam-ii maaro koŋ gila ko ɓooyi	"It's a long time since he ate the rice"

MIDDLE

Fuuta Tooro

Ada loot-ii	"You are washed clean"
but	
GP: A loot-iima	"You have washed"
Eɓe cuud-ii	"They are hiding"
but	
GP: ɓe cuud-iima	"They have hidden"

emin njood-ii "We are seated" (We are still sitting down)

but

GP: min njood-iima "We have sat down" (as opposed to we have stood up)

odon tor-ii "You have requested" (You have made the request and you are still waiting for a reply)

but

GP: A tor-iima "You have requested" (and you may have already got the reply).

PASSIVE

Fuuta Jaloo

Mido nodd-aa "I have been called" (The call has been made to me and I am still to reply).

but

GP: Mi nodd-aama "I have been called" (and I may already have answered).

hidoŋ naŋŋg-aa "You are under arrest"

but

GP: oŋ naŋŋg-aamɓ "You have been arrested" (and released perhaps)

In the above stative examples of all the three voices,

the important factor is not only the completion of the dynamic activity but also, and above all the fact that the subject is continuing in the state relative to the meaning of the verb. On the other hand, the general past can indicate that the action is completed but also that it is not necessarily going on in the state of completion. These two meanings can be summarized as follows:

(i) Stative: completed and still continuing state

(ii) GP: completed but may not be continuing into present time.

2) Non-dynamic verbs

These verbs seem to occur in the active voice and, to a lesser extent, the passive. They do not seem to occur in the middle voice.

ACTIVE VOICE

Fuuta Tooro

Enge mawn-i	"it (ie. cow etc.) is big"
but	
GP: nge mawn-ii	"it has become big" (which it was not before)
Omo myy-i	"He is a good man"
but	
GP: O moyy-ii	"He has been good" (over this matter)

emin ŋgannd-i ɗum "We know it" (We have always known it)

but

GP: Min ŋgannd-ii ɗum "We know it" (we know it now; we did not know it but we have come to know it; we have found out).

ada ŋgorɗ-i "You are a brave man" (and you always are)

but

GP: a ngorɗ-ii "You have been brave" (Over this case etc.)

PASSIVE VOICE

Fuuta Jaloo

Himo ɗonɗ-aa "He is thirsty"

but

GP: o ɗonɗ-aama "He has got thirsty" (as opposed to previously, when he was not thirsty)

Miɗo weel-aa "I am hungry"

but

GP: Mi weel-aama "I have got hungry" (as opposed to the previous state when I was not hungry)

Miɗo jaaŋg-aa "I am cold"

but

GP: Mi jaaŋg-aama "I have become cold"

The meanings of the stative with non-dynamic verbs could be described as follows:

(i) In the active voice it tends to indicate the possession of a quality or a defect of some kind with the implication that this is a lasting feature whereas the general past implies that the quality or defect are temporary.

(ii) In the passive voice it has a similar meaning to that indicated for the dynamic verbs, i.e. the subject is continuing in the state of completion.

It is interesting to note that the meanings of the stative could be made to occur in the past or future times thanks to special constructions. e.g.

Past time

Fuuta Jaloo

Tawi mido yaw-i	"at that time I was up the tree" (lit. It was found I am up the tree).
Tawi mido nodd-i mo	"At that time I had called him" (lit. It was found I have called him)
o wi'i himo nyaam--i maaro	"We said he had eaten rice" (lit. He said he had eaten rice"

Future time

Fuuta Tooro

Tawat emin ŋganɗ-i "We will have known" (lit. It will be found we know)

Tawat omo ɗomɗ-aa "He will have been thirsty" (lit. It will be found that he is thirsty).

NB It should be emphasized however that this feature is not peculiar to the stative. It occurs equally with the general past and, as will be seen later, the continuous.

The Continuous tense

7.16. The two types of suffixes of this tense are shown in Tables 1 and 2. The accompanying subject pronouns are in Tables 2 and 3.

7.17. As shown in Table 2 only continuous 1 is common to the two dialects. Continuous 2 does not seem to occur in Fuuta Jaloo. I shall start by analysing continuous 1 and then go on to continuous 2.

Table 2. The stative and the continuous in the two dialects

TENSE-SUFFIXES								
STATIVE			CONTINUOUS					
			Continuous 1 (FJ/FT)			Continuous 2 (FJ only)		
ACTIVE	MIDDLE	PASSIVE	ACTIVE	MIDDLE	PASSIVE	ACTIVE	MIDDLE	PASSIVE
-i	-ii	-aa	-a	-oo	-ee	-(u)de	-aade	-eede

Subject pronouns of the stative and the continuous		
Regular Subject Pronouns	FUUTA JALOO	FUUTA TOORO
1 sing	miɗo	cf table 3
2 sing	hiɗa	aɗa
3 sing	himo	omo/ombo
1 pl incl	hiɗeŋ	eɗen
1 pl excl	meɗeŋ	emin
2 pl	hiɗoŋ	oɗon
3 pl	hiɓe	eɓe

to be continued...

Table 2 continued.

Non-personal		
nde	hinde	ende
ndi	hindi	endi
ndu	hindu	endu
ba/mba	himba	eba
ŋge	hiŋge	eŋge
ŋgo	hiŋgo	eŋgo
ŋgu	hiŋgu	eŋgu
ŋgal	hiŋgal	eŋgal
ŋgol	hiŋgol	eŋgol
ka	hika	eka
ki	hiki	eki
ko	hiko	eko
kol (FJ only)	hiko	---
ɗaŋ/ɗam	hiɗaŋ	edam
ɗuŋ/ɗum	hiɗuŋ	edum
ɗe	hiɗe	eɗe
ɗi	hiɗi	eɗi
Diminutive (Personal and Non-personal		
ŋgel	hiŋgel	eŋgel
kuŋ (FJ only)	hikuŋ	---
kal	hikal	ekal
koy/kon	hikoy	ekon

to be continued....

Table 2 continued.

Augmentative		
ŋgal	hiŋgal	eŋgal
ŋgii (FJ only)	Hiŋgii	---

Table 3. First person elements of the stative and the continuous in Fuuto Tooro

Forms	Areas where encountered
Mbodo	Madina Ndiatɓe, Matam, Wurossogi
modo	" " "
Mbeɗe	" " "
Meɗe	" " "
Mbiɗo	Matam

Continuous 1

Examples of its use

Active

1 sg	Mɗo/Mbodo	loot-a Umar	I am washing Umar
2 sg	Hiɗa/Aɗa	"	you are "
3 sg	Himo/Omo	"	he is "
1 pl incl	Hiɗeŋ/Eɗen	"	we are "
1 pl excl	Meɗeŋ/Emin	"	we "
2 pl	Hiɗon/Oɗon	"	you "
3 pl	Hiɓe/Eɓe	"	they "

Middle

1 sg	Mɗo/Mbodo	loot-oo	I am having a wash
2 sg	Hiɗa/Aɗa	"	you are "
3 sg	Himo/Omo	"	he is "
1 pl incl	Hiɗeŋ/Eɗen	"	we are "
1 pl excl	Meɗeŋ/Emin	"	we are "
2 pl	Hiɗoŋ/Oɗon	"	you "
3 pl	Hiɓe/Eɓe	"	they "

Passive

1 sg	Mɗo/Mbodo	loot-ee	I am being washed
2 sg	Hiɗa/Aɗa	"	you are "
3 sg	Himo/Omo	"	he is "
1 pl incl	Hiɗeŋ/Eɗen	"	we are "
1 pl excl	Meɗeŋ/Emin	"	we are "
2 pl	Hiɗoŋ/Oɗon	"	you "
3 pl	Hiɓe/Eɓe	"	they "

7.18. It indicates an action in progress, i.e. an action that has not been completed at the time of utterance, e.g.

Fuuta Tooro

Min, Boy Sakke, mbodo hald-a e Barka. Omo naamn-oo mi haafeer mecce sakeebe no fuddiri e hakke ganndalam. Mbodo haln-a mo heen ko nganndu mi heen ko.	"I, Boy the shoemaker, am talking to Barka. He is asking me to tell him about the shoemaking profession. I am telling him what I know about it"

Fuuta Jaloo

hiɓe tappondir-a kelle	"They are clapping their hands"
Meden loot-oo	"We are having a wash"
hidon loot-ee	"You are being washed"

7.19. On the other hand, just like the stative, this tense could be used in reference to past or future time. It then indicates a lasting or a repetitive process e.g.

Past time

Tawi himo itt-a mannngo	"He was picking some mangoes" (lit. It was found he is picking some mangoes).
Hari hiɓe loot-oo	"They were having a wash" (lit. It was found they are having a wash).

Meŋ warri noŋ haa neeɓi; meɗeŋ ukka leɗɗe, meɗeŋ waɗ-a nyamaku; hiɓe yalt-a gooto gooto haa jemmi	"We went on like that for a long while; we would add logs and hot pepper (to the fire); they would come out one by one till night fall"

Future time

Fuuta Tooro

Tawat ɛɓe nyaam-a/njoɔɗ-oo	"They will be eating, sitting" (lit. It will be found that they are eating/sitting).

7.20. The following Fuuta Tooro examples illustrate the various usages of continuous 1. Examples are found in all three voices even though they are not all illustrated here.

a) Future meaning:- It is the immediate future meaning.

Jooni noon mbɔɔɗo naat-a e askinintooɓe e seereraaɓe	"Now I will talk about the people who claim to descend from Seerers"
Faatumata wii: Gorgol mbɔɔɗo yah-a? Gorgol oo wii: alaa a yahaani tawo	"Fatumata said: Auntie, shall I go? Her aunt replied: No you can't go yet"

b) Habitual meaning

So jiyaado oo nelaama, soo	"When the slave was given a

wiaama addu ɗuma omo umm-oo o adda, kono noon o haalataa; kala ko kaalɗaa e makko omo nan-a kono o jaɓtotaako

task, he was told to bring something over, he would do it immediately but he would not talk; He would understand whatever he was told but would not reply."

Jooni noon, kaalnan maa mi ko kabaaru demal. Min ndemat gawri, min ndemat maaro; gerte, emin ndem-a. so yehii haa gerte ɗee mawnii seeɗa min ndewa heen mbeɗemin ɗoof-a kuɗi mbeɗemin werl-oo haa laaɓa wi'a cer

"Now I am going to talk to you about farming. We grow guinea-corn and rice; we also grow ground-nuts; when the latter grows a little we pick out the weeds and throw them away until the fields are absolutely clean".

c) Relative clauses (with the particle ko)

Fuuta Tooro

woni sakke-sakkeɓe, ko sakke kala ko ngaddanɗaa ɗum e meccal wonaa ko na nawt-a, liggoto tan

"The true shoemaker is the one that can cope with any task in his profession"(lit. It is a shoemaker who whatever you bring him he is not returning, he will do it).

Tawi ko ndunŋgu na silt-a

"It was getting towards the end of the rainy season" (lit. It was found that it was getting towards the end of the rainy season)

Hay gooto waawaa danje ko no wi'-ee hirke walla ko no wi'-ee tabalde so wonaa sakke fewni ɗum	"No one can get (what is called) a saddle or a drum unless they are made by a shoemaker"

d) Conditional clauses, after si/so "if"

So tawii a arii aɗa yam-a debbo, koŋŋguɗi mum jeegom, kala heen koŋŋgol gootol ŋgol ŋgadiɗaa nande tan jaɓɗaa, a haytii humande deebo oo.	"When you come to propose marriage to a girl, don't accept any of the following six answers she may give you; if you do so , you won't marry her." (lit. when you come you are proposing marriage to a woman, six of her answers, each of them that you hear first and accept it, you have failed to get engaged to her).
Kaɓeteeɓe ɓee ummii to Gede to eɓe njoftoy-oo haa ɓe njii oodoo jiyaaɗo omo hoɗi e ŋgaska hee. So eɓe njah-a eɓe nji'-a mo, so eɓe ngart-a eɓe nji'a mo.	"The soldiers left Gede and were on their way home when they saw the slave who dwelt in a hole; they saw him when they were going and when they were coming back." (lit. when they were going they were seeing him when they were coming they were seeing him).

e) Causal clauses, after ɓaade "since, because"

Ɓaade, aan gaɗo oo aɗa	"Since you, the newcomer,

woy-ee too, ɓeeɗoo	you are being missed
ina ŋgoy-a jaaɗo oo,	over there, and that
ɓee kam malaama, ndanyii	the people over here are
nanndudo e jaaɗo oo.	missing the one that has gone,
	they are lucky since they
	have found somebody who is
	like the one that left."

f) Purpose clause, after mbela "in order"

Yimɓe ɓee mɓii sayku Umaar	"The people asked sayku
yoo waɗan ɓe sabaabu mbela	Umaar to do some prayers
ɓii laamɗo oo ina sell-a	in order to heal the
	king's son".

g) Temporal clause after haa "until"

Juntel nyalli sanje haa	"Juntel spent all day
ɓuuɗu naange na yooɨ-oo,	weaving until sunset,
futuroo na ndaaro yonde	and dusk was just coming"

h) Object clauses

Hay so mi wondaani e maa	"Even if I am not with
tawata ko mbeɗa yim-a	you I find myself singing
	you (lit. Even if I am
	not with you it happens
	that I am singing you).

Waaji gooto meeɗii ummaade	"(Once upon a time) A man
wii no yah-a jaŋŋgoya pulaar;	said he was going to learn
o ummii omo yaha.	Pulaar (lit. a man once
	got up and said he was

going to learn Pulaar).
He set out and went (lit.
he got up he was going).

i) Continuous 1 can also be used in a main clause, as after the following conditional clauses in Fuuta Tooro:

So mi yeewii ma mbeɗa naat-a ɗo sekereeji ŋari maa mayata.

"When I look at you I see the hidden flicker of your beauty"(lit. I enter where the secrets of your beauty flicker).

So jiyaaɗo oo wi'aama addu ɗuma, omo umm-oo o adda kono non o haalataa. Kala ko kaalduɗaa e makko omo nan-a kono o jaɓtotaako

"The slave would do whatever he is told but he would not talk (lit. if the slave has been told bring that one over there, he gets up and brings (it)) He understands whatever he is told but he does not talk back".

Maamuudu wii tuubakooɓe ɓee on mbaawaa naadde Fuuta so wonaa so jamma arii oɗon njaar-a jamma, so nyalawma arii oɗon mbaal-oo.

"Maamuudu said to the white men you will not be able to enter Fuuta Tooro unless you travel by night and sleep during the day" (lit. when the night comes you go by night).

Continuous 2

Examples: (Fuuta Jaloo only)

Active

1 sg	Mido loot-ude	Umar	I am washing	Umar
2 sg	hida	"	you are	"
3 sg	himo	"	he is	"
1 pl incl	hideŋ	"	we are	"
1 pl excl	Mdeŋ	"	we	"
2 pl	Hidoŋŋŋŋŋŋ	"	you	"
3 pl	Hiɓe	"	they	"

Middle

1 sg	Mido loot-aade		I am having a wash	
2 sg	Hida	"	you are	"
3 sg	Himo	"	he is	"
1 pl incl	Hideŋ	"	we are	"
1 pl excl	Mdeŋ	"	we are	"
2 pl	Hidoŋŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ	"	you	"
3 pl	Hiɓe	"	they	"

Passive

1 sg	Mido loot-eede		I am being washed	
2 sg	Hida loot-eede		you are	"
3 sg	Himo	"	he is	"
1 pl incl	Hideŋ	"	we are	"
1 pl excl	Mdeŋ	"	we are	"
2 pl	Hidoŋŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ	"	you	"
3 pl	Hiɓe	"	they	"

7.21. Like continuous 1, it indicates a continuous process in Fuuta Jaloo.

Mɗo yaa-de	"I am going"
Himo nyaam-ude	"He is eating"
hiɓe suud-aade	"They are hiding" (lit. they are in the process of hiding)
hiɓe loot-ade	"They are having a wash"
Meɗen loot-eede	"We are being washed"
Himo suud-eede	"He is being hidden"

Past time

o naati xalwa duuɓi jeeɗiɗi himo hoor-ude	"He went into seclusion for seven years and was just fasting"
Konu ŋguŋ jaaɓondiri gootol: Accen hare, hiɗeŋdaɓɓ-ude aljanna, naŋŋgen diina Alla Kaŋ	"All the crowd said at once: Let's avoid wars, we are attempting to get in heaven, let's perform our religious duties."

Future time

Taway himo hoor-ude/ ɗaɓɓ-ude etc.	"He will be fasting, looking for.... " (lit. It will be found that he is looking for ....)

7.22. It is appropriate at this stage to devote some space to the subject as found in the stative and continuous tenses.

When the subject of the verb is a noun phrase it is accompanied by the particle no which can be regarded as indicator of the stative and the continuous tenses, e.g.

Active voice

Bello no annd-i	"Bello knows" (stative)
Bello no ar-a	"Bello is coming" (continuous 1)
Bello no ar-de	"Bello is coming" (continuous 2)

Middle voice

Demba no jood-ii	"Demba is seated" (stative)
Demba no loot-oo	"Demba is having a wash" (continuous 1)

Passive voice

Barka no jagg-aa	"Barka is under arrest" (stative)
Barka no jagg-eede	"Barka is being arrested" (continuous, FJ only)

7.23. The subject pronouns shown in Tables 2 and 3 are particular in that they can only be used in the stative

and the continuous tenses. The particle no does not occur with pronoun subjects. In Table 3, I tried to list the various first person forms that I encountered during my field work in Fuuta Tooro. The areas mentioned in this table are among the localities I visited. It is hoped that this will provide a better understanding of the geographical distribution of individual subject pronouns which have also been arranged according to the frequency of their occurence.

The negative past

Tense-suffixes

Active: FJ: -aali
FT: -aani

Middle: -aaki

Passive: -aaka

Examples: (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)

Active

1 sg	Mi loot-aali/loot-aani Umar		I have not washed Umar
2 sg	A	"	you "
3 sg	O	"	he has not "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En	"	we have not "
1 pl excl		"	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/on	"	you "
3 pl	Ɓe	"	they "

Middle

1 sg	Mi loot-aaki	I have not had a wash
2 sg	A "	you "
3 sg	O "	he has not "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	we have not "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/on "	you "
3 pl	Be	they "

Passive

1 sg	Mi loot-aaka	I have not been washed
2 sg	A "	you "
3 sg	O "	he has not "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	We have not "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/On "	you "
3 pl	Be "	they "

7.24. This tense is the negative counterpart of the general past, the relative past and sometimes the stative, e.g.

a) Counterpart of the General Past

Fuuta Jaloo

-Ko mi seedee ŋgo'o juŋŋgo taam-aaki juuli; ko mi seedee ngo'o juŋŋgo def-aaki e suddiido janano[7] (middle voice)	"I am witness that his hand never used sand or stones for ablutions; I can witness that this hand never set itself on other people's wives."

(7) Ibid. p.42

-Mi yi'-aali njaareendi ndiŋ (active) "I have not seen the sand"

Fuuta Tooro

Yirlaaɓe Wurosogi ɓee mbi'aa yirlaaɓe-Alla-yidi fii ko ɓe kaɓ-aaka, pellondir-aani e safalɓe koo (passive voice) "The Yirlaa e from Wurosogi were nicknamed the God-loved Yirlaaɓe since they did not have to fight the Mbors"

Woni jiyaaɗo ko mbo hay gooto sood-aani, hay gooto fell-aani (active voice) "A jiyaaɗo is a slave that was neither bought nor conquered through war"

b) Counterpart of the Relative Past

Fuuta Jaloo

Karamoko Alfaa o jaɓ-aali fellude (active) "Karamoko Alfaa refused to fight"

o nelt-aali o jaaraama o wi'-aali huunde (active) "He did not send back to say thank you"

c) Counterpart of the stative

Fuuta Jaloo

Almaami Sori-Mawɗo wi'i ɓiɓɓe mun ɓeŋ : Fuuta faal-aaka wallude eŋ (passive) "Almaami Sori-Mawɗo told his children :Fuuta does want to help us".

Fuuta Tooro

Hay so mi wonnd-aani e ma tawata ko mbeɗe yi'a ma (active)	"Even when I am not with you, I still see you in my mind".

7.25. The ensuing examples show that this tense can be subsequent to a number of tenses including the negative past itself.

a) Relative Past

Fuuta Jaloo

Jaŋŋgi faam-aali, Faami jaŋŋ-aali, jaŋŋ-aali faam-aali, Ko ɓee tato wonoyta sabaabe ndii leydi.	"The one who studied without understanding, The one who understood without studying, The one who did not study and did not understand, These are the three people that will be the cause of this country's downfall."

b) Negative Past

Fuuta Tooro

Miin, mi fiɓ-aani mi fiɓan-aaka	"I don't make any charms and I don't have any made".

THE NEGATIVE FUTURE/HABITUAL

Active: -ataa
Middle: -ataako
Passive: -etaake

Examples of their use: (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)

Active

1 sg	Mi loot-ataa Umar	I shan't wash Umar
2 sg	A "	you won't "
3 sg	O "	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	we "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/On "	you "
3 pl	Be "	they "

Middle

1 sg	Mi loot-ataako	I shan't have a wash
2 sg	A "	you won't "
3 sg	O "	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	we "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men "	we "
2 pl	Oŋ/On "	you "
3 pl	Be "	they "

Passive

1 sg	Mi loot-etaake	I shan't be washed
2 sg	A "	you won't "
3 sg	O "	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ/En "	we "

1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men	loot-etaake	we won't be washed
2 pl	Oŋ/On	"	you "
3 pl	Be	"	they "

7.26. This tense is the negative counterpart of all the future tenses. Like other future tenses it has both future and habitual meanings.

a) Future meaning

Fuuta Jaloo

Si hiɗa ŋgorɗi a dog-ataa baaba-gootooɓe maa araa gaa (active)	"If you are brave you will not run away from your brothers and come here"
Landɔ oŋ wi'i: mi accit-ataa oŋ haa ko arata (active)	"The king said: I shan't release you till next year".
A immoto kaa a imm-otaako? (Middle)	"Will you get up or not?"
Si a warii yumma aadeŋ e ben makko on weld-ataa (active)	"If you kill a person's father and his mother, you will not get on with him".

Fuuta Tooro

Kala kabɗo e sayku Umar o mal-etaake (passive)	"Whoever fights Sayku Umar will not be happy".
Debbo oo wii kanyum human-taake so wonaa	"The woman said that the only person to marry her is the one

nyalludo sanje tawa daldugal mum saamaani (passive)	who will spend a day weaving without dropping his needle".

b) Habitual meaning

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko oo wi'etee Iburaahiimi Sori kanjaa mo muus-etaake, lando mo dogid-ataa e dogooɓe, Kanjaa mo yilt-otaako (passive, middle)	"This is the man who is called Iburaahiima Sori Kanjaa who does not experience any pain, a king who does not flee with the panic-stricken fugitives, Kanjaa-who-never-retreats".

Fuuta Tooro

gorko oo so arii leloyaade comci mum tan jogotoo, o wayl-ataako (middle)	"When bed-time comes the man keeps his clothes on, he does not get changed".

7.27. The following example illustrates the use of the negative future in relative adverbial clauses.

Fuuta Tooro

Yimɓe Misiraa ɓee ŋgari ina lamndoo Sayku Umaar; gooto heen fof ina lamndoo ko goɗɗo lamnd-otaako mo (middle)	"The people of Misiraa started interrogating Sayku Umaar, each of them asking questions that the other one would not ask".

Wadi Sayko Umaar wirt-ataako wuro walla jeere o teddinaaka ko o yidaa yawaare te o addataa yawaare (Middle)	"The reason why Sayko Umaar will not reach a village or a town without getting a warm welcome is that he does not like disregarding other people".

THE EMPHATIC NEGATIVE

Active: -aa

Examples

Active voice only

1 sg	Mi loot-aa mo		I did not wash him
2 sg	A	"	you "
3 sg	O	"	he "
1 pl incl	Eŋ	"	we "
1 pl excl	Meŋ	"	we "
2 pl	Oŋ	"	you "
3 pl	Be	"	they "

7.28. This tense is limited to the active voice. Arnott[8] treats this tense as the negative of quality. He reports that radicals found in this tense refer to the acquisition (or possession) of a quality of some kind. While many examples can be found in support of his statement, the result of my findings point to the fact that the central meaning is emphasis. It is

---

(8) Arnott, D.W. 1970 note 2 p.264 p.296-298

for this reason that I have preferred to call the tense the emphatic negative.

7.29. The following examples will illustrate the various uses of the emphatic negative.

a) Negative counterpart of the stative:

Fuuta Tooro

Mi suus-aa haalde	"I don't dare talk"
Mi annd-aa oo gorko no wi'etee.	"I don't know this man's name".
Mi waaw-aa naannude ma e SAED	"I can't get you into SAED".

b) Emphatic Negative statement

Fuuta Tooro

Waawɓe haɓde e Sayku Umaar ɓee yo njow juude mum; Be mbaaw-aa ɓee mbaaw-aa. Yimɓe ɓee fof mbii: En mbaaw-aa haɓde e Sayku Umaar koy.	"Let all those who can fight Sayku Umaar raise their hands; never mind for those who can't. All the people replied: We can't fight Sayku Umaar."
Mi feer-aa jantaneede Paris	"I've never been told about Paris".

Fuuta Jaloo

Oŋ toonyii laŋ sabuna mi wi'-aa mi wad-aa hay huunde	"You accused me wrongly because I never said or did anything".
Alfaa Saalihu wuur-aa	"Alfaa Saalihu is dead".

7.30. This tense is also used after a number of particles, as examplified below.

Fuuta Tooro

Neddo so yid-aa yawaare addataa yawaare	"A person that does not want to be disregarded will not disregard other people".
Mate won-aa ndiya ŋgaari njeeytaa?	"Isn't it the bull over there that you are selling?"

7.31. It can also be used without subject. It might be argued that "won-aa" is an impersonal form meaning "it is not".

Fuuta Tooro

Gorko galle won-aa do welaa fof resa, won-aa do yidi fof resa	"Being a family man does not mean marrying anybody anywhere."

Ko Alla wadi koo, kanyum wadi won-aa enen mbelaa	"God is the only one responsible for his deeds; We can't do anything against him".
Hammadi-Soogi wii Hammadi-Satigi ngeedoo nagge won-aa wareteenge	"Hammadi-Soogi said to Hammadi Satigi, this cow is not for slaughtering".
Al-aa koo daɓɓata o roŋka heɓde	"He will not set out for anything without getting it".

Fuuta Jaloo

duud-aa nde o ari ndaarude laŋ mi fanndaaki mo	"There are few occasions when he came to see me and I didn't give him anything".

RELATIVE TENSES

The Relative Past

Active: -i
Middle: -ii
Passive: -aa

Table 4. The relative past and the relative future in the two dialects.

TENSE	VOICE	FUUTA JALOO AND FUUTA TOORO	
		Subject-base 3 sg, 1 pl excl, 3 pl.	Base-subject (arrangements)
Relative Past	ACTIVE	-i	1 sg-(u)-mi 2 sg-(u)-ɗaa 1 plur. incl -(u)-ɗeŋ/-ɗen 2 plur. -(u)-ɗoŋ/-ɗon
	MIDDLE	-ii	1 sg -ii-mi 2 sg -i-ɗaa 1 plur. incl -i-ɗeŋ/-ɗen 2 plur. -i-ɗoŋ/-ɗon
	PASSIVE	-aa	1 sg -aa-mi 2 sg -a-ɗaa 1 plur. incl -a-ɗeŋ/-ɗen 2 plur. -a-ɗoŋ/-ɗon
Relative Future/ Habitual	ACTIVE	-ata	1 sg -ay-mi/an-mi 2 sg -at-aa 1 plur. incl -et-eŋ/-en 2 plur. -ot-oŋ/-on
	MIDDLE	-otoo	1 sg -otoo-mi 2 sg-oto-ɗaa 1 plur. incl -oto-ɗeŋ/-ɗen 2 plur. -oto-ɗoŋ/-ɗon
			1 sg -etee-mi 2 sg -ete-ɗaa 1 plur. incl -ete-ɗeŋ/-ɗen 2 plur. -ete-ɗoŋ/-ɗon

Examples

Active

1 sg	loot-u-mi Umar	I washed Umar
2 sg	loot-u-ɗaa Umar	you washed Umar
3 sg	O loot-i Umar	he "
1 pl incl	loot-u-ɗeŋ/loot-u-ɗen Umar	we "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men loot-i Umar	we "
2 pl	loot-u-ɗoŋ/loot-u-ɗon Umar	you "
3 pl	Be loot-i Umar	they "

Middle

1 sg	loot-ii-mi	I had a wash
2 sg	loot-i-ɗaa	you "
3 sg	O loot-ii	he "
1 pl incl	loot-i-ɗeŋ/loot-i-ɗen	we "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men loot-ii	we "
2 pl	loot-i-ɗoŋ/loot-i-ɗon	you "
3 pl	Be loot-ii	we "

Passive

1 sg	loot-aa-mi	I was washed
2 sg	loot-a-ɗaa	you were "
3 sg	O loot-aa	he was "
1 pl incl	loot-a-ɗeŋ/loot-a-ɗen	we were "
1 pl excl	Meŋ/Men loot-aa	we were "
2 pl	loot-a-ɗoŋ/loot-a-ɗon	you were "
3 pl	Be loot-aa	they were "

7.32. As mentioned earlier, the relative past is particularly common in narrative accounts, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Marjugu town-i kaafa kaŋ.	"Marjugu raised his sword.
Almaami saadu townit-i	Almaami Saadu raised his
juŋŋgo mu'uŋ ŋgoŋ.	hand again... It was
Ko ɓaawo duŋ noŋ Alfaa	after that that Alfaa
Saalihu hoot-i Daara.	Saalihu went back to
Soriyaaɓe hewtitit-ii	Daara. The Soriyaabe
afo Mbodi Haamidu Bammba	caught up Mbodi Haamidu
Parawii, takko Jolaake.	Bammba Parawii's son near
Ɓe fell-i mo ga hoore	Jolaake. They shot him dead
puccuɓe liɓ-i; ɓe wi'-i	from his horse and claimed
ɓe yottanike almaami	that they had revenged
Saadu	Almaami Saadu."

Fuuta Tooro

Gorko oo jaak-i no feewi	"The Man was very worried".
Waaji gooto meeɗ-ii ummaade	"(Once upon a time) there
wi'-i no yaha no janngoya	was a man who set out to
pulaar. O umm-ii omo yaha.	study Pulaar(lit. he said
O ar-i haa e wuro o taw-i	he is going he is learning
ɗoon waaji gooto ina	Pulaar). He went away (lit.
joodii e hakkunde yimɓe	he got up and is going).
tan o hettin-i ɗum.	He came to a village and
	found a man sitting in a
	crowd; he recognised the
	man".

7.33. This tense is also used in combination with certain particles to introduce relative and relative adverbial clauses.

a) Relative clauses:

Fuuta Jaloo:

Ndaar ledde de add-udaa den	"Look at the wood that you brought over".
addu kaalisi mo o jonn-i maa on	"Hand me the money that he gave you".
(rawaandu) ndu jey-mi ndun buri mawnude ndu yi-i mi hanki ndun	"My dog (lit. the dog I own) is bigger than the one I saw yesterday."

Fuuta Tooro:

E oon saha wi'aaka cukalel jibini hoore mum, ko wel-aa fof watta	"At that time it had not been said that a child is under no authority (lit. that a child gave birth to himself) (9) and that he could do whatever he wanted".

b) Relative adverbial clauses:

In this case the clause is often the object of the verb.

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi anndaa nde o nanng-aa	"I don't know when he was arrested".

(9) The informant is implying here that a child should accept his parents' authority since it was thanks to them (and God) that he came to the world.

Mido anndi ka o suud-ii "I know where he is hiding".

7.34. Furthermore the relative past is often used in statements, with or without ko, where the emphasis is on an element in the sentence other than the verbal radical. e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo:

Ko kaalisi okk-aa-mi "It was money that I was given".

Ko hannde ndi maay-i "It is today that it died".

Fuuta Tooro:

Miin, Malal Cekel, wi-i noon, jeddudo woo yo oon jibine mi yi'a dum "It is I, Malal Cekel, who said so, I should like to know if there is anyone who disagrees with it (lit. the one that disagreed, let him be born and I see him).

Mbiidaa pulaar ngar-daa janngude saa iwii doo maa naftor ko feewi "You said that it is pulaar that you came to learn by the time you leave this place you will be fully satisfied."

Ko nguudoo Sood-aa hannde "It is this one (ie horse etc.) that was bought today".

Heccanki mbayr-u-mi yiide mbo	"I have not seen him since the day before yesterday (lit. It is the day before yesterday that I stopped seeing him".

THE RELATIVE FUTURE

Active: -ata[10]
Middle: -otoo
Passive: -etee

7.35. The following Fuuta Tooro examples will illustrate both the subject-base and base-subject arrangements in the relative future (cf. table 4).

ACTIVE

1 sg	ko jaŋŋgo loot-an-mi nde	It is tomorrow I shall wash it (Calabash)
2 sg	ko jaŋŋgo loot-at-aa nde	It is tomorrow you will wash it (Calabash)
3 sg	ko jaŋŋgo o loot-ata	It is tomorrow he will wash it (Calabash)
1 pl incl	ko jaŋŋgo loot-et-en	It is tomorrow we shall wash it (Calabash)
1 pl excl	ko jaŋŋgo men loot-at-a	It is tomorrow we shall wash it (Calabash)
2 pl	ko jaŋŋgo loot-ot-on	It is tomorrow you will wash it (Calabash)

3 pl.	ko jaŋŋgo ɓe loot-ata	It is tomorrow they will wash it (Calabash)

MIDDLE

1 sg	ko jaŋŋgo loot-otoo-mi	It is tomorrow I shall wash
2 sg	" loot-oto-ɗaa	" you will wash
3 sg	" o loot-otoo	" he will wash
1 pl incl	" loot-oto-ɗen	" we shall wash
1 pl excl	" men loot-otoo	" we shall wash
2 pl.	" loot-oto-ɗon	" you will wash
3 pl.	" ɓe loot-otoo	" they will wash

PASSIVE

1 sg	ko jaŋŋgo loot-etee-mi	It is tomorrow I shall be washed
2 sg	" loot-eteɗaa	" I shall be washed
3 sg	" o loot-etee	" he will be washed
1 pl incl	" loot-ete-ɗen	" we shall be washed
1 pl excl	" men loot-etee	" we shall be washed
2 pl	" loot-ete-ɗon	" you will be washed
3 pl	" ɓe loot-etee	" they will be washed

7.36. I shall now attempt to analyse the various uses of the relative future in the hope that these will bring differences between the two tenses.

7.37. In relative clauses the relative future can be used with ko or other types of particles e.g.

a) Ko

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko pulaar men haal-ata "We speak Pulaar. It is the
Ko ɗun men fini men tawi language we were brought up in(lit.it

(10) As will be noticed these suffixes are only for subject-base arrangements. The full paradigm of the relative future suffixes is given in Table 4.

is Pulaar that we speak, It is that that we woke up and found.)

Ko waawɗo woo wonnd-etee — "Everybody loves a winner (lit. It is he who won that is stayed with)

Ko Aliyu nodd-ay-mi — "I am calling Aliyu (lit. It is Aliyu that I am calling)."

Fuuta Tooro

njewt-an-mi ko kabaaru gaynaaka Fulɓe — "I am talking about how the Fulɓe look after their cattle (lit. I am talking it is about Fulɓe herding)."

b) Other relative pronouns

Fuuta Tooro

Hollam nagge ŋge njeey-at-aa ŋgee — "Show me the cow that you are buying".

Fuuta Jaloo

Puccu ŋgu wadd-oto-ɗaa ŋguŋ — "The horse that you are going to mount".

Sawru ndu ittir-t-oŋ leemunne nduŋ — "The stick that you use to pick oranges".

Hudo ko ndi nyaam-ata janngo kon	"The grass that it (ie the bull) will eat tomorrow".
Loopal ngal wicc-at-aa mo ngal	"The mud that you will splash over him".

c) The relative future is also used in relative adverbial clauses, introduced by nde "when, by the time", ka "at" etc.

(i) time (nde)

Fuuta Tooro

Mi anndaa nde o ar-ta	"I don't know when he is coming".

Fuuta Jaloo

Fulbe tato e jaakaabe cappande tato e tato. Nde wi'-etee naange wulii tawi Fulbe ben gaynii habbude be. Kotoo Kanjuraa wullaani kono ndiyan yaltii ka gite (11).	"(Once upon a time) there were three Fulbe and thirty-three Jaahankes. By the time it was late morning the Fulbe had made all of them prisoners. (lit. had finished tying them). Big brother Kanjuraa did not cry but tears came out of his eyes (lit. water came out of his eyes)."

(11) The Jahankes belong to the Manding group in West Africa. The above is part of a pack of stories young Fulbe from Fuuta Jaloo are told to ridicule the Jahankes that they regard as their cousins.

(ii) Place (ka)

Meŋ ɓotti ka wi'-etee Saare Bese	"We met at a village which is called Saare Bese".
Ka meem-at-aa mo ɗoŋ	"Where you usually touch him".

(iii) Manner (no)

No puccu waɗɗor-tee	"How to mount a horse".
No laana awyir-tee	"How to ply a paddle".

7.3 8. The following examples illustrate its uses in interrogative sentences:

Fuuta Tooro

Ko mbii-t-on ɗum?	"What do you call this"
Ko o haal-ata?	"Which language does he speak?"
Hoto loot-oto-ɗaa?	"Where will you wash?"
Nde ŋgar-t-on wuro amen?	"When will you come to our village?"
No ɓe mbi'-etee?	"What are their names?"

7.39. It is well to make the following brief comment on future tense in the two dialects under consideration: Fuuta Tooro has three forms which correspond to Arnott's three future tense: General future, relative future and vague future. It should however be underlined that the distribution as to usage is not the same. As a matter of fact, Arnott gives the example from Gombe Kay, to baccel yarii bone, gel-jaŋŋguma (Arnott, 1970, p.275) "if a child suffers it will learn" where "it will learn" is in the vague future; whereas Fuuta Tooro has mbeewa so waalii e nder ladde boy nyaam-at ɗum "if a goat spends the night in the bush, a jackal will eat it" where the latter clause is in the general future. Fuuta Jaloo has only got two sets of forms which correspond to Arnott's vague future and general and relative futures; all the meanings have to be distributed within these two sets of forms. On the other hand, as pointed out by previous linguists, future forms, with the exception of the vague future can also carry habitual meanings.

7.40. Some formal similarities and differences between the general future and the relative future have already been mentioned during the course of this chapter. I am going to make a very brief summary of the common and different features mentioned so far.

1) Common feature:

They both may indicate future/habitual actions.

2) Differences:

a) In all the persons of the general future the subject precedes the verbal radical.

b) For some persons in the relative future the subject follows the verbal radical.

c) The general future can be used on its own whereas the relative future cannot.

7.4 1. After analysing individual tenses of the indicative mood it is now appropriate to devote some space to the description of:

- suffixes found in one dialect only
- variations between the suffixes of the two dialects
- variations between the suffixes of individual dialects.

There is a suffix of the general past middle in Fuuta Tooro that does not exist in Fuuta Jaloo. It is the tense suffix -imaama used sometimes instead of the ordinary -iima, e.g.

o yaaf-imaama mi
o yaaf-imaama ma } he has forgiven { me / you
o yaaf-imaama mo } { him

It should be emphasized that this form is less frequently used than its counterpart, -iima.

7.42. The following variations are found between Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro; they have been outlined without further illustrations since individual items have been sufficiently illustrated during the course of this description.

a) Tense-suffixes

1) General Past Middle:

Fuuta Jaloo: -ike
Fuuta Tooro: -iima

2) General Future Active

Fuuta Jaloo: -ay
Fuuta Tooro: -at

3) Negative Past Active

Fuuta Jaloo: -aali
Fuuta Tooro: -aani

4) Relative Future Active

7.43. There is a variation in the base-subject form of the first person singular.

Fuuta Jaloo: -ay-mi
Fuuta Tooro: -an-mi

7.4 4. There is a slight variation in the negative future, middle and passive in Fuuta Jaloo. In some instances these suffixes are -otaako and -etaako instead of the usual -ataako and -ataake commonly used in the two dialects.

CHAPTER 8: TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD AND FORMS OF THE IMPERATIVE

Table 1. The primary tense in the two dialects

ACTIVE	MIDDLE	PASSIVE
yo+-(u)	yo+-o	yo+-e

Table 2. The secondary tense in the two dialects

VOICE	Subject-base 1sg, 3sg, 1pl.excl., 3pl.	Base-subject
ACTIVE	-a	2sg -aa 1 pl. incl. -eŋ/-en 2 pl. -oŋ/-on
MIDDLE	-oo	2 sg -o-ɗaa 1 pl. incl. -o-ɗeŋ/-o-ɗen 2 pl. -o-ɗoŋ/-o-ɗen
PASSIVE	-ee	2 sg -e-ɗaa 1 pl. incl. -e-ɗeŋ/-eɗen 2 pl. -e-ɗoŋ

8.1. This chapter will take a close look at the tenses of the subjunctive and the forms of the imperative. It is worth noting that, by way of contrast with the

indicative, neither the subjunctive nor the imperative can combine with the preterite element -no.

I. Tenses of the subjunctive mood

The subjunctive comprises two tenses:

- The primary tense
- The secondary tense

These two tenses seem to fit in well with Arnott's division of the verbal system of Pulaar/Fulfulde into general and relative tenses. For instance, like other general tenses, the primary tense can be used on its own; furthermore, in all its persons the subject pronoun precedes the verbal base, as illustrated by the following examples.

Subjunctive mood: Primary tense

Active Voice

yo mi loot-u nde	"Let me wash it" (calabash etc.)
yo a loo-u nde	"Do wash it (calabash etc.)
" o "	"Let him wash it" (calabash etc.)
" eŋ "	"Let us wash it" (")
" meŋ "	"Let us wash it" (")
" oŋ "	"Do wash it" (")
" ɓe "	"Let them wash it" (")

Middle Voice

yo mi loot-o	"Let me have a wash"
yo a "	"Do have a wash"

yo o loot-o		"Let him have a wash"
" eŋ	"	"Let us have a wash"
" meŋ	"	"Let us have a wash"
" oŋ	"	"Do have a wash"
" ɓe	"	"Let them have a wash"

Passive Voice

yo mi loot-e		"Let me be washed"
" a	"	"You be washed"
" o	"	"Let him be washed"
" eŋ	"	"Let us be washed"
" meŋ	"	"Let us be washed"
" oŋ	"	"You be washed"
" ɓe	"	"Let them be washed"

As a matter of contrast, the secondary subjunctive has got a lot of similarities with relative tenses (ie relative past and relative future). It is almost always dependent upon either particles (such as maa below) or other clauses. Besides, like other relative tenses, it has both subject-base and base-subject arrangements in its tense paradigm, e.g.

Subjunctive mood: Secondary tense

Active Voice

maa mi loot-a nde		"I must wash it"
maa loot-aa nde		"You ... "
maa o loot-a "		"he ... "
maa loot-eŋ "		"we ... "
maa meŋ loot-a "		"we ... "

maa loot-oŋ nde	"You must wash it"
maa ɓe loot-a nde	"They ... "

Middle Voice

maa mi loot-oo	"I must have a wash"
maa loot-o-ɗaa	"You ... "
maa o loot-oo	"he ... "
maa loot-o-deŋ	"we ... "
maa meŋ loot-oo	"we ... "
maa loot-o-doŋ	"you ... "
maa ɓe loot-oo	"they ... "

Passive Voice

Maa mi loot-ee	"I must be washed"
maa loot-e-ɗaa	"you ... "
maa o loot-ee	"he ... "
maa loot-e-deŋ	"we ... "
maa meŋ loot-ee	"we ... "
maa loot-e-doŋ	"you ... "
maa ɓe loot-ee	"they ... "

8.2. As regards terms, however, I have preferred to use "primary" and "secondary" because by so doing I can indicate the similarity with "general" and "relative" tenses and, at the same time point out the differences, including the fact that the secondary subjunctive can be used on its own and that its first person singular is not inverted.[1]

---

(1) I am indebted to Professor D.W. Arnott for drawing my attention to the above differences between relative tenses and the secondary subjunctive.

A. The primary tense

8.3. Yo has been treated as a tied particle, for the positive clause. It can only be used with the primary tense. From a semantic view point the meanings of this tense can be summarised as follows: The primary subjunctive expresses a desire - positive or negative (fear, prohibition), direct or indirect.

8.4. When used on its own, the primary tense has either desiderative meaning or it expresses indirect command (ie. a command made through some third party) e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Yo aadeŋ won-u haaloowo gooŋga (active voice)	" Let a person speak the truth".
yo ɓe ar jooni (active voice)	"Let them come now"
yo Alla yurm-e mo (passive)	"May God pity him"
Yo Alla yaaf-o ma (middle)	"May God have mercy on you"
Julɗo fow yo munny-o julɗo fow yo nunɗ-u (middle)	"Let every Moslem be patient; let every Moslem be honest"

8.5. It is useful to point out here that a large number of the

forms that Arnott treated as belonging to the desiderative tense in Gombe have exact parallels here. This is one of the reasons why I have found it unnecessary to set up a separate desiderative tense since, for the two dialects under consideration, there are no separate forms.

8.6. The primary tense can also be used in the main clause of a sentence with subordinate clauses, as in these Fuuta Jaloo examples:

si laamu ŋguŋ sokay eŋ yo ŋgu sok-u eŋ (active)	"If the government is going to arrest us let it do so".
si oŋ foolaama yo ɓe faab-o oŋ (middle)	"If you are defeated, let them help you".
Ɓayri mayde ndeŋ tultataa yo nde ar (active)	"Since death will come, let it do so".

8.7. The primary tense is found in subordinate clauses such as the following:-

(i) as an object clause after the verbs wi'ude innude "to say", toraade "to beg", maakude "to day", yiɗude "to want", faaleede "to desire", du'aade "to bless", hulude "to fear", hakkilande "to take care", haɗude "to prevent", nelude "to send", nyaagaade "to request" (but see also 8.20).

Fuuta Jaloo

Kotoo, neene wi'i yo a ar (active)	"Big brother, Mm wants to see you" (lit. Big brother, mum says that you should come).
Innaa yo o imm-o o haɓida e maɓɓe (middle)	"He was told to get up and fight them (lit. It was said that he should get up and fight with them)"
Landɔ ɔŋ nuli yo ɓe sok-e (passive)	"The king sent for them to be arrested (lit. The king sent that they should be arrested)
o torii ɓe yo ɓe okkor mo ko o nyaama (active)	"He asked them to give him something to eat. (lit. He asked them that they should give him something to eat)"
Maakaa yo gujjo ɔŋ dummb-e (passive)	"The thief was ordered to be tied up (lit. It was said that the thief should be tied up)"

Fuuta Tooro

Almaami Fuuta neli koolaaɗo mum yo yaa haa yi'a samɓa Nguma.... Nelaaɗo oo arti haalani almaami oo	"The King of Fuuta Tooro told his confidant to go and find Saamba Nguma (lit. The King of Fuuta sent his

nyaagude sammba Nguma, yo o yamir-e ɛɓe taccude leydi almaami (active; passive)

confidant that he should go until he sees Sammba Nguma) .. The Messenger returned and told the king about Sammba Nguma's intention to cross the former's territory (lit. The messenger returned and told the king about Sammba Nguma's request that he should be informed that they are crossing the king's territory)"

Laamu nguu hokki men maaro wii yo men ŋgaaw (active)

"The government gave us some rice for sowing (lit. The government gave us rice and said that we may sow)"

Ma mi wii faatumata Sammba Suleymaana yo o ɗacc-u haa hiira nde o fuɗɗoo yaade (active)

"I shall tell Faatumata Sammba Suleymaana to wait till night fall before she goes. (lit. I shall tell Faatumata Sammba Suleymaana that she should wait till night fall before she starts to go)"

Kumaandaŋ wiino yo Juude Beŋke reenoye wata safalɓe lummbu(2) ŋgara ena njana e Fuuta (passive)

"The District Commissioner had ordered a watch over the river Juude Benke in order to prevent the Mbors from attacking Fuuta Tooro (lit. The District Commissioner

had said that Juude Benke should be watched not- the Moors- cross, come are attacking Fuuta)"

(ii) Purpose Clauses

The only examples that I have found so far are introduced by the particle fii "in order that, for" e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Seɓɓe ɓen fow dogi fii yo ɓe laaw-o jeyal Fuuta (middle)	"All the Mandings fled in order to escape the rule of the Fulɓe (lit. All the Mandings fled in order that they may escape Fuuta ownership)"
O artiraa fii yo o laam-o (middle)	"He was brought back in order to be made a king"

Fuuta Tooro

Heeferɓe bee njidi wadde feere fii yo ɓe nyif-u fii diina gila ɗum fuɗɗaami (active)	"The pagans wanted to destroy Islam even before it started. (lit. The pagans wanted to do a trick in order to extinguish everything about Islam from the time when it has not started)"

(2) The primary subjunctive is used here after wata and this clause will be considered at a later stage in this chapter.

8.8. The negative counterpart of the primary tense is obtained by replacing the particle yo with the negative particle wota and maintaining the same suffixes; thus the negative counterparts of the examples under 8.7. (i) will be as follows:-

Fuuta Jaloo

Kotoo, neene wi'i wota a ar (active)	"Big brother, mum said you shouldn't come"
Be maaki wota o loot-e (passive)	"They said that he shouldn't be washed"

Fuuta Tooro

Almaami Fuuta wii koolaaɗo mum wota o yaa.. (active)	"The King of Fuuta said to his confidant that he shouldn't go..."
Laamu ŋgu wii wota men ŋgaaw maaro ko (active)	"The government said that we shouldn't sow the rice"

Instances of negative counterparts where the primary subjunctive is used on its own are (Fuuta Jaloo):

Wota o ar (active)	"Don't let him come"
Wota o nyaam-u (active)	"Don't let him eat"
Wota ɓe joodʃ-o (middle)	"Don't let them sit down"
Wota ɓe waal-o (middle)	"Don't let them lie down"
Wota ɗi nyaam-e (passive)	"Don't let them be eaten"

Wota ɗe naŋŋg-e (passive) "Don't let them be caught"

B. The Secondary tense of the subjunctive

8.9. Before going through the usages of the secondary tense it is worth mentioning again that the subject pronoun of its first person singular form is not inverted, in contrast with the relative tenses; other persons are inverted as with the relative tenses.

8.10. I shall now go on to describe the various uses of the secondary tense with or without an introductory particle.

I After an introductory particle

(i) After the particle maa

8.11 Combined with this particle, the secondary tense expresses obligation or logical necessity e.g.

Fuuta Tooro

Ko tampere tan min ndanyi e gese hee. No waɗi heen gese ɗe naataani bom. Kono laamu ŋguu wii tan ko maa maaro koo fow yoƃ-ee (passive)	"We only wasted our energies in those fields. (lit. It is only tiredness that we got in those fields). Some fields did not produce anything at all. But still the government ordered us to repay the rice. (lit. But all, the government said only that the rice must be paid back)"

(for further examples of this form , please see the paradigm on page 219)

(ii) After the particle ko

8.12. The secondary tense occurs equally with the particle ko which introduces relative clauses, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi alaa ko mi nyaam-a (active)	"I have nothing to eat (lit. I have nothing that I may eat)"
Hiɗa jogii ko hiln-oɗaa e ɗee balɗe (middle)	"You have got something to worry about these days (lit. you've got what you may worry about these days)"
Himo yooɓii ko yar-eŋ (active)	"He has brought a drink for us. (lit. he has brought what we may drink)"

(iii) After the particle haa

8.13. In this case the secondary tense occurs in temporal clauses, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Saare woo saare nde hewtuɗaa "Whichever village you

haa naat-aa Kaasamaasi, a taway ɗoŋ Fulɓe (active)

come to from here to Casamance (lit. Any village that you reach until you enter Casamance), you are bound to meet Fulɓe"

O wi'i: mi accataa on haa haal-oŋ (active)

"He said: I shan't let you speak (lit. I shall leave you until you speak)"

Halfineŋ mo ɓiɓɓe me'eŋ ɓeŋ haa art-eŋ (active)

"Let's leave our children with him until our return (lit. let's leave our children with him until we return)"

Mi haalantaa ma haa art-aa (active)

"I shan't tell you until you return"

Fuuta Tooro

ɓeen ŋgoni yimɓe ɓe pewjataa feere maa haa kaljit-aa, ŋgar-a mbi-a no ittu ma e ɗum (active)

"Those are the people who try to make you go back on your decisions (lit. those are the people who, you think over something until you finish, come and say they are making you change your mind over it)"

-Alla oo wiino: Gollan aduna ma haa mbay-aa no a jogoraani maayde ni, kaa guuroowo tan,

"God had said: Work for this world as if you will never die (lit. work for your world until you resemble someone

ŋgollon-aa laakare ma haa mbay-aa o neɗɗo jogorɗo maayde ni (active)	who is not going to die, someone who will live for ever) and work for heaven as if you are going to die very soon (lit. until you look like someone who is about to die)"
Almaami Fuuta neli koolaaɗo mum yo o yah haa o yi'-a Sammba Nguma, haa o annd-a hombo woni oo (active)	"The king of Fuuta Tooro ordered his confidant to go and find out who Sammba Nguma was (lit. The king of Fuuta sent his trusted man that he should go until he sees Sammba Nguma until he knows who he is)"
Si a addii kaŋŋe maa a haaldat e baylo. So on nanondirii, aan baylo oo, mbaɗaa(3) kaŋŋe oo jayŋgol kaaynaa(3) haa wont-a ndiyam (active)	"When you bring your gold you talk the price over with the goldsmith. If you agree (on the price) you, the goldsmith, take the gold and melt it (lit. if you agree, you, the goldsmith, put the gold in the fire and melt it until it becomes water)"

(also see 8.13 for further examples with haa)

---

(3) please see 8.18. for the use of the secondary subjunctive in consecutive sequences.

(iv) After si in Fuuta Jaloo and nde in Fuuta Tooro

8.14. It is interesting to note the use of the secondary tense after si meaning "before" in Fuuta Jaloo. It introduces a temporal clause in this case and it can be replaced by the particle nde in Fuuta Tooro. In both dialects, si, or so, usually means "if" and requires general tenses.

Feere alaa, o laamoto si o maay-a (active)	"He will be a king before he dies (lit. there is no way - out of it -, he will rule before he dies)"

Fuuta Tooro

Joodoto haa jamma nde o fudd-oo yoɓtaade (middle)	"He will wait till night fall before he takes his revenge"

(v) After the particles ka in Fuuta Jaloo and to in Fuuta Tooro

8.15. This tense is also used in subject clauses introduced by ka in Fuuta Jaloo and to in Fuuta Tooro after such verbs as haanude, fotude "to be proper".

Fuuta Jaloo

No haani ka o laam-oo (middle)	"It is proper for him to be a king (lit. It is proper that he should be a king)"

Fotaa ka yenn-aa mo (active)	"You shouldn't abuse him (lit. It is not proper for you to abuse him)"

Fuuta Tooro

Ina haani to mbi'-en mbo baaba (active)	"We should call him father (lit. It is proper that we should call him father)"
Ina foti to ɓe teddin-a mbo (active)	"They should respect him (lit. It is proper that they should respect him)."

8.16. Other instances of the use of the secondary subjunctive after ka in Fuuta Jaloo or to in Fuuta Tooro when it introduces a locative clause,

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi alaa ka mi nyaam-a (active)	"I have nowhere to eat (lit. I have nowhere I may eat)"
Mi ɗo jogii kaminyawi-oo kaalisi (middle)	"I have somewhere to borrow money (lit. I have somewhere I may borrow money)"

Fuuta Tooro

Aɗa jogii to mbaɗ-aa ɗum (active)	"Do you have anywhere to put it"

En kebii to ŋgoyt-oɗen (middle)	"We have got somewhere to complain (lit. we have got somewhere we may complain)"

(vi) After the particle sakko (saka in Fuuta Tooro)

8.17. This particle means "let alone" and is found in both dialects e.g.

Mi anndaa ma sakko mi okk-a maa biɗɗo aŋ debbo (active)	"I don't know you, let alone should I give you my daughter"
Oŋ jeyaa mo sakko piy-oŋ mo (active)	"You are not his parents let alone hit him"
O yaraa beere sakko o siwr-a (active)	"He did not drink any alcohol, let alone get drunk"

Fuuta Tooro

A jaŋŋgaa saka laam-oɗaa (middle)	"He was not educated (lit. you did not read) let alone be a king (lit. let alone you should rule)"
Be ŋgonaani julɓe saka ɓe naat-a aljanna (active)	"They are no Moslems much less should they go to heaven"

II Without any introductory particle

(i) In a series of clauses

8.18. When the secondary tense is used in a series of clauses it denotes habitual action. It is then found without any introductory particle but it is dependent on a previous clause. This meaning applies both to clauses in consecutive sequences and to main clauses in sentences containing subordinate clauses e.g.

a) Simple clauses in consecutive sequences

Fuuta Jaloo

O hudu ɓe. Ɓe wilit-a haa ɓe ɗuuɗa[4] buy, bade ar-a naat-a e maɓɓe yew-a ɓe[5] (active)

"He did curse them. They grew into a large community an outbreak of smallpox would decimate them (lit. He did curse them. They grow until they are numerous, an outbreak of smallpox comes, gets into them and decimates them)"

(but see also 8.27 for the use of the secondary subjunctive as a subsequent clause in serial sentences)

b) Main clauses containing subordinate clauses, such as the following cases in Fuuta Tooro.

Ƙaabaaru demal. So ndunŋgu arii min kebbinat gese ɗee ndiyam. So gese ɗee keewii ndiyam min mbaɗ-a juuɗe amen min ŋgaaw-a maaro koo; min ŋgacc-a heen ndiyam ɗam e nder balɗe ɗiɗi; min mbaɗ-a derenaas, ndiyam ɗam yalt-a. So ndiyam ɗam yaltii min kiw-a colli. So maaro koo fuddii e huɗo, min ndar-oo, min naat-a e gese hee min cuɓt-oo huɗo koo ... (active)	"How we grow rice. When the rains fall we fill our fields with water. When the fields are full of water we sow the rice with our hands (lit. when the fields are full of water we use our hands, we sow the rice); We leave it in the water for two days; we (then) drain it out (when the water has been drained out) we scare the birds away. If the rice grows with weeds we clean it (lit. if the rice grows with grass we stand up, we get into the fields, we pick out the grass)"

(ii) Adjunct-clauses

8.19. The secondary tense is also found in adjunct clauses where it often indicates a prupose (see also 8.27-28)

Fuuta Jaloo

-Aree nyaam-oŋ (active)	"Come and eat (i.e. Come in order to eat)"

---

(4) "haa" requires the secondary tense and this clause is not under consideration here (cf. 8.15)

(5) Adapted from Sow, A.I., 1968, p.40.

-Cernaaɓe no winndude lekki o yar-a (activ e)

"The priests are making him some medicine to drink (i.e. some medicine for him to drink)

Fuuta Tooro

Banndel am, haᵈ maa finde njewt-en (active)

"Why don't you wake up and talk to me, sweet love (lit. sweet love, why don't you wake up, we talk)"

(iii) Object clause

8.20. Although the most common usage after the verb yi'ude "to want" is the primary subjunctive (cf. 8.7.), I have encountered some examples in Fuuta Tooro where it is after the secondary tense.

Aali Ndaw yidi njaggondiɪ-on e makko, ligg-odon, ŋgond-on ŋgon-on (middle, middle, middle, active)

"Aali Ndaw wants you to be united and work hand in hand with him (lit. Aali Ndaw wants -that- you hold each other with him you work, you stay-together, you remain)"

O yidi maay-aa law

"He wants you die early"

8.21. The following are the few cases where the secondary subjunctive is used on its own.

(iv) Interrogations

8.22. It is used in first or third persons, with or without the particle na at the end of the clause. It then refers to a request for permission.

Mi ar-a (na)? (active)	"Shall I come?"
o loot-oo (na)? (middle)	"Can he have a wash?"
Be nyaam-a (na)? (active)	"Can they eat (are they allowed to eat)?"
Mi jood-oo (na)? (active)	"Shall I sit down?"(6)

(v) Direct command, injunction

8.23. The second person forms of the secondary tense are often used in Fuuta Jaloo to indicate a direct command with overtones of strong irritation e.g.

loot-aa mo jooni jooni (active)	"You wash him right now"
artir-oŋ ɗi jooni (active)	"You bring them back right now!"
jood-oɗaa ɗoŋ (middle)	"You sit there!"

Periphrastic constructions are found in such situations in Fuuta Tooro.

---

(6) But see general future for other interrogative uses.

Mbiimi loot-aa mbo jooni	"I said that you should wash him now!"

(vi) Invitation

8.24. The first person plural inclusive of the secondary tense is used on its own in the active and middle voices. It then refers to an invitation or an exhortation and it is common to the two dialects. It can be regarded as the equivalent of the English construction with "let" e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

yah-eŋ ka lando oŋ	"Let's go the king's"
Nanŋg-eŋ ɓe (active)	"Let's catch them"
Joodᵈ-o-ɗeŋ/immᵇ-o-ɗeŋ/loot--o-ɗeŋ (middle)	"Let's sit down/stand up/have a wash"

Fuuta Tooro

Yimɓe ɓee mbii laamdo Fuuta oo: En mbaaw-aa haɓde e Sayku Umaar; ɗuum noon ŋgopp-en mo (active)	"All the people said to the King of Fuuta Tooro: We can't fight Sayku Umaar; So let's leave him alone"

Sayku Umaar diisnii yimɓe ɓee; o wii jooni noon en nduttat Jali Muusaa to heeferɓe walla en ŋgoppat mo ɗoo e lislaam? Yimɓe Fuuta Jaloo ɓee mbii: ndutt-en mo (active)	"Sayku Umaar addressed the people; he said: Shall I return Jali Muusaa to the pagans or shall we leave him here in the midst of Islam. The people of Fuuta Jaloo said: Let's return him"

(vii) Introductory clauses

8.25. The secondary tense occurs in introductory clauses to set the scene in conversations e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi haalan-a maa goɗɗuŋ, si a sottii ɗoŋ mi tayay teppere maa ndeŋ (active)	"I'll tell you something, if you move from there I'll chop your foot"
Mi lannd-o maa ɗoo, ko honto wonno-doa haŋki? (middle)	"I'll ask you something, where were you yesterday?"

Fuuta Tooro

njaaf-oɗaa mi won ko njiɗnoomi naammdaade ma (middle)	"Excuse me, I'd like to ask you something (lit. forgive me, there is something I had to ask you)"

Mi haal-a goonga, gaynaaka ittataa dewondiral (active)	"To tell the truth, cattle herding does not disunite people"

(viii) Compound clauses

8.26. This tense is also found in compound clauses and the latter play the parts of compound nouns e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko Fulɓe Fuuta wi'etee nyaama-yawt-a (active)	"It is the Fulɓe of Fuuta Jaloo that are called nomads (lit. Those-who-eat-and-walk-on)"

Fuuta Tooro

Sakke-Tooroɓɓe liggotoo ko tayee-wulee. Tayee-hulee ɗum woni paɗe cosaan so gaynaako waɗii ɗum e koyngal so nagge dogii daɗataa ɗum (passive)	"A Tukulor shoemaker makes shoes called ta ee-hulee (the-ones-that-were-cut-and-heated)they are traditional shoes. If a herdsman wears them he will not lose his cattle. (lit. a cow will not run faster than him)"

8.27. Sometimes the use of the secondary tense is prompted by the sequence of tenses. This tense is generally

used in second position in consecutive series, after non-past tenses, the primary tense, imperative and infinitive forms e.g.

(i) Subsequent to the general future

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi yahay Mi haalan-a mo (active)	"I'll go and tell him"
Mi yahay Makka mi feeny-a	"I'll go to Mecca and become a saint"

(ii) Vague future

Fuuta Tooro

Ma mi naat suudu makko mi jood-oo (middle)	"I'll go into his hut and sit down"

(iii) Negative future

Fuuta Jaloo

Be ar-ataa be nanng-ee be sok-ee (passive)	"They will not come to be arrested and sent to prison"
Karamokoobe winndantaa mo lekki o yar-a (active)	"The priests will not make any medicine for him to drink"

Mi dogataa Baaba-gootoobe aŋ mi ar-a gaa (active)

"I shan't run away from my half-brothers and come here"

(iv) Relative future

Fuuta Tooro

Kaŋko jiyaaɗo oo ko e ngaska o ummotoo o fay-a e weendu (active)

"The slave would leave his cave and head for the river"

(v) Continuous

Fuuta Jaloo

Awionji no dawa Dakaar ɗi waaloy-a Pari (active)

"Aeroplanes leave Dakar in the morning and spend the night in Paris"

Himo immaade o yaw-a o itt-a leemmunne (active)

"He is getting up to climb and pick some oranges"

gurii ŋgiŋ no weyyiteede o jooɗ-oo o fewt-a funnaange (middle/active)

"The sheepskin is being spread out for him to sit on and face the East"

(vi) Primary tense

Fuuta Jaloo

yo Alla yurme mo yaaf-oo mo (middle)	"May God have pity on him and forgive him"
O wi'i yo meŋ ar meŋ hawr-a o okkor-a meŋ jawdi meŋ nattor-a (active)	"He said that we should meet for him to give us some wealth to take back with us"

(vii) Imperative forms

Ar taw-aa mo ɗoo (active)	"Come and find him here"
Yaltee senegaali yah-oŋ Fuuta Jaloo (active)	"Leave Senegal and go to Fuuta Jaloo"

(viii) Infinitive forms

Fuuta Tooro

O Sali yaade o naamnd-oo ɓe ko mbiiɗaa koo (middle)	"He refused to go and ask them what you said"
Laamɗo oo ina yiɗi jaggondirde e mon, wond-a e mon, liggod-a e mon (active)	"The king wants to get on with you, stay and work with you"

8.28. Finally it is appropriate at this stage to point out that the use of the secondary tense as a subsequent

clause in serial sentence is very similar to that where it is regarded as an adjunct clause cf 8.19.). It is interesting to note that the same thing occurs in the Gombe dialect where Arnott believes that "ther is no formal difference between this usage, indicating simply a subsequent action, and the use of the subjunctive to indicate a purpose. Ambiguity is thus possible".(7)

8.29. The Negative counterpart of the secondary subjunctive is obtained either by periphrastic constructions or by using the negative future/habitual, e.g.

(i) Periphrastic constructions

	Positive	Negative	
(active)	Maa mi yah-a	Mi fot-aa yaade	"I must/musn't go"
(middle)	Maa njood-o-daa	a foot-aa joo aade	"You " sit down"
(passive)	Maa ɓe naamnd-ee	ɓe pot-aa naamndeede	"they " be asked"

(ii) Negative Future/habitual

It is the counterpart of the habitual meanings of the secondary subjunctive e.g.

Fuuta Tooro (cf 8.18b for corresponding original examples)

---

(7) Arnott, D.W. 1970 p.314

(active) ...min mbattaa juuɗe amen min ŋgaawa maaro
"We don't use our hands to sow rice"

(active) ...min ŋgaccataa maaro koo e ndiyam
"We don't leave the rice in the water"

(active) min kiwataa colli
"We don't scare birds away"

II Forms of the Imperative mood

8.30. These forms have a certain number of features in common with the tenses of the indicative and the subjunctive moods:

(i) Like the latter two they have suffixes that could be regarded as tense-markers.

(ii) Their radicals undergo the same patterns of initial consonant alternations wherever appropriate.

(iii) They all combine with derivative infixes.

8.31. I have however preferred to treat the sets found under the imperative differently from those of the indicative and the subjunctive because my material points to major semantic and grammatical differences, some of which are given below: (cf table 3)

(i) The forms of the imperative seem to be limited to the active and middle voices only.

(ii) They do not have any subject pronouns.

(iii) The forms of the imperative have different suffixes for the singular and the plural.

Table 3. Imperative forms

Form		Singular	Plural
General Imperative	Active	-(u)	-ee
	Middle	-o	-ee
Polite Imperative	Active	-ii	-ee
(Fuuta Jaloo)	Middle)	-ii	-ee
Iterative imperative	Active	-atay	-etee
Fuuta Jaloo	Middle	-oto	-etee

8.32. This mood comprises three forms, which have been called general imperative, polite imperative and iterative imperative. Each of these forms has a singular and a plural suffix, as shown in table 3.

8.33. The shapes of the suffixes are identical in the two voices in the following cases:

Singular suffixes and plural suffixes in the polite imperative. Singular (active and middle) -ii; plural (active and middle): -ee

Plural suffixes in the general and polite imperative; (active and middle) : -ee

The categories are distinguished in the sentences by the syntax even if the verbal forms are identical, e.g.

Loot-ii nde! (Active) "Wash it"

Loot-ii! (middle) "Wash yourself"

A. The General Imperative

8.34. The general imperative indicates a command, an invitation e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

o wii Muusaa: Art-u jooni (active)	"He said to Muusaa: Come back straightaway"
Naatudo ka moodoŋ woo naŋŋg-ee mo (active)	"Whoever gets into your compounds arrest him"
Wall-ee laŋ ko mi nyaama (active)	"Give me something to eat please (lit. Give me what I may eat)"

Fuuta Tooro

Banndel am ar wonnd-u e um (active)	"Sweet Love, stay with me"
Debbo dewiido ko nanando gorko mum. Gorko oo wi'a mo nyall-u do, tan o nyalla doon. Gorko oo wi'a mo jood-o do, ma o joodo doon. (active, middle)	"A woman with good manners is the one that pays attention to what her husband says. She does whatever he tells her to do. (lit. The husband would say to her: spend the day here, and she spends the day there. The husband says to her sit down here, and she sits there) "
Abdul Bookar wii safalbe bee: on nji'i lekki kiya Ko doon Baaba Lii woni. Tawoy-ee mo doon; si o foolii on mi ara; si o foolaani on, si on njehii mbar-ee mo... (active)	"Abdul Bookar said to the Mbors: Can you see that tree in the distance That's where Baaba Lii is. Go and find him; if he beats you I'll come; if you beat him, kill him"
Debbo oo wii yimbe bee: Ngannd-ee koy safalbe ŋgarii e mon (active)	"The woman said to the people: The Mbors are attacking you (lit. Know that the Mbors are attacking you)"

B. Polite Imperative

8.35. As indicated by its names, this form is used for polite requests. It is more tactful than the general imperative which may sound abrupt at times. Furthermore, to use certain forms under certain conditions is normal and to use others could be regarded as rude. A small son can use the general imperative to address his father and as he grows he will use the polite imperative singular and even plural at a later stage; from then on, to use the general imperative can be rude. This is just a simple illustration of a complicated system of address.

	Singular	Plural	
Active	Ar-ii	Ar-ee	"Please come"
	yah-ii	yah-ee	"Please go"
	dog-ii	dog-ee	"Please run"
	wowl-ii	wowl-ee	"Please talk"
Middle	loot-ii	loot-ee	"Please wash yourself/ yourselves"
	jood-ii	jood-ee	" ... sit down"
	waal-ii	waal-ee	" ... lie down"
	imm-ii	imm-ee	" ... stand up"

8.36. It should however be pointed out that, when uttered in a sharp tone, this form may express irritation. On the other hand this form is restricted to Fuuta Jaloo only. Fuuta Tooro uses periphrastic constructions of the kind njafo-ɗaa-mi ŋgar-aa "Please come".

C. Iterative Imperative

8.37. This form seems to occur only in Fuuta Jaloo. Fuuta Tooro uses periphrastic constructions in situations where the iterative imperative is used in Fuuta Jaloo.

8.38. The iterative imperative refers to a request to start or keep on doing something. It can be followed by the particle kene which then indicates that the action is temporary and also that it is simultaneous with some other action.

	singular	plural	
Active	ɓir-atay ŋge	ɓir-etee nge	"start or keep on milking it"
	def-atay ndi	def-etee ndi	" ... cooking"
	pood-atay ŋgol	pood-etee	" ... pulling it"
	aaw-atay ko	aaw-etee ko	" ... sowing it"
Middle	suud-oto	suud-etee	"start hiding"
	jood-oto	jood-etee	"keep on sitting"
	waal-oto		" ... lying down"

Loot-oto kenen haa mi gayna unude koo maaro — "Wash yourself while I keep on pounding this rice"

Nyaam-etee kenen, kotoo mo'on taw-ay on nde o gayni liggaade — "Start eating, your brother will join you when he finishes working"

jood-etee doŋ haa o ara "Keep on sitting there till he comes"

D. Prohibitions

8.39. I shall now direct my attention to the way prohibition is rendered. There is no specific form for the negative imperative. Prohibition is obtained by adding the negative particle wota to the positive singular or plural forms. There is one negative counterpart for both the general imperative and the imperative for polite requests, e.g.

	singular	Negative
Active	dog-u "run"	wota dog-u "don't run"
	Ar "come"	wota ar "don't come"
	dog-ii "please run"	
	yah-ee "go or please go"	wota yah-ee "don't go"
Middle	jood-o "sit down"	wota jood-o "don't sit down"
	waal-o "lie down"	wota waal-ee "don't lie down"
	jood-ii "please sit down"	wota imm-o "don't stand up"

8.40. It should be added that degrees of politeness are obtained by either intonation or periphrastic constructions.

8.41. The negative form of the iterative imperative combines

with the particle wota to give its negative counterpart. e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

wota ar-atay	"Don't start/keep on coming"
wota dog-atay	"Don't " running"
wota yah-atay	"Don't " going"
wota jood-oto	"Don't keep on sitting down"
wota waal-oto	"Don't " lying down"
wota loot-oto	"Don't " washing"

CHAPTER 9: DERIVATIVE INFIXES

9.1. The above terms refer to the elements which combine with verbal radicals and affect their meanings. The simple forms consist of what I am calling here the primary radical plus the ending, e.g.

o loot-ii "he has washed"
o suud-ii "he has hidden"

There are derived forms, e.g.

o loot-it-ii "he has washed again"
o sund-it-ii "he has hidden again"

consisting of the primary radicals (loot- and suud-), the derivative infix (-it-) and the ending -ii. I am considering the combination of the primary radicals and the derivative infix as giving a new derived radicals lootit- and suudit-

9.2. Derivative infixes enable speakers of the Pulaar language to render the various shades of their thoughts in an economical way (cf. 6.26)

9.3. The infixes described here are the ones that have been widely illustrated in my material. I believe they are the most commonly used in the two dialects.

I should emphasize that the present list of infixes does, by no means, claim to be exhaustive for the two dialects under consideration, even though it is exhaustive for my material. The limit of illustrations has prevented me from giving full coverage to the infixes listed at the end of the present chapter.

Table 1. Derivative infixes and voice-potentials in the two dialects.

Voice of Primary Radical	Derivative Infix	Voice of Derived Radicals
A, AP, AMP M, MP, (AMP)	-ir- -or-	A, AP, AMP M, MP, (AMP)
A, AP, AMP M, MP, (AMP)	-id- -od-	A, AP, AMP M, MP, (AMP)
AMP	-an-	AMP
AMP	-it-	AMP
AMP	-oy-	AMP
AMP	-in-	A (MP)
AP	-inkin-	M
AP	-intin-	M

Note The letters A, M, P, stand for Active, Middle, Passive

9.4. As indicated in table 1, all major infixes are found equally in the two dialects; the variations between the two dialects will therefore be found in the uses they make of the infixes.

9.5. Derived radicals may belong to the same voice(s) as primary radicals; but of course individual derived radicals may belong to voices that are distinct from those of primary radicals. As a matter of example, radicals which are in the active voice when primary may be in the middle voice when combined with certain infixes to form new derived radicals, e.g.

loot-ude (active)/loot-id-ude (active)
"to wash/to wash together"

nyaam-ude (active)nyaam-it-ude (active)
"to eat/to eat again"

ndaar-ude (active)/ndaar-it-aade (middle)
"to look at/to look at oneself"

nan-ude (active)/nan-it-aade (middle)
"to hear/to hear oneself"

9.6. An attempt has been made to provide meanings for each individual infix, and, sometimes it has been

judged necessary to give several meanings to one infix (-it-, for instance); these meanings were arrived at by analysing all the derived radicals which share the same infix(es). It should, however, be stressed that they should be treated as general rather than particular meanings. This is the reason why it is quite natural for individual infixes to have instances where the relationship between primary and derived radicals is loose, to say the least.

9.7. Derived radicals are used in intransitive and in transitive forms, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

O femmb-it-ike (middle) "He has had a shave" (intransitive)

O femmb-in-ii cukalel ŋgel (active) "he has had the child's head shaved" (transitive)

Fuuta Tooro

ʔDi fof di majj-id-ii (active) "They have all been lost" (intransitive)

ʔBe fof ɓe majj-id-ii (active) "They are all lost" (intransitive)

O majj-in-ii kaalis oo fof (active) "He has lost all the money" (transitive)

Table 2. -VC/-C- alternation in the combination of radicals and infixes described in § 9.11

Type of Combination	-VC-		-C-		ILLUSTRATIONS	
	FJ	FT	FJ	FT	Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro	Meanings
-f- + -ir-	+			+	def-ir-a/def-r-a	to cook with
-f- + -id-	+			+	def-id-a/def-d-a	to cook together
-f- + -it-	+			+	def-it-a/def-t-a	to cook again
-f- + -in-	+			+	def-in-a/def-n-a	to cause to cook
-s- + -ir-	+		-	-	res-ir-a/res-d-a	to be able to marry someone with
-s- + -id-	+			+	res-id-a/res-d-a	to marry at the same time as someone else
-s- + -it-	+			+	res-it-a/res-t-a	to marry again
-s- + -in-	+			+	res-in-a/res-n-a	to be made to marry
-r- + -ir-	+		-	-	yar-ir-de/yar-d-ude	calabash for drinking (verbal noun)
-r- + -id-	+			+	yar-id-a/yar-d-a	to drink together
-r- + -it-	+			+	yar-it-a/yar-t-a	to drink again
-r- + -in-			+	+	yar-n-a/yar-n-a	to cause to drink
-l- + -ir	+		-	-	haal-ir-a/haal-d-a	to talk in a certain manner
-l- + -id-	+			+	haal-id-a/haal-d-a	to talk together
-l- + -it-	+			+	haal-it-a/haal-t-a	to say again
-l- + -in-			+	+	jal-n-a/jal-n-a	to cause to laugh

to be continued...

Table 2 continued

-w- + ir	+			+	dow-ir-a/dow-r-a	to lead with
-w- + id-	+			+	dow-id-a/dow-d-a	to lead together
-w- + it-			+	+	taw-t-a/taw-t-a	to find again
-w-t-in-	+			+	sew-in-a/sew-n-a	to cause to be thin
-m- + ir-	+			+	nyaam-ir-a/nyaam-ra	to eat with
-m- + id-	+	+			nyaam-id-a/nyaam-d-a	to eat together
-m- + it	+			+	nyaam-it-a/nyaam-t-a	to eat again
-n- + in-	+	+			nyamm-in-a/nyamm-in-a	to cause to eat
-n- + ir-	+		-	-	nan-ir-a/nan-d-a	to hear in a certain manner
-n- + id-	+			+	nan-id-a/nan-d-a	to hear together
-n-/-it-	+			+	nan-it-a/nan-t-a	to hear again
-n- + in	+			+	nan-in-a/nan-n-a	to cause to hear
-ɓ- + ir-	+			+	fiɓ-ir-a/fiɓ-r-a	to tie up with
-ɓ- + id-	+			+	fiɓ-id-a/fiɓ-d-a	to tie together
-ɓ-/-it-	+			+	fiɓ-it-a/fiɓ-t-a	to untie
-ɓ- + in-					jaɓ-in-a/jaɓ-n-a	to cause to agree

Notes on Table 2.

+ = positions where the combination occurs normally (cf 9.11 (a))

- = positions where it cannot occur (cf. 9.11 (b))

a) Only regular occurences (ie. those marked +) have been illustrated in this table. Other occurences are illustrated in the description of individual infixes.

b) Wherever the infinitive has been used for illustrations the vowel a indicates radicals belonging to the active voice (-ude).

9.8. It is possible to use more than one infix to form a new derived radical. This is well illustrated by the following cases provided by Alpha Ibrahim Sow for the Fuuta Jaloo dialect.(1)

yah- + -it- > yahit "to go/to go again"
yah- + -it- + -id > yahitid "to go again together"
yah- + -it- + -id- + -oy- > yahitidoy "to go again together in the distant future"
yah- + -it- + -id- + -oy- + -an > yahitidoyan "to go again together for something in the distant future"

9.9. The order of occurence of infixes within a sequence is as outlined above. The tendency is, however, to limit such combinations to a maximum of two infixes in ordinary conversation and three in special writings such as poetry. Anything beyond that limit comes across not only as clumsy but also as pedantic. It is worth mentioning that, in all my material from Fuuta Tooro, I have not encountered a single instance of a combination of over two infixes at a time. Ample illustration of the various combinations will be given under individual infixes.

9.10. Consideration will also be given to phonological features arising from the combination of individual infixes with

---

(1) cf Sow, A.I. 1966, p.20 (the English translations are mine)

primary radicals. Some of such features are similar to the ones described for the noun system in § 1.21-1.25. They will be outlined briefly here and relevant illustrations encountered in the present chapter will be referred back to them.

9.11. Table 2 outlines the combination of those primary radicals of CVC structure ending with the consonants f, s, r, l, w, n, ɓ with the infixes -ir-, -id-, -it-, -in-.

If primary radicals and derivative infixes are represented by $C_1V\ C_2$, where C_2 is in the range of the above consonants, and $-VC_3-$, the patterns described in table 2 can be summarised as follows:

a) In the majority of cases, the Fuuta Tooro dialect uses a -C- structure for its infixes whereas Fuuta Jaloo prefers a -VC- structure;

Fuuta Tooro: $C_1VC_2 - + VC_3$ gives $C_1VC_2C_3$

Fuuta Jaloo: $C_1VC_2 - + VC_3$ gives $C_1VC_2VC_3$

b) Certain combinations do not occur because of phonological rules governing the language. For instance such combinations as r + r, n + r, l + r cause the consonant -r- to change into -d- in

circumstances where a -C- structure is used for the infix.

Fuuta Tooro

Mi ar-d-ii gaa "I have come this way"

(ar-d-ii⟨ar-r-ii⟨ar-ir-ii; cf 9.31)

so tisubaar yonii mi ɲeewa kurkaalam ɗo oor-d-i; "At midday I try to find out where my cowherds took the cattle grazing"

(oor-d-i⟨oor-r-i⟨oor-ir-i cf 9.31)

No mbaal-d-uɗaa? "Good morning" (lit. How did you spend the night?)

(mbaal-d-uɗaa⟨mbaal-ir-ɗaa, cf. 9.26)

Haal-d-ude seese-seese "To speak slowly"

(haal-d-ude⟨haal-ir-de cf 9.37)

Ko noon ɓe nan-d-i ɗum "That is how I heard it"

(nan-d-i⟨nan-r-i⟨nan-ir-i cf 9.24)

Ko noon yettoore maɓɓe ar-d-i "That is how their surname came"

(ar-d-i⟨ar-r-i⟨ar-ir-i cf 9.24)

un-d-ugal "pestle"

(un-d-ugal < un-ir-gal "what is used for pounding"; cf table 3)

yar-d-ude "spoon!"

(yar-d-ude < yar-ir-de "what is used for drinking"; cf table 3)

The alternative is to keep the -VC- structure of the infix, which Fuuta Jaloo prefers anyway, e.g.

-ɓe ar-ir-i gaa	"They came this way"
-Ko too na'i diŋ oor-ir-i	"It is the other way that the cattle went grazing"

9.12. The structure of the remaining infixes with the radical endings mentioned in § 9.11 is of -VC- or -VCVC- nature in both dialects, e.g.

def- + or- > def-or-	"cook at the same time"
lel- + od- > lel-od-	"sleep together"
heɓ- + indir- > heɓ-indir-	"get each other"

9.13. As shown in 9.11, the -VC-/-C- alternation only applies to infixes beginning with the vowel i. It does not affect infixes beginning with the vowel o at all. This vowel is always stable.

9.14. Where radical endings are of -CC- structure, the derivative infixes will be of -VC- structure e.g.

tacc- + ir- > tacc-ir- "to cut with"
wopp- + id- > wopp-id- "to throw away together"
tedd- + in- > tedd-in- "to make heavy"
majj- + an- > majj-an-de "to be lost for...."

9.15. Where the final consonant of the primary radical is h,y, or a glottal stop, this consonant disappears in the derived radical and the preceding vowel is lengthened (see also § 1.24); this occurs in both dialects.

yah- + ir- > yaa-r-ude "to go by"
yah- + id- > yaa-d-ude "to go together"
mah- + ir- > maa-r-ude "to use something for building"
piy- + ir- > pii-r-ude "to hit with"
wi'- + ir- > wii-r-ude "to say something"

9.16. There occur certain cases of assimilation between final consonants of the primary radical and the infix, which are summarised below.

(i) The final consonants t,d,ɗ harmonize with the following t,d, or n, (cf 1.25)

t/t loot-t-aade > loot-t-aade "to wash oneself"
t/d loot-d-ude > lood-d-ude "to wash something together"
t/n juwt-n-ude > juun-n-ude "to lengthen"

d/t ɓad-t-aade > ɓat-t-aade "to come close"
d/d ɓad-d-aade > ɓad-d-aade "to approach together"
d/n sood-n ude > soon-n-ude "to cause to buy"

ɗ/t huɗ-t-ude > hut-t-ude "to curse again"
ɗ/d huɗ-d-ude > hud-d-ude "to curse again"
ɗ/n nyeɗ-n-ude > nyen-n-ude "to cause to dip out"

This case is more common in Fuuta Tooro because it involves infixes of -C- structure, whereas Fuuta Jaloo prefers to use infixes of -VC- structures.

(ii) Where the radical ends with a palatal consonant, the palatalisation continues into the second consonant, (cf. 1.25)

fij-d-a > fij-j-a "to play together"

9.17. In both dialects the introduction of the -in- infix into primary radicals of C_1VVC_2 structure, where C_2 is l,m,n,ɓ,ɗ, gives two results:

1) With most examples, the vowel is shortened and the second consonant is geminated, e.g.

l/ll waal-/wall-in "to lie down/lay down"
m/mm nyaam-/nyaam-in "to eat/to cause to eat"
(cf. 9.63 for illustrations)

laam-/lamm-in "to be chief/to make chief"
(cf. 9.63 for illustrations)

n/nn ɗaan-/ɗann-in "to sleep/to cause to sleep"
ɓ/ɓɓ ɓuuɓ-/ɓuɓɓ-in "to be cool/to cause to be cooled down"
laaɓ-/laɓɓ-in "to be clean/to cause to be clean"
ɗ/ɗɗ jooɗ-/joɗɗ-in "to sit down/to cause to sit down"
ɗuuɗ-/ɗuɗɗ-in "to be numerous/to make numerous"

2) The combination does not affect the primary radical in the following cases:

m/m faam-/faam-in "to understand/to cause to understand"
n/n haan-/haan-in "to be appropriate/to cause to be appropriate"
ɓ/ɓ ɓeeɓ-/ɓeeɓ-in "to dry up/to cause to dry up"
ɗ/ɗ haaɗ-/haaɗ-in "to be bitter/to cause to be bitter"

9.18. In a limited number of cases there occurs a pattern of alternation whereby the fricative final consonant of CVVC- radical, alternates with its plosive geminate counterpart, with a shortening of the vowel of the radical, e.g.

w/bb heew/hebb-in "to be plenty/to make plenty" (cf. 9.63)
f/pp ɗoof/ɗopp-it "to pull up/to pull out"

9.19. As indicated in table 1 the following derivative infixes have two forms in complementary distribution:

-ir-/-or-

-id-/-od-
-indir-/-ondir-

9.20. In all the above cases the o-initial infixes are confined to radicals of the middle and passive voices (applied to one or two voice radicals).

9.21. On the other hand the i-initial infixes go with active and passive radicals; never with middle radicals.

9.22. It can safely be stated that as far as one or two-voice primary radicals are concerned the occurrence of the initial vowel of the infix is as follows:

O-initial infixes go with middle and middle-passive radicals

i-initial infixes go with active, passive and active-passive radicals.

This means that both o and i forms may occur with the same passive radicals but with different meanings.

9.23. Matters become a bit more complicated with three-voice primary radicals because not only do they behave in the manner described above for one or two-voice

radicals but also they create further semantic differences whereby they go with all three voices (cf. 9.35, 9.42).

-ir-/-or-

9.24. This infix is used in verb phrases introduced by:

a) Fuuta Jaloo	b) Fuuta Tooro
no	no
nii	nii
noŋ	noon
ko no	ko no
ko nii	ko nii
ko noŋ	ko noon

It then has modal and comparative meanings and is often in non-initial position, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko Alla anndi no keefeero tilf-ir-tee (passive)	"God knows how to deal with a heathen (lit. It is God who knows how a heathen should be punished)"
Be wi'i yo be walle no be nyaam-ir-a (active)	"They asked for something to eat (lit. They said they should be helped on how they can eat)"

Ko no ɓe waal-or-noo noŋ ɓe tawt-ir-aa (middle and passive)	"They were found again the same way they had laid down"
Fuuta Tooro	
Sakke ko ko soxlaa, no baylo soxl-ir-aa ni (passive)	"A shoemaker is as useful as a blacksmith. (lit. A shoemaker is someone that is needed in-the-same-way-as a blacksmith is needed)"
No Alla hodd-ir-ta demŋgal ŋgal ina feenya kambe ɓee dido ɓe poodondiri (2) (active)	"God decided to bring out this language by causing a disagreement between the two young men (lit. As to how God decided to bring out this language, the two young men had a disagreement)"
Mbodo yidi yewtude no pudd-or-ii mi komersaŋ (3) (middle)	"I should like to talk to you about how I started my job as a trader"
o tayani mi weer (3) oo no njid-ir-mi (active)	"He cut the glass for me the way I wanted"

No ŋgannd-ir-mi canyirgal[4] ko noon ŋgannd-ir-mi gedе keewdе e hooram	"I know about many other things as much as I do about weaving. (lit. The -way-in-which I know about weaving it is that way I know of many things in my-head)"
Mi anndaa no paami inn-ir-de mo (active)	"I don't know what I am going to call him"
-Ko mbo jilotoodo haa no fot-ir-a anndirde demŋgal haalpulaar'en	"He is doing research on the Pulaar language (lit. He is a traveller who is trying to learn the language of the speakers-of-pulaar)"
-Mi tafa kaŋŋe oo no njid-ir-mi wona ni, so tawii kadi ko jawo, no mbii-r-unomaami[5] ni joomum addat wi'a njidmi ko tafaneede (active)	"I cast the gold the way I want, If it is a bracelet, it is just as I told you before, the owner brings his gold and asks for it to be made into a bracelet"
-Ko noon sakkeyaagal fudd-or-ii (middle)	"That is how shoemaking started"
-Ko noon ŋgopp-ir-taa fado ŋgoo (active)	"That is how you leave the shoe"

-O laada, juuɗe makko ɗiɗi; Ko nii o waɗ-ir-ta juuɗe makko ɗiɗi e leydi (active)	"He would crawl, with his two arms; this is how he uses his two arms on the ground"
-Ko nii yettoore maɓɓe ar-ɗ-i (6) (active)	"This is how their surname came about"
-Ko nii o inn-ir-i mbo Sammba Haqqilante (active)	"This is how he called him Sammba - The Intelligent"

9.25. The infix -ir-/-or- is also used for comparative purposes and it is found in verb phrases followed by

a) Fuuta Jaloo	b) Fuuta Tooro
-no	-no
-wano (7)	-wayma (7)
-wa	-wayta (7)

Examples illustrating this usage are found in both dialects, even though the following are from Fuuta Jaloo only,

---

(2) The informant was talking about the origin of the language; his story can be summarised as follows: God created the Pulaar language;he then made two young men use it by arguing in it.

(3) These are loans from the French language: Commerçant "trader" verre "glass".

(4) This verbal noun refers to the "instrumental" meaning of the infix under consideration cf. 9.29.

-Hiɗa dar-or-i wa soldaato (middle)	"You are standing like a soldier"
-Himo nyaam-ir-a wa mo meeɗaa yiide ɲyiiri (active)	"He is eating as if he has never seen food in his life (lit. He eating like someone who has never seen food)"
-O wi'aa yo o aynu ɓeyŋguure makko ndeŋ wano ŋgayuuri ayn-ir-ta ŋgayuhoy mu'uŋ koy ni (active)	"He was told to look after his family like a lion its cubs (lit. He was told he should look after his family like the-way-in-which a lion looks after its cubs)"

9.26. This infix is also used in interrogative clauses and indirect questions, with these modal and comparative meanings. Derived radicals are then accompanied by the particles no (in both dialects), honno (Fuuta Jaloo), holno/hono (Fuuta Tooro), translated into English as "how".

---

(5) cf 9.15

(6) cf 9.11(b)

(7) Perhaps these particles stem from a combination of the verb wa'ude "to be like" and the particles no, ma, etc. (wayta wa'i - ta).

Fuuta Jaloo

-Honno fus-ir-ɗaa loonde ndeŋ? (active)	"How did you break the drinking pot?"
-No ŋgal dammbugal udit-ir-tee? (passive)	"How can this door be opened?"
-Ko honno o laam-or-too ndii leydi? (middle)	"How will he rule this country?"

Fuuta Tooro

-Holno ɓe tacc-ir-ta maayo ŋgoo? (active)	"How will they cross the river?"
-Holno heɓ-ir-tomoo-mi? (active)	"How shall I get her?"
-Holno o waaw-ir-ta suweer[8]? (active)	"How will he be able to do the job of framing photographs?"

9.27. The following is an illustration of a combination between the infixes -ir- and -oy-

---

(8) This is a loan from the French expression sous-verre (meaning "under the glass"); it refers to the practice in West Africa, which consists in using glass and cardboard to frame photographs.

yeewen no njabb-ir-oy-ɗen gese sukaaɓe men ɓee (active)	"Let's try and see how we can cultivate the fields of our young men"

2. Instrumental Meaning (with -ir-/-or-)

9.28. In this case the infix is used in phrases showing an instrument and its purpose, e.g.

a sword and cutting
a rope and tying
soap and washing

The derived radical is generally not accompanied by any particle.

Fuuta Jaloo

-Ka'a kaafa wonaa sopp-ir-ka leɗɗe (active)	"This sword is not for cutting wood (lit: This sword is not what-is-used-for cutting wood)"
-Baalii ŋgiŋ haɓɓ-ir-aama ɓoggol (passive)	"The sheep has been tied up with a rope"
-O wi'aa yo o loot-or-o saabunde (middle)	"He was told to wash himself with soap"
-Ɓe wi'aa yo ɓe jogit-or[9] diina Alla kaŋ deftere (middle)	"They were told to practice Islam by the Coran (lit. They were

told that they should use the Coran to practice God's religion"

- Mido addani maa ko heyn-or-odaa (middle) — "I brought you something to mourn with"

-Ehin ko loot-or-aa (middle) — "Here is something you can wash yourself with"

Fuuta Tooro

- Banndelam ma mi inn-ir-ma wonkam (active) — "Sweet Love, I shall name my heart after you"

-Aawdi ina aaw-r-ee[10] (passive) — "Seeds are used for sowing"

-jalo ina rem-ir-ee (passive) — "A hoe is used for hoeing"

- Mbodo yaara[11] konu kab-r-umi[11] bibbe baabam'en (active) — "I am going to look for an army to fight my half-brothers with"

- Saa yehii a wirnoyiima, pii-r-aa[12] mi dum, pii-r-aa[12] dum minyam, pii-r-aa[12] dum banndam (active) — "When you go back you will use this knowledge to beat me up with, and to beat up my brothers and sisters"

Min njagg-ir-ta kaŋŋe oo ko ɓisgal (13) (active)	"We hold the gold with pincer-tongs"
-Ko ɗum min kiw-r-ata(10) colli (active)	"That is what we scare birds away with"
-O wii omo wara kam walla mi soot-t-or-a(14) jawdi keewndi (active)	"He said he was going to kill me unless I buy myself out with money"
-Ndaa ko mballit-or-aa(15) (active)	"Here's something you can help out with"

9.29. A great many nouns of instruments or means are derived from verbal radicals using the -ir-/-or- infix and terminating in the class ending associated with a relevant noun, e.g.

rem-ir-go, "a hoe", composed of the radical rem- "to hoe", the infix -ir- and the pronoun of reference of the class for Jalo "a hoe" as the suffix. Words of similar structure are given in table 3.

---

(9) This radical illustrates the combination of the two infixes -it- and -or-

(10) cf 9.11

(11) yaara < yah-r-a; cf 9.15

(12) cf 9.15

(13) ɓisgal is a verbal noun which is the contracted form of ɓis-ir-gal "the one used to hold with".

9.30. The following instances are further illustrations of combinations with other infixes.

Fuuta Jaloo

-in- + -ir-: Kodo ko kosaŋ tedd-in-ir-tee (passive)	"A visitor should be welcomed with curdled milk"

Fuuta Tooro

-in- + -ir-: Dum feew-n-ir-tee[19] ko jayŋgol (passive)	"This is prepared with fire"
-it- + -ir- : ir-t-ir-gal	"Wooden spoon"

(Verbal nouns cf table 3)

3. Locative meaning

9.31. The infix -ir-/-or- refers to direction in the case of verbs and location in the case of nouns.

a) Verbs

---

(14) Soot-t-or-a sood-t-or-a (cf 9.16(i)); This radical also contains an illustration of the combinations between the infixes -it- and -or-

(15) Wall-it-or-a (combination of infixes -it- and -or-)

Table 3: Illustrations of the relationship between verbal nominals and analogical nouns

Verbal nominals	Verbal radical	Analogical nouns	Nominal class Number
Sood-or-daŋ (16) "water for washing hands"	soodaade "to wash"	ndiyaŋ "water"	17 daŋ/dam
Loot-or-daŋ "water for washing oneself"	lootaade "to wash oneself"	ndiyaŋ "water"	17 daŋ/dam
fennd-ir-de "calabash for curdling milk"	fenndude "to curdle"	horde "calabash"	3 nde
hadd-or-de "loin cloth"	haddaade "to tie around one's waist"	wudere "cloth"	3 nde
awɗ-ir-gal "paddle"	awɗude "to paddle"	leggal "stick"	10 ŋgal
as-ir-gal "digging-stick"	asude "to dig"	leggal "stick"	10 ŋgal
aaw-ir-gal (17) "sowing-stick"	aawde "to sow"	leggal "stick"	10 ŋgal
winnd-ir-gol "pen"	winndude "to write"	karambol "pen"	11 ŋgol
winnd-ir-ka "ink"	winndude "to write"	ndaha "ink"	13 ka
irt-ir-gal (18) "wooden spoon"	irtude "to dig up"	leggal "stick"	10 ŋgal
loow-ir-di (17) "funnel"	loowde "to pour into a container"	janndi "iron"	4 ndi

(16) All the nouns here ending in the velar nasal ŋ will end in the labial m in Fuuta Jaloo

(17) cf 9.11

(18) cf 9.30 (Fuuta Tooro)

Fuuta Jaloo

Be iwi konaakiri, be ar-d-i[20] Boke (active)	"They left Conakri and headed for Boke"

Fuuta Tooro

-Nduttito to pudd-or-inoɗaa arano to (middle)	"Start again where you were before"
-Sayku Umaar ko Fuuta Tooro umm-or-ii (middle)	"Sayku Umaar came from Fuuta Tooro"

b) Nouns

9.32. The infix -ir-/-or- occurs with a wide range of verbal nouns; they behave in the same manner as the ones shown in table 3.

Fuuta Jaloo

juul-ir-de "mosque" (juulude "to say prayers")
janŋg-ir-de "school" (janŋgude "to read, learn")
ruum-ir-de "wet season camp" (ruumude "to spend the rainy season")
loot-ir-de "washing spot (lootude "to wash")
loot-or-de "place where one can wash oneself (lootaade "to wash oneself")

---

(19) cf 9.11
(20) cf 9.11 (b)

waal-or-du "bedroom" (waalaade "to lie down")

Fuuta Tooro

Be njipp-ii e nokku ina wi'ee Toŋŋg-ir-de Bamɗi	"They came to a place called Toŋŋgirde-Bamɗi (lit. The place-where-donkeys-are-tied-up")
Gorko oo tuggii e hakkunde fij-ir-de ndee	"The man went to the middle of the dance floor. (lit. the-place-where-people-amuse themselves; cf fijude "to amuse oneself")

4. Causative meaning

9.33. Where the infix -ir-/-or- has causative meaning, the derived radical containing this infix is either used on its own or accompanied by the particle fii "for, because of " .

(i) Without any particle

Fuuta Jaloo

yo fow yonndin-or Alla (middle; where yonndin- is a primary radical)	"Let everyone be patient for the sake of God"

Fuuta Tooro

Njiɗ-ir-maa mi ko dewgal, mi yiɗ-ir-aa ma hay huunde (active)	"I want to marry you, I don't want you for anything else (lit. the reason for my wanting you is marriage, I don't want you for anything else)"
So aduna juutii juut-ir-ta ko haa ko meeɗaa wadde ina waɗa (active)	"If this world has gone on for so long it is just in order to allow what has never happened to do so". (lit. The reason for the world to be long is.....)"
Mbism-or-maa-mi ko nande e faamde ko kaal-ɗaa koo (middle)	"I greeted you because I understood what you said"

(ii) With the particle fii

Fuuta Jaloo

yaaf-or-ee mo fii Alla (middle)	"Forgive him for God's sake"
Ko ɓe nodd-ir-i mi ko fii yo a nyaamu	"They called you to eat (lit. what they called you for for is to eat)"

Fuuta Tooro

O jagg-ir-i mi fii Umaar (active)	"He looked after me because of Umaar (lit. He held me because of Umaar)"
Njagg-ir-moo-mi fii yo o jaŋŋginam mecce (active)	"I looked up to him to be taught a skill (lit. I held him in order for him to teach me a skill)"

5. Simultaneous meaning

9.34. The derived radical is introduced by the particle no "as soon as" and the infix refers to the simultaneous nature or the imminence of the action. This usage is found more readily in Fuuta Jaloo than in Fuuta Tooro. It is almost always in initial positions e.g.

No o udd-it-ir-i[21] hunduko makko koŋ haala-noŋ laŋ (active)	"As soon as (the moment when) he opens his mouth, please let me know."
No o naŋŋg-ir-aa yo o soke (passive)	"As soon as he is arrested let him be sent to jail"
No ɓe ɗaan-or-i dog-aa (middle)	"As soon as they fall asleep, run away"

(21) this radical illustrates the combination of -it- and -ir (udd-it-ir-i).

9.35. Further simultaneous meaning is introduced when the middle infix -or- is used in the active with three voice radicals.

loot-ude (active) gives loot-or-de (active)
"to wash a number of things simultaneously"

suud-ude (active) gives suud-or-de (active)
"to hide a number of things simultaneously"

loow-de (active) gives loow-or-de (active)
"to pour into a container simultaneously"

dimmb-ude (active) gives dimmb-or-de (active)
"to shake a number of things simultaneously"

ɓorn-ude (active) gives ɓorn-or-de (active)
"to clothe a number of people"

9.36. The difference between the meanings described in §§ 9.34. and 9.40 is that of emphasis. One looks at the simultaneous nature of the action (§§ 9.34) whereas the other concentrates on its joint nature (9.40).

9.37. In some cases the infix has less effect on the meaning of the primary radical; sometimes the meaning of the derived radical is almost the same as that of the primary radical, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Landɔ oŋ wi'i yo meŋ	"The king said that we
accu o okk-or-a meŋ ko	should let him give us
meŋ nyaama (active)	something to eat"
(okk-or-de = okkude "to give")	

Fuuta Tooro

Tawi o heɓii ɓiɓɓe heewɓe;	"She had had several
kono ina heddii e jibin-ir-gol	children but she was
makko ŋgol	still to have more"

(jibin-ir-gol = jibinde "to deliver, to give birth to")

9.38. Finally, it might be useful to draw attention to a few examples of radicals which, because of their morphology may mistakenly be thought to contain the infixes under consideration; I have also tried to provide the nearest extended radical, wherever possible.

Fuuta Jaloo

1. o jogorii neeɓude "It looks as if he is going to be a long time"

2. Ko nii o jog-or-i finkaari ndiŋ. "This is how he held the gun"

(The first example stems from a fixed phrase: jogorde + infinitive "to be about to do something; the second example contains the infix -or- in its modal meaning whereas in the first example jogor- is a primary radical).

ɗee balɗe himo won-ɗ-ii[22] e bassal (active)	"He has been poor recently (lit. All these days he has been with poverty)"
O weld-aa[22] e maɓɓe (active)	"He does not get on with them"

Fuuta Tooro

-Ngacc-id-ee men; ma min kaal-ɗ-a[22] min kawra (active)	"Please leave us together; we shall have an agreement after talking"
O wii mo: ko njii-ɗ-uɗen?[23] (active)	"He said to him What do we have in common"
Ko minen mbaal-ɗ-i[22]	"We spent the night together"

---

(22) cf 9.11 also see table 3

(23) cf 9.15

B. -id-/-od-

9.39. This infix is used:

a) With associative meaning
b) To indicate completeness
c) With simultaneous meaning

9.40. In its associative meaning this infix refers to an action performed jointly or involving another individual or thing. The derived radical is either found on its own or it is followed by an adverbial group introduced by the particle e "with". When used on its own, the derived radical has a plural subject pronoun.

(i) On its own

Be nyaam-id-i "they ate together"

(ii) Followed by an adverbial group

Fuuta Jaloo

Landɔ nyaam-id-ataa	"A king will not eat
e maccudɛ mu'uŋ (active)	with his servants"
Mɔ kala yo acc-id-e	"Let everyone be left with
e galle mu'uŋ (passive)	his home"

Ɓe hab-id-i e Ngaabu	"They fought against Ngaabu"
Ar won-d-aa e aŋ	"Come and stay with me"

9.41. The usage in which this infix indicates completeness is mostly found in Fuuta Tooro, as illustrated below.

O nyam-id-ii maaro koo (active)	"He has eaten all the rice"
O loot-od-ii (middle)	"He has finished washing himself"
Ɓujjo oo naad-d-ii[24] cuudi amen (active)	"The thief has entered all our huts"
Ɓe kaɓɓ-id-ii [25] na'i ɗii (active)	"They have tied up all the cows"
O jaŋŋg-id-i deftere Alla ndee fof	"He has finished learning the Coran (lit. He has read all God's book)"

9.42. Further semantic differences are introduced by the use of the infix -od- in the active and the passive, with three voice radicals; This feature is commonly used in Fuuta Jaloo. This meaning appears to be similar to the one mentioned in § 9.35 for the infix -or-.

---

(24) cf 9.16(i)

(25) cf 9.14

(i) Active (-id-/-od-)

loot-id-ude "to wash a number of things together."

loot-od-ude[26] "to wash a number of things at the same time"

(ii) Passive (-id-/-od-)

loot-id-eede "to be washed together"

loot-od-eede "to be washed at the same time."

9.43. Possible confusions between this meaning and the associative meaning are avoided in three ways:

a) The transitive nature of the verb under consideration.
b) The fact that for the completive meaning it is possible to add the particle fof/fow "all", whereas the associative meaning uses the particle -e- "with".
c) The context in which they occur.

9.44. To obtain the meaning of completeness, totality, Fuuta Jaloo prefers to use periphrastic constructions which often involve the combination of the verb indicating the action; it also uses the particle -fow- "all".

---

(26) This radical can also mean to have a wash at the same time; in this case it will be noted that the primary middle radical lootaade "to wash oneself" becomes active after combining with -or: loot-od-ude.

o gayni jalde	"He has finished laughing"
o gayni lootaade	"He has finished washing himself"
O naatii e cuudi amen din fow	"He has entered all our huts"
o yarii ndiyan dan fow	"He has drunk all the water"

Finally, the following example illustrates further the combination of this infix with other infixes (-inkin- in this case)

Fuuta Jaloo

Menen fow men wondi e makko	"We all pretended to be with him (We were all with
won-d-inkin-agol	him for-the-sake-of-pretending-to-be-with-him)"

C. -indir-/-ondir

9.45. This infix refers to reciprocal actions; it involves more than one person or thing and it can be accompanied by the particle e "with" (or again).

Fuuta Jaloo

O wayn-ondir-i e mawbe makko ben fow, o yahi (middle)	"He said good-bye to all his relatives and he went off"
Men salm-ondir-i e mabbe (middle)	"We shook hands with them"
Be hett-ondir-i e lando mabbe on (middle)	"They were reunited with their King"

Ɓe holl-indir-aa e joŋ-galle oŋ (passive)	"They were shown to the house-owner"
Fuuta fow fell-indir-i e seɓɓe ɓeŋ (active)	"All the peoples of Fuuta Jaloo fought against the Mandings"

Fuuta Tooro

Noodi e gabbi cennd-ondir-i mbo, nyaami mbo haa laaɓi (middle)	"Crocodiles and hippopotamuses divided him between them and ate him all"
jannde ko faamude, rewɓe ina ŋgany-ondir-a (27) ɗo, worɓe ina ŋgany-ondir-a ɗo (middle)	"To study is to understand; both men and women beat each other at it (lit women win each other at it, men win each other at it)"
To ummiɗaa too e ɗoo ina ŋgoɗɗ-ondir-i (middle)	"The place you came from is far from here (lit. Where you come from and here are far from each other)"
Ɓe ndaar-indir-i ɓe ŋgoni e haaldude.	"They looked at each other and started talking to each other"

(27) This is a loan word from the french gagner "to win".

Kanaal [28] oo so jook-ondir-ii ma won meeteruuiji[28] ujunere	"The canal is one thousand meters long (lit. If the canal follows itself it will be one thousand meters long)"
Laamɗo oo ko liggotoodo, jiɗɗo ɓe o ligg-ondir-i; o wii onon fof yo oon mball-ondir, njagg-ondir-on (middle)	"This king is hard-working; he likes the people he works with; he wants all of you to help and look after each other"
Min ŋgannd-ondir-i ko no ŋgannd-ondir-mi e maa ni (middle)	"We know each other as much as I know you (lit. We know each other just as you and I know each other)"

9.46. In pointing out further differences between the two forms of this infix in three voice radicals it can be added that -ondir- tends to be more abstract, and -indir- tends to be more physical , as illustrated in the following Fuuta Jaloo instances where the same primary radical and the same active endings are used with both forms.

---

(28) These are loans from the French Canal "Canal", and metre "meter".

Ɓe poodˈ-indir-i (active)	"they pulled each other"
Ɓe poodˈ-ondir-i (active)	"they had an argument"
Ɓe hett-indir-i (active)	"they cut each other"
Ɓe hett-ondir-i (active)	"they were reunited"
Ɓe nan-indir-i (active)	"they heard each other"
Ɓe nan-ondir-i (active)	"they reached an agreement"
Ɓe mett-indir-i (active)	"they licked each other"
Ɓe mett-ondir-i (active)	"they argued"

-an-

9.47. This infix is used with one, two or three voice radicals. It indicates an action to the advantage or disadvantage of a particular person or thing. This infix is among the most widely used of all infixes.

Fuuta Jaloo

Fulɓe Fuuta ɓeŋ janf-an-ii musiɓɓe maɓɓe ɓeŋ (middle)	"The Fulɓe of Fuuta Jaloo plotted for their relatives"
O yott-an-ike baaba makko (middle)	"He has revenged his father"
Ko nyiiri meŋ add-an-i oŋ (active)	"We brought you some food (lit. It is food that we brought you)"

Sagalle ko fooludo won-an-i (active)	"Income tax belongs to the winner (lit. Taxes are for the winner)"
Doole alaa ko waaw-an-ta ŋgu'u konu (active)	"No force can do anything against this army"
Lamaraama wi'i o yarl-an-taako Umaru (active)	"Lamaraana said that he will not forgive Umaru"

Fuuta Tooro

So mi anndiino aduna ma ko yidde mi, ma mi par-an-o ma ko feewi (middle)	"If I had known that you would spend your life loving me, I should have got ready for you"
Aan, artir haqqille ma, fus-an-am ujunnaaje jeetati de (29) (active)	"Listen, be sensible, reduce a bit from the eight thousand (lit. You bring-back your intelligence, break-for-me those eight thousand)"
Ko teddungal tan won-an maa doo (active)	"It is only just respect that is in store for you here"
Ma o naw-an ma na'i ma (active)	"He will take your cows for you"

(29) "Eight thousand" is the equivalent of 40,000 CFA or 800 French Francs.

Mbad-aa feere mi ɓir-an-ee nagge ŋgee (passive)	"Please arrange for the cow to be milked for me"
Yo o add-an-e nyaamri o nyaama (passive)	"Let him be given something to eat (lit. Let it be brought-for him food that he may eat)"
Debbo moyyo sikaa tuŋwii wupp-an ma (active)	"A good woman washes your dirty clothes for you (lit. A good woman if you are dirty she will wash for you)"
Ko miin Malal Cekel wii noon, miin kaaɓ-an-aado, yidaado e rewɓe, ganyaado e worɓe, naɓaado e laamu, ko miin wii noon (passive)	"It is I, Malal Cekel, who said so, I, the Cheeky one, the one who is loved by women but hated by men, the one who was once sent to prison, I said so. (haa anaa o "the one against whom other people are annoyed)"
-Sood-an-am saaku maaro (active)	"Please sell me a sack of rice"

9.48. This infix can combine with a wide range of infixes, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

-an- +-oy- : Ɗaɓɓee ko ndaar-an-oy-a eŋ konu Fuuta ŋguŋ (active)	"Please arrange for someone to fetch us the Fuuta Jaloo army (lit. search what may go-and-see-for us the army of Fuuta Jaloo)"
-it- +-an- : O ar-t-an-ii ɓe e haala kadi (active)	"He has come back to bother them again (lit. He has come-back-for them in arguments again)"
-an- +-oy- : O heb-an-oy-ike luumo ŋgoŋ (middle)	"He has come back to bother them again (lit. He has come-back-for them in arguments again)"
-indir- +-an- Ɓe jaŋŋg-indir-an-i defte ɗeŋ (active)	"They read the books to each other"

-it-

9.49. This infix denotes various meanings:

a) repetition
b) a meaning opposite to that of the simple radical
c) retaliation
d) intensity
e) reflexive meaning

9.50. When it indicates repetition this infix is found in

all the three voices; the derived form is often used in the same sentence after the corresponding primary form; e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi felli mi fell-it-i (active)	"I shot and shot again"
O towni hoore nden o town-it-i (active)	"He raised his head twice (lit. He raised his head and raised it again)"
Puccu ngun dogi ngu dog-it-i, ngu ronki hewtaade ɓe (active)	"The horse ran and ran again but it was unable to reach them"
Si ndunngu arii men remay. Si men remii dimmal men joot-t-oo[30] seeda, men rutt-it-oo ka men fuddinoo aranal ton, men fudd-it-oo ton (middle)	"When the rains come we cultivate the land. After cultivating for the second time we wait for a while again. (lit. we sit again for a while) we go back to the parts we cultivated at first and start there again)"

Fuuta Tooro

o daan-t-iima (middle)	"He has gone to sleep again"

(30) joottaade jood-t-aade jood-it-aade /"to sit again".

o faa-t-i to ndiyam ɗam wonno to (active)	"He headed again towards the water"
Puccu ŋguu laaraa laar-t-aa, ŋgu yii-t-aaka (passive)	"They repeatedly looked for the horse but they were unable to find it (lit. the horse was looked-for and looked-for again but it was not found)"

9.51. Further examples illustrating this infix are:

naamndaade/naamd-it-aade (middle)	"ask/ask again" (Fuuta Tooro)
ndaarde/ndaar-(i)t[31] -ude (active)	"look/look again"
nande/nan-(i) t-ude (active)	"hear/hear again"
nyamude/nyaam-(i) t-ude (active)	"eat/eat again"
piide [32]/pii-t-ude (active)	"hit/hit again"
weeleede/weel-it-eede (passive)	"be hungry/be hungry again"

ɗondeede/ɗond-it-eede (passive) — "be thirsty/be thirsty again"

I shall now provide instances of the types of combinations that occur with the infix, with repetitive meaning:

-it- + -it-: O ɗaɓɓaa haa tampaa o yii-t-it-aaka[32] — "They repeatedly searched for him but they could not find him"

(It will be noted that further "repetition" is obtained here by duplicating the infix -it-)

Fuuta Tooro

it- + in: Adii awwalu, hoore afo, adotoo ekkitaade ko gaara mottaaɗo, leppi daneeji mehi, ref-t-in-ee heen leppi ɓaleeji (passive) — "Traditionally, the way a weaver's oldest son learns to weave is by using plain white threads combined with black ones (lit. ref-t-ude/ref-t-in -de "follow again/make follow again")"

---

(31) The brackets indicate the fact the the i vowel is a free variation (cf. table 1, Chapter 7, note, and table 2 of the present chapter).

(32) cf 9.15.

Fuuta Jaloo

-it-+-it-+-oy-: Ko takko Koldaa ɓe hewt-it-it-oy-ii Lamaraana (middle)	"It is near Kolda that they caught up with Lamaraana yet again"
-it-+-ondir-: yimɓe Ngaabu ɓeŋ pii-t-indir-i [32] e ɓe Kaasamaasi ɓeŋ (active)	"The peoples of Ngaabu fought against those of Casamance. (lit. the peoples of Ngaabu hit each other with those of Casamance)"

9.52. When this infix indicates a meaning opposite to that of the primary radical, it is used in all three voices. It can also refer to what Arnott called a "restoration of the status quo" [33] for the Combe dialect.

Fuuta Jaloo

Wota taar-t-u mo goy (active: taarude/ taar-t-ude "tie/untie")	"Don't take her loin-cloth off"
Udd-it-u dammbugal ŋgal (active; uddude/udd-it-ude "close/open")	"Please open the door"

---

(33) Arnott, D.W., 1970 p.341

Mi ɓor-t-ike wutte aŋ oŋ (middle; ɓornaade/ɓor-t-aade "to put on/to take off")	"I have taken my shirt off"
Yo ɓii Almaami oŋ jonn-it-e laamu ŋguŋ (passive)	"Let the kingdom be returned to the prince"

Fuuta Tooro

O Seki haa o sek-it-i (active; sekde/sekidde "to be angry/to stop being angry")	"He was angry to such an extent that he regained his calm (lit. he was angry until he stopped-being-angry)"
Saa tammpii a wamm-it-ii biye, a haɓɓat koyŋgal mum e lekki (active) (wammbude/wammb-it-ude) wammb-id-de[34] "to carry a baby on one's back/to take a baby off one's back)	"When you are tired and take your child off your back, you tie it's leg to a tree"
Ɓe ndogi, ɓe ŋgar-t-i[35] leydi maɓɓe (active; arde/ar-t-ude "to come/to come back")	"They ran away and came back to their country"

(34) cf 9.16(i)

(35) This meaning is not to be confused with that of the repetitive one; it refers to the restoration of the status quo.

Min ndef-t-ii (active) (defde/def-t-ude "to cook/to uncook, ie to finish cooking")	"We have finished cooking"

9.53. Combinations between this usage and other infixes may be illustrated by the following sets of examples:

Fuuta Jaloo

-it-+ir-: won-t-ir-eŋ no woniirnodeŋ	"Let's be again as we were before"
-Aŋ, ar-t-ir haqqille maaɗa (active)	"Listen, be sensible (lit. you bring back your senses)"

(the derived radical becomes transitive)

- o yii-t-ir-aani laŋ jawdi makko (active) (yiide/yii-t-ude "to see/to see again after losing)"	"He did not find me with his property"
-it-+in-: o hol-t-in-i ɓe (active; holude/hol-t-ude "to lack clothes/get clothes again")	"He gave them some clothes"

Fuuta Tooro

-it- +-oy-: Yimɓe ɓee ndewi e debbo oo haa ɓe keɓ-t-oy-i jawdi ndii (active; heɓde/ heɓ-t-ude "receive, get/ get back, recover")	"The men followed the woman until they recovered the property"

9.54. When it indicates some retaliatory action this infix is mostly used in the middle voice commonly found in Fuuta Tooro but, as will be i lustrated soon, Fuuta Jaloo prefers periphrastic constructions for this purpose. On the other hand, as will be seen in the following examples, derived radicals are often used alongside their primary counterparts.

Fuuta Tooro

Ɓe kaɓi mbo, o haɓ-t-ii ɓe (middle)	"They fought them and he fought back"
So o fiyii kam ma mi fii-t-o mbo (middle)	"If he hits me I'll hit him back"
O jalam, nde njal-t-ii o fiyi kam (middle)	"He laughed at me, when I laughed back at him, he hit me"

In Fuuta Jaloo the above sentences will be:-

Ɓe haɓi mo, o yottii ɓe
Si o piyii laŋ mi yottoto
O jalaŋ, nde yotti-mi o piyimmi

In all these instances retaliatory meaning is contained in the verb yottaade "to revenge" itself.

9.55. As indicated earlier, this infix can also occur with an intensive meaning when it not only refers to intensity but also to severity, totality. It should however be emphasized that, even though this usage is found in both dialects, it is not very popular. My material points to very limited instances of this usage.

saɗude/sat-t-ude[36] "be hard, difficult/be very hard, very difficult"

9.56. I shall now devote some space to the reflexive meaning of this infix. In this case it is always used in the middle voice even if the primary radical is in the active voice. In many cases this infix indicates an action that an individual does on himself or for his own benefit.

---

(36) cf 9.16(i)

Fuuta Jaloo (middle voice)

mettude/mett-it-aade	"lick/to lick oneself"
fellude/fell-it-aade	"shoot/to shoot oneself"
nanude/nan-it-aade	"to hear/to hear oneslef"
ndaarude/ndaar-it-aade	"to look/to look at oneself"
ŋàtude/ŋàt-it-aade	"to bite/to bite oneself"
yi' ude/yii-t-aade	"to see/to see oneself"
jalude/jal-it-aade	"to laugh/to laugh at oneself"
femmbude/femmb-it-aade	"to shave/to shave oneself"

9.57. Further instances of this usage will be shown through its combination with such infixes as -or-, e.g.

Fuuta Tooro

Ma mi waaw naf-t-or-aade ŋgal meccal (middle)	"This skill is going to be of great use to me (lit. I shall be able to assist-myself-with this job)"
O wii omo wara kam so wonaa mi soot-t-or-a jawdi keewndi (middle)	"He said he would kill me unless I buy myself out with a lot of money"

9.58. In some instances the derived radical and its primary counterpart have got the same basic meaning, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

o nodd-it-i ɓiɓɓe makko ɓeŋ fow, o	"He called all his children and gave them the presents

senn<u>d-it-i</u> ko o neldi ɓe koŋ (active)	he had brought them" (It will be noted that both nodd-it-i and senn<u>d-it-i</u> have got the same meaning as noddude "to call and senndude "to divide")
Debbo gooto <u>yedd-it-ii</u> ko ɓe wiinoo koŋ (middle; yeddude/yedd-it-aade "to disagree")	"One woman disagreed with what they had said"

Fuuta Tooro

To ŋgoɲ-ɗaa too ina <u>woɗɗ-it-ii</u> (middle; woɗɗaade/woɗɗ-it-aade "to be far off")	"The place where you are is far off"

9.59. Because of their morphology, certain primary radicals may give the impression of being derived radicals containing the infix -it- (cf. 9.38. for the same thing with the infix -ir-/-or-); a few examples of such cases are as follows:

ruttude	"to take back"
toppitaade	"to look after"
yejjitude	"to forget"

These would appear to be primary radicals themselves and cannot be further analysed.

Supplementary notes on the -it- infix

9.60. Because of its wide range of meanings this infix may lead to a certain amount of confusion. This is the reason why reasonable attempts are generally made to lessen the chances of such confusion, either by way of an explanatory particle (such as kadi "again" for the repetitive infix) with the appropriate infix or the deliberate use of alternative simple radicals containing such meanings (cf. 9.54 Fuuta Jaloo)

-oy-

9.61. This infix occurs regularly with a great number of radicals, in all three voices. It is used with reference to distance, both in space and in time; it is sometimes translated by the English phrase "go and...."

Active Voice

Fuuta Jaloo

o taw-oy-i Almaami oŋ funnaaŋge	"He went and found the King in the east"
Ndaaree ko ɗaɓɓ-an-oy-a[37] eŋ ko nyaameŋ	"Please find somebody to go and get us something to eat"

(37) This radical illustrates a combination between -an- and -oy-

o yeey-oy-i na'i makko diŋ fow (active)	"He went and sold all his cows"

Fuuta Tooro

Ngayn-oy-mi	"I went and tended the cattle"
O wii baaba oo: Sood-oy-am kadi	"He said to his father: Go and sell me again"
Min ŋgadd-oy-i ɗum	"We went and brought it"

Middle Voice

Ɓe fow ɓe sakk-oy-ii mo ka kene saare	"They all went and waited for him at the outskirts of the village"
Mi loot-oy-to woni	"I am going to have a wash"
O femmb-oy-ike	"He has gone to have a shave"
Yahee moor-oy-oŋ ɓe	"Go and dress their hair for them"

Fuuta Tooro

Kirt-oy-oɗen	"Let's go and have supper"

ŋgott-oy-ee "Go and have lunch"

Passive Voice

-Yo heeferɓe ɓeŋ fell-oy-e (fuuta Jaloo) "Let the pagans be shot"

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Ɓe nodd-oy-aa "They were called"

The verbal radical containing this infix is also used.

(i) Hypothetical situations (in Fuuta Jaloo)

Mi anndaa si o daɗ-oy-ay (active) "I don't know whether he will escape"

Ko maa Alla si ɓe yiid-oy-a (active) "They have very little chance of meeting"

Mi sikkaa o yiit-oy-te (passive) "I don't think he will be found"

(ii) In cases where the execution of a particular action is dependent upon the prior fulfilment of an earlier action. This usage is common to the two dialects, even though the following illustrations are from Fuuta Tooro.

Active Voice

O jaggi mo omo war-oy-a mo	"He arrested him and was going to kill him"
So ɓe njehii ma ɓe mbaal-oy toon	"If they go they are bound to spend the night there"
Siko tawii mi artii mi naat-oy-a mi sars-oy-a	"If I come back I'll go in to load the lorry"

Middle Voice

Mbodo hirt-oy-oo	"I am going to have my supper"

Passive Voice

Wi'aa yo ɓe mbad feere debbo oo add-oy-ee	"They were told to arrange for the woman to be brought o er (lit. It was said that they should arrange for the woman to be brought over)"

-in-

9.62. In many cases it is possible to assign to this infix a causative meaning which is different from the one described in 9.33. As a matter of fact the latter refers to the reason why an action occurred, whereas

the infix under consideration has got the meaning of "making/arranging for/causing someone or something to do something". It is the equivalent of the French language faire + infinitive ("faire fondre" melt-in-de, "faire chanter" yim-in-de etc.).

Fuuta Jaloo

Mɗo faalaa tuub-in-de ɓe	"I should like to convert them to Islam. (lit. I want to cause-them-to convert-themselves)"
Ɓo wondaani e waawɗo, hisataa, his-in-taa (active)	"Whoever is not on the winning side will neither be saved nor save anyone. (his-in-de "to cause to be saved")
Heege ŋgeŋ tammp-in-ii meŋ (active)	"We are suffering a lot from hunger (tammplin-de "to cause to be tired")"
Diina no moyy-in-a laakara	"Religion is a good preparation for heaven" (mo -in-de to make good, to cause to be good)
Fii laamu no haaw-n-ii (middle)	"Power is amazing (haw-n-ude to cause to be surprised)"

Ɓe fow ɓe am-in-aa (passive) "They were all made to dance"

Puccu ŋguŋ dog-in-aa (passive) "The horse was made to run"

Fuuta Tooro

Siko tawii weetii haa naaŋge ŋgee wulii, mi oor-n-a (active) "When morning comes and the sun rises I take the cattle out to graze. (oor-n-ude "to cause, to go out, to graze)"

Ko lel-n-u-maa ɗoo? (active) "What made you spend the night here?"

Gorko oo jol-n-i mo e nder laana hee (active) "The man made him get into the boat"

O yalt-in-i na'i ɗii (active) "He took the cows out (yal-t-in-de "to cause to go out")"

Mbiimi yo aynaaɓe ɓee njar-n-am heen (active) "I said to the shepherds to give me some of their drinks"

Tedd-in jom suudu ma (active)	"Respect your husband (tedd-in-de "to cause to be heavy, to respect")"

9.63. The following two examples are of verbs which show consonant and vowel change from primary to derived forms (see 9.17).

Fuuta Jaloo

Be wi'i mo Meŋ arii lamm-in-de ma (active; cf. laam- "to rule")	"They said to him: We have come to make you a chief."

Fuuta Tooro

Omo danyi jawdi kono o nyaamataa, o nyamm-in-taa (active), (cf. nyaamde "to eat")	"He is wealthy but he is tight-fisted (lit. He has some wealth but he does not eat or make-other people-eat-it)."

-iŋkin-, -intin-

9.64. These two infixes have been grouped together because they refer almost exactly to the same meaning. They are both always found in the middle voice, even if the corresponding primary radicals are in the Active.

Basically, these two infixes can be said to refer to simulation or pretence.

The -iŋkin- infix seems to be more common in Fuuta Jaloo. Its shortened version, -kin-, is also found in Fuuta Tooro (kaŋko ko maccudo o wonnoo, kono noon o won-kin-iima wõnde di mo "He was a slave, but he pretends to be a free man")

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

loot-ude/loot-iŋkin-aade; loot-intin-aade	"to wash/to pretend to wash"
naɓude/naɓ-iŋkin-aade; naɓ-intin-aade	"to carry/to pretend to carry"
hul-de/hul-iŋkin-aade; hul-intin-aade	"to be afraid/to pretend to be afraid"
am-ude/am-iŋkin-aade; am-intin-aade	"to dance/to pretend to dance"

jal-de/jal-iŋkin-aade; jal-intin-aade	"to laugh/to pretend to laugh"
nyaam-ude/nyaam-iŋkin-aade nyaam-intin-aade	"to eat/to pretend to eat"
dar-aade/dar-iŋkin-aade; dar-intin-aade	"to stand/to pretend to stand"
jood-aade/jood-iŋkin-aade; jood-intin-aade	"to sit down/to pretend to sit down"
waal-aade/waal-iŋkin-aade; waal-intin-aade	"to lie down/to pretend to lie down"
imm-aade/imm-iŋkin-aade; imm-intin-aade	"to stand/up to pretend to stand up"
laam-aade/laam-iŋkin-aade; laam-intin-aade	"to be chief/to pretend to be chief"

Infixes used on very rare occasions

9.65. There exists a number of infixes in both dialects which seem to be either dead or used with a very limited number of primary radicals. I have listed below a number of such instances.

1) -id-

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

fur-de/fur-ɗ-ude "to be grey/to become grey"

rim-de/rim-ɗ-ude "to be born/to be free"

Some of such infixes are based upon nominal stems e.g.

barke/bark-id-ude "good fortune/be fortunate, blessed"

As illustrated by the above examples, this infix seems to draw attention to the change of state of the person or thing under consideration. It can be most appropriately translated into English as "to become..."

2) -ib-

hul-de/hul-b-inde "to be afraid/to scare"

The derived radical hul-b-in seems, at first sight, to be analysable as containing an infix -b- + -in, but only the latter seems to modify the meaning of the primary radical (hul-in-de*/to cause to be afraid, to scare/-cf 9.62); I am unable to attempt any description of this infix since I only encountered one derived radical containing it.

3) -l- (Fuuta Tooro)

heb-aade/heb-l-aade "to get ready/to get ready quickly"

moom-de/moom-l-aade "to caress/to rub something over one's own body"

According to Gaden, this infix has some intensive meaning: "Il ajoute une nuance d'intensité au sens exprimé par la racine. (38)"

(38) Gaden, H, 1913, p.66

CHAPTER 10: THE PAST ANTERIOR AFFIX

10.1. This chapter deals with the phenomenon whereby a particular tense combines with what I[1] call the past anterior affix, -no(-)/-noo, to take a particular action further back in time. It often implies a change of situation from the time when the action took place. The following example will give an indication of the use of past anterior tenses relative to the past tenses. There is a relation between the sequence of events in thesituation and the tense sequence in the story:

Fuuta Tooro

Baaba Lii ummii hodi e Benke. Abdul Bookar anndi ko doon o woni ina soxl-u-noo mo, ina yidi yiide mo	"Baaba Lii went and settled at Benke. Abdul Bookar discovered where he was; he had needed to see Baaba Lii, he wanted him"

In the above example, the sequence of events is as follows:

1) ina soxl-u-noo "had needed"
2) ummii "got up", Relative past middle
3) hodi "settled" Relative past active
4) anndi, woni "knew, dwelt", Relative past active
5) yidi yiide mo "wanted to see him", Relative past active

This means that the action in 1) is anterior to all the others.

10.2. This affix combines with all the tenses of the indicative mood except for the vague future in Fuuta Tooro. On the other hand it combines neither with the tenses of the subjunctive nor with the forms of the imperative.(2)

10.3. The past anterior affix sub-divides the relevant tenses of the indicative into two major parts:

-Those with it
-Those without it

For the sake of clarity I have maintained the same tense-names for both situations, since there is no danger of creating any confusion.

10.4. The affix under consideration is found at two positions:

(i) Final
(ii) Non-final

---

(1) Arnott calls it the preterite element (cf. Arnott D.W., 1970, p.217)

(2) Perhaps because the meanings associated with these moods are incompatible with those of the past anterior affix.

1) Final position

This occurs with both general and relative tenses, positive and negative:

General past:

Active voice: -ii + -no gives -ii-no, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

O haal-ii-no "He had said so"

O daw-ii-no "He had left early in the morning"

Fuuta Tooro

Wad-ii-no kadi ndeen e Fuuta "It had happened again in Fuuta Tooro"

Emphatic past

Active voice: -u +no gives -u-no, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

O haal-u-no "He had said so"

O daw-u-no "He did leave early in the morning"

General Future

Active Voice: -ay+ no gives ay-no, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

O haal-ay-no "He was going to say it"

ɓe majj-ay-no "They were going to be lost"

Fuuta Tooro -at +-no gives at -no* which gives an-no

mi loot-an-no dum "I was going to wash it"

Emphatic negative active

-aa +no gives -aa-no

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi wi'-aa-no dum "I insist that I did not say so"

Negative Future

Active Voice: -ataa+ -no gives -ataa-no e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi ar-ataa-no "I was not going to come"

Mi majj-ataa-no "I was not going to be lost"

Relative past

Middle Voice: -ii + -noo gives -i-noo, e.g.

Fuuta Tooro

Ndi o jog-i-noo ndii ɓuri ndiidoo doole — "The one (i.e. the bull, etc.) that he used to have is stronger than this one"

Relative future

Passive Voice: -ete + -noo gives -ete-noo, e.g.

Fuuta Tooro

To puccu ŋguu toŋŋg-ete-noo too "(The place) where the horse used to be hobbled"

(please see table 2 for further details on the relevant voices of the latter two tenses).

(ii) Non-final position

10.5. The past anterior affix can also be inserted within the suffixes of certain tenses:

General past, negative past, negative future. In all these instances the suffix under consideration splits up tense suffixes into two. It involves the middle and the passive voices only, in all instances[2].

Fuuta Tooro

ɓe loot-i-nɔɔ-ma "They had washed"

(General past middle)

Ndi war-a-noo-ka "It (i.e. the bull etc.) had not been killed"

(Negative past passive)

10.6. The past anterior affix is also found between the tense suffix and the inverted subject pronouns of relative tenses[3], e.g.

---

(2) Please see table 2 and 10.10 where all the cases mentioned here are fully outlined and illustrated.

(3) For further details see table 2 and 10.13.

a) Active Voice

Relative past

1 sg -u-noo-mi Ko kaŋko nodd-u-noo-mi
"He is the one I had called"

2 sg -u-no-ɗaa Ko kaŋko nodd-u-no-ɗaa
"He is the one you had called"

Relative future

1 pl incl ay-no-ɗeŋ Ko kaŋko nodd-ay-no-ɗeŋ
"He is the one we were going to call"

b) Middle voice

Relative past

2 sg -i-no-ɗaa Nde waal-i-noo-ɗaa to?
"When did you spend the night there?"

2 pl oto-no-ɗoŋ Nde sakk-oto-no-ɗoŋ ɓe ndeŋ
"The one (i.e. the calabash etc.) that you were going to give them"

10.7. The past anterior affix has two forms: -no(-) and -noo(-), the distribution of which can best be described by taking general tenses separately from relative tenses.

Table 1. The past anterior affix and general tenses

TENSE	ACTIVE VOICE			MIDDLE VOICE		PASSIVE VOICE
	FJ/FT	FJ	FT	FJ	FT	FJ/FT
General Past	-ii-no			-i-no-ke	-i-noo-ma -i-no-maama	-a-noo-ma
Emphatic Past	(-u)-no			-i-no	-i-no	-a-no
General Future		-ay-no	-an-no	-oto-no	-oto-no	-ete-no
Negative Past	-aa-no			-a-noo-ki	-a-noo-ki	-a-noo-ka
Emphatic Negative		-aa-no	Non-Existant			
Negative Future	-ataa-no			-ata-noo-ko	-ata-noo-ko	-ata-noo-ke
Stative	(u)-noo			-i-noo	-i-noo	-a-noo
Continuous 1 & 2		-ay-noo	-an-noo	-oto-noo	-oto-noo	-ete-noo

Notes and abbreviations: The forms of the general future and the continuous are obtained from the harmonisation between the consonants t and n: -at-no > an-no; at-noo > an-noo. The brackets refer to the optional nature of the vowel u in front of certain radicals, e.g. Emphatic past active:
o hul-u-no/hul-no "he had been afraid" (cf. table 1 chapter 7, note).

FJ: Fuuta Jaloo

FT: Fuuta Tooro

Table 2. The past anterior suffix and relative tenses

TENSE	COMBINATIONS				
	Non-Inverted Subject Pronouns	Inverted Subject Pronouns			
		1 Singular	2 singular	1 pl. incl.	2 pl.
Relative Past					
Active	(-u)-noo	(-u)-noo-mi	(-u)-no-ɗaa	(-u)-no-ɗeŋ	(-u)-no-ɗoŋ
Middle	-a-noo	-i-noo-mi	-i-no-ɗaa	-i-no-ɗeŋ	-i-no-ɗoŋ
Passive	-a-noo	-a-noo-mi	-a-no-ɗaa	-a-no-ɗeŋ	-a-no-ɗeŋ
Relative Future					
Active	FJ ay-noo	-ay-noo-mi	-ay-no-ɗaa	-ay-no-ɗeŋ	-ay-no-ɗeŋ
	FT an-noo	-an-noo-mi	-an-no-ɗaa	-an-no-ɗen	-an-no-ɗen
Middle	-oto-noo	-oto-noo-mi	-oto-no-ɗaa	-oto-no-ɗeŋ	-oto-no-ɗoŋ
Passive	-ete-noo	-ete-noo-mi	-ete-no-ɗaa	-ete-no-ɗeŋ	-ete-no-ɗoŋ

General Tenses

10.8. In this case the distribution of the two forms depends upon the position of the past anterior affix, i.e. whether it is final or not.

10.9. When in final position, the form is -no except for the stative and the continuous, where it is -noo, (but see also 10.14. for the combination with the 2 sing. maa)

General Past Active

Fuuta Jaloo

O nanng-ii-no ɓe ko ɓooyi	"He had arrested them a long time ago"
ɓe ar-ii-no gila hecci hanki	"They had come since the day before"

Fuuta Tooro

-Waɗ-ii-no e Fuuta	"It had happened in Fuuta Tooro"
-Aɗa anndi a wopp-ii-no min njaa-ɗaa to biɓɓe yumma'en	"You know that you had given us up and you had joined your half-brothers"

Negative past active and General future middle

Fuuta Jaloo

si won-aa-no Alla e Nelaaɗo muuɗuŋ oŋ, taw-ay-no a maayii (cf table 1 for further details)	"Had it not been for God and his Messenger you would have been dead a long time ago"

Exceptions

a) Stative

Active Voice

Fuuta Jaloo

himo suuɗ-u-noo horde ndeŋ	"He had hidden the calabash"

Middle Voice

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi ɗo joo ɗ-i-noo ɗoo	"I had been sitting down here"
himo suuɗ-i-noo ko ladde	"He had been hiding in the bush"

b) Continuous Active

Fuuta Tooro

safalɓe ɓee lummbi, ina e nder ndiyam hee ina njuuwa. Debbo gooto ina yoogan-noo[4] nani kolce pucci dii ina njaha e ndiyam.	"The Moors were crossing the river, they were swimming in the water. A woman who had been drawing water heard the noise made by their horses"

10.10. When non-final within another ending the form is -noo except for the Fuuta Jaloo general past middle -i-no-ke (but see also 10.14 for the cases with the second and third persons singular object pronouns -maa- and -moo-)

a) General Past

General Past Middle (Fuuta Tooro)

-iima > i-noo-ma

o suud-i-noo-ma	"He had hidden"
ɓe mbaal-i-noo-ma	"They had gone to bed"

General Past Passive (in both dialects)

-aama > a-noo-ma

Fuuta Jaloo

Na'i diŋ hirs-a-noo-ma	"The cows had been slaughtered"

Meŋ wall-a-noo-ma "We had been helped"

b) Negative Past

(i) Middle Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: -aaki gives a-noo-ki

o suud-a-noo-ki "He had not hidden"

ɓe loot-a-noo-ki "They had not washed"

(ii) Passive Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: -aaka gives a-noo-ka

ɓe nood-a-noo-ka "They had not been called"

o loot-a-noo-ka "He had not been washed"

c) Negative Future

(i) Middle Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: -ataako gives -ata-noo-ko

O suud-ata-noo-ko "He was not going to hide"

---

(4) yoogan-noo < yoogat-noo

O loot-ata-noo-ko "He was not goint to wash"

(ii) Passive Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: -ataake gives ata-noo-ke

O nanng-ata-noo-ke "He was not going to be caught"

Be loot-ata-noo-ke "They were not going to be washed"

Exception

General Past middle in Fuuta Jaloo: -ike gives -i-no-ke

O loot-i-no-ke "He had washed"

O jood-i-no-ke "He had sat down"

Relative Tenses

10.11. In the case of relative tenses the use of either form will depend upon the arrangement of the subject pronoun, i.e. whether it is inverted or not.

10.12. In the non-inverted forms, the affix is final and is -noo in all cases except where the sentence is followed by the second person singular object pronoun maa (cf. 10.14)

Relative Future:

Fuuta Jaloo:

-gertogal ŋgal o sood-ay-noo ŋgal (3 singular, active) "The chicken that he was going to buy"

-Ko saabunde meŋ loot-or-to-noo (1 plural exclusive, middle) "We were going to wash with soap"

-Hay gooto anndaano[5] nde na'i diŋ nanng-ete-noo (3 plural, passive) "No one knew when the cows were going to be caught"

Relative past

Fuuta Jaloo

Neɗɗo mo o diis-u-noo oŋ (3 singular, active) "The person whom he had talked to about it"

Fuuta Tooro

-Pucci ɗi men mbaɗɗ-i-noo ɗii (1 plural exclusive, middle) "The horses we had mounted"

---

(5) This is a combination between the emphatic negative and the past anterior suffix (cf table 1).

-ɓoggol ŋgol ɓe kaɓɓir-a-noo ŋgol "The rope they had been tied up with"

10.13. In the inverted forms the infix is -no- where the subject pronoun has a long syllable CVV or CVC, and -noo where the pronoun is CV (but see also 10.14 for the cases with the 2 and 3 sing. object pronouns -maa- and -moo-)

Relative past active

2 sg -u-no-ɗaa Ko haŋki majj-u-no-ɗaa
"You were lost yesterday"

1 pl incl -u-no-ɗeŋ Ko haŋki majj-u-no-deŋ
"We were lost yesterday"

2 pl -u-no-ɗoŋ Ko haŋki majj-u-no-ɗoŋ
"You were lost yesterday"

but

1 sg -u-noo-mi Ko haŋki majj-u-noo-mi
"I was lost yesterday"

Relative past middle

2 sg -i-no-ɗaa Ko haŋki suuɗ-i-no-ɗaa
"You hid yesterday"

1 pl incl -i-no-ɗeŋ Ko haŋki suuɗ-i-no-ɗeŋ
"We hid yesterday"

2 pl -i-no-ɗoŋ Ko haŋki suuɗ-i-no-ɗoŋ
"You hid yesterday"

but

1 sg -i-noo-mi Ko haŋki suud-i-noo-mi
"I hid yesterday"

Relative Future Passive

2 sg -ete-no-ɗaa Ko haŋki suuɗ-ete-no-ɗaa
"You were going to be hidden yesterday"

1 pl incl -ete-no-ɗeŋ Ko haŋki suuɗ-ete-no-ɗeŋ
"We were going to be hidden yesterday"

2 pl -ete-no-ɗoŋ Ko haŋki suuɗ-ete-no-ɗoŋ
"You were going to be hidden yesterday"

but

1 sg -ete-noo-mi Ko haŋki suuɗ-ete-noo-mi
"I was going to be hidden yesterday"

10.14. On the other hand, the long-vowelled infix -noo is shortened before the item maa "you" (2 singular object pronoun) in final positions and the items -maa- "you" (singular) and -moo- in non-final positions, e.g.

Final positions:

Continuous 1 active

Fuuta Jaloo

mido loot-ay-noo ŋgel "I was washing it" (a little one)

but

mido loot-ay-no maa "I was washing you"

Stative middle

Fuuta Tooro

Omo yaaf-i-noo ŋgal "He has forgiven it" (a hen)

but

Oma yaaf-i-no maa "He has forgiven you"

Relative future middle

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko janŋgo o lannd-oto-no dun	"It was tomorrow that he was goint to ask for that"

but

Ko janŋgo o lannd-oto-no maa	"It was yesterday that he was going to ask you"

Non-final positions

Relative past active

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko haal-u-noo-mi koŋ	"What I had said"

but

Ko haalan-no-maa-mi koŋ	"What I had told you"
Ko haalam-no-moo-mi	"What I had told him"

Relative Future middle

Fuuta Jaloo

-Ko janŋgo o yaaf-oto-noo be	"He was going to forgive them tomorrow"

but

Ko jaŋŋgo yaaf-oto-no-maa-mi "I was going to forgive you tomorrow"

Ko jaŋŋgo yaaf-oto-no-moo-mi "I was going to forgive him tomorrow"

10.15 I shall now devote some space to supplementary notes on the past anterior affix.

10.16. The insertion of the affix under consideration with the tense-suffix causes a shift of the stress to the former e.g.

General past middle

Fuuta Jaloo

o joodike[6] "He has sat down"

but

o joodi noke "He had sat down"

Fuuta Tooro

o joo diima "He has sat down"

but

o joodi nooma "He had sat down"

---

(6) The salient syllable is underlined.

Negative past middle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

O joo_daaki "He has not sat down"

but

O jooda_nooki "He had not sat down"

(This applies to all the cases mentioned in 10.10)

10.17. The negative past active drops part of its suffix when it combines with the past anterior suffix. The result of such combination is similar in shape with that of the emphatic past. It is only the presence or the absence of emphasis within the past anterior clause which will help us to determine the corresponding original tense.

It may be said that in this case the negative past active suffixes of both dialects consist of two parts, -aa-li/-ni the latter part of which is dropped here, i.e.

Fuuta Jaloo

-aa-li gives -aa-no,

Fuuta Tooro

-aani gives -aa-ni gives aa-no

o ar-aa-no	"He did not come"
o nood-aa-no mo	"He did not call him"

but (emphatic past active)

Alla e Annabiijo oŋ no anndi, mi wi'aa-no mo, mi wad-aa-no; ko o toony-aŋ naange e hoore	"I swear by God and his Messenger (lit. God and his Messenger know it); I emphatically deny doing or saying anything to him. (lit. I did not do or say anything to him); He did bully me in broad day-light.

CHAPTER 11: SUBJECT AND OBJECT PRONOUNS

11.1. In the Pulaar/Fulfulde language both subject and object pronouns are part of the verbal piece, this is taken to mean that they can better be dealt with in the wider context of the verbal system as a whole, rather than described on their own.

11.2. Subject and object pronouns are sub-divided into concordant and non-concordant forms.(1)

11.3. Concordant forms are identical in shape with the corresponding nominal class forms.(2) They cannot be inverted nor can they be inserted within the verbal word. On the other hand, for both subject and object pronouns there is not more than one concordant form. In the following illustrations subject and object pronouns are respectively found before and after the verb in the general past active.

Nde	nyaamii	nde	"It has eaten it"	(cf. cl 3 nde)
Ndi	...	ndi	...	(... 4 ndi)
Ndu	...	ndu	...	(... 5 ndu)
ŋge	...	ŋge	...	(... 6 ŋge)
ŋgo	...	ŋgo	...	(... 7 ŋgo)
ŋgu	...	ŋgu	...	(... 8 ŋgu)

ŋgel nyaamii ŋgel	"It has eaten it"	(cf. cl 9 ŋgel)
kal ... kal	...	(... 22 kal)
ŋgal ... ŋgal	...	(... 25 ŋgal)
ɓe ... ɓe	"They have eaten them"	(... 2 ɓe)

Exception

O loot-i mo	"He has washed him"	(cf. cl. 3.0)

11.4. Non-concordant forms do not have a concord marker. They can be both inverted and non-inverted. Some space will now be devoted to the distribution and behaviour of non-concordant subject forms in subject and object pronouns.

I Subject pronouns

a) Non-inverted (and non-concordant) forms

11.5. In general tenses, non-concordant forms are found in the following instances.

1. Singular mi	nyaamii	"I have eaten"
2. Singular a	...	"You ... "
1. Plural incl. eŋ/en	nyaamii	"We have eaten"
1. plur. excl. meŋ/men	...	"We ... "
2. plur. oŋ/on	...	"You ... "

---

(1) The terms concordant and non-concordant have already been used by Arnott to describe the same situation for the Gombe dialect (cf. Arnott, D.W., 1970, p.)

(2) With the exception of the third person singular the concordant form of which is mo.

11.6. As far as relative tenses are concerned, the only non-concordant and non-inverted subject pronoun is the first person plural exclusive (meŋ/men), since the third person singular and plural, which are also non-inverted, are part of concordant forms:

Relative past active

meŋ/men nyaami "We ate" (1 pl. excl.)

Relative future middle

meŋ/men laamotoo "We will rule" (1 pl. excl.)

11.7. In the tenses of the subjunctive mood, non-concordant and non-inverted forms are found in the first and second persons singular and plural for the primary tense.

Active Voice

1.	sing.	yo mi loot-u	"Let me wash (it)"
2.	sing.	yo a loot-u	"Wash (it)"
1.	plur. incl.	yo meŋ/men loot-u	"Let us wash (it)"
1.	plur. excl.	yo eŋ/en loot-u	"Let us wash (it)"
2.	plur.	yo oŋ/on loot-u	"Wash (it)"

In the secondary tense, non-concordant and non-inverted forms are found in the first and second persons singular and plural for the primary tense. e.g.

Maa mi loota "I must wash (it)"

Maa meŋ/men loota "We must wash (it)"

b) Inverted forms

11.8. Inverted subject pronouns are only found in relative tenses and in the secondary tense of the subjunctive. They are as follows:

1 singular [4]
2 singular
1 plural inclusive
2 plural

Examples

(i) 1 singular

Relative past active

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko aŋ nodd-u-mi "It is you that I called"

Ko kaŋko dog-u-mi "It is from him that I ran away"

---

(4) except for the secondary tense of the subjunctive which has a non-inverted first person singular, as shown in the previous paragraph (cf. § 11.7)

Fuuta Tooro

Nde naŋŋg -u-mi ndee	"The one that I caught"

(ii) 2 Singular

Relative Future Active

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko kaŋko nodd-at-aa	"It is him that you are calling"

Fuuta Tooro

Kaal-at-aa ko pulaar?	"Are you speaking Pulaar?"
Nde ŋgart-at-aa?	"When will you be back?"

(iii) 1 plural inclusive

Secondary tense of the subjunctive, active

Fuuta Jaloo

Juul-eŋ, naŋŋg-eŋ Alla e Nulaado muudun oŋ	"Let's do our prayers and trust ourselves to God and his Messenger"

Fuuta Tooro

Maa ŋgartid-en haa	"We must come back together
kewt-en galle mon	till we reach your home"

(iv) 2 plural

Secondary tense of the subjunctive, active

Fuuta Jaloo

Maa naŋŋg-oŋ mo	"You must get hold of him
artir-oŋ	and bring him back"

Relative past active

Fuuta Tooro

Nde njaad-on fof, ŋgartid-on	"Whenever you go you
e jawdi haa heewa	would come back with
	much wealth"

11.9. With the exception of the first person singular, all inverted subject pronouns have two forms, the distribution of which is as follows:

(i) The forms starting with a vowel, i.e. -aa, -eŋ/-en, -oŋ/-on, are found in the relative future active and in the active voice of the secondary subjunctive as illustrated in the previous section.

(ii) The forms starting with the glottalised consonant ɗ occur in the relative past active, middle and passive, in the relative future middle and passive and in the secondary tense of the subjunctive, middle and passive. (For illustrations, cf table 3 of this chapter, table 4 of chapter 7 and table 2 of chapter 8).

11.10. It should be pointed out that both stative and continuous tenses have separate sets of concordant and non-concordant subject pronouns which have already been dealt with in chapter 7 (cf tables 2 and 3 of the same chapter), e.g.

Stative

Fuuta Jaloo

miɗo dog-i (active) "I have run away"

hiɗa loot-ii (middle) "You have had a wash"

himo naŋŋgaa (passive) "He is under arrest"

hinde/hindi/hindu/naŋŋgaa (passive) "It is impounded" (i.e. a hare/ a bull/a dog)

Continuous

Fuuta Tooro

emin ŋganndi (active) "We know"

odon njoodii (middle) "You are seated"

eɓe lootaa (passive) "They are washed"

Table 1. Non-concordant forms of subject pronouns

Category	Non-Inverted	Inverted	Meaning
1 singular	mi	-mi	I
2 "	a	-aa	you
		-ɗaa	you
1 plur incl.	eŋ/en	-eŋ/-en	we
		-ɗeŋ/-ɗen	we
1 plur excl.	FJ meŋ		
	FT men/min		
2 plur	oŋ/on	-oŋ/-on	you
		-ɗoŋ/-ɗon	you

Table 2: Concordant forms of subject pronouns in the two dialects

Category	Subject pronouns (Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro)	Meaning
3 singular	o	he
	nde	it
	ndi	
	ndu	
	ŋge	
	ŋgo	
	ŋgu	
	ŋgii	
	ŋgal	
	ŋgol	
	ᵐba/ba	
	ka	
	ki	
	ko	
	kol	
	ɗaŋ/ɗam	
	ɗuŋ/ɗum	
	Diminutive	
	ŋgel	
	kal	
	kuŋ	
	Augmentative	
	ŋgal	
	ŋgii	
3 plural	ɓe	they
	ɗe	
	ɗi	
	Diminutive	
	koy/kon	

Object pronouns

11.11. As in the case of subject pronouns the use of a particular form of object pronoun is dependent upon the following factors:
- General & Relative Tenses
- Individual Tenses
- Individual Dialects

11.12. Non-concordant object pronouns will be dealt with under the above categories.

11.13. In the first person singular the general forms are laŋ in Fuuta Jaloo and kam/mi in Fuuta Tooro, these being in free variation. All these three forms are found in general relative and subjunctive tenses.

General past active

Fuuta Jaloo

o noddii laŋ	"He has called me"
o lootii laŋ	"He has washed me"

Fuuta Tooro

saa accii kam, mi hootii ma ɓe njeddu	"If you let me go home, they will not believe it"

General past middle

Fuuta Jaloo

o janfike laŋ	"He has deceived me"

be lanndike lan "They have asked me"

Fuuta Tooro

o yaafimaama kam/mi "He has forgiven me"
o naamndiima mi/kam "He has asked me"

General future passive

Fuuta Jaloo

o halfinete lan "He will be entrusted to me"
Be jonnitete lan "They will be given back to me"

Fuuta Tooro

Ngu hollete kam/mi "It will be shown to me"

Vague future middle

Fuuta Tooro

Ma ɓe namndo kam/mi "They will ask me"

11.14. On the other hand, in the following tenses the verbal piece combines directly with the first person singular form -aŋ/-am found in both dialects.

Emphatic past active

Fuuta Jaloo

ko o loot-aŋ	"He did wash me"
ko o toony-aŋ	"He did bully me"

Fuuta Tooro

o nodd-am	"He did call me"
ɓe mball-am	"They did help me"

Vague future active

Fuuta Tooro

Ma o nodd-am	"He will call me"

Imperative singular active

Fuuta Jaloo: loot-aŋ "wash me"

Fuuta Tooro: loot-am

Primary tense of the subjunctive, active

Fuuta Jaloo:	Yo Alla wall-aŋ	"May God help me"
Fuuta Tooro:	Yo Alla wall-am	

11.15. Both dialects have a form -mi which is suffixed to the verbal piece of the relative past active, the relative future active, continuous 1 active, the stative active[5] and the secondary tense of the subjunctive, active. There then occurs a gemination of the nasal initial consonant m of -mi resulting in the following forms:

(i) Continuous 1 active -a-m-mi

Fuuta Jaloo

himo nodda-m-mi "He is calling me"
hiɓe ndaara-m-mi "They are looking at me"

(ii) Stative active -i-m-mi

Fuuta Jaloo

hiɓe noddi-m-mi "They have called me"
hida anndi-m-mi "You know me"

(iii) Relative past active -i-m-mi

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

o noddi-m-mi "He called me"

---

(5) The latter two occur mainly in Fuuta Jaloo, as illustrated by (i) and (ii); Fuuta Tooro generally uses the forms kam or mi which are not suffixed to the verbal form.

(iv) Relative future active ata-m-mi

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko janngo o noddata-m-mi "It is tomorrow that he will call me"

(v) Secondary tense of the subjunctive active

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro a-m-mi

Ma o nodda-m-mi "He must call me"

It should be emphasised that all the above forms are alternatives to lan in Fuuta Jaloo and kam/mi in Fuuta Tooro, e.g.

(i) Himo nodda lan "He is calling me" (Fuuta Jaloo)
(ii) O noddi kam/mi "He called me" (Fuuta Tooro)

11.16. The second and third persons singular each have two forms ma/(-)maa(-), mo(6)/-moo-, the distribution of which will be examined in relation to general and relative tenses on the one hand and imperative forms and tenses of the subjunctive mood on the other hand.

A. General Tenses

The distribution of ma and maa is different from that mo and moo.

11.17. The short-vowelled forms ma and mo are found in the following cases:

(i) General past active, middle and passive
(ii) Emphatic past, middle and passive
(iii) General future, middle and passive
(iv) Vague future middle and passive
(v) Negative past active, middle and passive
(vi) Negative future active, middle and passive
(vii) Emphatic Negative active
(viii) Continuous 2 active, middle and passive

The ensuing illustrations are given for some of these cases:

Vague future passive (Fuuta Tooro)

Ma o totte ma/mo "He will be given to you/him"

Negative past active

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi innaali ma "I did not name you"
be lootaali mo "They did not wash him"

Fuuta Tooro

be noddaani ma/mo "They did not call you/him"

---

(6) Fuuta Tooro has a further form mbo which is always found in final position.

Negative past middle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Mi yaafaaki ma/mo	"I have not forgiven you/him"
Mi janfaaki ma/mo	"I have not deceived you/him"

Negative past passive

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Mi suudaaka ma/mo	"I have not been hidden from you/him"

Negative future active

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

o lootataa ma/mo	"He will not wash you/him"

Negative future middle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

o yaafotaako ma/mo	"He will not forgive you/him"

Negative future passive

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Ndi tottetaake ma/mo "It will not be given to you/him" (a bull etc.)

Emphatic Negative active (Fuuta Jaloo)

Mi anndaa ma/mo "I do not know you/him"

Continuous 2 active (Fuuta Jaloo)

himo suudude ma/mo "He is hiding you/him"

Continuous 2 middle (Fuuta Jaloo)

mido suudaade ma/mo "I am hiding from you/him"

Continuous 2 passive (Fuuta Jaloo)

hibe suudeede ma/mo "They are being hidden from you/him"

11.18. The long vowelled form maa is used in final position in Continuous 1 and in the stative; but mo is also used in the same circumstances.

Continuous 1 active

Fuuta Jaloo

Mɗo loota maa "I am washing you"

but

Mɗo loota mo "I am washing him"

Fuuta Tooro

Mbodo nanŋga maa "I am arresting you"

but

Mbodo nanŋga mo "I am arresting him"

Continuous 1 middle

Fuuta Jaloo

Mɗo yaafo maa "I am forgiving you"

but

Mɗo yaafoo mo "I am forgiving him"

Stative Active

Fuuta Tooro

Omo nanŋgu maa "He is holding you"

but

Omo nanŋgi mo "He is holding him"

b) Relative tenses

11.19. The long vowelled form maa is used in final position in all non-inverted cases of relative tenses. The short vowelled form mo is used in all the similar circumstances, e.g.

Relative past active

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

O nanngu maa
but "He got hold of you/him"
O nanngi mo

O lootu maa
but "He washed you/him"
O looti mo

Relative past middle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

O janfi maa
but "He decided you/him"
O janfii mo

O suudi maa
but "He hid from you/him"
O suudii mo

Relative future middle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Ko kaŋko janfoto maa
but "He is the one who will
Ko kaŋko janfotoo mo deceive you"

11.20. The forms -maa- and -moo- are also inserted between the verbal suffix and the inverted first person singular subject pronoun -mi of relative tenses, e.g.

2 singular

Relative past active

Fuuta Jaloo

lootu-maa-mi "I washed you"
okku-maa-mi "I gave you"

Fuuta Tooro

naŋŋgu-maa-mi "I got hold of you"
cuudu-maa-mi "I hid you"

Relative past middle

Fuuta Jaloo

yaafi-maa-mi	"I forgave you"
janfi-maa-mi	"I deceived you"

Fuuta Tooro

cuudi-maa-mi	"I hid from you"
naamndi-maa-mi	"I asked you"

Relative future middle

Fuuta Jaloo

Nde yaafoto-maa-mi	"When I am about to forgive you"
Nde janfoto-maa-mi	"When I am about to deceive you"

Fuuta Tooro

Nde naamndoto-maa-mi	"When shall I ask you?"

3 Singular

Relative past active

Fuuta Jaloo

Yoɓu-moo-mi	"I paid him"
lootu-moo-mi	"I washed him"

Fuuta Tooro

Ngar-mi e Jolfo oo mbii-moo-mi holno ɗuumɗoo waɗirtee	"I came to the Jolof man and asked him how this is made"
Ko ɗuum taki naw-moo-mi gallam	"That's the reason why I took him home"

Relative past middle

Fuuta Jaloo

Ko non suuɗor-moo-mi	"That is how I hid from him"

Fuuta Tooro

Mbismori-moo-mi ko nande e anndude ko o haali koo firti	"I have welcomed him because I understood what he meant"

Relative future active

Fuuta Jaloo

Mi anndaa ko lootinay--moo-mi	"I don't know what I am going to wash him with"

Fuuta Tooro

Mi anndaa nde nanŋgam-moo-mi	"I don't know when I am going to catch him"

C) Imperative forms and tenses of the subjunctive mood:

11.21. The short-vowelled form mo is found in final position with imperative forms, e.g.

General Imperative

sing. Wallu mo "help him!"

plur. Nanngee mo "catch him!"

11.22. The forms ma and mo are used in the primary tense of the subjunctive middle and passive e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

yo o janfo ma/mo
yo o yaafo ma/mo "Let him deceive/forgive you/him"

Fuuta Tooro

yo o totte ma/mo "Let him be given to you/him"

11.23. The long vowelled form maa is used in the secondary tense of the subjunctive middle and passive, whereas the short form mo is found in all such circumstances, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Middle

Maa o yaafo maa
but "He must forgive you/him"
Maa o yaafoo mo

Passive

Maa o totte maa
but "He must be given to you/him"
Maa tottee mo

11.24. On the hand, the following tenses prefer to use the second person singular form -e which is directly suffixed to the verbal piece.

(i) Emphatic past active

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

O wall-e "He did help you"

(ii) General future active[7]

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

O wall-et-e "He will help you"

---

(7) It will be noted that the usual active tense-suffixes -ay and -at in Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro respectively, are -et before the suffix -e.

(iii) Vague future active

Fuuta Tooro

Ma o wall-e "He will help you"

(iv) Primary tense of the subjunctive, active

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Yo o wall-e "Let him help you"

(v) Secondary tense of the subjunctive, active

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

Maa o wall-e "He must help you"

11.24. All the plural object pronouns have one form each in Fuuta Jaloo. (1 plural inclusive: eŋ; 1 plural exclusive: meŋ; 2 plural: oŋ) In Fuuta Tooro, there is one form for the first person plural inclusive, i.e. en, but two forms each for the first person plural exclusive and the second person plural.

1 plural exclusive: min/men
2 plural: on/mon

Illustrations are provided for these cases below:

Fuuta Jaloo

Wi'eŋ laamu ngun yo ŋgu wallu eŋ ko nyaameŋ	"Let's ask the government to give us something to eat"
Yo Alla wurnu oŋ dannda on kataa e kasaara	"May God grant you long life and save you from mishaps"

Fuuta Tooro

Yo Alla wurnu min, hokka min doole e baawal ligge	"May God grant us long life knowledge and power"

but also

So min kaalii o nanat kono o waawaa jaɓtaade men	"When we talk he understands, but he can't reply" (lit. He can't reply us)
Mi yetti on	"I greet you"
So Abdul Bookar tinii o renndinat Fuuta fof, yana e mon wara on	"If Abdul Bookar finds out, he will get all Fuuta Tooro together and kill you"

but also

Mbar ko on arɓe e kamioŋ[8] min naw mon hedde ga?	"Have you come by lorry? We will take you this way"
Debbo oo addana mon ndiyam, addana mon coodordam	"The woman would bring you drinking water and water to wash your hands with (lit. the woman would bring you water, bring you water-to-wash-your-hands-with)"

(The forms men/min, on/mon are used indifferently by the various speakers)

Notes on the difference between the third persons singular mo and ɗuŋ/ɗum

11.25. The third person singular has two forms, mo and ɗuŋ/ɗum, which are kept apart as shown below. The main difference between the two forms is that mo refers to a noun that is not in the same sentence whereas ɗuŋ/ɗum is used in contexts where the noun it refers to is in the same sentence. This applies to both dialects even though the following illustrations are from Fuuta Tooro only.

---

(8) This is a loan from the French camion "lorry".

Kumaandaŋ gardo fof nodda mo, o sanyana ɗum gude ɗiɗi maa tati	"Any district commissioner that comes would call him, he would weave two or three cloths for him" (i.e. for the commissioner)

(mo refers to maabo "weaver" which was in a sentence before the above, whereas ɗum refers to Kumaadaŋ "district commissioner")

Abdul yeewi seerenɓe mbaɗani ɗum Xalwa (ɗum refers to Abdul)	"Abdul looked for religious teachers who did a retreat for him"
(Contrast: "Abdul yeewi seerenɓe mbaɗani mo xalwa", where mo refers to an antecedent that is not in the sentence)	"Abdul looked for religious teachers who did a retreat for him"
O hokki kodo oo, o wii ɗum yar; kodo oo yari	"He gave it to the stranger and said to him:- Drink it! The stranger drank it" ("him" refers to the stranger)
ŋolo yehi to Annasaara'en haalani ɗum'en	"Nolo went to the White people and told them"
Sukaaɓe worɓe ɓee njaha njaggoya gaweeje una ɗum'en	"The young people would go and get some guinea-corn and pound it"

Cukalel gorel ne'irtee ko saa[9] jibinii ɗum, so yehii haa waɗii hakkille, ittaa ɗum tottaa cerno ina haalana ɗum no Alla rewirtee, haalana ɗum wata toony Jaŋŋgina ɗum. So ummiima artii e baammum, baammum ina waajoo ɗum	"How to bring up a little boy. When he grows (lit. When you beget him, when he goes until he gets intelligence), you give him to a teacher; the latter would teach him how to perform his religious duties, tell him to avoid bullying other people and educate him. When he is finally given back to his father, the latter would be his adviser (lit. would advise him)"

(9) Contraction of so + a "if you".

Table 3. Paradigm of 1, 2, 3 singular object pronouns in General Tenses

	+ 1 singular		+ 2 singular		+ 3 singular	
	FJ	FT	FJ	FT	FJ	FT
General Past AMP	laŋ	kam/mi	ma	ma	mo	mo/mbo
Emphatic Past AM	-aŋ	-am	-e	-e	mo	mo/mbo
P	laŋ	kam/mi	ma	ma	mo	mo/mbo
General Future AMP	laŋ	kam/mi	-e	-e	mo	mo/mbo
Vague Future A		kam/mi		-e		mo/mbo
MP		kam/mi		ma		mo/mbo
Negative Past AMP	laŋ	kam/mi	ma	ma	mo	mo/mbo
Empahtic Negative A	laŋ		ma		mo	
Continuous 1						
A	laŋ or -mi	kam/mi or -mi	-e	-e	mo	mo/mbo
MP	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
Continuous 2 AMP	laŋ		ma		mo	
Stative A	laŋ or -mi	kam/mi or -mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
MP	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo

Table 4. Paradigm of 1, 2, 3 singular object pronouns in relative tenses, tenses of the subjunctive mood and imperative forms

Tense name	+ 1 singular		+ 2 singular		+ 3 singular	
	FJ	FT	FJ	FT	FJ	FT
Relative Past A	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
	or -mi	or -mi	-maa- (1)	-maa- (1)	-moo- (1)	-moo- (1)
MP	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
			-maa-	-maa- (1)	-moo- (1)	-moo- (1)
Relative Future A	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
	or -mi	or -mi	-maa- (1)	-maa- (1)	-moo- (1)	-moo- (1)
MP	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
			-maa- (1)	-maa- (1)	-maa- (1)	-moo
Secondary tense of Subjunctive A	laŋ	kam/mi	-e	-e	mo	mo/mbo
MP	laŋ	kam/mi	maa	maa	mo	mo/mbo
Primary AMP	laŋ		ma	ma	mo	mo/mbo
Imperative forms AM	-aŋ	-am			mo	mo/mbo

Abbreviations used in tables 3 and 4

A: Active M: Middle P: Passive

Note (s)

Table 4 note (1): This applies to situations where the first person singular subject pronoun is inverted (c. 11.20)

PART IV: VERBO-NOMINALS

CHAPTER 12: VERBO-NOMINALS[1]

12.1. Verbo-nominals in the P ulaar/Fulfulde language are the infinitives and the participles. A verb has up to three infinitives according to its voice, e.g. loot-ude/loot-ugol "to wash" (active); loot-aade/loot-agol "to have a wash" (middle); loot-eede "to be washed" (passive). The participles are past and future/habitual for each voice.

12.2. Infinitives and participles behave both like nominals and verbs. As nominals, their endings correspond to those of the nominal class system, e.g.

a) Infinitives: These have endings like nouns of class 3 nde and, in the case of Fuuta Jaloo, also of class 11 ŋgol.

ar-de ndeŋ/ar-gol ŋgol "The act of coming" (cf. cl. 3 nde/11 ŋgol)

aaw-de ndeŋ/aaw-ŋgol ŋgol "The act of sowing" (cf. cl. 3 nde/11 ŋgol)

---

(1) This term has already been used by Arnott to describe the same situation in the Gombe dialect (cf. Arnott, D.W. 1970, p. 371).

egg-ude ndeŋ/egg-ugol ŋgol	"The act of emigrating" (cf. cl. 3 nde/11 ŋgol)
ɓad-aade ndeŋ/ɓad-agol ŋgol	"The act of approaching" (cf. cl. 3 nde/11 ŋgol)
loot-aade ndeŋ/loot-agol ŋgol	"The act of washing" (cf. cl. 3 nde/11 ŋgol)

Fuuta Tooro

ɗaan-aade ndee	"The act of sleeping" (cf. cl. 3 nde)
fooft-aade ndee	"The act of resting" (cf. cl. 3 nde)
heɗ-aade ndee	"The act of listening" (cf. cl. 3 nde)
ɓamt-eede ndee	"The act of being raised" (cf. cl. 3 nde)
foodɗ-eede ndee	"The act of being pulled" (cf. cl. 3 nde)
haɗ-eede ndee	"The act of being prevented" (cf. cl. 3 nde)

b) Participles: They may have forms in all classes, rather like adjectives, according to the noun they refer to, or to the semantic correlation (cf. table 1).

(i) Past participles

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

ar-ɗo "The one who came" (cf. cl. 1 o)
ɓir-ɓe "The ones who milked" (cf. cl. 2 ɓe)
egg-u-nde "The one that emigrated" (cf. cl. 3 nde)
egg-u-ndi " ... " (cf. cl. 4 ndi)
egg-u-ndu " ... " (... 5 ndu)
egg-u-ŋge " ... " (... 6 ŋge)
egg-u-ŋgu " ... " (... 8 ŋgu)

(cf table 1 for further details)

(ii) Future/habitual participles

Fuuta Jaloo

egg-oo-wo "The one who will emigrate"
(or the one who emigrates; class 1, o)

egg-oo-ɓe "The ones who will emigrate" (cf. cl. 2 ɓe)

egg-oo-nde "The one that will emigrate" (cf. cl. 3 nde)

egg-oo-ndi " ... " (... 4 ndi)

egg-oo-ndu "The one that will emigrate" (cf. cl. 5 ndu)

egg-oo-ŋge " ... " (... 6 ŋge)

Fuuta Tooro

laat-otoo-ɗo "The one who will become" (cf. cl. 1, o)

laat-otoo-ɓe "The ones who will become" (cf. cl. 2 ɓe)

laat-otoo-nde "The one that will become" (cf. cl. 3 nde)

laat-otoo-ndi "The ... " (... 4 ndi)

laat-otoo-ndu "The ... " (... 5 ndu)

12.3. Furthermore, both infinitives and participles have a pattern of intitial consonant alternation that is similar to that of the nominal system; such a pattern applies almost entirely to Fuuta Tooro, since the system of initial consonant alternation does not operate fully in the Fuuta Jaloo dialect (cf. chapter 1, section B).

Past participles (Fuuta Tooro)

Singular/plural

p/f paamɗo/faam-ɓe "The one/ones who understand" (cf. cl. 1 o; cl. 2 ɓe)

k/h kiir-ndi/hiir-ɗi	"The one/the ones that spent the night" (cf. cl. 4 ndi/cl. 20 ɗi)
d/r dor-ndu/ror-ɗi	"The one/the ones that inherited" (cf. cl. 5 ndu/cl. 20 ɗi)
d/nd dar-iiŋgel/ndar-iikon	"The one/the ones that is/are standing" (cf. cl. 21 ŋgel/cl. 24 ·kon)

12.4. As verbs, they consist of verbal radicals and suffixes which can be assigned to the three voices of the verbal system, e.g.

Active voice

(i) Infinitives

Fuuta Jaloo

fagg-ude/fagg-ugol "To feed"

Fuuta Tooro: fagg-ude "To feed"

(ii) Future/habitual participles

Fuuta Jaloo: fagg-oowo "The one who will feed"

Fuuta Tooro: fagg-oodo

(iii) Past participle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: ƒagg-udo "The one who fed"

Middle Voice

(i) Infinitives

Fuuta Jaloo: fagg-aade/fagg-agol
"To feed oneself"

Fuuta Tooro: fagg-aade

(ii) Future/habitual participle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: ƒagg-otoodo
"The one who feed himself"

(iii) Past participle

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: ƒagg-iido
"The one who fed himself"

Passive Voice

(i) Infinitive

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro: fagg-eede "To be fed"

(ii) Future/habitual participles

Fuuta Jaloo fagg-eteedo
pagg-eteedo "The one who will be fed"

(iii) Past participle

Fuuta Jaloo: fagg-aaɗo

"The one who was fed"

Fuuta Tooro: pagg-aaɗo

Further illustrations from Fuuta Tooro

Sayku Umaar, oon sa'a, ina woni e fell-ude diine hedde funnaaŋge (infinitive, active)	"At that time, Sayku Umaar was waging a religious war towards the east (lit. Sayku Umaar, at that time, is dwelling in shooting for religion towards the east)"
-Mbeewa suusa waal-de e ladde (infinitive, active)	"A goat will not dare to spend the night in the bush"
-Ngar-ɗaa ko jaŋŋg-ude Pulaar? (infinitive, active)	"Did you come to learn Pulaar?"
-Ko ɗumɗoo miin njinno-mi yottin-de (infinitive, active)	"This is what I wanted to talk about"
-Nagge no waawi lel-aade e ladde haaa fina oora (infinitive, middle)	"A cow can spend the night in the bush and go grazing in the morning"

-so tawii ko pulaar ngar-ɗaa naamn-aade naamno-ɗaa ɗoo ko woowi e ko anndaa ɗo. (infinitive, middle)	"If you came to do research on the Pulaar language you should pay attention to people's habits and to what they know (naamnaade "to ask")"
-Ko ɗoo ɓur-ɓe e ɓur-aaɓe paɗi yoolare (past participle, active, middle)	"This is where the powerful and the weak wait for their loss (lit. This is where those-who-exceeded and those-who-were-exceeded await their perdition)"

12.5. On the other hand, as in the verbal system, radicals of verbo-nominals can be both simple or derived. They can combine with the various radical infixes described in chapter 9, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

-Meɗeŋ fuɗɗi hiwr-ondir-de (cf -ondir-)	"We started greeting each other"
-Be jaɓaani yaaf-ondir-de (cf chapter 9 -ondir-)	"They refused to forgive each other"
-o yahi lannd-it-aade ɓe	"He went to ask them

ko ɓe wi'unoo koŋ	again what they had said"
-Ɓe joottii e haal-an-de mo ko o faalaa nande koŋ (cf. chapter 9, -an-)	"They went back to telling him what he wanted to hear"
-Be heɓaali feere dog-iŋ-gol mo fii yo ɓe suudu mo (cf Chapter 9, -in-)	"They did not have time to make him run and hide"
-Kamɓe art-id-uɓe ɗoo ɓeŋ, wota Alla waɗu barke e maɓɓe (cf chapter 9, -id-)	"May God curse those who come back here together (lit. Those-who-come-back-together here, may God not bless them)
-Loot-or-ɗo saabunde woo nyawndagal mu'uŋ bonay	"Whoever washes with soap will spoil his juju"

12.6. Past and future/habitual participles combine with the past anterior affix. In all such cases the long-vowelled form -noo- is inserted within the participial suffix, e.g.

a) Past participle

Active Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

-udo gives -u-noo-do
-unde gives -u-noo-nde
-undi gives -u-noo-ndi

nanng-u-noo-do
nanng-u-noo-nde "The one that caught"
nanng-u-noo-ndi (cf classes 1 o, 3 nde, 4 ndi)

Middle Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

-ii-do/-ii-nde/-ii-ndi > -i-noo-do/-i-noo-nde/
-i-noo-ndi

loot-i-noo-do
loot-i-noo-nde } "The one that had a wash"
loot-i-noo-ndi (cf classes 1 o, 3 nde, 4 ndi)

Passive Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

-aa-do/-aa-nde/-aa-ndi > -a-noo-do/-a-noo-nde/
-a-noo-ndi

nanng-a-noo-do
nanng-a-noo-nde } "The one that was caught"
nanng-a-noo-ndi

b) Future/habitual participles

Active

Fuuta Jaloo: -ay-ɗo > -ay-noo-ɗo

loot-ay-noo-ɗo "The one that was washing something"

nayaam-ay-noo-nde "The one that was eating"

Fuuta Tooro

-at-ɗo > -an-noo-ɗo
-at-nde > -an-noo-nde

nyaam-an-noo-ɗo
nyaam-a-noo-nde } "The one that was eating" (cf classes 1 o, 3 nde)

Middle Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

-otoo-ɗo gives -oto-noo-ɗo
-otoo-nde gives -oto-noo-nde
-otoo-ndi gives -oto-noo-ndi

loot-oto-noo-ɗo
loot-oto-noo-nde
loot-oto-noo-ndi } "The one that was having a wash" (cf. classes 1 o, 3 nde, 4 ndi)

Passive Voice

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

-etee-ɗo > -ete-noo-ɗo
-etee-nde > -ete-noo-nde
-etee-ndi > -ete-noo-ndi

loot-ete-noo-ɗo
loot-ete-noo-nde
loot-ete-noo-ndi
} "The one that was going to be washed" (cf classes 1 o, 3 nde, 4 ndi)

Variations between the two dialects

Infinitives

12.7. In Fuuta Jaloo there are two forms of infinitive which are used indifferently by the various speakers, e.g.

(i) Infinitive 1

Active: -ude
Middle: -aade
Passive: -eede

(ii) Infinitive 2

Active: -ugol
Middle: -agol
Passive: -eede

It will be noted that the passive form of infinitive 1 is common to the two dialects. Only infinitive 1 is found in Fuuta Tooro and is, therefore, common to the two dialects.

Participles

12.8. There is a phonological variation in the singular of the future/habitual participle active of the two dialects: The Fuuta Jaloo personal singular affix -wo- is -ɗo- in Fuuta Tooro, e.g.

dog-oo-wo
dog-oo-ɗo } "The one who will run"

Variations within individual dialects

12.9. There is one case worth mentioning, and it occurs in the Fuuta Tooro dialect. Some speakers in the Eastern part of Fuuta Tooro (in the department of Podor) have tended to replace the normal endings -ude, -aade, -eede, of the infinitive with the suffixes -u, -ɔ, -e respectively in the active, middle and passive voices, e.g.

Kabaaru demal nyebbe, so min	"How to grow beans;
tottaama nyebbe ɗee min	When we have been given
leppina gese ɗee; ndiyam	the beans we soak them,
ɗam no yaara no foti	we then soak the fields
yaar(2), gori ɗii ma mbaɗi	thoroughly (lit. we
tan ɗo poti haadde lepp-u	wet the fields, the water

flows just as it
ought to flow, the
furrows carry water
just as they ought to)"

Aan, mi haaytii ma natt-u wuro amen, sabu saa[3] arii a ittat nyebbe amen nawaa. Kono noon saa anndii e nder ganndal maa ada waawi jagg-u nyebbe, ada waawi acc-u nyebbe dee, njid-mi ko ŋgaraa wuro amen.

"I have changed my mind about inviting you back to our village because when you come you will steal all our beans, But if you can satisfy me that, once you are there, you can control yourself and refrain from taking the beans away, I shall still invite you over"

Middle Voice

Kabaaru ligge gese: So maaro koo fudii, min ŋgona e ligg-o gese dee, min ŋgona e toppit- o gese dee

"How to grow rice: When the rice grows we start working again in the fields and we keep looking after them"

Passive Voice

-Hade mbii-daa kaa feeraa fiy-e salamburu, heblano fiy-e salamburu hannde.

"Since you said you have never been beaten with a stick, get ready to be

beaten with one
today (lit. since
you said you never
to be beaten with a stick
get-ready-to be beaten
with a stick today)"

The -e, i.e. the passive form, was found in the above instance only, whereas there are many instances where the forms -u and -o are used in the active and the middle.

---

(2) yaar < yah-ir < yah-ir-de
(3) saa < so + a "if you".

Table 1. Past participial paradigm in the two dialects

Class no.	tedd-u "The one(s) that is heavy	laat-ii "The one(s) that has become	ɓil-aa "The one(s) that is hung up"
1	tedd-uɗo	laat-iiɗo	ɓil-aaɗo
2	tedd-uɓe	laat-iiɓe	ɓil-aaɓe
3	tedd-unde	laat-iinde	ɓil-aande
4	tedd-undi	laat-iindi	ɓil-aandi
5	tedd-undu	laat-iindu	ɓil-aandu
6	tedd-uŋge	laat-iiŋge	ɓil-aaŋge
7	tedd-uŋgo	laat-iiŋgo	ɓil-aaŋgo
8	tedd-uŋgu	laat-iiŋgu	ɓil-aaŋgu
IX	tedd-uŋgii	laat-iiŋgii	ɓil-aaŋgii
10	tedd-uŋgol	laat-iiŋgol	ɓil-aaŋgol
11	tedd-uŋgal	laat-iiŋgal	ɓil-aaŋgal
12	tedd-umba/-uba	laat-iimba/--iba	ɓil-aamba/-aaba
13	teed-uka	laat-iika	ɓil-aaka
14	tedd-uki	laat-iiki	ɓil-aaki
15	tedd-uko	laat-iiko	ɓil-aako
XVI	tedd-ukol	laat-iikol	ɓil-aakol

to be continued....

Table 1 continued.

17	tedd-udaŋ/-udam	laat-iidaŋ/-iidam	ɓil-aadaŋ/-aadam
18	tedd-uduŋ/-udum	laat-iiduŋ/-iidum	ɓil-aaduŋ/-aadum
19	tedd-ude	laat-iide	ɓil-aade
20	tedd-udi	laat-iidi	ɓil-aadi
21	tedd-uŋgel	laat-iiŋgel	ɓil-aaŋgel
22	tedd-ukal	laat-iikal	ɓil-aakal
XXIII	tedd-ukuŋ	laat-iikuŋ	ɓil-aakuŋ
24	tedd-ukoy/-ukon	laat-iikoy/iikon	ɓil-aakoy/-aakon
25	tedd-uŋgal	laat-iiŋgal	ɓil-iiŋgal
XXVI	tedd-uŋgii	laat-iiŋgii	ɓil-iŋgii

PART V: OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

CHAPTER 13: ADVERBS AND PREPOSITIONS

13.1. Adverbs and prepositions are considered in the same chapter because certain items function in both capacities in different sentences, so that they can be said to have adverbial or prepositional function in relation to the members of a single word class, e.g.

o yahi nder suudu	"he went into the house" (preposition or prepositional function).
o yahii nder	"he went inside" (adverb or adverbial function)

13.2. This functional nature is further suggested by the use of certain nouns in an adverbial or a prepositional capacity, e.g.

Fuutá Jaloo

Ɓaawo makko ŋgoŋ no muusa	"His back is hurting" (noun)
Himo ɓaawo	"He is behind" (adverbial function)

Himo ɓaawo maɓɓe	"He is behind them" (prepositional function)
Himo gaanyii ka yeeso	"He is injured on the face" (noun)
o yehii yeeso	"he has gone in front" (adverbial function)

Fuuta Tooro

En kawrat yeeso	"We'll meet in front" (adverbial function)
Aan, a sanii yeeso	"you've got a nice face" (noun)
---yeeso makko	"In front of him"

In these examples of prepositional and adverbial functions, the meaning of the verb is modified either by the item alone (adverbial function) or by the item plus a noun or a pronoun (prepositional phrase).

Adverbs

13.3. The modifications mentioned above occur in the semantic areas of time, place (here, there, over-there) manner, degree etc. and the various items will be dealt with under this classification. On the other

hand, items with adverbial functions are of two syntactic types:

1) Those which have no pronouns of reference, e.g. jooni "now", law "early", ɗo'o/ɗoo "here". These are the items which may appropriately be classified as adverbs.

2) Those which have pronouns of reference, e.g. ɓaawo "back", yeeso "face". These are the items which can be said to have adverbial function (as well as functioning as nouns in other circumstances).

(i) Adverbs of time

13.4. The following is a list of common adverbs of time, together with examples of their uses.

Fuuta Jaloo

jooni	"now"
abada	"never"
law	"early"
hannde	"today"
naane	"a while ago"
hikka	"this year"
haŋki	"yesterday"
hecci-haŋki[1]	"the day before yesterday"
jaŋŋgo	"tomorrow"
faɗɗi-jaŋŋgo	"the day after tomorrow"

funnaaŋge	"east"	(compound of fud- "to rise and naaŋge "sun")
hirnaaŋge	"west"	(compound of hiir - "to spend the evening + naaŋge "sun")
nduŋŋgu	"in the rainy season"	
ceedu	"in the dry season"	
wenndoogo	"in the early morning"	(also a noun)
subaka	"at day-break"	(also a noun)
bimmbi	"in the morning"	(...)
pudal	"at sunrise"	(...)
walluhaa	"in the middle of the morning"	(...)
naaŋge e hoore[2]	"at the noon"	(...)
fanaa	"in the early afternoon"	(...)
alansaraa	"in the late afternoon	(...)
mutal	"at sunset"	(...)
futuroo	"at dusk"	(...)
jemma	"at night"	(...)
nyalorma	"in the day time"	(...)

rowani	"last year"
rowani ndeya	"two years ago"
Ko arata[3]	"next year"

Examples of their use

Ko jooni o ari	"he has just arrived" (lit. it is now that he came)

---

(1) This adverbial phrase is a compound of heccude "to be older than" and haŋki "yesterday"; thus hecci-haŋki means "(the day which is) older than yesterday", literally.

o aray hannde	"he will come today"
Fado jaŋŋgo mi yoɓa maa	"Wait (till) tomorrow and I'll pay you"
suka oŋ dawi bimmbi	"the young man left early in the morning"
meŋ yiidaali gila rowani	"We have not seen each other since last year"
Maaro heɓike hikka	"We have plenty of rice this year"

13.5. The above terms are roughly encountered in Fuuta Tooro, with the following differences.

naane "a while ago"
heccaŋki "the day before yesterday"
faɓɓi-jaŋŋgo/ɓaawo-jaŋŋgo "the day after tomorrow"

tisubaar/sallifanaa	"in the early afternoon"
takkusaan	"in the late afternoon"
nyalawma	"in the day time"
jamma	"at night"

---

(2) This adverbial phrase literally means "sun on head"; it refers to the fact that at noon, bodies concide with their shadows, under the sun.

(3) This too is an adverbial phrase and it means "What will come", literally.

Examples are

ŋgartir-mi nagge ŋgee, mbaɗ-mi no mbannoo-mi naane mi	"I brought back the cow and I did as I did a while ago"
Ko mi biiɗo samba yo o aranam faɓɓi-jaŋŋgo	"I told Samba to come and collect me the day after tomorrow"
Mboɗo ara e takkusaan	"I am coming in the late afternoon"
Gorko oo maayi jamma	"the man died at night"

(ii) Adverbs of place

13.6. The list of adverbs modifying the meanings of verbs in terms of place are as follows:

Fuuta Jaloo	Fuuta Tooro	Meanings
Ga	ga/Gaay	"over here"
ɗo'o	ɗoo	"here"
ɗa	ɗa	"there" (but not too far)
to'o	too	"over there" (further than ɗa).
ɗoŋ	ɗoon	"there, at the place in question"
toŋ	toon	"there, at the place in question" (but further than ɗoŋ/ɗoon)

nder	nder	"in", "inside"
heŋ	heen	"in" (no verbs of motion)
yaasi	yaasi	"out, outside"
yeeso	yeeso	"in front"
ɓaawo	ɓaawo	"behind"
hakkunde	hakkunde	"in the middle"
dow	dow	"above"
ley	les	"below"

13.7. It may be useful to make a detailed analysis of some of the above adverbs.

13.8. The main difference between the sets ɗo'o/ɗoo and ga/gaay is that the latter tends to be preferred when an idea of movement is implied, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Ar joodo-ɗaa ga! "Come and sit over here!"

but

Ko do'o ɓe hoɗi "they live here" (lit. it is here that they live)

Fuuta Tooro

Miin, mi yaltinaama e "I have been sacked from

ligge ɗee. Aduna am fof bonii. Jooni noon ŋgar-mi ga	my job. All my career has been wasted. I have now decided to come over here"
Laamɗo oo wii: suka, ar gaay!	"The King said: Come here, young man"
but	
oo Gorko na ni ɗoo ina wujja mi na'i	"The man is here just to steal my cows"

13.9. The distinction between ɗa/to'o and ɗa/too can be made in terms of distance; ɗa often refers to a location that is nearer to the speaker than to'o/too.

Fuuta Jaloo

saare ndeŋ ko ɗa woni. Nde woɗɗaa hay seeɗa	"The village is just there it is not far at all"

Fuuta Tooro

Gorko oo wii ina hoɗi too, to wi'etee Gede	"The man said he lives over there, at a village called Gede"
Jale ɗee ina too, min mofti ɗum'en too, e ŋgesa hee	"The hoes are over there, we kept them over there, in the field"

13.10. Ɗoŋ/ɗoon and toŋ/toon are in contrast to ɗo'o/ɗoo and to'o/too. They are encountered in written materials and in conversation; they refer to a place that has been mentioned previously.

Fuuta Jaloo

Wi'-aa mo yo o wonu toŋ	"Tell him to stay there" (lit. you-should-tell-him to stay there-at-the-place-in-question)
si ɗi hewtii toŋ, ɗi woocanee haako ɗi ƴakka	"When they get there, some leaves are cut for them to chew"

Fuuta Tooro

Mbeɗe wondi toon e yimɓe kewɓe	"I am there with many people"
Hade ɓe njaata toon tawata ko ɓe njaŋŋgannoo fof ɓe njaŋŋgii	"Before they go there (to that place) they would have learnt everything they ought to learn"

13.11. The adverb heŋ/heen "in the one referred to" also indicates a place mentioned previously. On the other hand, it is used in its abstract sense

whereby it refers to a part, as opposed to the whole, of the matter in question.

Fuuta Jaloo

si aadeŋ heƀii jawdi, o nyaamaali ndi, o nyamminaali heŋ yimƀe moyyuƀe, taway ndiŋ jawdi moyyaali	"If a person gets wealthy and he or she does not make any use of the wealth or help the needy with it, that wealth is useless (o nyamminaali heŋ : lit. he has-not-made good people eat in it)
Gorko oŋ liggaaki heŋ, tampaali heŋ	"The man has neither worked nor suffered over there" (lit. Man the has-not-worked-in-it, has-not-toiled in-it, the place in question)

Fuuta Tooro

so debbo oo defii gawri waɗa heen liɗɗi	"The woman cooks guinea-corn she adds fish to it"
ŋgon-mi poliis[4] haa jaŋŋgo heen	"I remained at the police station until the following day"

(4) Loan from the French language "police"

Heen o waali, heen o nyalli	"He spent a night and a day there" (lit. there he spent a night, there he spent a day)

13.12. Illustrations of nder "inside" and yaasi "outside" are as follows.

Fuuta Jaloo

Naatu nder!	"Go in"
Himo nder	"He is inside"
Himo darii yaasi	"He is standing outside"

Fuuta Tooro

So hiirii, mi yaha, mi fa'a nder, mi ɓiroya naggelam	"When the night falls, I go in and milk my cow"

13.13. Below are examples of the adverbial function of certain nouns.

Fuuta Jaloo

Cukaloy koy no ara ɓaawo	"The children are coming behind"

Mi accii kaalisi aŋ oŋ fow ɓaawo	"I left all my money behind"
Yo Alla nawru leydi ndiŋ yeeso	"May God advance the country" (lit. May God take the country forward)

Fuuta Tooro

O yaari yeeso, Hammadi-Baleejo tappi mbo loowande	"He went in front, Hammadi-The-Black hit him with a bullet"
Na'i makko dii na ni yeeso	"His cows are in front"
Omo to hakkunde	"He is in the middle"

13.14. Examples of dow "above" and ley/les "below" are as follows.

Fuuta Jaloo

O yawii dow	"He has climbed up"
O ferike laɓi kiŋ dow	"He threw the knife up" (in the air)

Fuuta Tooro

Bojel yehi sudoyii les	"The hare went to hide below"
Omo waalii les, e nder lesdi hee	"He is lying below, in the ground"

(iii) Adverbs of manner

13.15. The following items can modify the meaning of the verb in terms of manner, in both dialects:

Fuuta Jaloo/Fuuta Tooro

nii "like this"
noŋ/noon "like that"

Fuuta Jaloo

o wuttiri nii	"He whistled like this"
Be woniri noŋ gila bimmbi haa jemma	"They remained like that from the morning to the night"

Fuuta Tooro

Ko sebbe mba'i noon Pullo waawataa waade no mbii-daa nii	"It is the Mandings who are like that, a Pullo cannot be the way you said"

Be njoodori noon haa ɓooyi	"They remained like that for a long time"

(iv) Adverbs of degree

13.16. These adverbs and items functioning as adverbial intensifiers play a heightening or a lowering part on the verbs they modify. Many of such items are periphrastic constructions which function adverbially, as will be noted in the following list.

Fuuta Jaloo

fota/moyya/ko moyyi (5)	"very much"
haa feyyiti/haa laaɓi	"superlatives" (lit. until it exceeded/ until it was clean)
seeda	"a little"
buy	"a lot"

---

(5) literally these items mean:

fota "that-may-be-good"	(from fotude "to be good", and the secondary subjunctive)
moyya "that-may-be-good"	(from moyyude "to be good" and the secondary subjunctive active)
ko moyyi "what is good"	(from moyyude and the relative past active)

Fuuta Tooro

no feewi	"very much"	(lit. "it is straight")
haa laaɓi	"superlative"	
seeɗa	"a little"	
ko heewi	"a lot" (lit. "what is a lot")	

Illustrations

Fuuta Jaloo

O nawyii fota	"He has grown very old" (lit. "he has grown old very much")
O waɗi haa feyyiti	"He put too much" (lit. "He put until-it-exceeded")
O yaari haa laaɓi	"He drank to the last drop" (lit. he drank until it became clean"
Ɓeydu seeɗa	"Add a little"

Fuuta Tooro

Ɓe pelli ɗum'en, ɓe liggii ɗum'en ligge na boni no feewi	"They shot them, they inflicted on them very heavy casualties" (lit.

shot them, they worked them work-which is-very bad)

Laamɗo oo noddi suka gorko oo. Tawi ko giɗiiko no feewi wonnoo

"The king called the young man. The latter happened to be a very good friend of the king"

yehi haa juuti seeda, maayo ŋgoo heewi ndiyam

"After a little while the river was full of water"

(v) Adverbs of interrogation

13.17. In non-interrogative sentences the same items function as conjunctions joining the two parts together, e.g. Mi anndaa nde o arata "I don't know when he will come"

13.18. The following is a list of most common adverbs of interrogation.

Fuuta Jaloo:	nde, honnde tuma, ko honnde tuma	"When?"
Fuuta Tooro:	nde, honde, holnde	
Fuuta Jaloo:	honto, ko honto	"Where?"
Fuuta Toorò:	to, hoto, holɗo, hoɗo	

Fuuta Jaloo:	no, honno, ko honno	"How?"
Fuuta Tooro:	no, holno, hono	
Fuuta Jaloo:	ko wadi	"Why?"
Fuuta Tooro:	ko wadi, ko taki	

Illustrations:

Fuuta Jaloo:

Nde arat-aa?	"When will you come?"
Ko honnde tuma o ari?	"When did he come?"
Ko honto o hodi?	"Where does he live?"
Ko honno wi'ete-ɗaa?	"What is your name?" (lit. How are you called?)

Fuuta Tooro

Debbo oo naamndii mbo: hodo ummi-ɗaa, aan?	"The woman inquired: You there, where do you come from?"
wi'aa: Bammbaado arii! Bammbaado arii! Holɗo o ummii?	"They shouted: A griot has come! A griot has come! Where does he come from?"
Hono mbadduno-ɗon e mabbe?	"How did you deal with them?"
Ko taki ŋgar-ɗaa ga?	"Why did you come here?"

Prepositions (cf. § 13.1.-2.)

13.19. The following is a list of some of the most commonly used prepositious in the two dialects:

ka "at,to" (Fuuta Jaloo) (omited with proper names of places)

to "at, to" (Fuuta Tooro) (...)

gila "from"

heede/teleŋ "towards" (Fuuta Jaloo)

hedde/baŋŋe "towards" (Fuuta Tooro)

hakkunde "between, amongst" (also a noun)

ɓaawo "behind, after" (also a noun)

caggal "behind" (Fuuta Tooro only) (also a noun)

yeeso "in front of " (also a noun)

nder "in, into, among"

dow "on, over"

les "under" (Fuuta Tooro)

Ley "under" (Fuuta Jaloo)

takko "near" (Fuuta Jaloo)

sera "near" (Fuuta Tooro)

Examples of their use

Fuuta Jaloo

Neene aŋ no ka luumo	"My mother is at the market"
O salii nyaamude gila subaka haa niɓɓi	"He refused to eat from the morning till it got dark"
--- heede/teleŋ Funnaage	"towards the east"
--- hakkunde Koldaa e Ndakaaru	"between Kolda and Dakar"
Haalaa waɗataa hakkunde meeɗeŋ	"There can't be any argument between us" (lit. an argument will not happen between us)
bonooru nduŋ immori ɓaawo cukaalel ŋgel	"The hyena came from behind the child"
wata daro yeeso aŋ	"Don't stop in front of me"
---nder suudu	"in a hut"
---dow leggal	"on top of a tree"
Miɗo fowtoyaade ka ley maŋgohi	"I am going to have some rest under the mango-tree"
---takko Labe	"Near Labe"

Fuuta Tooro

Gorko oo ummii, yahi to satigi	"The man got up and went to the king's"
Min njaadi to sumaare	"We went together to Sumaare's"
Hammadi naatoyi to huɓeere	"Hammadi went into the building"
Kaŋko e jom-galle makko ɓe ŋgasi gila subaka haa kiikiiɗe	"He and his wife they dug (the ground) from sun-rise to sun-set)"
Mboɗo waɗa batu hakkunde ɗoo e balɗe tati	"I am going to convene a meeting between now and three days"
Ɓaawo ɗuum, satigi wii mbo: Aan, accu!	"After that, the king said to him = you, stop it!"
Caggal ɗuum, o artaani	"He did not come back after that"
Mboɗo joodii e les lekki	"I am seated under a tree"

CHAPTER 14. IDEOPHONES AND ONOMATOPES

14.1. Both dialects are rich in words of the type normally called ideophones and onomatopes. They occur fairly commonly in my texts and in general conversation.

14.2. The main differences between ideophones and onomatopes in the two dialects in question are as follows:

(i) Ideophones refer to an abstract nature whereas onomatopes attempt to imitate the sound they are supposed to describe;

(ii) Ideophones cannot be verbalised whereas onomatopes can;

(iii) Ideophones have to accompany the verbs they modify whereas onomatopes can be used on their own.

(iv) Onomatopes can be repeated whereas ideophones cannot.

(all the above features will be dealt with and illustrated sufficiently during the course of the present chapter)

Ideophones

14.3. Ideophones emphasise the intensity of certain states and are generally used with non-dynamic verbs. Nearly all ideophones encountered so far are of CVC structure. In general these items are restricted to use with particular verbs, as shown below.

Fuuta Jaloo (CVC structures)

feewude foc	"to be perfectly straight"
rabbiɗude pot	"to be extremely short"
haaɗude tak	"to be very sour, peppery"
lammude tar/car	"to be very bitter"
yoorude kos	"to be very dry"
ɓuuɓude mel	"to be very cool"
wulude kuy	"to be very hot"
mettude cep	"to be very insipid"
luuɓude dus	"to be very smelly"
hewde tef	"to be full to the brim"
ɗiggude ɗor	"to be perfectly ground"
laaɓude cer/poy/pos	"to be immaculately clean"
rawnude tal/peŋ	"to be dazzlingly white"
wojjude coy	"to be as red as a lobster"

Other structures

ɓawlude kirom/kurum	"to be pitch black"

Fuuta Tooro

so yehii haa gerte ɗee	"When the ground nuts
mawɲii seeɗa min	grow up a little. we go
nduttoo kadi min	over them again and pick
ɗoofa kuɗi haa	out every weed"
laaɓa cer	

Mboddi ndii moɗi mbo,	"The snake swallowed
watti mbo ɓaleejo	him and turned him
kurum	pitch black"

14.4. The position of ideophones in the sentence is as follows:

1) Immediately following verb(s) they modify (this is the most common position)

2) Found after the verbs wi'ude "to say", waɗude/wadde "to do" which are inserted between the modified verbs and the modifying ideophones.

14.5. The following Fuuta Jaloo examples illustrate these two occurrences:

Conci aŋ diŋ no rawni tal	"My clothes are immediately white"

but also

Conci aŋ diŋ no rawni wi'i tal	(lit. my clothes are white-and-said tal)

Nde'e kaccuure no lammi tar	"This lemon is awfully bitter"

but also

Nde'e kaccuure no lammi waɗi tar	(lit. this lemon is bitter-and-said tar)

14.6. Ideophones alter the intonation patterns of a sentence. They always contain the highest pitch, in both dialects, e.g.

Fuuta Jaloo

Himo raɓɓiɗi (_ _ - _ _)
"He is short"

but

Himo raɓɓiɗi pot (_ _ - _ _ -)
"He is very short"

Hindi luuɓi
"It smells" (_ _ - _)

but

Hindi luuɓi dus (_ _ - _ -)
"It smells very much"

Fuuta Tooro

Endi ɗiggi (_ _ - _)
"It is ground" (i.e. flour etc.)

but

Endi ɗiggi ɗor (_ _ - _ -)
"It is ground perfectly"

Eɗum metti (_ _ - _)
"It is sour"

but

Eɗum metti cep (_ _ - _ -)
"It is very sour"

Onomatopes

14.7. Unlike ideophones, these items can be used without a specific verb e.g.

ɓe nani kos, kos, kos lit. They heard kos, ko, kos, (i.e. they heard the noise of a match being struck)

Like ideophones, they are also used with the verbs wi'ude "to say" and waɗude/wadde "to do, but ideophones require an additional verb as well.

On the other hand, I have found it convenient for the present study to sub-divide onomatopes into a number of groups, according to their phonological structure.

Group A:

14.8. This group refers to onomatopes of CVC structure. The majority of onomatopes are found in group A. Some of such items are listed below.

put: Describes the sound made by a falling object

bup: Describes the sound made by a heavy blow landing on someone or something

kos: Describes the sound made by a match being struck

kat: .... a cracking branch

cor: .... milk dropping into a container (when a cow is being milked, for instance)

ŋek: .... a crying child

Fuuta Jaloo

si henndu nduŋŋgu	"When the wind of the rains
nduŋ arii ko put, put	starts blowing it is only
tuŋ nanetee ka ley	the sound of falling mangoes
maŋŋgooje	that one can hear" (lit.

when the wind of the rainy season comes it is only - the noise - put, put that is heard under the mango trees)

Ɗookiiru nduŋ waɗi mo bup ka ɓaawo — "The chimpanze hit him on the back" (lit. the chimpanze did him bup on the back)

Fuuta Tooro

Almeet[1] oo wii kos, huɓɓi — "The match grated and it caught fire" (lit. The match said kos and caught fire)

Ndiyam ɗam waɗi jur e nder horde hee — "The water dribbled into the calabash" (lit. the water did jur into the calabash)

Group B

14.9. Group B is for onomatopes of CVCVC structure; groups A and B are the primary structures of onomatopes.

---

(1) loan from the French allumette - match.

Fuuta Jaloo

curuk: Refers to the sound made by the movement of someone who suddenly enters something.

buret: Referring to the sound made by the movement of someone who runs suddenly from his hiding place.

puruk: Sound heard when something is being suddenly punctured.

pafet: Referring to the sound made by the movement of someone who suddenly breaks free from something that was holding him prisoner.

Ɔ wi'i curuk ka nder suudu	"He dashed into the hut" (lit. He said curuk into the hut)
sariire ndeŋ waɗi buret e ley baape ɗeŋ	"The hare rushed suddenly out of the leaves" (lit. the hare did buret from under the leaves)

Group C:

14.10. In order to lengthen or emphasize the duration of a

particular sound, it is possible to duplicate the vowel of group A structures or the second vowel of group B structures; this rule can be interpreted in the following manner:

(i) CVC gives CVVC, e.g.

put gives puut
bup gives buup
jur gives juur
kos gives koos
kat gives kaat
cor gives coor
ŋek gives ŋeek

(please refer to group A for the interpretation of these onomatopes)

(ii) CVCVC gives CVCVVC, e.g.

curuk gives curuuk
buret gives bureet
puruk gives puruuk
pafet gives pafeet

(please see Group B for the interpretation of these onomatopes)

Group D:

14.11 This group is syntactically similar to group C, but it is semantically different. Its aim is more to try and set the cadence of a particular sound than to emphasize its duration. It involves the

entire duplication of groups A and B, i.e.

(i) CVC gives CVC-CVC, e.g.

cor-cor, cor-cor: Continuous sound made by milk that is dropping into a calabash

kat-kat, kat-kat: sound by a click that is ticking

tuŋ-tuŋ, tuŋ-tuŋ: continuous sound of pounding

Group E:

14.12. This group refers to instances whereby, instead of individual words, as we have seen so far, whole clauses or sentences are used as onomatopoeias; This is illustrated by the following text taken from Fuuta Tooro.

Saɗa(2) una gawri ko 'a jogi-mi jogi, a jogi-mi jogi!" ɗuum unugal ŋgal wi'ata, Tame(3) ɗee noon mbi'ata ko "seɗe wence mbicc-aa car! yo conndi e ceŋle ceer!" So barme ina fata watta ko "faturu waɣaay, faturu waay"; saɗa(2) itta e barme hee aɗa waɗa e lahal	"The sound made two women pounding guinea-corn "A jogi-mijogi, a jogi-mi jog(4)", that is the sound made by the pestles. The noise made by the winnowing is "seɗe wence mbicc-aa car! yo conndi e ceŋle ceer!" When the pot is boiling it sounds like: " faturu-waay! faturu-waay!" The noise made by the act of removing

ada totta, nyaamooɓe, ɗuum wi'etee "jiku-ɓaku, jiku-ɓaku" so tawii ada lanca haa ɓuttɓa, ɗuum woni: "yooy-aa dow! yooy-aa dow!" Nyorgo inaawifa haa ŋguleeki kii natta, ɗuum woni "jam-haan, jam-haan! " Nyiiri ndii ɓuttɓa njaltin-aa fedande kosam ndee ada wada "toko-toko baadel". Woni "toko-toko baadel" ko tammbude heen pedeeli ada irta ada wada nii. Burgal kanyum ligge mum ko "ndurye! Ndurye!" haa ɗigga ɗor. Suukara wadee heen. so yimbe na nyaama ko "werec-wemmbec! Werec-wemmbec!"; ɗuum woni nyaamndu ndun.

the food from the pot dishing it out onto a plate sounds like: "jiku-ɓaku! jiku-ɓaku!" When the food is being spread out in the plate, in order for it to cool down, the movement sounds like: "yooy-aa dow! yooy-aa dow!" The noise made by the fan that is used to cool it down is like: "jam-haan! jam-haan!" when the food has cooled down you take out the calabash of curdled milk and do "toko-toko baadel". The latter refers to the sound made by the act of plunging one's finger into the milk and stirring it. The sound made by the wooden spoon that sturs it is like: " ndurye! Ndurye!", until it becomes completely liquefied; when the food is being eaten, it sounds like: "werec-wembec! werec-wembec!"

---

(2) Sada so "if" + ada "you"

(3) loan from the French tamis - sieve

(4) I have left onomatopoeic clauses as they are because I believe it is the sound they make that is more relevant than the translations. They have however been translated and commented upon below.

Running commentary on the various onomatopoeias encountered in this text.

(i) a jogi-mi jogi — Lit."you have - I have" There are two women pounding guinea-corn with pestles. A jogi "you have" refers to the sound of one of the women's pestle whereas mi jogi "I have" refers to the other.

(ii) sɗe wence mbicc-aa car! — lit. "Winnow the grains and spread them car!"

sɗ-ude — "to winnow"

wence is an onomatope referring to grains.

mbicc-aa: The verb wicc-ude "to spread", is used in the second person singular of the secondary tense of the subjunctive.

car: is an onomatopoeic expression of wicc-ude "to spread".

(iii) yo conndi e ceŋle ceer! — "Let flour and grains be separated!"

This sentence is in the primary tense of the subjunctive.

yo: tied particle
conndi: flour
e: and
ceŋle: grains
ceer (from) seer-de "to be separated"

(iv) Faturu waay:

Faturu: Act of boiling
waay: Donomatopoeic expression used after faturu.

(v) Jiku-ɓaku: These are two clauses used in the general imperative.

jiku: collect! (singular)
ɓaku: Dish out! (...)

(vi) yooy-aa dɔw: Lit. "Melt into thin air" This clause is used in the second person singular of the secondary tense of the subjunctive. It refers to the steam that comes out of hot food and melts into thin air"

yooy-de: "to melt, disappear"

dɔw: "above, in the air"

(vii) jam haan: (This is the way the usual jam tan "peace only" is rendered in the text)

(viii) Toko-toko baadel

Toko-toko: onomatopoeic expression referring to the sound of a finger that dips into curdled milk and stirs it.

baadel: "A little drop"

(ix) Ndurye-Ndurye: This onomatopoeic expression refers to the cadence of a wooden spoon being used to stir curdled milk.

(x) Werec-wemmbec: This onomatopoeic expression refers to a sequence of actions whereby the person scoops up (werec) some porridge with a wooden spoon or a little calabash and takes it to his mouth (wemmbec).

PART VI: GENERAL CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 15. CONCLUSIONS

15.1. The first five chapters of this thesis are devoted to a description of the phonology and the nominal system in the two dialects. Particular attention has been paid, to the nominal class system, numerals, noun substitutes and specifiers. It has been found that the similarities in the nominal class system of the two dialects outweigh by far their differences.

15.2. An attempt has been made to set out here a summary of the similarities and differences between the nominal systems of the two dialects.

15.3. The two dialects have the same number of vowels and consonants; the pattern of initial consonant alternation is the same in the two dialects, even though it operates only partially in Fuuta Jaloo.

15.4. Of the twenty-six nominal classes, twenty-two are common to the two dialects.

15.5. The major differences between the two dialects are as follows:

15.7. Firstly the intiial consonant alternation operates fully in Fuuta Tooro, but it operates only partially in Fuuta Jaloo.

15.8. There are four classes in Fuuta Jaloo that do not seem to occur in Fuuta Tooro.

15.9. Possessive suffixes do not seem to occur in Fuuta Jaloo whereas they do so in Fuuta Tooro.

15.10. Fuuta Jaloo commonly velarizes nasal consonants in final positions, whereas Fuuta Tooro uses the bi-labial m or the alveolar n. On the other hand, final glottality is observed much more in Fuuta Jaloo than in Fuuta Tooro, where it is hardly noticeable in the speach of many of my informants.

15.11. Chapters 6 to 11 have been concerned with the verbal system of the two dialects, with particular reference to the tense-suffixes of the indicative and subjunctive moods, the forms of the imperative mood, derivative infixes, past anterior affix and subject and object pronouns. Verbo-nominals have been dealt with in part IV (chapter 12).

15.12. Just as occurred in the nominal system the present description has served to highlight the great

similarity between the verbal systems of the two dialects. Here too, I shall try to provide a brief outline of such similarities and differences.

15.13. The two dialects share the same categories of transitivity and mood. They both have transitive and intransitive forms and share active, middle and passive moods.

15.14. Of the eleven tenses of the indicative mood, nine are found in both dialects.

15.15. The two tenses of the subjunctive occur in both dialects.

15.16. The general form of the imperative is found in both dialects.

15.17. All major derivative infixes are found equally in the two dialects.

15.18. The basis of formation of the past anterior affix and its usage is also similar in the two dialects.

15.19. It has also been pointed out that subject and

object pronouns and verbo-nominals behave the same way in both Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro.

15.20. Among the differences between the two dialects, one could point out the fact that the alternation of initial consonants does not operate in Fuuta Jaloo, that it operates fully in Fuuta Tooro; that the vague future and continuous 2 are respectively restricted to Fuuta Tooro and Fuuta Jaloo only; that the polite and iterative forms of the imperative occur only in Fuuta Jaloo.

15.21. In the fifth section, adverbs and prepositions share the same syntactic structures in the two dialects. The main differences between the two dialects in this area are differences of vocabulary.

15.22. The uses of ideophones and onomatopoeias bear a greater difference between the two dialects; but one point worth noting here, of course, is that such uses are very much individual. This is taken to mean that there will be differences even between individuals belonging to the same dialects.

15.23. The foregoing chapters have served to show the close relationships between the dialects of Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooro. These links are both syntactic and semantic, as shown in the foregoing sections.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following includes all those works referred to in the thesis, as well as others I made use of. For a more complete list of language and literature material, please refer to Mme Ch. Seydou's Bibliographic du monde peul, I.R.S.H., Niamey (1977).

Adam, J., 1965 — "Généralités sur la flore et la végétation du sénégal" Etudes sénégalaises, t.g, fasc.3, 155-214

Arensdorff, L.,1913 — Manuel pratique de la langue peulh, Paris

Arnott, D.W., 1956 — "The middle voice in Fula" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XVII, No.1, 130-144

Arnott, D.W., 1957 — "Proverbial lore and word-play of the Fulani" Africa, XXVII, 379-396

Arnott, D.W., 1960 — "Some features of the nominal class system of Fula in Nigeria, Dahomey, Niger" Afrika Und Ubersee

" 1961 — "The subjunctive in Fula, a study of relationship between meaning and syntax", African Language Studies, II, 125-138

Arnott, D.W., 1965 "Fula dialects in the Polyglotta Africana", Sierra Leone Language Review, no. 4, 109-121

" 1965 "Morphological features in the verbal system of Fula" The Journal of West African Languages, II, no. 1, 5-14

" 1965 "Sentence intonation in the Gombe dialect of Fula" African Language Studies, VI, 109-121

" 1966 "Nominal groups in Fula" Neue Afrikanistische Studien, 40-60, Hamburg

" 1970 The Nominal and Verbal Systems of Fula, Oxford

Avezac, A. de, 1845 "Vocabulaire guiolof, mandingue, foule, saracole, seraire, bagnon et floupe, recueillis (au XVII[e] s) à la Cote d'Afrique pour le service de l'ancienne Compagnie Royale du Sénégal et publiés pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale", Mémoire de la Société d'ethnologie, t.2, Paris

Ba, A.H. 1950 "Poesie Peule du Masina", Présence Africaine, 8/9, 169-184

Ba, A.H. 1961 — Koumen: Texte initiatique des pasteurs peul, Mouton

" 1962 — "Dix-huit poèmes peuls modernes", Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 2, 8, Paris

Ba, O. 1968 — "Vocabulaire de base: Introduction à l'étude du poular du Fouta Sénégalais", Bull IFAN, 30(B), 3, Dakar

" 1968 — "Le Franc-parler Toucouleur", Bull IFAN, 30(B), 2, Dakar

" 1968 — Petit vocabulaire de la langue peule parlée au Fouta Toro", CLAD, no. 35 ter., Dakar

" 1973 — "Glossaire des mots étrangers passés en poular du Fouta Toro", CLAD, 46, Dakar

" 1974 — "Les interjections en milieu peul du Fouta Toro", Notes africaines, 1-4, 107-108

" 1977 — "L'expression du temps en poular et en hassaniyya", Bull IFAN, 4(B), 853-875

" 1978 — Le Fouta Toro au carrefour des cultures, L'Harmattan

Berhaut, J., 1961 — Flore illustrée du Sénégal, Gouvt du Sénégal, Direction des Eaux et Forêts

Brierley, L., 1950 — Fulacunda Grammar, Mission Evangelique de Kounkané, Casamance

Brigada de Estudos Florestais — "Nomes vernaculos de algumas plantas da Guine Portuguesa", Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa, t. II, no. 42

Calvet, L.J. — "La transcription des langues du Sénégal, problèmes théorique pour le choix d'un alphabet officiel, avec, en annexe, le rapport Unescosur la réunion d'experts tenue à Bamako en 1966 pour la transcription des langues africaines", CLAD, 29 bis.

Canu, G., 1965 — "Les systèmes phonologiques des principales langues du Senegal. Etude comparative" CLAD, no. 13, Dakar

Corre, Dr. A., 1877 — "Les peuples du Rio Nunez", Moniteur officiel du Sénégal, (Mémoire de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris, 2 ème série, t.3)

Cremer, Dr. J. 1923 — Dictionnaire français-peul (dialecte de la Haute Volta), Œuthner, Paris

Delafosse, M., 1904 — Vocabulaire comparatif de plus de 60 langues ou dialectes parles en Côte d' Ivoire et dans les régions limitrophes, Paris

Dialo, O., 1944 — "L'imposition du prénom au Fouta Djallon", Notes africaines, 21, IFAN, Dakar

Diallo, Th., 1972 — Les institutions politiques du Fouta Dyalon au XIXe siècle, IFAN, Dakar

Dupire, M., 1962 — Peuls nomades, étude descriptive des Wodaabe du Sahel nigérien, Institut d'ethnologie, Paris

" 1970 — Organisation sociale des peuls, Plon, Paris

Eguchi, P.K., 1969 — "Fundamental word lists of two Fulani dialects in Mali (Fatoma and Bandiagara)", Kyoto University African Studies, t.9, 139-175

Faidherbe, Gen.L., 1860 — "Vocabulaire d'environ 1500 mots français avec leurs correspondants en ouolof de Saint-Louis, en poular (toucouleur) du Fouta, en soninke

(sarakholle) de Bakel, Saint-Louis", Annuaire du Sénégal, imprimerie du Gouvernement, Saint-Louis

Faidherbe, Gen.L., 1882 Grammaire et vocabulaire de la langue Poul, Maisonneuve, Paris

Gaden, H., 1913 Le Poular, Dialecte peul du Fouta Sénégalais, Etude morphologique, textes, Paris

" 1914 Le Poular, Lexique poular-frangais, Leroux, Paris

" 1929 "Les alternances de consonnes initiales du Fouldé, dialecte peul du Fouta Djalon", Outre-Mer, 3e trimestre, 286-306, Paris

" 1931 Proverbes et maximes peuls et toucouleurs, Institut d'ethnologie, Paris

" 1935 La vie d'ElHadj Omar, qacida en poular de Mohammadou Aliou Tyam, Institut d'ethnologie, Paris

Gamble, D.P., 1958 Fula-English vocabulary, Gambian dialects, Colonial Office, London.

" 1958 Gambian Fula verb list, Colonial Office, London

Homburger, L., 1929 — Les prefixes nominaux dans les parlers peul, haoussa, Paris

" 1929 — Noms de parties du corps dans les langues négro-africaines, E. Champion, Paris

" 1939 — "Le Sérère-peul", Journal of the African Society, 9, London

" 1948 — "Elements dravidiens en peul", Journal of the African Society, 18, London

Hopen, C.E., 1958 — The Pastoral Fulbe family in Gwandu, OUP, London

Houis, M., 1959 — "Du rapport entre les classes et le conditionnement de l'initiale radicale en peul", Bull IFAN, 1-2, Dakar

Johnston, Sir H.H., 1920/21 — "The Fulas and their language", Journal of the Royal African Society, XX, 79, London

Labatut, R., 1973 — Le parler d'un groupe de peuls nomades, SELAF, Paris

Labouret, H., 1952 — La langue des Peuls ou Foulbe, IFAN, Dakar

Labouret, H., 1955 — La langue des Peuls ou Foulbe, Lexigue Frangais- Peul, IFAN, Dakar

Lacroix, P.-F., 1967 — "Remarques preliminaires à une étude des emprunts arabes en Peul", Africa, No.2, London

" 1967 — "Quelques aspects de la désintegration d'un systeme classificatoire", in La classification nominale dans les langues negro-africaines, C.N.R.S., Paris

" 1972 — "La division du temps chez les peuls de 1'Adamawa", in P.-F. Lacroix (ed.), L'expression du temps dans quelques langues de 1'Ouest Africain, SELAF, no.29

Lavergne, de T., 1951 — "Pour une transcription phonétique peule unifiée", Bull IFAN, 13,3

" 1952 — "Du language descriptif en peul", Bull IFAN, 14, 4

Leith-Ross, S., 1921 — Fula grammar, Lagos, Nigeria

Ly, D., 1938 — "Coutumes et contes des Toucouleurs du Fouta Toro", Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de 1'Afrique Occidentale Frangaise, Dakar

Macbrain (R.M.) 1854 — Grammar of the Fulah Language, H. and Sons, London

Mage, E., 1868 — Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental, Sénégambie Niger 1863-1866, Hachette, Paris

Mbhammadou, El., 1974 — Lisez et écrivez le Foulfoulde, C.F.L.C., Yaounde

Martinet, A., 1967 — "Que faut-il entendre par fonction . des affixes de classe" in La classification nominale dans les langues négro-africaines, C.N.R.S.

Noye, D., 1974 — Cours de Foulfoulde: Dialecte peul du Diamare, Nord-Cameroun, Paris

Reichardt, C.A.L., 1876 — Grammar of the Fulde language, London Govt printing Office

Saint-Croix, F.W. (de) 1944 — The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, Lagos

Sauvageot, S., 1963 — "Les classes nominales et leurs fonctions dans le groupe Sénégalo-Guinéen en Ouest-Atlantique", Actes du Collogue International de Linguistique Négro-Africaine, Université de Dakar, 267-91

Schmidt, J., 1973 — "Les consonnes glottalisées du

Poular du Fouta Toro", Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines, 3, Dakar

Sow, A.I., 1966 — La Femme, La Vache, La Foi, A. Colin, Paris

" 1966 — "Remarques sur les infixes de dérivation dans le Fulfulde du Futa Djalon", Journal of West African Languages, t.3, 1, 13-21

" 1968 — Chroniques et récits du Fouta-Djalon, Klincksieck, Paris

" 1969 — Janngen fulfulde, Presence Africaine, Paris

" 1970 — Inventaire du Fonds Amadou- Hampaté Ba, repertorié à Abidjan, Paris, Klincksieck and Labethno Nanterr

" 1971 — Le Filon du bonheur éternel, de Tierno Mouhammadou-Samba Mombeya, A. Colin, Paris

" 1977 — Langues et politiques de langues en Afrique noire, Nubia and Unesco, Paris

Stennes, L.H., 1967 — A reference grammar of Adamawa Fulani, Michigan State University, USA

Swift(L.B.), Tambadu(K.) and Imhoff(P.G.), 1965	Fula Basic Course, U.S. Department of State
Taylor, F.W., 1953	A Fulani Grammar, Oxford
Westermann, D., 1909	Handbuch Der Ful-sprache, Berlin
Wilson, W.A.A., 1961	"Numeration in the languages of Guine", Africa, no.4, London
Zubko, G.V., 1977	"Aspect et temps du verbe en Fula", IFAN, 33/4(B)