BURKINA FASO
FULFULDE GRAMMAR

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Second Edition

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January 2008

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Tenkodogo

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First Edition: March 1995
Second Edition: January 2008

FOREWORD

This is the second edition of the Burkina Faso Fulfulde Grammar. This edition corrects some errors that were found in the first edition and expands some areas that were a bit vague in the earlier edition.

In particular both new and expanded information is given in the NOUNS & PRONOUNS section relating to the 24 noun classes used in Burkina Faso. I used my dictionary data base to generate illustrative word lists to help the language learner get a handle on what sort of words are categorized in each noun class. Two noun classes were added to this grammar (*ngi* & *ko₂*), as well as expanded coverage of augmentation and diminution. Some notation was also made of the relative occurrence of nouns in the various noun classes to guide language learners in focusing on the most frequently used noun classes. The sections on pluralization of nouns (Sections 5-7) are greatly expanded.

The section on verbs is also greatly expanded. I received more than a few complaints regarding the technical grammatical terminology used in the verb section of the first edition of the Burkina Faso Fulfulde Grammar. So in an effort to make this section more comprehensible, most of that terminology has been dropped. What was referred to as the Emphatic Incomplete in the first edition is called the General Incomplete in this edition. The verbs have been categorized in Table 9.1 in a slightly different way than they had been in Table 7.1 of the first edition. A lot more attention has been paid to subordination in this edition and the section on subordination (Section 25) is more comprehensive than that section was in the first edition. A number of tables of conjugation have been added, especially in the sections on Participles (Section 14) and the Preterite (Section 23). More attention is paid in this second edition to certain words triggering specific grammatical constructions.

The section on the adjectives (Section 26) is greatly expanded in this revised edition of the grammar, with most adjectives being conjugated in reference tables for you. The section on adverbs (Section 27) is expanded somewhat. A section on prepositions (Section 29) was added. The section on sentence structure is called Syntax in this edition (Sections 30 – 32) and contains some new information as well.

A glossary has been added to explain some of the more obtuse grammatical language for those who are not conversant on such matters. Hopefully it will be a help, especially as it relates to subordination and the triggering of various grammatical structures. I have added six appendices at the end of this second grammar. Appendix A has the details from my research on nouns that do not pluralize as predicted in Table 5.1. Appendix B contains the mind numbing details of the various possible singular-plural suffix combinations used with nouns. Appendix C shows the data derived from the dictionary relating to the relative occurrence of nouns by noun class. Appendix D contains two helpful charts outlining the contracted forms of most personal nouns that undergo contraction in some dialect areas. Appendix E contains the details of which infixes have been added to verbs that end with *-inde*. Also conjugations for the Stative and/or Progressive verb forms are listed for these verbs. Appendix F is a quick reference listing full conjugations for most of the verb forms listed in the grammar in all three voices.

Finally, you will find over 200 footnotes have been added with technical grammatical information for those who are interested, as well as cross references to allied subjects in the grammar. Hopefully between the Table of Contents and the footnotes you will be able to find the information you seek. Occasionally grammatical notes have been added in the body of the text in small print. Feel free to overlook such information if you are not overly curious about what is happening in Fulfulde grammar. On the other hand if you like to know why things are a certain way then hopefully these notes will be a help to you.

I have learned a tremendous amount in preparing this grammar. It has forced me to pay attention to things I never paid attention to previously. After 20 years here in Burkina that is a bit embarrassing to say. Hopefully some of the "mysteries" of Fulfulde unlocked in this edition of the grammar will keep YOU from going 20 years without understand how and why these things work.

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January 2008

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INTRODUCTION

1. EXPLANATION OF EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

Just a word about a few editorial conventions employed throughout this grammar. As mention in the Foreword, I received more than a few complaints regarding some of the technical grammatical terminology used in the verb section of the first edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde Grammar*. In particular the discussion of moods was incomprehensible to some. So in an effort to make this section more understandable, most of that terminology has been dropped. However, this is a grammar, and it is hard to speak about grammatical things without using some grammatical terminology. I hope this second edition will prove more user friendly, but it would be wise to consult the glossary (page 179 *ff.*) if you encounter unfamiliar terms. English words which are discussed in the glossary are indicated by SMALL CAPS throughout the grammar. The term TENSE, which we are used to using in English and French, is not totally applicable in Fulfulde (see TENSE in the Glossary for a discussion of why that is). So rather than employ the term verb TENSE, I use the term verb FORM. So when you see the word FORM in small caps recognize I am speaking about various verb "tenses." If you see the word form in normal case letters then the word is being used in its normal generic sense. Fulfulde phrases and words are in *italics* when standing alone, or when occurring in an English sentence. Generally, the key explaining the highlighting of examples with bold or italics type, or with underlining, is placed just prior to the examples.

One of the noun class markers making its first appearance in this grammar is the plural noun class *ko* in Group III (see page 29 for a discussion of this marker and page 31 for a discussion of Groups). Because there is also a singular *ko* in Group I, the singular ko is represented as ko_1 throughout this grammar (and the dictionary for that matter). The plural *ko* in Group III is represented as ko_2. Understand, this is just for the sake of clarity. When you actually use either of these in your writing do not use the subscripted numbers!

This edition of the Fulfulde grammar is divided into 32 sections. A glance at the Table of Contents at the beginning of the grammar will give one a bird's eye view of the grammar's overall structure. Additionally footnotes will point the reader to sections related to the one in consideration. When referred to in this specific way the word "section" will be capitalized; e.g. Section 1 is a discussion of editorial conventions employed in the preparation of this grammar. Likewise, when referring to the various verb FORMs covered by this grammar, the names of the FORMs will be capitalized; e.g. General Complete.

Periodically the grammar refers to the stem or the root of a word. This might be a noun or a verb. Sometime the root symbol (√) will be used with a root; e.g. √*janng-*.

Common abreviations used in this grammar include:

adj. – adjective	*ff.* – and following
adv. – adverb	interj. - interjection
conj. – conjunction	interrog. - interrogative
e.g. – for example	p. - page
i.e. – in other words	pp. - pages
c*f.* – cross reference	

2. FULFULDE DIALECTS

In Fulfulde there are eight major dialects:
Fuuta Toro - northern Senegal
Fulakunda - southern Senegal, Guinea Bissau
Fuuta Jalon - Guinea
Maasina - Mali, Burkina Faso
Sokoto - Niger, northwestern Nigeria, southeastern Burkina Faso
Borgu - Benin
Bororo - central Niger
Adamawa - eastern Nigeria, Cameroon

It is said that as one travels from west to east across the Sahel, there is a high degree of intelligibility between the different dialects of Fulfulde. However, if one travels south into Guinea or Benin, intelligibility drops considerably. A speaker of the Maasina dialect will find that communication with Fuuta Jalon is difficult but considerably easier with Fulakunda and Fuuta Toro; Liptaako in northeastern Burkina is quite workable but there are some difficulties; Borgu in Benin is difficult to understand.

Here in Burkina Faso we know of eleven "minor" dialects:
Baniire – Yako region
Boobalaare - Barani-Nouna region
Foynankoore - Ouahigouya region
Gaawoore - Déou area (originating in Gao, Mali)
Gurmaare - Gourma dominated region
Jelgoore - Djibo region
Liptaakuure - Dori region
Moosiire - Mossi dominated central plateau
Nommaare - Fada region
Yaagaare - Sebba region
Yaangaare - Komin-Yanga region and south

3. FULFULDE ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Pronunciation is an important part of language learning. Speaking correctly is not just about using the right words but also pronouncing those words correctly. The good news is that Fulfulde is not a tonal language. There are a few sounds that will sound different from English or French sounds. Listen for anything that sounds different, note it, and practice trying to reproduce it the way a *Pullo* says it.

The vowels in Fulfulde are a, e, i, o, u. The "i" and "e" are formed in the front part of the mouth, the "a" in the central area, and the "o" and "u" at the back. The "i" is just like the English vowel found in "ship," "sheep," "dip" or "deep"; the *Fulɓe* don't distinguish between these two "i" sounds (which are both *close front vowels* - the tongue being close to roof of the mouth.)

The "e" sound is as found in "bed." Fulfulde words can end in this sound, unlike English which would glide onto a "y" sound (e.g. when one says "cafe" one does not use the vowel used in "fed," one tends to say "kafey." Get used to hearing and pronouncing this vowel at the end of a word).

The "a" sound. If you say "ah" the tongue is relaxed not trying to move forward or back. For British/Australian English, as in "hut" (Note: NOT as in "hat" which is a fronted "a." The same goes for "Ouaga" – NOT as in "wag" but as in "wah").
For some American speakers this "a" is as found in "hot" (whereas British etc. tend to round lips in this word "hot." The Fulfulde "a" is not made with lip rounding).

The "o" sound IS made with lip rounding. For British/Aussie speakers this is like the vowel in "or," "ought" and "awe." For most American speakers this is like the first part of "or" – and note how the tongue is further back and higher for "or" than it is for "aah" (the latter being the way some U.S dialects pronounce "awe").

The "u" sound is also made with rounded lips. If you pronounce an English "w" and hold it, you'll basically have this "u" – the tongue is well back and high in the mouth. So if you see the word "*buguuru*" you will NOT pronounce it like the English word "bug."

Vowel length – all these vowels can be short or long and are shown as such by writing one vowel for short vowels and two vowels for long. Note the word "*buguuru*" in the above paragraph. The middle part "guu" is the same sound, but the vowel is held for twice as long. (Note: English has long and short vowels but it's not reflected in the spelling; the "e" in ferry is short while the same "e" sound in "fairy" is long.)

When a vowel is followed by a "w" or a "y" the effect is that of a diphthong or *glided vowel*. For example "*mawri*" (next year) sounds pretty much like the English word "maori." NOTE: be mindful of the fact that Fulfulde words and letters are always pronounced as written, unlike English. For example "*jaw*" (an intensifier for "hot") is not ever pronounced like the English word "jaw," but as in "jah" which then glides onto a "w" (similar to "jowl" but without the "l"). So the Fulfulde vowel retains its sound (as described above), then glides on to "w" or "y." Hence "*fey*" (meaning "nothing at all") sounds for the "fe" portion like the first part of "fed," then the tongue glides to the "y" position.

The consonants are: b, ɓ, c, d, ɗ, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, p, r, s, t w, y, '. There are also nasalized consonants: mb, nd, ng, nj, and ny.

The letters "ɓ," "ɗ," and "ƴ" are implosives. The "ɓ" corresponds to "b" and the "ɗ" to "d," but air passes into the mouth instead of out. The "ɗ" is made further back than the "d." Feel with your tongue the part of the mouth where "ch" and "j" and made. The broad central area of the tongue comes down from that front part of the palate to make the "ƴ" sound.

The ' is a *glottal stop*. This marks a place where one briefly stops the flow of air. This is a regular feature in Fulfulde. For example in "*go'o*" (one), the flow of air is stopped between the first and second "o."

The "g" is always hard as in "got." The "j" is similar to the "j" in "joy." The "c" is similar to the "ch" in "cheap." The "s" is always unvoiced. There is no "z" apart from the rare borrowed word - "z" is the voiced equivalent of "s." There is no "v" (except for some dialects of Fulfulde in Eastern Niger and Nigeria).

The "ŋ" represents the sound "ng" as in "sing." In Fulfulde this can occur at the start of the word. Try saying "singing," then drop the "s" to give "inging," then drop the first i to give "nging" – this would be written "ŋiŋ" in Fulfulde. Well, "ŋiŋ" is not a word, but *ŋoŋi* (sleepy) is.

Consonants, like vowels, can also be lengthened. Hence *feli* (blamed) is pronounced differently than *felli* (exploded), the latter having the "l" held for twice as long – OR think of it as saying "fel" then "li." Often one sees a double "ll" (or other consonant) in English with no lengthening intended at all (e.g. "falling," "toll," "mutter," "possum"). But just occasionally, even in English, this lengthening of consonants can be seen reflected in writing – consider the "n" in "lioness," and compare it to the "nn" in "brokenness." One tends to lengthen the "n" in the latter, since one finishes "broken" before progressing to "ness."

Intonation: It's good to listen to the way a *Pullo* speaks. Often with question sentences the intonation goes up at the end of the phrase, which is somewhat like English. It can be good to listen to recordings of native speakers and note the differences between questions and statements and commands on a variety of topics.

Consonant/vowel patterns: Fulfulde has cvc, cvvc and cvcc patterns.

CVC: examples:	*war-*
	won-
	fin-

CVVC: examples:	*hiir-*
	waal-
	yaar-

CVCC: examples:	*hawr-*
	jowt-
	hokk-

The word order for *declarative* sentences is generally similar to English, that is: Subject-Verb-Object. For example:

> *Burayma jowti kam.*
> Burayma greeted me.

NOUNS & PRONOUNS

Nouns in Fulfulde are derived from three sources. There are some nouns which are native to Fulfulde and which are not derived from a verb. Others are native to Fulfulde, but are derived from a verb. Still others are borrowed words from other languages. All of these nouns fall into one of 24 noun classes. These noun classes not only categorize the nouns, but the noun class "markers" themselves are used extensively as various pronouns in Fulfulde grammar.

4. NOUN CLASSES

One of the difficult things for Anglophones is the noun class system in Fulfulde. We have nothing like this in English. If the *le*, *la* and *les* of French is a headache for Anglophones, then the Fulfulde system of noun classes is a nightmare. The Fulfulde of Burkina Faso uses 24 noun classes to classify its nouns. Nineteen of these 24 noun classes are used with singular forms of nouns, leaving five noun classes which are used with plural forms of nouns.

Perhaps it would be helpful to bear in mind that Fulfulde has a tendency to rhyme nouns and pronouns. For most nouns native to Fulfulde, the sound at the end of the word determines what noun class that word is in. Often, certain sorts of nouns are grouped together by the use of a common ending. A good example of this would be nouns referring to liquids, which fall in the *ɗam* noun class. These words have endings that rhyme with *ɗam*, e.g. *ndiyam* (water), *kosam* (milk), *nebbam* (oil). See below for a fuller discussion of what sort of nouns are grouped into each noun class.

The *Fulɓe* in Burkina Faso have 24 different sounds they make at the end of their nouns, hence the 24 different noun classes. Sometimes, however, this rhyming mechanism breaks down with nouns that have been borrowed from other languages. Many of these borrowed words have been lumped together in the *o* noun class used for persons.

However, often inexplicably, some borrowed words have been "Fulfuldasized" and then integrated into a noun class that would rhyme with the sound at the end of the word. Here are couple of examples: the word for "table," coming to Fulfulde via the French *la table*, is rendered *taabawal ngal* in *Jelgoore* and *Yaagaare*, and *taabal ngal* in *Moosiire* and *Gurmaare*. The word for "letter," coming to Fulfulde from the French *la lettre,* is rendered *leetere nde* in Fulfulde. Note in each case, the way the *Fulɓe* transformed the word when they borrowed it automatically caused it to fall into one of the noun classes. In the case of *taabawal* or *taabal* the noun class that rhymes is *ngal*. Because of the form of the French word *table,* and because tables are often made of wood, it makes some sense that this word has been placed into the *ngal* noun class. In the case of *leetere* the noun class that rhymes is *nde*. Because the form of the French word *lettre*, and because *leetere* is a "bookish" sort of word, one can see how it got put into the *nde* noun class. Note that it is not always clear to an Anglophone why a certain word was placed into particular noun class. See **A. The Nineteen Singular Noun Classes** beginning on page 7 for details about categories of words placed in each noun class.

For words borrowed from French that begin with a vowel, often the article is included into the Fulfulde version of the word. For example, the word for "school," coming from the French word *l'école*, is *lakkol ngol* in Fulfulde. The word for "tax," coming from the French word *l'impôt,* is *lampo ngo* in Fulfulde. Again the sound at the end of these transformed words determines which noun class the word would be placed in. In these two cases how the *Fulɓe* heard these words being pronounced by the French lent to their being placed into the *ngol* and *ngo* noun classes respectively.

As mentioned above, many of the noun classes seem to focus on a particular feature of the words in that noun class. Two particular features which should be mention are "smallness" and "largeness." Singular nouns used in a diminutive sense are placed into the *kal, ngel* and *ngu* noun classes, while plural diminutives are found in the *koy* noun class (actually words in the *kal* class tend not to form plurals). Singular nouns used in an augmentative sense can be placed into either the *kol*, *nga*, *ngal*, or *ngi* noun class, while the plural forms of these augmentative words (excepting *kol*) are placed into the ko_2 noun class. This plural noun class will be identified as ko_2 because there is a singular noun class *ko* as well (which will be referred to as ko_1). Note that nouns can be either diminished or augmented by manipulating the endings in a predictable way. These manipulated words then fall into the appropriate noun class. For example:

> *nagge nge* (the cow) → *na'i ɗi* (the cows)
> *naggel ngel* (the small cow) → *na'oy koy* (the small cows)
> *naggu ngu* (the small cow) → *na'oy koy* (the small cows)
> *nagga nga* (the big cow) → *na'o ko_2* (the big cows)
> *naggal ngal* (the big cow) → *na'o ko_2* (the big cows)
> *naggi ngi* (the big cow) → *na'o ko_2* (the big cows)
>
> *nyale nge* (the heifer) → *nyalbi ɗi* (the heifers)
> *nyalahel ngel* (the small heifer) → *nyalahoy koy* (the small heifers)
> *nyalohol kol* (the big heifer) → *nyalbi ɗi* (the big heifers)

The other feature of these noun classes is that the first letter of singular nouns may undergo a change when the noun is diminished, augmented or pluralized. This is fully explained in Section 5, on page 30, but I mention it here because there are predictable patterns of how most native Fulfulde words are transformed. For most dialects here in Burkina Faso this results in the noun classes falling into three groups. Group one includes the singular noun classes ko_1, *nde*, *ndu*, *nge*, and *ngo*, as well as the plural noun class *ɓe*. Group two includes the singular noun classes *ɗum*, *kal*, *kol*, *ngal*, *ngel*, *ngol*, and *o*, as well as the plural noun classes *ɗe* and *ɗi*. Group three includes the singular noun classes *ɗam*, *ka*, *ki*, *ndi*, *nga*, *ngi*, and *ngu*, as well as the plural noun classes ko_2 and *koy*. It would be a good idea for the beginning student to start thinking of these various noun classes as being members of these three groups from the very beginning of one's studies. These words, making up the 24 noun classes, are called noun class "markers." As you will see in the section on pronouns below, these noun class "markers" are very important components of the Fulfulde nominal grammatical structure.

A. The Nineteen Singular Noun Classes:

1. *ɗam* class (Group III): Nouns in the *ɗam* noun class make up only 1.5% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary.[1]

This is the noun class for <u>liquids</u>. For example:

ɓiɓɓam/ɓiɗɗam yitere/hitere (eye ball)
cayam (rain water)
cemmbam (ginger drink)
ɗaaniiɗam (sour milk, yogurt)
ilam (spring or flood)
njareteeɗam/njaram (drinkable liquid)
kaaɗam (yogurt)
kaynaaɗam (cooked butter)
kammbulam (the water used in washing millet)
keefam (bile)
kenkenam (rain with gale force winds)
kosam (milk)
li'am (ingredient for making sauce)

lammuɗam (sour milk)
lempam or *lommbam* (vaginal fluid)
lootam (water to wash millet)
mbubbam (rain water)
mbusam (bone marrow)
ndiyam (water)
ndufam (semen)
nebbam (oil)
njunkumajam (rain water)
cabijam (local wine)
tuyƴam (blood from nose bleed)
ƴiiƴam (blood)

However, many <u>abstract things</u> are also included in this noun class. For example:

> *bumndam* (blindness)
> *enɗam* (solidarity)
> *kaccam* (the limit of one's vision, the horizon)
> *kiram* (jealousy)
> *kisindam* (salvation)
> *kuyam* (joy, happiness)
> *ndakam* (sweet, pleasant)
> *nguurndam* (life)
> *njaynam* (light)
> *puuyndam* (folly)
> *toowndam* (height)
> *yaynam* (light)

There are also a few miscellaneous concrete nouns in this class. For example:

> *ɓanndujam* (leprosy)
> *baridam* (a horse race)
> *lamɗam* (salt)

Note that none of these words has a plural form in Fulfulde.

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[1] The dictionary referred to throughout this grammar is the second edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde/English-English/Fulfulde Dictionary*. There are 3,609 listings for singular Fulfulde nouns in that dictionary. 53 of these singular nouns are in the *ɗam* noun class. See Appendix C for a complete listing of how many nouns are in the dictionary for each of the singular noun classes, and the what is the percentage of the total for each class. Mentioning the number of nouns per noun class listed in the dictionary is not meant to imply either a definitive or exhaustive listing of these nouns, but rather to give the student a relative idea of the occurrence of nouns in that class, and as such the relative importance of that noun class in the over all scheme of the Fulfulde nominal system.

2. *ɗum* class (Group II): There are only four words in the *ɗum* noun class listed in the dictionary.

   Things of an <u>indefinite nature</u> are grouped in this noun class.
   For example:
   > *ɗumaanin* (something)
   > *goɗɗum* (something)

   This class is often used to create nouns (actually participles) out of verb roots, which is why there are so few entries in the dictionary. See page 98 *ff.* on how participles are formed. For example:
   > *belɗum* (something sweet, good) from *welude*
   > *bulɗum* (something hot) from *wulude*
   > *bonɗum* (something bad) from *bonude*
   > *garoojum* (the future) from *warude*

3. *ka* class (Group III): Nouns in the *ka* noun class make up 1.6% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. There are no particular categories of nouns in this class. Examples:
   > *ɗomka* (thirst)
   > *laana* (canoe)
   > *haala* (word)
   > *saaya* (man's robe)

4. *kal* class (Group II): It is one of two noun classes used to signify the **diminution** of a normal noun. Nouns in this class refer to a <u>small amount</u> of something. These nouns can be taken from other noun classes and the ending changed to signify a small amount of that thing.[2] For example:
   > *lamɗam* (salt) *ɗam* → *lamkal* (a little salt) *kal*
   > *seeɗa* (a little bit) → *seeɗakal* (a little tiny bit) *kal*
   > *ndiyam* (water) *ɗam* → *dihal* (a little water) *kal*
   > *kosam* (milk) *ɗam* → *kosal* (a little milk) *kal*

   Nouns in the *kal* class generally do not have plural forms, but in the rare case where there is a plural *koy* is used.[3]

5. *ki* class (Group III): Nouns in the *ki* noun class make up only 4.6% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary.

   This is the class that <u>trees and bushes</u> are placed in.
   For example:
   > *alluki* (*Acacia sieberana*)
   > *basi* (medicines made from trees)
   > *ɓokki* (baobab tree - *Adansonia digitata*)
   > *lekki* (tree, medicine made from a tree)
   > *manngoroohi* (mango tree - *Mangifera indica*)
   > *mbamambi* (milk weed like shrub - *Calotropis procera*)

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[2] There is only one noun in the *kal* noun class listed in the dictionary (*dihal*).
[3] *kosal kal* (a little milk) → *kosoy koy* (For example different dishes that each only have a little milk.)

Other concrete things are also placed in the *ki* noun class, especially <u>weapons with blades</u>, such as knives and swords.
For example:

ɓataaki (letter)	*laɓi* (knife)
cuurki (smoke or steam)	*kaafaahi* (sword)
danki (hanger)	*karantiihi* (machete)
laasi (tail)	*ngarjaahi* (serrated knife)
nawki (arm pit)	
tasbiihi or *taybiihi* (rosary beads)	

Additionally there are a number of <u>abstract terms</u> found in this noun class. Note the SUFFIXes "-eefi" "-eeki" or "-uki" are often added to verb roots to form a noun. Because *ki* rhymes with these SUFFIXes, these words fall into the *ki* noun class.

ɓooyeefi (duration, length of time)
ɓuttideefi (thickness)
deppeefi (width or breadth)
doogi or *dowki* (shade)
luggeefi (depth)
moyyuki (goodness, kindness)
ŋari (beauty)
ngarki (the arrival)
nguli (heat, sweat)
njaajeefi (width)
njaaweeki (speed)
njuuteefi (length)
piilki (environment)
rafi (lack, failure)
teddeefi (weight)
tekkeefi (thickness)
yonki (soul, life)

6. *ko₁* class (Group I): Nouns in the *ko₁* noun class make up only 1.1% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. As mentioned in the introduction there is a singular *ko* (*ko₁*), and a plural *ko* (*ko₂*), which is used with augmented nouns.

Many <u>plants</u>, parts of plants, and <u>grasses</u> are grouped into this noun class. For example:

bogodollo (grass - *Pennisetum pedicellatum*)
ɓokko (bark of baobab tree)
doobu or *dumo* (bran)
haabu (cotton)
haako (a leaf)
hoy, li'o, lu'o or *takay* (sauce - often made from baobab leaves)
hudo (grass)
hufo (seed coat)
luuro (hollow in a tree)

There are also a few miscellaneous words in this noun class, most of which refer to either <u>noise</u>, or <u>hair</u> on one's head.
For example:

duko (noise)	*sumsumko* (mustache)
hunnduko (mouth)	*waywayko* (eyebrow)
olko (noise)	*wuyko* (hair)

7. *kol* noun class (Group II): There are only seven nouns listed in the dictionary which are found in the *kol* noun class. Only one of these is not an augmentation of another noun or an avoidance of a sexual innuendo – *kaakol kol*! It is one of four noun classes used to signify the **augmentation** of a normal noun. However, unlike with *nga*, *ngal*, and *ngi*, which are the other noun classes used for augmentation, not just any word can be transformed by manipulating its ending using *kol*. Very few words are augmented using *kol*. Here are the ones we know of:

> *nyale* (heifer) *nge* → *nyalahol* (large heifer) *kol*
> *dammuccere* (sheep or goat) *nde* → *dammuhol* (large sheep or goat) *kol*

Kol is also used instead of *ngu* by some speakers to avoid any sexual innuendos (see discussion on this on page 24 under the *ngu* class). For example:

> *puccu* (horse) *ngu* → *puccu kol*
> *mbaalu* (sheep) *ngu* → *mbaalu kol*
> *nguru* (skin) *ngu* → *nguru kol*

Note: the plural noun class of *kol* is not *ko₂* but rather either *ɗe* or *ɗi*.

8. *nde* noun class (Group I): Nouns in the *nde* noun class make up 21% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. Several categories stand out in this large noun class. Two categories of words frequently found in this noun class are words related to <u>space</u> and <u>time</u>. For example:

Space

ɓaade (courtyard)
banŋeere, deende (neighborhood)
batirde (meeting place)
bawlirde, fiilorde (place to urniate)
ɓooltannde (abrasion)
debeere (village of blacks)
defirde, haatande (kitchen)
dellitorde, jippitorde, juunnitorde, tellitorde, wudditoroonde (side of mountain)
feenaare, huumaare, waalaare (place to burn bush)
gere, joonnde, lunnde, nokkuure (place)
hoɗorde, winnde (place to summer)
huɓeere (village with brick homes)
hurfaare, moonnde (salt lick)
juulirde, misiide, rewrude (place of Muslim prayer)
juurdude, regorde (access point to water)
kanngeere, tiggere (hitching post)
laamorde (throne, kingdom)
ladde (the bush)
lokoɣere (sub-cardinal direction – such as southwest)
lootorde (place to bathe)
nyallirde (place to pass afternoon)
nyomre (grassy place)
saabeere, ufirde, yanaande (grave)
seende (sandy area)
sokkirde, ɣarorde (threshing area)
taliyaare, tariyaare (open space, yard)

toggere (forest)
tummbere (vacant lot)
waalirde (resting place)
yaayre (flood plain)

Time

aawre (planting time)
asayre or *aseere* (week)
dabbunde (cold season)
hankin (last night)
hannden (today)
hejjere (night)
hikka (this year)
hitaande (year)
hokkere (time without rain during summer)
jaango (tomorrow)
jeddiire (week)
keeɲan, kiyam (yesterday)
rawanin/rowanin (last year)
rawtanin (two years ago)
waldere (one day)
ɲaamnde (autumn)
yamnde, yannde (hour)
yontere (week or year)

There are several nouns having to do with "bookish" things.
For example:

aayaare (verse - from Arabic)	*soorte* (chapter)
dewtere (book)	*sottinere* (copy)
harfeere (word – from Arabic)	*tindinoore* (explanation)
jande (study)	*tummbitere* (pages of book)

Names of <u>languages</u> are often in the *nde* class because of the tendency
to use the SUFFIXes *-aare*, *-iire*, *-uure*, *-nkoore* for languages other
than Fulfulde. Examples:

Faransiire (French)	*Jelgoore*
Finisinkoore (Phoenician)	*Lenyaare* (Bissa)

The names of various <u>animals</u>, <u>birds</u>, and <u>bugs</u> are also in the *nde*
class. For example:

amre or *huunyaare* (tortoise)	*jigaare* (hooded vulture)
benngaare (honey bee)	*korikoriyaare* (hyena)
biibinoore (assassin bug)	*lingolinngoore* (centipede)
boroore, kunkiriire, kuriire (turtle)	*malaganndiire* (genet)
dagammeere, gaynaare (badger)	*ngooyaare, zuuriire* (owl)
giisoore, siigaare (ground squirrel)	*saɲalde, sangalde* (porcupine)
borgaare, hampurde, hanfurde (duiker)	*siilde* (kite, hawk, eagle)
gangaare, ngangaare (termite)	*silgaare* (black kite)
fooskere (carpet viper)	*somre* (cricket)
hobbere, hoowonndoroore (dung beetle)	*wojere* (rabbit)
huunde (an animal)	*yaare* (scorpion)
jabaare, joboore (oribi)	*yalaare* (cockroach)

And things to do with <u>teeth</u>! Examples:
>gaggitere, gawuure, ŋgaŋ (molar)
>hooreere, musinirde (incissor)
>nyiinde (tooth)
>rawaanduure, sakkitirde, yareere (canine tooth)
>ŋappere, ŋelde, nyelde (missing teeth)

One of the main categories for words in the *nde* noun class would be things that are "roundish." For example:

albaccere (onion – from Arabic)
ɓernde (heart)
ɓoccoonde (egg, testicle)
ɓodde (clump of dirt, pill)
ɓollere (welt)
ɓooyre (kidney)
ɓoyre (fruit of baobab)
ɓuusoonde, hirɓihirɓoonde (head of femur)
ɓulirde (hole with water seeping out)
ɓuure (ulcer)
buyakkaare (guava fruit – from Moré)
cenaare (black cakes used to make sauce)
daalde (welt)
denŋeere, ruunde, tummbere (island)
jooniire, ndoosaare (seed pod of *P. biglobosa*)
durdude, waynaare (omasum)
duulde, yennoore (lymph node)
duurude (soft spot on baby's head)
fedoode (button or snap)
fellere (a spot)
feraare (squash or pumpkin)
fergere (stumbling stone)
fimre, fiwre (knot)
fiyaare, hootonnde, tuggere (ring)
fontere, fooroonde (testicle)
funkere, futtere (blister)
fuyre (nodule, pimple)
galwagadoore, henndure (unfertilized egg)
bokkoore, juuruure, wulaare (bundle of millet)
giriire, yiriire (chick pea)
guylaare, tammere (bulb of water lily)
haareere, holoore (shea nut)
handeere (woven basket)
hanhande (gall bladder)
harmajolloore, hononde (Adam's apple)
hayre (rock, bead)
hiinyalde (gizzard)
hippoode, ommboode, uddoode (lid)
hitere, yitere (eye)
honndolde, horondolde (ant hill)
hoodere (star)
hoore (head)
horde (scoop or cup)
horitande, kaataare, saabunnde (soap)
faannde, fayannde, fotiire (cooking pot)
jaawleere (Guinea fowl egg)

joorde, saadaare, ɣoolde (pile, mound)
jorfoorde (noose)
kakoore (coconut)
kundiire, toojoore, ɣuugoode (hump of cow)
lokuure (calabash used to draw water)
lonngere (lump of food)
loonde, yuuguure (clay water pot)
luggere (hole in the ground)
lukaare (granary)
malfaare, tenngaare (grass hat)
malmalluure, maramalluure (hail stone)
manngoroore (mango)
morreere, yabere, yebere (bullet)
mudde, wurduunde (ball of millet flour)
muddiire (scoop, measure)
mumnande, tammbannde (fist)
nyabaare, wannjalde (wart, mole)
nyegeere (toilet)
rendere (watermelon)
sappaare (cap with a bill)
seedeere (large bead)
seedere (cowrie shell)
sitoroore (lemon or lime)
taarde (ring of palm leaves)
tamaatiire (tomato)
tefaare, tepaare, tuntere (large rock)
teeleende (bald spot)
teppere (heel)
tiilde, tilɣolde, tonɣolde (hill)
tiinde (forehead)
toɓɓere (dot, drop)
tummbude (calabash)
uugorde, woogirde (pumice stone)
waadere (drop)
waalde (bead)
waamnde (hill, mountain)
waande (termite hill)
wawaade (sheild, buckler)
wawlaare (pillow)
wayre (dug out pool)
wudde, yulde (hole)
yelleere (palm fruit)
yeyre (udder)
yibbere (fruit of fig tree)
ɣugoore, ɣuugoode (hump of camel)
ɣuulde (lump or bump)

Several diseases are in the nde group. For example:
    ɓuure (sore)
    fettennde (abscess in arm pit)
    fooroonde (swollen testicle)
    fuukoode, yookoode (goiter)
    fuskere, sehere, temmeere (abscess on foot)
    heende, raaynde, seyre, (actinobacillosis)
    jontere (fever, malaria)
    layre (lameness)
    saɗawere (rash)
    sigiire, wilsere (trypanosomiasis)
    suyre (pulled muscle)
    woongere (craving, addiction)

Words to do to with the escape of gas from the human body are generally placed into this noun class. For example:
    fuytere, suytere (flatulence)
    gaatere (burp)
    likkiyinde, liikude, liyyitidde (hiccup)

The *nde* noun class is also the depository for many abstract nouns. For example:

ɓernde, hirnyere, hukkere, tikkere (anger)
bonnde, fankarde (evil)
ɗaayre, tannyaare, wannyaare (ugliness)
dabare (magic, sorcery)
darnde (height)
ɗowtaare, leyyinaare (humility)
edaare (modesty)
fayde (fatness)
feeteende (bravery, courage)
feloore, nyiŋoore (blame, fault)
femɗere (coordination)
ferwere (solitude, isolation)
fewre (lie)
fikitaare, sankitaare (chaos)
fodoore (promise)
fooyre, iilde (glow, radiance)
furkaare, fuunyaare (recklessness)
fuuyre (foolishness)
habisaare, habisere (greed)
halkere, lallere (damnation, lostness)
hoolaare (faith trust)
hunayeere (oath)
huyfere (laziness, lightness)
lammere (sourness, shamelessness)
maayde (death)
majjere (ignorance, lostness)
manoore (reputation, fame)
mantaare (conceit)
mawnitaare (boasting)
meere (worthlessness)

moyyere (grace, kindness)
munaafikaare, waccoore (slander, gossip)
muurtere (rebellion)
ŋaarnde, nyaagunde, roŋre (solicitation)
nantaare (self control)
newaare (ease, comfort)
nimre, niwre (darkness)
nyaaɗere (harshness, severity)
nyaŋre (betrayal)
nyokkitaare, yukkinaare (pride)
reentaare (prudence, sensibility)
seenaare (joy)
senaare (holiness)
sulaare (drunkenness)
surande (moral support)
suroore (pardon)
wajoore, yennoore (insult)
wanyanere (jealousy)
wattinkinaare (hypocrisy)
wattitaare (redemption)
weltaare (rejoicing)
woofannde, woowre (mistake, error)
yaalaare (misery)
yankere (profanity)
yeeweende (loneliness)
yettoore (praise)
yoyre (discernment)
yukkinaare (arrogance)
yurmeende (mercy, compassion)

9. *ndi* noun class (Group III): Nouns in the *ndi* noun class make up 4.4% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary.

This noun class contains many <u>mass nouns</u> where many small things, or a number of individual objects, are grouped together to form a whole. For example:

conndi (flour)
gawri, muutiri, yoyiiri (millet)
jawdi (livestock, wealth)
lacciri, lakkiri (steamed millet)
leydi (earth, land, country)
kamanaari (corn)
keefudi (scraps)
mbayeeri (sorghum)
mbuuduuri, ɣuwdi (race, lineage)
mumuri, muuri (roasted grain)
namtiiri, siiliiri (sesame)
ndoondi (ashes)
nganyaandi (hatred, enmity)
ngenndi, njenndi (town)

njaareendi (sand)
njobdi (pay, wages)
njooɓaari (provisions for trip)
njuumndi (honey)
njuyɓudi (table of contents, index)
nyaamri (food)
nyiiri (millet porridge)
pagguri (grass seed)
pinndi (flower)
puddi (henna powder)
puundi (decay, rust, mold)
sa'iiri (barley)
tuundi (dirt, sin, worms)
ɣulndi (soot)

The names of most <u>male animals</u> are in the *ndi* noun class.
For example:
    ɓujiri, ujiri (steer)
    cukuuri, culkuuri (billy goat)
    ɗaanndi (tame bull used to ride)
    ginndoori, mboygoori, ndamndi (male goat)
    kalahaldi (large bull)
    layyaari (sacrificial goat or sheep)
    ndontoori (rooster)
    ngaari (bull)
    ngurgurtiri (young bull)
    njawdiri (ram)

Some <u>snakes</u> fall into this noun class as well. For example:
    mboddi (snake)
    mbosiri, moɗoori (rock python)
    nyaanndi, nyangoori (puff adder)

Some <u>metals</u> are also in this noun class. For example:
    cardi (silver)
    ciiwdi, taaynaandi (molten metal)
    njamndi (metal/iron)
    njamndi mboɗeeri (brass)

10. *ndu* noun class (Group I): Nouns in the *ndu* noun class make up 5.9% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary.

Some <u>animals</u> and <u>birds</u> are found in this noun class.
For example:
    ɓoosaaru, rawaandu (dog)
    buuru, fowru, leeyndu (hyena)
    buubabaheeru, lohuru, santingaaru, wersawersaandu (long-tailed dove)
    cawcawuuru, hoobalaaru (vitelline masked weaver)
    ceegaaru, heegaaru, seeniiru (parrot)
    cirgu, colu, ŋomngu (leopard)
    daamihoonyoldu, jamhoonyoldu, yerganaaru (snail)
    doomaaru (ground hog)
    doomburu (mouse)
    eleleldu (monitor lizard)
    faamburu (frog, toad)
    fallaandu (lizard)
    foondu (bird)
    gusuuru, raygooru, saayogooru (rat)
    hoɓɓuru, jumbaliiru (village weaver)
    huutooru (iguana)
    janjannguuru (bell bat)
    joldu, zazammbaaru (flying squirrel)
    junkuuru, wewbaagaaru (Fennec fox)
    keleweleeru (swift)
    kotooru, pataaru (baboon)
    kurkuruuru, ngiroowu, njiroowu (pig)
    laayooru (red monkey)
    laddeeru, muusuuru ladde, rawaandu ladde, rawaandu (lion)
    lantaaru, lantigaaru, lolongaaru (Senegal bushbaby)
    muusuuru, ŋuusuuru (cat)
    ndolu, suundu, woybaagaaru (jackal)
    sabboondu (Vieillot's black weaver)
    samsammoondu (hedgehog)
    siisaandu (glossy-backed drongo)
    soltooru (ground squirrel)
    soppanataaru (woodpecker)
    waandu (monkey)
    wilwilndu (bat)
    woyɓoondu (weavers)
    wuugaandu (dove)
    yeendu (aardvark)

The names of many kinds of <u>houses</u> are in this noun class.
For example:
    bombooru, kunnguuru, loofeeru (round mud brick hut)
    buguuru, huɗooru, sukkuuru (grass hut)
    fitiiru, kurukuru (hen house)
    nyallirdu, worwordu (man's house)
    suudu (house)
    winndeeru (vacant house)
    wortaldu (bachelor's house)

The names of many <u>musical instruments</u> are in the *ndu* noun class.
For example:
    duuliyaaru, dullaaru, seeseeru, sereendu (flute)
    geegeeru, googineeru, yeegineeru (fiddle)
    hoddu (guitar)
    bentigaaru, bukkooru, kurkutu, lonngaaru, lungaaru,
    mbaggu, ndondoloowu (drums)

Most of the names denoting <u>demons</u> are in this noun class.
For example:
    foondu, ginnaaru, henndu, jinnaaru, nginnaawu (demon)
    tooru (idol)

Because the *Fulɓe* use a lunar calandar, the word for <u>month</u> is the same as the word for moon. Not surprisingly the name of five of the months also fall into the *ndu* noun class. Some of these names are derived from Arabic.

lewru (moon, month)	*Suumayeeru* (9th month)
Hoddaaru (5th month)	*Juuldaandu* (10th month)
Raajibimawndu (7th month)	*Siiwtaraandu* (11th month)

11. *nga* noun class (Group III): Nouns in the *nga* noun class make up 2.4% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. This noun class is called the *ŋa* class in the Bakuure region (north of N'Dali, Benin). The influence of Benin Fulfulde is evident in the Mahadaga region as often the nasalized consonant groups are not nasalized. Thus rather than saying *nga* they would say *ga*. This carries over to words beginning with the "ng" sound as well. For example, rather than saying *ngesa* (field) they would say *gesa*. In Maasina Fulfulde this noun class is represented by *ba* rather than *nga*. Vanderaa reports that other dialects use *mba* for this noun class' marker.
As mentioned in the introductory remarks, this is one of the four singular **augmentative** noun classes. In fact many of the things found in this noun class are big.

Many <u>large animals</u> are placed into this noun class.
For example:
    alam baanaa, allum mbaana, araawa mbaaneewa (zebra)
    araawa, dakiya (donkey)
    daada, ndaada (water buck)
    eda (African buffalo)
    gorba, ngorba (male donkey)
    jabaciiwa, njabaciiwa (bushbuck)
    jeelooba, ngeelooba, njeelooba, njoolooba (camel)
    jeelooba ladde, njoolooba ladde, tireewa (giraffe)
    kooba (roan antelope)
    lella, lewla (antelope)
    mbilla (kob)
    mola (donkey foal)
    njuura (hyena)
    noowra, tola (crocodile)
    nyiiwa (elephant)
    tefeewa (female donkey)

Big birds:
ceda, kaciiguwa (tawny eagle)
dawwa, ndawu (ostrich)
polaɓala (glossy-backed drango)

Big (or really dangerous) snakes:
mbarulla, mbolla, mborga (rock python)
ngajama (puff adder)
ngoowla (cobra)

Big bugs:
bammbowa jahe, mbamboowa jahe, njaabaja (scorpion horse spider)
ŋaancuwa (locust)

Nouns from other noun classes can be taken and transformed to denote bigness. This is especially true of large domestic animals:
mbaalu (sheep) *ngu* → *mbaala* (big sheep) *nga*
mbewa (goat) *nga* → *mbe'a* (large goat) *nga*
nagge (cow) *nge* → *nagga* (big cow) *nga*
ngari (bull) *ndi* → *nga'a* (large bull) *nga*
njawdiri (ram) *ndi* → *njawga* (large ram) *nga*
gorko (man) *o* → *ngora* (large man) *nga*[4]

In some areas of the Moosiire dialect area, e.g. Tenkodogo, they have solved the problem of avoiding sexual innuendos (see discussion under *ngu*) by reclassifying animals into the *nga* noun class from the *ngu* noun class, and changing the ending. This does not imply bigness!
mbaalu (sheep) *ngu* → *mbaala nga*
liingu (fish) *ngu* → *liinga nga*
ɓowngu (mosquito) *ngu* → *ɓownga nga*

12. *ngal* noun class (Group II): Nouns in the *ngal* noun class make up 10% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. In Mahadaga this marker would be denasalized to *gal*. *Ngal* is one of the four singular **augmentative** noun classes. It is possible to take words from other noun classes, transform them, and place them into the *ngal* class to denote largeness. For example:
nagge (cow) *nge* → *naggal* (big cow) *ngal*
mbaalu (sheep) *ngu* → *baalal* (big sheep) *ngal*[5]
mbaala (sheep) *nga* → *baalal* (big sheep) *ngal*[5]
mbeewa (goat) *nga* → *be'al* (big goat) *ngal*[5]
suka (child) *o* → *cukalal* (big child) *ngal*[6]
gorko (man) *o* → *goral* (big man) *ngal*
suudu (house) *ndu* → *cuugal* (big house) *ngal*[6]

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[4] Note how *goora* was transformed when augmented. The first consonant is nasalized as *nga* is in Group III (see Table 5.1).

[5] To understand why *mbaalu ngu* becomes *baala ngal* one must study Table 5.1, bearing in mind the three groups of noun class markers mentioned above. Because *ngu* (and *nga*) fall in Group III, the initial consonant of *mbaalu*, *mbaala*, or *mbeewa* is nasalized (except in Mahadaga region). But when the augmentative form *ngal* is used to transform the word, the word changes from Group III (*ngu* or *nga*) to Group II (*ngal*). So the initial nasal "mb" becomes a plosive "b."

[6] Perhaps one could say *suka o* is "irregular" in as much as one would expect the word to begin with a "c" as it is in the *o* noun class, falling into Group II. Despite this, when the noun is transformed, undergoing augmentation into the *ngal* noun class, which is also in Group II, the first consonant is transformed as predicted to "c" from "s." The same thing happens with *suudu ndu* when augmented. It become *cuugal ngal*.

Additionally, many <u>birds</u> are found in this noun class:

balaalawal, ciicibalawal (glossy-backed drongo)
caacaa, hamma keekawal (abyssinian roller)
caygal (knob-billed goose)
coloncokkuwal, kilkokkowal (hornbill)
ciliiliwal, killiwal (white-faced tree duck)
cofal, gertogal (chicken)
cooɗal (great white egret)
daawuwal, dowdaakal, kankarawal (pied crow)
ɗapoɗappongal, labal (night jar)
doggaɲoɲowal, kuyyal (grey plover)
doobal (Denham's bustard)
duguɗokkal, dumɗokkal (hammerkop)
dutal (Ruppell's Griffon vulture)
gerral (various francolins or quail)
jaawngal (Guinea-fowl)
killiliyal (grey heron)
kumbaareyal (crowned crane)
ladawal, padaladawal, tonkonowal (duck)
nyaabal (pigeon)
nyaalal (cattle egret)

<u>Things made of wood</u> – note that many of these might also be classed as tools:

adakaal, keesuwal (trunk)
akalal, akalaal akalawal, jarnirgal, yarnirgal (trough)
alluwal (wooden slate)
awɲorgal, cummbirgal, kaaleyal, lummbirgal (paddle)
baafal, gampuwal, ommbirgal (door)
bannjaruwal, denndeeruwal (forked log)
buruugal (mixing stick)
buuwtorgal, doonyirgal, kaasorgal (wood used to scrape)
camirgal, tappirgal (wooden tamper)
canyorgal (loom)
ceɓal, koɓalawal (bark)
ceekal, leggal, peccal (piece of wood)
coccorgal, kosorgal (toothbrush)
doccal, duncirgal (torch)
duncirgal, eggirgal, tutorgal (poker)
gaawal (short spear)
girbal, jirbal, kurbirgal, laaruwal (spoon)
jooɗorgal (chair)
juggal (hitching post)
kalasal (shaft of spear)
kalawal (bow)
kukuruwal (short handle)
kuluwal (long handle)
kural (arrow)
le'al (wooden bowl)
liwtorgal (shepherd's crook)
nyaamnirgal (manger)
nyaamrugal (bowl)
taabawal (table)
tuugorgal (cane, staff)
undugal (pestle)

A few <u>musical instruments</u> appear in the *ŋgal* noun class:
   barguwal, luwal (horn)
   boobiliyal (small flute)

<u>Tools</u> are often placed into the *ŋgal* noun class.
   awnorgal (binoculars)
   baatal, battal, mesalal (needle)
   basirgal, lukkuwal, sulunguwal (digging tool)
   bedorgal, kusal (trap)
   bifirgal, biwrugal, puufirgal, jugorgal (fan, bellows)
   binndirgal (pencil, pen)
   boggirgal, kirowal (file)
   boogirgal (pumice stone)
   caasorgal, cancorgal, kaasorgal (comb)
   cendal (hair pick)
   cettirgal (peeler, sharpener)
   cokirgal, kufal, ommbirgal, omtirgal, ontirgal (lock & key)
   coppirgal (axe, scythe)
   daandorgal, ndanndorgal (mirror)
   dobirgal, dokkirgal, jokkirgal, nannginirgal (clasp)
   jabbirgal (planting hoe)
   kaasorgal (rake, comb)
   kaɓitirgal (set of tools)
   keefirgal (plane)
   laytal (flashlight)
   paasorgal (iron for cloths)
   pikkaal (fan)
   taasawal (metal dish)
   tangarawal, teelorgal, yeenrugal (ladder)

There are also a number of more <u>abstract</u> nouns in the *ŋgal* class:

anndal (knowledge)
ɓural (superiority)
caral (discernment)
cellal (health)
ciinal (determination)
cuusal (courage)
dewal (faithfulness, piety)
dewral (peace)
ɗuuɗal (abundance)
eelgal (greed, covetousness)
gondal (togetherness)
goonɗinal (faith)
gullal (speed)

jeydal (kinship)
kiɓɓal (perfection)
korngal, tiimngal (devination)
kuuwgal (curse)
laaɓal (cleanliness, purity, clarity)
malal (fault, deformity)
munyal (patience)
pinal (experience)
potal (agreement)
tabital (fulfillment)
tannyoral, tayoral (certainty)
teddeengal (glory, honor)

Words relating to <u>marriage</u> are also often in the ngal class:
   ɓangal, dewgal, koowgal (wedding)
   ceergal (divorce)
   kaɓɓal (engagement)

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13. *nge* noun class (Group I): There are only 15 nouns in the *nge* noun class listed in the dictionary, but all of them refer to either the <u>sun</u>, <u>fire</u> or <u>cows</u>. In Mahadaga this would be denasalized to *ge*.

Sun
hakkunde naange (noon)
janal naange (sunset)
naange (sun)

Fire
hiite & yiite

Cows
haange (heifer)
hakkundeeye (avg. size cow)
hoowruge (bride price from cow)
nagge (cow)
nagge ladde (African buffalo)
nyale (heifer)
rimare (steril cow)
soggaange, suddaareewe (gift cow)
soyƴaange, suraange (cow left behind)
wiige (heifer)

14. *ngel* noun class (Group II): Nouns in the *ngel* noun class make up 2.4% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. *Ngel* is one of the three **diminutive** noun classes. Normal nouns can be transformed by changing the ending to convey <u>smallness of size</u>. In referring to people, the diminutive is usually used with children and is a term of endearment. For example, *dewel am*, in that context, could be translated "my little lady." In Mahadaga this marker would be denasalize to *gel*.

ɓiɗɗo (son/daughter) *o* → *ɓinngel* (little son/daughter) *ngel*
suka (child) *o* → *cukalel* (little child) *ngel*
gorko (man) *o* → *gorel* (little man-refers to a child) *ngel*
debbo (woman) *o* → *dewel* (little lady-refers to a child) *ngel*
suudu (house) *ndu* → *cuurel* (small house) *ngel*
lekki (tree) *ki* → *leggel* (small tree) *ngel*

15. *ngi* noun class (Group III): There are only eight nouns in the *ngi* noun class listed in the dictionary. However, as with the other **augmentative** noun classes, one can manipulate many nouns by adding this ending. In Mahadaga this marker would be denasalized to *gi*. Examples:

> *mbaalu* (sheep) *ngu* → *mbaali* (large sheep) *ngi*
> *mbewa* (goat) *nga* → *mbe'i* (large goat) *ngi*
> *nagge* (cow) *nge* → *naggi* (large cow) *ngi*
> *ndamndi* (buck) *ndi* → *ndamngi* (large buck) *ngi*
> *ngaari* (bull) *ndi* → *nga'i* (large bull) *ngi*
> *njawdiri* (ram) *ndi* → *njawgi* (large ram) *ngi*
>
> *gorko* (man) *o* → *ngori* (large man) *ngi*
> *suudu* (house) *ndu* → *cuugi* (large house) *ngi*
> *jalo* (hoe) *ngo* → *njali* (large hoe) *ngi*

16. *ngo* noun class (Group I): Nouns in the *ngo* noun class make up 3.2% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. In Mahadaga this marker would be denasalized to *go*.

This is the noun class where many <u>mats</u> and <u>beds</u> are listed.
For example:
> *booyoowo, deŋeleewo* (thick grass mat)
> *cakaawo, dimbaawo, ficco, ngado, ɣommbeewo* (millet stalk mat)
> *daago* (palm leaf mat)
> *dambugaawo, feɗo* (large mat over bed)
> *hurgo, kuurgal, soorowal* (shelter made of mats to make mats under)
> *juuldugo* (prayer mat)
> *leeso* (bed)
> *ommboogo* (mat used as door)
> *sagargaawo* (bed made of millet stalks)
> *sekko* (thin grass mat)

There are a number of words having to do with <u>sounds</u> and <u>noises</u> in the *ngo* class:
> *duumbo* (faint sound of people talking)
> *felnyaango, hayɣaango, riggaango* (thunder)
> *fijo, hiiro* (a party)
> *halɓaango* (cry, scream)
> *hoolo, koolol, nootitaango* (echo)
> *huunaango* (cow's mooing)
> *iido* (steady noise as with motor)
> *jaleengo* (laughter)
> *noddaango* (to call someone)
> *saaɣo* (soft noise as when wind blows)
> *siikaango, sirkaango* (shrill cry, a shriek, screech)
> *sonnyo* (rustling noise)
> *umsaango* (groaning)
> *wullaango* (weeping)
> *yewto* (discussion)

And there are some common miscellaneous words in the *ngo* class.
For example:
faɗo (shoe)
hakkillo, hayƴillo, hiilngo (intelligence)
hoggo (corral)
hulgo (sheath)
labbo (spear)
luumo (market)
maaro (rice)
maayo (river, large lake, sea)
ndolo (hope)
rafo, weelo (hunger, famine)
sago, yelaango (wish, desire)
seyo (happiness, joy)
wuro (household, village, city)
yeeso (face, front)
yooro (drought)

A few <u>body parts</u> are in the *ngo* class too:
ɓaawo (back, rectum)
fuudo (rectum)
junngo (hand, arm)
walbo (shoulder)

17. *ngol* noun class (Group II): Nouns in the *ngol* noun class make up 5.3% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. Often these words refer to <u>objects that are longer than they are wide</u>.
In Mahadaga this marker would be denasalize to *gol*. Examples:
ɓarsuwol, guurtol, orol, toogol (row of crops)
ɓoggol, daɗorgol, teppol, tonngoode, tonngorgol (rope)
boololol, daamarawol, guylaare (water lily)
ɓorowol, gaarawol (cotton thread)
bubbinirgol, dogginirgol, ilaa'irgol (rivulet)
bubbol, celol, gooruwol, pogowol (stream)
buuwaangol, balangol, cuppol, dartiingol, laawol,
mbedda, poocciingol (road)
callalol (chain, cable)
ceelol (strip of rawhide)
ceerol (boundry, border)
coddungol, ɗaɗol, giinawol (Achilles tendon)
collol, koɗol (necklace)
coortol, corfol, goppol, gotol, guurtol (path)
ɗaɗol (root, artery, vein, nerve, tendon)
dewoowol (route)
diggol (plait of hair)
diidol (a line)
dorrol (whip)
gaasol (string on instrument, long hair)
galmol, kubbol, tampaanuwol (furrow)
giinawol (tendon)
gurunfuntuwol (long valley, crevasse)
humparawol, parawol (rope halter)
kaɓɓorgol, kumorgol, tunndorgol (belt)
karbajuruwol (rein)
kokuwol (wall)

kommbol, koonorgol, kunndol (edge of mat, hem)
konongol (windpipe)
kooyȯl (drool)
kuɗol (straw)
kumol (amunition belt)
lacol (tail)
leembol (hair or feather)
lefol (strip of cloth)
loosol (long stick for stripping leaves)
mamaruwol (hook and line for fishing)
meetalol, mellol, mukkol (man's head wrap)
nawkowol (underarm hair)
pattawol (jugular vein)
ponndol (measuring tape or stick)
sigiwol (leather halter)
sollewol (bolt of cloth)
tekotol, tetekol (section of intestine)

There are some common miscellaneous words in the *ngol* class. For example:

balnol, banndol, pannjamol (parable, proverb)
ɓuuɓol, jaangol (cold)
baytuwol (poem)
fillawol, taalol (a story, tale, fable)
jayngol (light)
jimol (song)

konngol (words, message)
koyɗol (dream)
kulol (fear)
lenyol (lineage, genealogy)
soortewol (chapter, lesson)

18. *ngu* noun class (Group III): Nouns in the *ngu* noun class make up 6.7% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. The *ngu* noun class can also be used in some areas in a **diminutive** sense. Nearly any noun can be diminished by reconfiguring it in the *ngu* noun class. For example:

nagge (cow) *nge* → *naggu* (small cow) *ngu*
gorko (man) *o* → *ngoru* (small man) *ngu*
suka (child) *o* → *cukaawu* (small child) *ngu*
suudu (house) *ndu* → *cuuru* (small house) *ngu*

Things that are already found in the *ngu* class are diminished by using *ngel*. For example:

puccu (horse) *ngu* → *puccel* (little horse) *ngel*
mbaalu (sheep) *ngu* → *baalel* (little sheep) *ngel*
ɓowngu (mosquito) *ngu* → *ɓowngel* (little mosquito) *ngel*

Note in some areas (e.g. Sebba, Tenkodogo) people may associate *ngu* with sex and so they would avoid using *ngu*. Rather than use *ngu* they would use *kol*. In the Maasina dialect *ngungu* is a word for sex, thus use of words in the *ngu* class causes one to periodically remind one's listeners of sex, so that the Maasina dialect has put all *ngu* class words in the catch-all *o* class (thus *puccu o*, *mbaalu o*, *ndunngu o*). In Djibo the word *ngungu* is not known and using *ngu* is not a problem. Check on this in your area! In Mahadaga this marker would be denasalized to *gu*.

Here are the words for <u>reproductive organs</u> that have given this noun class an X rating in some areas:

> *kottu, kuungu, nyammu, saɓu* (vagina or vulva)
> *jofolaaku, nguppaaku* (uncircumcision)
> *muru, jofolooru* (foreskin)
> *ngorgu* (penis, courage, determination)

The SUFFIXes *-aaku*, *-aagu* refer to the <u>essence</u> of something, or to a particular <u>attribute</u>. They are all found in the *ngu* class.
For example:

almaamaaku (priesthood)	*ndewaaku* (femininity)
amiiraaku, kaanankaaku (royalty)	*ndimaaku* (nobility)
annabaaku (prophethood)	*ndundaraaku* (obstinacy)
cawraagu (tolerance)	*ne'aaku, neɗɗaaku* (propriety)
cukaaku (childhood)	*ngootummbaaku* (aloneness)
ndendiraagu (cousinhood)	*ngoraaku* (masculinity)
goongalaaku (truthfulness)	*njaahilaaku* (wickedness)
haasidaaku, keedaraaku (selfishness)	*njokollaaku* (youthfulness)
hakkilantaaku (acumen)	*nyaanko'aaku* (bad luck)
iimaanaaku, liimaanaaku (sincerity toward God)	*pahaaku* (deafness)
njulaaku (commerce)	*pulaaku* (essence of being a Pullo)
keccoraaku (jealousy)	*ri'aaku, yiingaaku* (boasting)
lokkaaku (weakness)	*safiyaaku* (foolishness)
maccungaaku (slavery)	*sakiraagu* (siblinghood)
manngaaku (largeness, importance, superiority)	*seedaaku, seedaagu* (testimony)
mawniraagu (birthright)	*sukunyaaku* (sorcery)
muncaraaku (impatience)	*talkaaku* (poverty)
muuyantaaku (desire)	*tomottaaku* (humanness)
nanaraaku, neetaraaku (brashness)	*woykuuraaku* (prostitution)
ndaggadaaku (ability to tell future)	*yigoraaku* (friendship)
ndeereeraaku (gluttony)	*yogumburaaku* (procrastination)

A number of <u>animals</u> are placed in the *ngu* noun class.
As mentioned above, some areas, to avoid using *ngu*,
will change both the ending of the word and its noun class,
e.g. *mbaalu ngu → mbaala nga*. Others will avoid using this noun
class by simply using a different noun class without changing the
spelling of the word, e.g. *puccu ngu → puccu kol; mbaalu ngu →
mbaalu o; cirgu ngu → cirgu ndu*. This sacrifices the rhyming
character of these words, but preserves them from embarrassment of
uttering anything that might be considered a sexual innuendo.
Examples of animals (or animal byproducts) in the *ngu* class:

    basu, mbarallaawu, mbasu (leather bag)
    mbortu (female lamb)
    caaju (horse with white blaze)
    cirgu, colu, ŋomngu (leopard)
    ngiroowu, kurkuruuru, njiroowu (pig)
    kerenngeesu (gecko)
    liingu (fish)
    mbaalu (sheep)
    mbawlu (leather pillow)
    mboonaawu (eel)
    molu (foal)
    ndawu (ostrich)
    ngabbu (hippopotamus)
    nguru (skin, leather)
    puccu (horse)
    teewu (flesh, meat)
    tefeewu (mare)

There are also quite a few <u>bugs</u> and <u>parasites</u> found in the *ngu* class:

    ɓellellu, ellellu, kootu (tick)
    mbinyu (egg of louse)
    ɓowngu (mosquito)
    mburuutu (Guinea worm)
    mbuubu (fly)
    mbuubuudu, njabbattu (wasp)
    mbuuduulu (gnat)
    cootu, cuncu, sootu (firefly)
    ɗaaloolu, konndollu, mettellu, nyuunyu (ant)
    mbuyu, nguyu (wood borer)
    njalɓu, ngilngu (intestinal worm)
    ngilngu, njilngu (caterpillar, maggot)
    kurbaanaanu, yeebiiwu (winged termite)
    mbaɓɓattu, ngurnyaawu, tamminyoonaawu (grasshopper)
    mbalku (leech)
    ngurnyaawu, tamminyoonaawu (locust)
    nuguuru (ant lion)
    nyaaku, urkeewu (bee)
    nyapilegew (tapeworm)
    peecu, peeku, peesu (tsetse fly)
    peeɗeengu (cicada)
    tenngu (louse)

There are also a number of <u>abstract</u> words in this noun class:

allaaru, laru, sokottu (fault, sin, disease)	*laamu, ndewgu* (kingdom, rule)
mbeelu (ghost)	*mbaansu* (ugliness)
caahu (hospitality)	*mursu* (loss)
coggu (the price)	*nayeewu* (old age)
cunu (depression)	*ndaaɓoowu* (plague)
cuubu (folly)	*ndeenaagu* (peace)
ndongu (inheritance)	*ngalu* (wealth)
faamu, paamu (understanding)	*nginnaawu* (demon)
ngeɗu, njeɗu (part of)	*njangu* (theft)
njinngu (love)	*nyawu* (sickness)
kaɓɓuko'u (worry)	*riiku* (blessing)
kamaalu (conceit)	*tagu* (custom)
kammu (sky, heaven)	*waaju* (preaching)
kawgu (victory)	

Here are some miscellaneous common concrete nouns, including several types of <u>drums</u> that are found in the *ngu* class:

bentigaaru, kurkutu, mbaggu, mbinderew, ngangariiwu, ndondoloowu (drums)
ɓeyngu (posterity, children)
mbuudu (5 cfa)
ceeɗu, keeɗu (hot season)
haamu, kaamu, kuɓɓu (humidity)
ndunngu (rainy season)
konu (raiding)
mbeɗu (trivet)
ngeeyu (seed)
ngiriiwu (chick pea)

19. *o* noun class (Group II): Nouns in the *o* noun class make up 29% of the singular nouns listed in the dictionary. This is the noun class of human beings and of borrowed words. Most of the words for <u>humans</u> rhyme with *o*. For example:

ɓiɗɗo o (child)
baabiraaɗo o (father, uncle – modification of Arabic *baaba*)
gorko o (man)
debbo o (woman)
neɗɗo o (person)

However, even some of the words for humans do not rhyme with *o*. That is because while rhyming with *o* is the main paradigm for dealing with people, there are several other paradigms. For example:

baaba (father)	*suka* (child)
baaligi (adult from Arabic)	*tomette, tomotte* (human)

Because all sorts of <u>borrowed words</u> have been put into this class, most of them do not rhyme with *o*. For example:
>   *abajadda* (alphabet from Arabic)
>   *barga* (chicken pox from Moré)
>   *barma* (cooking pot from Bambara)
>   *caaku* (sack from French)
>   *daama* (peace from Gourmanchema)
>   *denjigi* (prostitute from Bambara)
>   *haaju* (need from Arabic)
>   *jaba* (oinon from Bambara)
>   *kabaaru* (news from Arabic)
>   *kakaduru* (ginger from Hausa)
>   *karanji* (kerosene from English)
>   *satalla* (plastic teapot from Hausa)
>   *teme* (sieve from French)
>   *woroni* (baboon from Bambara)
>   *zomkoom* (ginger drink from Moré)

There are also plenty of words that end with "*o*," but which do not refer to a human being. Some of them are obviously borrowed words, some of them are obviously native to Fulfulde, and some one wonders about. For example:

cappalo (local drink)
cunaawo (ravine)
fiifo (genet)
futuro (sundown)
forgo (shirt)
fulunfuudo (lungs)
guudo (mold)
iroiro (moth)
jaabo (response)
jangoro (local pain)
jongomo (fire wall)
kolokolo (turkey)
loɓoloɓo (slippery, muddy terrain)
marto (hammer)
miliyo (million)
misooro (woman's head wrap)

montoro (watch, clock)
niizonndo, nujondo (night blindness)
nyoodo (profit)
poso (poison)
saawto (faint noise)
safoko (evening)
sikkoro (sugar)
sooro (tower)
sooso (sprinkle of rain)
suno (depression, grief)
tokoo (whooping cough)
tonoo (barrel)
tuumo (accusation)
wujo (clam)
yaaɓoro (bottom of foot)
yommbo (braid of hair)

B. The Five Plural Noun Classes

1. *ɓe* noun class (Group I): This plural noun class is only used for humans.[7] The many borrowed words in the *o* noun class would use either *ɗe* or *ɗi* as their plurals.

> *ɓiɗɗo* (child) *o* → *ɓiɓɓe* (children) *ɓe*
> *baabiraaɗo* (father, uncle) *o* → *baabiraaɓe* (uncles) *ɓe*
> *gorko* (man) *o* → *worɓe* *ɓe*[8]
> *debbo* (woman) *o* → *rewuɓe* (women) *ɓe*[9]
> *goɗɗo* (person) *o* → *woɓɓe* (someones) *ɓe*[8]

2. *ɗe* noun class (Group II): This plural noun class is used for nearly half of the non-personal nouns. In particular the singular noun classes *ki*, *nde*, and *ngal* tend to use the *ɗe* class to form their plurals (see Table 4.1 on page 30 for details). For example:

> *lekki* (tree) *ki* → *ledɗe* (trees) *ɗe*
> *dewtere* (book) *nde* → *dewte* (books) *ɗe*
> *cofal* (chicken) *ngal* → *cofe* (chickens) *ɗe*

Of the 926 nouns listed in the Appendix B with a plural in the *ɗe* noun class, 383 (41%) have plurals ending with the SUFFIXes *-aaje*, *-eeje*, *-iije*, *-ooje*, or *-uuje*. These ending are used for <u>mass nouns</u> and <u>borrowed words</u> in the *ɗe* noun class. However, even with words native to Fulfulde that have rarely used plurals there is a tendancy for younger *Fulɓe* to use these mass noun endings as they forget the original plural forms.[10]

3. *ɗi* noun class (II): This plural noun class is used for almost half of the non-personal nouns. In particular *ka*, *ko₁*, *ndi*, *ndu*, *nga*, *nge*, *ngo*, *ngu*, and *o* classes tend to use the *ɗi* class to form their plurals (see Table 4.1 on page 30 for details). For example:

> *haala* (word) *ka* → *haalaaji* *ɗi*
> *huɗo* (grass) *ko* → *kuɗooli* *ɗi*
> *ngaari* (bull) *ndi* → *ga'i* *ɗi*
> *suudu* (house) *ndu* → *cuuɗi* *ɗi*
> *nyiiwa* (elephant) *nga* → *nyiibi* *ɗi*
> *nagge* (cow) *nge* → *na'i* *ɗi*
> *felnyaango* (thunder clap) *ngo* → *pelnyaali* *ɗi*

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[7] The only exception I have found is *ɓiɓɓe ladde ɓe* for lions.

[8] Why is *gorko* transformed to *worɓe* in the plural? If you consult Table 5.1, Initial Consonant Changes of Nouns, on page 31, you will notice that the *o* class is in Group II, and *ɓe* class is in Group I. You will also notice that there are three "g's" under the Group II heading. The first "g" remains "g" when moving to Group I. The second "g" is transformed to "w" in Group I – this is the case with *gorko*. This is also the case with *goɗɗo* transforming to *woɓɓe*. The third "g" is transformed to "y" in Group I.

[9] Why is the initial "d" transformed to "r" in the plural? Table 5.1 on page 31 tells us why. There are two "d's" in Group II's column (the column where *o* is located). The first one remains "d" in Group I (the column where the plural *ɓe* is located) and the second one is transformed to "r" in the Group I column – which is the case with *debbo*.

[10] For example, I have met a number of people who do not know that the plural of *wolde* (war) *nde* is *bolwole* (wars) *ɗe*. Rather they think it is *woldeeje* *ɗe*.

Of the 859 nouns listed in the Appendix B with a plural in the *ɗi* noun class, 540 (63%) have plurals ending with the SUFFIXes *-aaji*, *-eeji*, *-iiji*, *-ooji*, or *-uuji*. These ending are used for <u>mass nouns</u> and <u>borrowed words</u> in the *ɗi* noun class. **In particular, if a word is borrowed from another language, more than likely its plural form will fall in the *ɗi* noun class.** However, even with words native to Fulfulde that have rarely used plurals there is a tendancy for younger *Fulɓe* to use these mass endings as they forget the older plural forms.[11]

4. *ko₂* noun class: This is a rarely used plural noun class for the singular noun classes *nga*, *ngal* and *ngi* when they are used in a **augmentative** sense. Vanderaa reports that at one time there was an *e* noun class in the Maasina dialect which served as a plural augmentative in the same way that *ko₂* does in Burkina. Examples of *ko₂*:

nagge (cow) *nge* → *na'i* (cows) *ɗi*

nagga (big cow) *nga* → *na'o* (big cows) *ko*
naggal (big cow) *ngal* → *na'o* (big cows) *ko*
naggi (big cow) *ngi* → *na'o* (big cows) *ko*

suudu (house) *ndu* → *cuudi* (houses) *ɗi*

cuural (big house) *ngal* → *cuuro* (big houses) *ko*
ngora (big man) *nga* → *ngoro* (big men) *ko*

5. *koy* noun class: This is the plural noun class corresponding to the singular **diminutive** noun classes *ngel* and *ngu*. Note, it is possible that *ngel* not be used in a diminutive sense,[12] but of 88 listings corresponding to *ngel* in the dictionary, 72 (82%) use the plural *koy* (see Table 4.1 below). For example:

ɓinngel (small child) *ngel* → *ɓikkoy* (small children) *koy*
ciɓitel (little finger) *ngel* → *ciɓitoy* (small fingers) *koy*
porgitel (gecko) *ngel* → *porgitoy* (geckos) *koy*

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[11] For example, many do not know that the plural of *ɓaaru* (quiver) *ndu* is *ɓaari ɗi* not *ɓaaruuji ɗi*!
[12] For example: *cofel* (chick) *ngel* → *coffi ɗi*; *kankanngel* (gall bladder) *ngel* → *kaankaane ɗe*; *kibel* (flea) *ngel* → *kibi ɗi*; *laccel* (mongoose) *ngel* → *laccel'en ɗe*; *silaalayel* (swift) *ngel* → *silaalaaji ɗi*

Table 4.1
Occurrences of plurals by noun class[13]

	ɗe	ɗi	ko	koy
ɗam	3	4	0	0
ɗum	0	0	0	0
ka	3	39	0	0
kal	0	0	0	0
ki	133	11	0	0
ko₁	3	28	0	0
kol	1	6	0	0
nde	561	32	0	0
ndi	29	68	0	0
ndu	2	192	0	0
nga	11	65	12	0
ngal	306	7	8	0
nge	0	13	0	0
ngel	0	6	0	72
ngi	0	0	7	0
ngo	33	62	0	0
ngol	7	162	0	0
ngu	6	156	0	0
o	22	251	0	0
Totals	1,120	1,102	27	72

5. PLURALIZATION: INITIAL CONSONANT CHANGES FOR NOUNS

In Fulfulde there is a system of initial consonant changes for both nouns and verbs. The system of initial consonant changes for the verbs is actually much less complicated than the system for the nouns and is discussed in Section 10.A, page 65. The system for the nouns also applies to participles and adjectives created from verbs (for the discussion of the Participial verb FORM see Section 14, page 98 *ff.*, and for the discussion of adjectives see Section 26, page 150 *ff.*).

In Fulfulde, with regard to the initial consonant change of nouns, including participles and adjectives formed from verbs, it is simplest to think of the consonants as falling into two categories. The first category is composed of those consonants which never alternate regardless of the class of the noun or whether the noun is singular or plural. These are ɓ, ɗ, l, m, n, ŋ, t, and y. The second category is composed of consonants which do alternate. These are b, c, d, f, g, h, j, k, mb, nd, ng, nj, p, r, s, w and y. It is with these consonants, when they occur as the initial consonant of a noun, and the changes they tend to undergo, that we need to concern ourselves.

Perhaps the key phrase here is "tend to undergo," as the initial consonant changes for nouns are nowhere near as regular as the changes which occur with verbs. Table 5.1, below, is an attempt to show the general rules of how the initial consonants change. The various consonants which undergo change, mentioned above, are all listed in

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[13] This data is from the second edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde/English-English/Fulfulde Dictionary*. It should be noted that it is not unusual for different dialects of Fulfulde to have different plurals and thus different noun class markers. Furthermore, nouns in the *ɗam*, *ɗum* and *kal* classes tend not to form plurals. Also some singular nouns in the remaining 17 singular noun classes do not have a plural form. The reason the totals are not the same as given on pages 28 and 29 is that those numbers are derived from Appendix B. In preparing Appendix B the denasalize *Gurmaare* denasalized versions of nouns were excluded, while they are included in the stats in shown in Table 4.1.

Table 5.1. Note at the top of Table 5.1 that the 24 noun classes have been divided into three groups. These three groups represent what "normally" happens to nouns that are native to Fulfulde or to those derived from Fulfulde verbs.[14] Note that Group III tends to nasalize the initial consonant. Also note that there are three patterns of changes that take place between the groups. B, D, G, and J stay the same for groups one and two, but are nasalized with Group III nouns. F, H, and S change to P, K, C with Groups II and III and there is no nasalization in Group III. R,W, and Y are different in each of the three groups, and they nasalize with Group III nouns. Note also that W and Y have two different patterns of change!

Table 5.1 Initial Consonant Changes of Nouns

Initial Consonant of Verb Root*	GROUP I	GROUP II	GROUP III
	ɓe, ko₁, nde, ndu, nge, ngo	ɗe, ɗi, ɗum, kal, kol, ngal, ngel, ngol, o	ɗam, ka, ki, ko₂, koy, ndi, nga, ngi, ngu
b	b	b	mb
d	d	d	nd
g	g	g	ng
j	j	j	nj
f	f	p	p
h	h	k	k
s	s	c	c
r	r	d	nd
w	w	b	mb
w	w	g	ng
y	y	j	nj
y	y[15]	g[15]	ng[15]

*This information only pertains to the 4% of Fulfulde nouns that are derived from verbs.

Another way to explain pluralization or to read Table 5.1 is as follows:
- All the human *o* class nouns move over one column to the left to form the plural.
- The non-human *o* class nouns remain in the middle column to form the plural.
- The bulk of other classes stay or move into the middle column to form the plural.

[14]In doing a survey of the nouns in the dictionary I found that 82% do conform to this pattern! See Table 5.2, p. 33.
[15]The only initial consonant changes I have been able to find between y → g relate to nouns **not** derived from verbs: e.g. *yeeso* (face) *ngo → geese ɗe*; *yiite* (fire) *nge → giiteeli ɗi*; *yitere* (eye) *nde → gite ɗe*; *yeyre* (udder) *nde → geese/jehe ɗe*. Hypothetically if one of these nouns was diminished the plural form would fall in Group III: e.g. *yeyre* (udder) *nde → geyrel ngel →* n*geesoy koy*.

Examples:

o Class People Plurals			Most Other Plurals		
debbo	d → r	*rewɓe*	*rawaandu ndu*	r → d	*dawaadi di*
baawdo	b → w	*waawɓe*	*wojere nde*	w → b	*boje de*
gorko	g → w	*worɓe*	*wabbere nde*	w → g	*gabbe de*
jido	j → y	*yiɓɓe*	*yabbere nde*	y → j	*jabbe de*
gido	g → y	*yiɓɓe*	*yitere nde*	y → g	*gite de*
Pullo	p → f	*Fulɓe*	*foondu ndu*	f → p	*pooli di*
kodo	k → h	*hoɓɓe*	*hinere nde*	h → k	*kine de*
Ceddo	c → s	*Seɓɓe*	*suudu ndu*	s → c	*cuudi di*
			ngaari ndi	ng → g	*ga'i di*
			njamndi ndi	nj → j	*jamde de*
			mbaalu ngu	mb → b	*baali di*
			ndamndi ndi	nd → d	*damdi di*

Table 5.1 can be used as follows:

A. For Normal Nouns with Common Plurals:

For those nouns which are native to Fulfulde, are not derived from a verb, and whose plural is a commonly used word, the sole change which occurs is a change in the initial consonant between the singular and plural forms. This change is dependent upon the respective noun classes that the singular and the plural forms of the noun belong to. Table 5.1 shows what this change will generally be. To use the table, find the noun class group that the singular form of the noun is in, and locate the initial consonant of the noun in question. The initial consonant of the plural will generally be the same as the consonant indicated in the table under the group heading for the noun class of the plural; i.e. *ɓe, de, di, ko₂,* or *koy*.

Examples:

rendere (watermelon) *nde* → *dene* (watermelons) *de*

For the word *rendere* find the column that the *nde* class is in, which is Group I. Find the "r." Slide over one column to the Group II noun classes where the plural class *de* is located, and you can see that the "normal" initial consonant should be "d," which is what it is.

jawgel (a male lamb) *ngel* → *njawkoy koy*

For the word *jawgel* find the column that the *ngel* class is in, which is Group II. Find the "j." Slide over one column to the the Group III noun classes where the plural class *koy* is found, and you can see that the "expected" initial consonant would be "nj," which it is.

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mbaalu (sheep) *ngu* → *baali di*

For the word *mbaalu* first find the column that the *ngu* class is in, which is the third column. Find the "mb." Then slide over to the Group II noun classes where the plural class *di* is found, and you can see that the "usual" consonant would be "b," which it is.

gertogal (chicken) *ngal* → *gertoode de*

For the word *gertogal*, first find the column that the *ngal* class is in, which is the second group. In this case the plural *de* is also in the second group so you would not expect an initial consonant change, and it does not change.

B. For Nouns Derived from Verbs:

If the noun was derived from a verb, as is the case for many non-borrowed nouns, most adverbs, and all participles, and the initial consonant is one that may involve changes (i.e. b, d, f, g, h, j, r, s, w, and y), the initial consonant for the verb root can be located in the left column of Table 5.1, and the singular and plural initial consonants for the nouns derived from that verb can be determined by reading across to the column containing the appropriate noun class. Examples:

warude → *waroobe be* (GI) → *garoowo o* (GII) → *garal ngal* (GII)
yahude → *yaadu ndu* (GI) → *yahoobe be* (GI) → *jahoowo o* (GII)
sawrude → *sawroobe be* (GI) → *cawroowo o* (GII)
remude → *remoobe be* (GI) → *demoowo o* (GII) → *ndemri ndi* (GIII)
wallude → *wallube be* (GI) → *balludo o* (GII)
wujjude → *wuybe be* (GI) → *gujjo o* (GII) → *nguyka ka* (GIII)

Table 5.2 Tabulation of Research on Non-conforming Nouns[16]

	B	D	F	G	H	J	Mb	Nd	Ng	Nj	R	S	W	Y	Total
Total Nouns	281	213	110	144	187	144	81	48	67	53	43	222	112	111	1,816
Non-confoming Nouns	6	5	32	6	60	5	5	4	4	3	16	119	27	35	327
% of total	2%	2%	29%	4%	35%	3%	6%	8%	6%	6%	37%	54%	24%	31%	18%
Borrowed Words	2		9	2	20	1		1			8	36	7	6	92
Borrowed Words?	4	3	14	2	7	1	2		4		2	44	3	9	95
Lost Plural?			5		12							21	10	9	57
Derived From Another Word		2	4	2	21	3	3	3		3	6	15	7	10	79
Diminished												3		1	4

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[16] See Appendix A for the details!

C. Exceptions:

1. **Borrowed words:** A survey of 1,816 nouns in the dictionary[17] discloses that 82% of the time nouns conform to the patterns expressed in Table 5.1.[18] Broadly speaking, the remaining 18% of nouns that do not conform to these patterns relating to their initial consonant can be grouped into four categories. The largest of these categories would be borrowed words. In Table 5.2 above distinguishes between **known** borrowed words (28% of non-conforming nouns), and those which are **suspected** of having originally been borrowed from another language (29% of non-conforming nouns).[19] Many, but not all, of these words' singular forms are placed in the *o* noun class. Some words, because of the way they end, or because of what they represent, are put into a noun class other than the *o* class. When the *Fulɓe* borrow words they bring them in, more or less as they are, with only minor modifications. More is done to tamper with the ending of borrowed words than is done with the initial consonants. So these nouns get put in a variety of noun classes without any thought of their conforming to the initial consonant rules. Occasionally, by happenstance, a borrowed word's initial consonant will conform to the pattern in Table 5.1, either in its singular or its plural form, but most often they do not conform in either form. Nor do the *Fulɓe* generally make any effort to change the initial consonant when pluralizing borrowed words. So whatever the initial consonant of the singular form is, that will generally be the same for the plural form. See Appendix A for a listing of examples.

2. **Lost plurals:** The second category is of those words which may have **lost their original plural form**. These account for 17% of the non-conforming nouns. These are words whose singular forms conform to the expected pattern, but whose plural forms do not conform. Most of these do not undergo an initial consonant change when pluralized. I suspect that at one time some of these words had plural forms which conformed to the expected initial consonant changes, but because these plurals were so seldom used they have been lost. Some of these words maybe never had a clear cut plural form, because the *Fulɓe* don't seem to think of certain things in a plural sense. This seems strange to us as Anglophones, but many times over the years, especially while working on the dictionary, I have inquired after the plural form of a noun only to get a blank

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[17] The number of total nouns dealt with in this table excludes nouns which have no singular form, proper names for places, people, titles of people, and groups of people, as well as nouns which have been denasalized in *Gurmaare.*

[18] Part of my interest in doing the study on this, using the dictionary data base, was to see if "normally" Fulfulde nouns were formed in accordance with the "rules" set forth in Table 5.1. This includes the singular form of a word as well as its pluralized form. I was impressed by the high degree of conformity that I found, even in the forming of singular forms. The results of that study are summarized in Table 5.2 above and the details are contained in Appendix A.

[19] A look at these "suspected" borrowed words (see Appendix A) shows that many of them possess the characteristics that would cause suspicion – often their singular noun class is *o* and their plural noun class is *ɗi*, they do not follow the normal patterns set forth in Table 5.1 for their singular forms, nor do their initial consonants change when pluralized. Some of these "suspects" are surprising, and may in fact represent non-borrowed words which are an exception to the rule. For some of these there may be a reason for their non-conformity that has not occurred to me.

stare. Sometimes I wonder if my informants have made up something. So with words where the *Fulɓe* either have lost track of the correct plural form, often because these plural forms are rarely used by them, or that perhaps never had a "real" grammatically correct plural to start with, there is no change of the initial consonant when pluralizing the noun. See Appendix A for a listing of examples.

3. **Nouns derived from another word:** The third category of non-conforming nouns is of those which have been derived from another word. This may be another noun or a verb. These cases represent 24% of the non-conforming nouns. See the discussion in point B above in the case the cognate is a verb. If the cognate is another noun, then whatever initial consonant that word begins with is what the derived form will begin with as well. Generally speaking, the cognate's initial consonant conforms to the rules, but the noun class the derivative word lands in will determine if it conforms to the rules or not. See Appendix A for a listing of examples.

4. **Diminution:** A forth category (comprising only 1% of the cases) should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. As mentioned in the introductory remarks on nouns, diminishing a word may result in it moving from one group to another, which may entail initial consonant changes for either the transformed singular or plural forms. The *Fulɓe* do not always bother to change the initial consonant in this situation to conform with the expected form. See Appendix A for examples.

6. PLURALIZATION: MULTIPLE SUFFIXES

Pluralization has two features in Fulfulde, initial consonant changes, which is dealt with above in Section 5, and multiple SUFFIXes.

A. Ɓe:

Words referring to persons, coming from the singular noun class *o*, pluralize with the SUFFIXes *-ɓe, -'en, -aaɓe, -eeɓe, -iiɓe, -ooɓe*, or *-uuɓe*, and fall in the plural noun class *ɓe* (see Table 6.1 for details). Generally only words referring to persons are found in the plural noun class *ɓe*.

Table 6.1[20]
Occurrences of suffixes in the *ɓe* noun class

Family	Typical Form	#	%
Simple SUFFIX	*-ɓe*	41	15%
Simple SUFFIX	*-'en*	27	10%
A	*-aaɓe*	119	42%
E	*-eeɓe*	24	8%
I	*-iiɓe*	21	7%
O	*-ooɓe*	36	13%
U	*-uuɓe*	13	5%
	Total	281	100%

So how does one know which of these plural endings to use? It is helpful to think of nouns as "stems" with a "SUFFIX" attached that signifies whether the word is in the singular or plural.[21] **Generally** the plural SUFFIX will resemble the singular SUFFIX of a given noun. So generally, words that end with a singular SUFFIX containing "A" will use the plural SUFFIX *-aaɓe*, those ending with a singular SUFFIX containing "E" will use the plural SUFFIX *-eeɓe*, those ending with a singular SUFFIX containing "I" will use the plural SUFFIX *-iiɓe*, those ending with a singular SUFFIX containing "O" will use the plural SUFFIX *-ooɓe*, and those ending with a singular SUFFIX containing "U' will use the plural SUFFIX *-uuɓe*. For nouns using a simple singular SUFFIX, the plural SUFFIX *-ɓe* is tacked on the end (see examples below). The simple SUFFIX *-'en* is often used with borrowed words.[22] As can be seen from Table 6.1 above, the most commonly used SUFFIXes used to form plurals in the *ɓe* noun class are *-aaɓe* (42%), *-ɓe* (15%), and *-ooɓe* (13%).

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[20] This data is derived from Appendix B, which in turn was derived from the second edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde/English-English/Fulfulde Dictionary*. This data is not meant to represent an exhaustive representation of all possible nouns in the *ɓe* noun class. Rather this data is included to give the student an idea of the relative occurrence of the various SUFFIXes.

[21] The noun "stem" is the base part of the noun, without its ending. For example, for the word *kaan-anke → kaan-ankooɓe*, *kaan-* would be the stem, and *-anke* would be the singular SUFFIX, while *-ankooɓe* would be the plural SUFFIX.

[22] Of the 27 plurals in the dictionary using the Simple SUFFIX "-'en," 23 of those words are borrowed words.

Taking a closer look at the various plural SUFFIXes in the *ɓe* noun class group we see that there are some tendencies. In each "family" of endings (Simple,A,E,I,O,U) there is a limited number of SUFFIXes. It is important for the beginning student to grasp these tendencies and to know the main SUFFIXes for each group.

42% of words in the *ɓe* noun class have "A" as a prominent feature of the singular SUFFIX. We will refer to these SUFFIXes as belonging to the "A family" of SUFFIXes. Nearly half of these use the following two singular/plural SUFFIX combinations:[23]

> *-aajo/-aaɓe*, e.g. *annab-aajo → annab-aaɓe*
> *-aaɗo/-aaɓe*, e.g. *cuɓ-aaɗo → suɓ-aaɓe*[24]

It is important to note that many of the *ɓe* noun class words which have "A" in the singular SUFFIX, are words that refer to people one is closely tied to, such as family, friends and neighbors. The most common singular/plural combinations are:

> *-a/-iraaɓe*, e.g. *baab-a → baab-iraaɓe*
> *-ø/-iraaɓe*, e.g. *dee* or *dey → deek-iraaɓe*
> *kaaw(u) → kaaw-iraaɓe*
> *-aa/-aaɓe*, e.g. *saar-aa → saar-aaɓe*
> *-a/-aaɓe*, e.g. *suk-a → suk-aaɓe*[25]

Unfortunately there are a few words that end with either *-o* or *-oo* in their singular form and which nonetheless pluralize with the SUFFIX *-iraaɓe*:

> *-o* or *-oo/-iraaɓe*, e.g. *yig-oo* or *yig-o → yig-iraaɓe*

There are also a few words whose singular SUFFIXes are in the "I" family which pluralize in the "A" family group with the SUFFIX *-iraaɓe*. The key is to recognize these nouns as words referring to family, friends, or neighbors:

> *-iiwo/-iraaɓe*, e.g. *bannd-iiwo → bannd-iraaɓe*
> *-iyo/-iraaɓe*, e.g. *bannd-iyo → bannd-iraaɓe*

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[23] Refer to Appendix B for details on the actual number of each SUFFIX type listed in this section.

[24] Other singular/plural SUFFIX combinations used for "non-family" words are: **-or-aaɗo/-or-aaɓe**, e.g. *baat-or-aaɗo → waat-or-aaɓe*; **-an-aaɗo/-an-aaɓe** , e.g. *beer-an-aaɗo → weer-an-aaɓe* and *kunng-an-aaɗo → hunng-an-aaɓe*; **-a/-aaɓe** (3), e.g. *tokor-a → tokor-aaɓe*; **-ø/-aaɓe**, e.g. *musel* (Fr: *monsieur*) → *musel-aaɓe*

[25] Because the way words are listed in the dictionary, "family" words ending with *–iiwo* or *–iyo* are seldom listed as the word's lexeme. However, these two SUFFIXes are very common as can be seen from examining the actual entries for these "family" words in the dictionary. I have tried to reflect that importance in these statistics. Other singular/plural SUFFIX combinations used for "family" words are: **-iike/-iraaɓe**, e.g. *sak-iike → sak-iraaɓe*; **-aanjo/-iraaɓe**, e.g. *bapp-aanjo → bapp-iraaɓe*; **-aanyo/-iraaɓe**, e.g. *bapp-aanyo → bapp-iraaɓe*; **-aanyaa/-inyaaɓe**, e.g. *bapp-aanyo → bapp-inyaaɓe*; **-iraaɗo/-iraaɓe**, e.g. *baab-iraaɗo → baab-iraaɓe*

Perhaps the most difficult group to know how to pluralize are those nouns where the SUFFIX *-ɓe* is added to the noun stem. What makes them difficult is that their singular SUFFIXes may resemble other group's SUFFIXes, especially the *-o/-ooɓe* combination. The key for recognizing these nouns is noting the simplicity of the singular SUFFIX. Apart from words ending in the SUFFIX *-o*, note that the other singular SUFFIXes (families A-U) generally have multiple vowels in the SUFFIX. The Simple family of SUFFIXes will nearly always have only one consonant followed by one vowel in the SUFFIX.[26] So, for example, *-aado/-aaɓe* of family "A" can be distinguished from *-do/-ɓe*. These nouns with simple singular/plural SUFFIXes make up 15% of *ɓe* class nouns and there are two main singular/plural SUFFIX combinations to be aware of:

> *-o/-ɓe*, e.g. *beer-o → weer-ɓe*
> *-do /-ɓe*, e.g. *bel-do → wel-ɓe*

A minor pattern, with an important word is:

> *-lo/-ɓe*, e.g. *bahil-lo → wahil-ɓe* and *Pul-lo → Ful-ɓe*[27]

There is a handful of other words listed in the dictionary whose noun stems end with a consonant, but which fit into no specific SUFFIX pattern.[28]

The other large group in the *ɓe* noun class contains those words which end with the plural SUFFIX *-ooɓe*. These make up 14% of the total *ɓe* noun class words. There are four singular/plural SUFFIX combinations to be aware of:

> *-anke/-ankooɓe*, e.g. *Alhuudiy-anke → Alhuudiy-ankooɓe*
> and *kaan-anke → kaan-ankooɓe*
> *-oowo/-ooɓe*, e.g. *Jelg-oowo → Jelg-ooɓe*
> and *dur-oowo → dur-ooɓe*
> *-oojo/-ooɓe*, e.g. *wur-oojo → wur-ooɓe*
> *-o/-ooɓe*, e.g. *joor-o → joor-ooɓe*
> and *jaad-o → jaad-ooɓe*[29]

For the group of personal *o* class nouns whose singular SUFFIX contains "E," the main singular/plural combination to be aware of is:

> *-eejo/-eeɓe* (19/24), e.g. *bod-eejo → wod-eeɓe*[30]

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[26] I say nearly because *woy-dudo → woy-ɓe* appears to be an exception to this rule. ☺ See footnote 29 below on the eclectic singular SUFFIX *-o*.

[27] The only other "pattern" that stands out in this group is: *-ø/-ɓe*, e.g. *ɓii → ɓiɓ-ɓe*. Note also how often the stem final consonant morphs to "ɓ" for phonetical reasons in the plural form. Even in the example *ɓii → ɓiɓ-ɓe* the vowel (in this case) "i" morphs to "ɓ." Other examples would include: *god-do → woɓ-ɓe*; *gid-o → yiɓ-ɓe*

[28] Here are the five words in this miscellaneous group: *gor-ko → wor-ɓe*; *guj-jo → wuy-ɓe*; *Jaawan-ndo → Jaawan-ɓe*; *jokol-le → jokol-ɓe*; *Lab-bo → Law-ɓe*

[29] Words that use the singular SUFFIXes *-o* or *-oo* are a bit fluid in their identification with any one given plural SUFFIX pattern. We have already seen some of these words show up in the "A" group, e.g. *yigoo*. Various places would render the plural of *jaado* as *yaadiiɓe*, *yaadooɓe*, or *yaaduuɓe*!

[30] Here are the three minor patterns in the "E" family: *-e/-eeɓe*, e.g. *atiim-e → atiim-eeɓe*, *tomott-e* or *tomett-e → tomott-eeɓe*, and *taakalemm-e → taakalemm-eeɓe*; *-ee/-eeɓe*, e.g. *seed-ee → seed-eeɓe*; *-eero/-eeɓe*, e.g. *deer-eero → reer-eeɓe*

For the "I" group in the *ɓe* noun class the main singular/plural combination is:

> *-iijo/-iiɓe* (7/21), e.g. *aah-iijo → aah-iiɓe*[31]

For the "U" group in the *ɓe* noun class there are two main principle singular/plural combination patterns:

> *-u/-uuɓe* (5/11), e.g. *amiir-u → amiir-uuɓe*
> *-uujo/-uuɓe* (5/11), e.g. *bonng-uujo → bonng-uuɓe*

In the *ɓe* noun class, the other SUFFIX in the Simple family is *-'en*.
As mentioned above this word is typically used by the *Fulɓe* in pluralizing foreign words with which they are uncertain of what else to do.
For example:

> *alĝaali'en, almaami'en, wakiili'en, dunkee'en*

Having said that, *-'en* is also often used for creating plurals for people considered part of one's group, for example: *Alsilaami'en, dokotoro'en*.
Finally it is used for groups of which you are not a part, for example: *kam'en, Maamuudu'en*. *Maamuudu'en* can mean Maamuudu and his family, or Maamuudu and his friends, or Maamuudu and his traveling party.

A nanii Maamuudu'en ngaran hannden?
Did you hear that Maamuudu's group (family, friends, traveling party) is coming today?

---

[31]As mentioned in footnote 29 above, singular nouns ending in "o" sometimes will form their plural in the "I" group. Here are the remaining three patterns in the "I" group of the ɓe noun class: *-o* or *-oo/-iiɓe*, e.g. *ard-o → ard-iiɓe* and *goor-oo → goor-iiɓe*; *-i* or *-ii/-iiɓe*, e.g. *annjaari → annjaar-iiɓe* and *banndii* or *banndi → bannd-iiɓe*; *-iiɗo/-iiɓe*, e.g. *laam-iiɗo → laam-iiɓe*

B. Ɗe:

Words from the singular noun classes *ki*, *nde*, and *ngal* tend to use the *ɗe* class to form their plurals (as can be seen in Table 4.1 above). As with the *ɓe* plural noun class, there are six "families" of SUFFIXes for the *ɗe* noun class: Simple, A, E, I, O, and U.[32] However, the *ɗe* noun class is much more complex than the *ɓe* class as there are five subdivisions of the Simple family (*-ɓe*, *-ɗe*, *-e*, *-le*, *-je*), and three subdivisions for the families A, E, I, O, and U (*-je*, *-ɗe*, *-le*). The details are in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Occurrences of suffixes in the *ɗe* noun class[33]

X	Simple	A (-aaxe)	E (-eexe)	I (-iixe)	O (-ooxe)	U (-uuxe)	Total
-je	2	138	74	52	69	52	387
-ɗe	174	10	3	0	21	2	210
-le	40	8	3	0	8	0	59
-ɓe	12						12
-e	250						250
Total	478	156	80	52	98	54	918

Mass nouns, borrowed nouns,[34] nouns with rarely used plurals, as well as other normal Fulfulde nouns which are in the *ɗe* plural noun class, often end with the SUFFIXes *-aaje*, *-eeje*, *-iije*, *-ooje*, or *-uuje*. As can be seen from Table 6.2 above, these endings make up the bulk of the A-U family's plural ending. Additionally, many nouns originating in Fulfulde, and a few borrowed words that fall in the *ɗe* plural noun class, end with the SUFFIXes *-aaɗe*, *-aale*, *-eeɗe*, *-eele*, *-ooɗe*, *-oole*, *-uuɗe*, *-uule*, or the simple SUFFIXes *-ɓe, -ɗe, -e, -je,* and *-le*.

Within these six families there are a number of singular/plural SUFFIX combinations used.[35] It is worth noting that each combination pertains to words from one singular noun class. This is due to the types of endings each noun class group uses. Remember that the *Fulɓe* like these words to rhyme! As mentioned above, words from the *ki*, *nde*, and *ngal* singular noun classes feature pominately in the *ɗe* plural class. Appendix B contains a compilation of the singular/plural combinations used for the *ɗe* noun class with examples and an indication of how many occurrences of each combination were found.[36]

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[32] As with the *ɓe* class above, the "Simple family" consists of singular/plural endings that generally are short, often containing only one vowel and one consonant, sometimes only one vowel is used (see listing in Appendix B on pp. 198-199 – these are #16-20). Families A-U use the plural SUFFIX formula –vvxe, where "v" is a vowel (a-u), "x" is a consonant (j, ɗ, l), and the final vowel is "e" because these are words in the *ɗe* noun class. So the SUFFIX *-aaje* would belong to the A family. That much is straight forward, however, sadly there are 71 singular SUFFIXes for the A-U "family" listed in Appendix B!

[33] This information was gleaned from the second edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde-English/English-Fulfulde Dictionary*. The over 200 entries involving multiple words, and the over 70 plurals without singular forms, were not included in this analysis.   In the abbreviations "-aaxe", etc., the "x" would be either the consonant "j," "ɗ," or "l."

[34] Actually, of the 255 borrowed nouns in the dictionary, either personal or non-personal, which have both a singular and a plural form, 23% use the SUFFIXes -vvje, 49% use the SUFFIXes -vvji, and 28% use some other plural ending (-ɓe 15%, -'en 8%, -e <1%, -ɗe 1%, koy <1%). When speaking of borrowed words in the *ɗe* class the majority of their singular forms are NOT found in the *o* class. Only 14% of their singular forms are found in the *o* class, while 43% are in the *nde* class, 26% in the *ngal* class, and 17% are in the *ki* class.

[35] 116 different singular SUFFIX patterns are listed in Appendix B!

[36] These are the endings found in the *ɗe* class nouns in the dictionary. While the listing here is extensive, no claim is being made that there might not be additional combinations not listed here. The numbers are to give the student a relative idea of a SUFFIX combination's importance.

Obviously, this much information is overwhelming! The listing in Appendix B is for reference, not to be learned! It would, however, be worthwhile to look over the information in Appendix B in order to have a general grasp of what is happening. A few of the more significant combinations will be mentioned here. As already mentioned above, the vast majority of plural endings follow the formula -vvje for the SUFFIXes in the A-U families. Because the singular noun classes *ki*, *nde*, and *ngal* tend to feed into the plural noun class *ɗe* rather than the *ɗi* noun class, it is not surprising that the three most important singular/plural SUFFIX combinations for family A are:

> *ki*: *-aahi/-aaje* (11% of family A SUFFIXes)
> *nde*: *-aare/-aaje* (51% of family A SUFFIXes)
> *ngal*: *-awal/-aaje* (8% of family A SUFFIXes)

The two outstanding patterns for family E are:

> *ki*: *-eehi/-eeje* (21% of family E SUFFIXes)
> *nde*: *-eere/-eeje* (47% of family E SUFFIXes)

The one outstanding paradigm for family I is:

> *nde*: *-iire/-iije* (61% of family I SUFFIXes)

The two most significant SUFFIX combinations for family U are:

> *nde*: *-uure/-uuje* (32% of family U SUFFIXes)
> *ngal*: *-uwal/-uuje* (49% of family U SUFFIXes)

These eight patterns represent 55% of the words in families A-U! And the 71 A-U patterns make up 48% of the singular/plural SUFFIX combinations that involve nouns in the *ɗe* plural noun class.

Which means that the remaining 52% of these nouns are in the Simple family. There are three noteworthy patterns in the family of simple SUFFIXes.

From the group of SUFFIXes whose plural SUFFIX is -ɗe:

> *nde*: *-de/-ɗe* (12% of the Simple SUFFIXes)

And from the group of SUFFIXes whose plural SUFFIX is -e:

> *nde*: *-ere/-e* (18% of the Simple SUFFIXes)
> *nde*: *-al/-e* (15% of the Simple SUFFIXes)

These three paradigms represent 45% of the words in the Simple family.

Together the above 11 patterns cover 50% of all the words in the plural noun class *ɗe*!

C. Ɗi:

Words from the singular noun classes *ka, ko₁, ndi, ndu, nga, nge, ngo, ngu,* and *o* classes tend to use the *ɗi* class to form their plurals. Mass nouns, borrowed words, and nouns with rarely used plurals which are in the *ɗi* plural noun class end with the SUFFIXes *-aaji, -eeji, -iiji, -ooji,* or *-uuji.*[37] As can be seen from Table 6.3, 63% of all words in the *ɗi* noun class have the plural SUFFIXes -vvxi. As with the *de* noun class, some words also use the SUFFIXes *-aaɗi, -aali, -eeɗi, -eeli, -iiɗi, -ooɗi, -ooli, -oob/ɓi,* and *-uuli.* The Simple family of SUFFIXes uses *-ji, -ɗi, -li, -b/ɓi, -i,* and *-yi.*

Table 6.3 Occurrences of suffixes in the *ɗi* noun class[38]

X	Simple	A (-aaxi)	E (-eexi)	I (-iixi)	O (-ooxi)	U (-uuxi)	Total
-ji	1	173	76	80	102	109	541
-ɗi	46	7	1	2	6	0	62
-li	31	14	4	0	14	6	69
-b/ɓi	15				3		18
-i	161						161
-yi	7						7
Total	261	194	81	82	125	115	858

As with the information regarding the endings for the *de* plural noun class, the information relating to the ending for the *ɗi* plural noun class is overwhelming.[39] A few of the more important patterns will be listed here for the student's benefit.

The most important singular/plural SUFFIX combination for the A family words would be:

ka: *-a(a)/-aaji* (72% of A family SUFFIXes)

The key singular/plural SUFFIX combination for the E family is:

o: *-e/-eeji* (54% of E family SUFFIXes)

For the I family of nouns the most important pattern would be:

o: *-i/-iiji* (76% of I family SUFFIXes)

---

[37] Of the 255 borrowed nouns in the dictionary, either personal or non-personal, which have both a singular and a plural form, 49% use the SUFFIXes –vvji. That means that the vast majority of borrowed words use the SUFFIX -vvji! The break down is: 49% use the plural SUFFIX -vvji, 23% use -vvje, and 28% use a simple SUFFIX (-ɓe, -e, -'en, -de and -oy). Unlike with the plural noun class *de*, the majority (75%) of the borrowed words in the *ɗi* noun class using the -vvji plural SUFFIX are in the *o* class in their singular form. The remaining 25% of dictionary words using the -vvji plural SUFFIX come from the *ka, ndi, ndu, ngel, ngo, ngol,* and *ngu* singular noun classes.

[38] This information was gleaned from the second edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde-English/English-Fulfulde Dictionary*. Some 100 entries involving multiple words or separate listings of plurals, and the over 50 words without singular forms were not included in this analysis. In the formula "-aaxi", etc., the "x" would be either the consonant "j," "ɗ," or "l."

[39] There are 102 distinct singular/plural SUFFIX patterns used with nouns in the ɗi noun class. While this listing is extensive, based on data from the dictionary, it is probably not exhaustive.

The noteworthy pattern for the O family is:

o: *-o/-ooji* (66% of O family SUFFIXes)

Not suprisingly, the key pattern for the U family is:

o: *-u/-uuji* (60% of U family SUFFIXes)

The most important pattern for the Simple family to be aware of is:

ngol: *-ol/-i* (33% of Simple family SUFFIXes)

D. Ko_2:

The augmenting singular noun classes *nga*, *ngal*, and *ngi* pluralize with the ending "o" of the plural noun class ko_2. For example:

baalal (large sheep) *ngal* → *mbaalo* ko_2
mbaala (large sheep) *nga* → *mbaalo* ko_2
mbaali (large sheep) *ngi* → *mbaalo* ko_2

E. Koy:

Words in the singular noun classes *ngel* and *ngu*, when referring to small things, usually use the plural noun class *koy*.   There appear to be two singular "diminutive" endings used with noun roots that end with a vowel. The most common SUFFIX used in roots ending with a vowel seems to be *-yel*. This ending becomes *-hoy* when pluralized. For example:

aanyee-re (grave) *nde* → *aanye-yel ngel* → *aanye-hoy koy*
aadi (covenant) *ndi* → *aadi-yel ngel* → *aadi-hoy koy*
adadu (total) *o* → *adadu-yel ngel* → *adadu-hoy koy*

The other ending used with a vowel is *-ngel*. This ending pluralizes as *-koy*. For example:

kaaɗu-ngel (gall bladder) *ngel* → *kaaɗu-koy koy*
morru-ngel (Adam's apple) *ngel* → *morru-koy koy*
palla-ngel danki (gecko) *ngel* → *palla-koy koy*

Roots ending with the nasals "m" and "n" use the singular SUFFIX *-ngel* and pluralize with *-koy*. For example:

dam-ngel (a male kid) *ngel* → *ndam-koy koy*
nyaan-ngel (carpet viper) ngel → *nyaan-koy koy*
ɓiin-ngel (child) ngel ɓiik-koy koy

Roots ending with "r" uses the singular SUFFIX *-gel* and also pluralizes with *-koy*.

nyittor-gel (handkerchief) *ngel* → *nyittor-koy koy*
poofir-gel (comma) *ngel*→ *poofir-koy koy*
ʏamir-gel (question mark) *ngel* → *ʏamir-koy koy*

The rest of the consonants use the singular ending *-el* as the diminutive ending.[40] These become *-oy* when pluralized.

> *buu**b**-**el*** (small fly) *ngel* → *m-buu**b**-**oy** koy*
> *ce**ɓ**-**el** le**ɓ**-**el*** (tip of tree) *ngel* → *ce**ɓ**-**oy** le**ɓ**-**oy** koy*
> *co**f**-**el*** (chick) *ngel* → *co**f**-**oy** koy*
> *le**gg**-**el** (stick)* ngel *le**gg**-**oy** koy*
> *cuka**l**-**el*** (child) *ngel* → *cuka**l**-**oy** koy*
> *pe**t**-**el*** (small pond) *ngel* → *pe**t**-**oy** koy*

The form of these endings seems to be driven by phonetic considerations - remember that the *Fulɓe* like their nouns, pronouns and noun class markers to rhyme!

7. PLURALIZATION OF COMPOUND NOUNS

In the case of compound nouns, where there are two or even three words which as a unit refer to one thing, the main thing to keep in mind is that which ever part of the compound determines the noun class in the singular will also determine the noun class in the plural.

Sometimes both words of the compound will be pluralized:

baa ɓaade **o** (head of household) → **baabiraaɓe** ɓaadeeji **ɓe** (heads of households)
banndo **ciɓitel ngel** (ring finger) → banndiraaɓe **ciɓitoy koy** (ring fingers)
jom suudu **o** (head of household) → **jomiraaɓe** cuuɗi **ɓe** (heads of households)
laalagal hoore **ngal** (skull) → **laalaaɗe** ko'e **ɗe** (skulls)
nyannde ŋotteteende **nde** (day of rest) → **nyalaaɗe** ŋotteteeɗe **ɗe** (days of rest)
futun **faaldu ndu** (blister) → putun **paali ɗi** (blisters)

Sometimes only the first noun in the compound will be pluralized:

ɓoggol fitilla **ngol** (wick) → **ɓoggi** fitilla **ɗi** (wicks)
leembol nawki **ngol** (underarm hair) → **leeɓi** nawki **ɗi**[41] (underarm hairs)
liccal kamanaari **ngal** (corn plant) → **licce** kamanaari **ɗe** (corn plants)
wudde hinere **nde** (nostril) → **guɗɗe** hinere **ɗe**[42] (nostrils)

More rarely the second noun of a compound noun is pluralized:

metta **ƴiiƴaajo o** (someone upsetting) → metta **ƴiiƴaaɓe ɓe** (someones upsetting)
ganya **ganyalo o** (selfish person) → ganya **ganyalooɓe ɓe** (selfish persons)
kaɓa **karo o** (warrior) → kaɓa **karooɓe ɓe** (warriors)
dow **koyngal ngal** (top of foot) → dow **koyɗe ɗe** (top of feet)
hamma **keekawal ngal** (abyssinian roller) → hamma **keekaaji ɗi** (abyssinian rollers)

Note in the above examples that sometimes it is the first noun which determines the noun class, and sometimes it is the second noun, but in all cases, whichever word determines the noun class in the singular will also determine the plural noun class.

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[40] The only exception to this I found was *ja**w**-**gel** ngel* pluralizing as *nja**w**-**koy** koy*.
[41] For one arm pit the plural is *leeɓi nawki ɗi*, but for two (or more) arm pits it would be *leeɓe nawɗi ɗi*.
[42] For one nose the plural is *guɗɗe hinere ɗe*, but for two (or more) noses it would be *guɗɗe kine ɗe*.

8. PERSONAL, INDEPENDENT AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Fulfulde has eight different sets of pronouns. The personal pronouns include the subject, long-form subject, object and possessive (also possessive/SUFFIX) pronouns. The independent pronouns are the emphatic, demonstrative, and referential pronouns. Several of the interrogatives are pronouns, while others are actually adverbs, so they are not listed as a set here under the discussion of pronouns. We also refer to relative pronouns, which technically speaking are not all pronouns either, some are actually adverbs, and for this reason they are not listed in this section on pronouns.

Three general comments on the pronouns:
>There is one distinction drawn in Fulfulde which is foreign to English and French speakers: Fulfulde has both an exclusive and an inclusive first PERSON plural pronoun. For example, under the subject pronouns, *min* is the exclusive and *en* is the inclusive. When a speaker uses *min*, he is saying in effect "we, but not you." When a speaker uses *en*, he is saying in effect "you and I and all of us (involved)."

>Fulfulde does not distinguish between gender in the third PERSON singular. *O,* for example, is used for both he and she.

>The second PERSON plural simply indicates plural and does not carry any polite/respect connotation as does the second PERSON plural in French.

A. Subject Pronouns:

Table 8.1 Subject Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	mi	Exclusive min	Inclusive en
SECOND	a	on	
THIRD			
	SINGULAR NOUN CLASS	PLURAL NOUN CLASS	
	o	ɓe	
	ɗam	ɗe	
	ɗum	ɗi	
	ka	ko$_2$	
	ki	koy	
	ko$_1$		
	kal		
	kol		
	nde		
	ndi		
	ndu		
	nga		
	nge		
	ngi		
	ngo		
	ngu		
	ngal		
	ngel		
	ngol		

NOTE: The third PERSON subject pronouns are the same as the noun class markers. Any of these third PERSON pronouns not referring to a person can be translated as "it."

Examples:

Mi *yahan Fada.*	I will go to Fada.
Be *ndookeke Laamɗo.*	They prayed to God.
Ngal *na famɗi sanne.*	It (the chicken) is very small.

B. Long-Form Subject Pronouns:

These pronouns are only used with Stative or Progressive verb FORMs. See Section 16, p. 106 *ff.* and Section 17, p. 111 *ff.* for an explanation and examples of these verb FORMs. As can be seen in the chart, either "e" or "i" can be added to the beginning of any of the third PERSON noun class pronouns (except *o*) for use with either the Stative or Progressive verbal FORMs.

Table 8.2A Long-Form Subject Pronouns

PERSON	SINGUALAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	miɗo	Exclusive miɗen	Inclusive eɗen*
SECOND	aɗa	oɗon	
THIRD			
SINGULAR NOUN CLASS		PLURAL NOUN CLASS	
o	imo/omo	*ɓe*	eɓe/iɓe
ɗam	eɗam/iɗam	*ɗe*	eɗe/iɗe
ɗum	eɗum/iɗum	*ɗi*	eɗi/iɗi
ka	eke/iki	*ko₂*	eko/iko
ki	eki/iki	*koy*	ekoy/ikoy
ko₁	eko/eko		
kal	ekal/ikal		
kol	ekol/ikol		
nde	ende/inde		
ndi	endi/inde		
ndu	endu/indu		
nga	enga/inga		
nge	enge/inge		
ngi	engi/ingi		
ngo	engo/ingo		
ngu	engu/ingu		
ngal	engal/ingal		
ngel	engel/ingel		
ngol	engol/ingol		

*Anen is often used in *Yaagaare*, *Moosiire*, and *Gurmaare*.

NOTE: For the sake of consistency in this grammar *imo* will be used as the third PERSON long-form pronoun throughout.

Examples:
Stative: **Iɗum** *woodi.*   It is good.
Progressive: **Enga** *dogga.*   It (the goat) runs.

The long-form subject pronouns of some areas may vary from those used in Table 8.2A. It is best to check this in your ministry area. Table 8.2B shows the long-form subject pronouns used in the Mahadaga area (*Gurmaare* dialect).

Table 8.2B

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	mino	Exclusive minen	Inclusive enen
SECOND	ana	onon	
THIRD	omo	eɓe	

There is a second way these long form subject pronouns can be formed, which is by using the particle "*na*" in front of the various subject pronouns. The various constructions are as follows in Table 8.2C. Informants from Djibo, Tenkodogo, and Pièla all indicated that they use this form of long subject pronouns with either stative or progressive conjugations of verbs. In the Tenkodogo region this is the standard way of forming the Stative and Progressive.

Table 8.2C

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	na mi	Exclusive na min	Inclusive na en
SECOND	na a	na on	
THIRD	na o	na ɓe	

C. Object Pronouns:

Table 8.3 Object Pronouns

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	kam	<u>Exclusive</u> min*	<u>Inclusive</u> en[†]
SECOND	ma	on[‡]	
THIRD	o/mo	ɓe	
	ɗam	ɗe	
	ɗum	ɗi	
	ka	ɗum'en	
	ki	ko$_2$	
	ko$_1$	koy	
	kal		
	kol		
	nde		
	ndi		
	ndu		
	nga		
	nge		
	ngi		
	ngo		
	ngu		
	ngal		
	ngel		
	ngol		

*In some areas *men* is used. [†] In Sebba *ɗen* is used for *en.*
[‡] In Sebba *ɗon* is used for *on.*

Note: Any of the third PERSON object pronouns not referring to a person can be translated as "it."

NOTE: The central dialects of Fulfulde in Burkina, *Jelgoore* (Djibo), *Moosiire* (Kaya-Tenkodogo), and *Nommaare* (Fada), use *o* for both the third PERSON singular subject pronoun and for the third PERSON singular object pronoun. The eastern dialects of Fulfulde in Burkina, *Liptaakuure* (Dori), *Yaagaare* (Sebba), and *Gurmaare* (Kantchari-Mahadaga), use *o* for the subject pronoun (he/she) as well, but use *mo* for the object pronoun (him/her). Check in your particular ministry area what is being used. In this grammar *o* will be used for both subject and object pronouns.

Examples:
*Burayma hokkaay **o** laɓi makko.*
Burayma did not give him his knife.

*Ngaddannan **kam** caaku gawri am mo coodumi luumo.*
Bring me my sack of millet which I bought at the market.

*Alfa nyiɓani **ɓe** garuwal mawngal.*
Alfa built a big house for them.

When the Imperative in the active or middle VOICE is used with the first PERSON singular object pronoun *kam*, *kam* is shortened to -*am* and is added as a verbal SUFFIX, with the normal Imperative singular SUFFIX (i.e. -u for the active VOICE, -a for the middle VOICE) being dropped off.[43]

Example:
Hokk-u kam. → *Hokkam.*   (-*u* + *kam* = -*am*)
Rookan-a kam. → *Rookanam.*   (-*a* + *kam* = -*am*)

There are four cases when the second PERSON singular object pronoun *ma* undergoes a transformation and becomes part of the verb's ending. This happens with the following verbal FORMs.

1. **With the General Incomplete:**
   When the General Incomplete, which is what we might think of as a future "tense," is used in the active and middle VOICEs, the SUFFIXes -*an* (active VOICE) or -*oto* (middle VOICE) are combined with *ma* to form a new verb SUFFIX: -*ete*.[44] Examples:

   Mi hokk-an ma... → *Mi hokkete...* (-*an* + *ma* = -*ete*)
   Mi rook-oto ma... → *Mi rokkete...* (-*oto* + *ma* = -*ete*)
   *Mi waɗ-**an**-an ma..* → *Mi waɗe**nte**..* (-*anan* + *ma* = -*ente*)

   Note: The first -*an* in *waɗanan* is an INFIX which changes the meaning of the word *waɗude* from "to do" to "to do for."[45] In this case "to do for you." With the INFIX **-an**, plus the SUFFIX –*an*, plus the object pronoun *ma*, the "**a**" of the INFIX **-an** is dropped as well as the entire active VOICE General Incomplete SUFFIX -*an*, and the remaining "**n**" of the INFIX -*an* is inserted between the "*e*" and the "*t*" of –*ete*, rendering -*ente*.

   Mi hokkete siwooru maa jaango.
   I will give you your bucket tomorrow.

   Mi waɗente moyƴere mawnde.
   I will make (bring) you a great good.

2. **With the Progressive:**
   When the Progressive is used and followed by a *ma*, the normal Progressive SUFFIX, -*a* (active VOICE) or -*oo* (middle VOICE), is changed to -*e*.[46] Examples:

   Miɗo hokk-a ma... → *Miɗo hokke...*(-*a* + *ma* = *e*)
   Imo rook-oo ma... → *Imo rooke...*(-*oo* + *ma* = *e*)

   Miɗo hokke kaalisi joonin, joonin.
   I am giving you money right now.

   Imo hokke ko nyaama.
   She is giving you something to eat.

---

3. **With the Subjunctive:**
   As with the Progressive, so also with the Subjunctive, the object pronoun *ma* is changed to the SUFFIX *-e* while the normal Subjunctive SUFFIXes, *-a* (active VOICE) and *-oo* (middle VOICE), are dropped.[47] Note that the Progressive SUFFIXes and the Subjunctive SUFFIXes are the same.

   Examples:
   faa o hokk-a ma → *faa o hokke* (*-a + ma = e*)
   faa o rook-oo ma → *faa o rooke* (*-oo + ma = e*)

   Min ngarii to maaɗa faa miɗen kolle nyawɗo o.
   We came to you to show you this person who is ill.

   Hey, hettinda ga faa mi haalane.
   Hey, you should listen here so that I can tell you something.

   Ɓe nootii, ɓe mbi'i, "Jommii amin, war ga faa min kolle."
   They answered and said, "Lord, come here so we can show you."

4. **With the Relative:**
   With both the Relative Complete and the Relative Incomplete verb FORMs, if the subject is the first PERSON singular *-mi*, which in the Relative form is added as a SUFFIX, then the object pronoun *ma* becomes *-maa* and is added between the verbal root and the SUFFIX *-mi*.[48]

   Examples:

   ko kokk-u·mi ma → *ko kokk-u·maa·mi* (*-mi + ma = -maa·mi*)

   Note: *kokkumi* is the Relative Complete FORM's first PERSON singular CONJUGATION of *hokkude*.

   ko kokk-am·mi ma → *ko kokk-am·maa·mi* (*-mi + ma = -maa·mi*)

   Note: *kokkammi* is the Relative Incomplete FORM of *mi + hokkude*.

   ko njaaf-umi ma → *ko njaafumaami*)

---

[47] See Section 18, p. 115 *ff.* for a discussion of the Subjunctive verb FORM.
[48] See Section 13, p. 83 *ff.* for a discussion of the Relative verb FORM. The reason that the *Fulɓe* elongate the object pronoun *ma* to *maa* is that they prefer a long vowel sound before the inverted subject pronoun *mi*.

Object pronouns after *e*:

The particle *e* here means "with," which is why we have listed these pronouns as object pronouns. Note that some of these pronouns look like possessive pronouns. As such, the third PERSON singular and plural pronouns are used in the same way that *makko/muɗum* or *maɓɓe/muɓɓen* are used.

Table 8.4

PERSON	SINGUALAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	e he'am/e am	e he'amin/e amin	e meeɗen/e hemen
SECOND	e hema/e maaɗa	e hemon/e mooɗon	
THIRD	e makko/e muuɗum	e maɓɓe/e muɓɓen	

NOTE: The above forms are used in some areas and not in others. Some areas drop the "*he.*" Check what is used in your area.

Examples:
*Baasi fuu walaa **e he'am***.
There are no problems with me.

*A yoppi Saalu Ouagadougou naa? A'aa, mi wardii **e muuɗum***.
Did you leave Saalu in Ouagadougou? No, I came with him.

Note: Because the proper name Saalu is used in the question it is necessary to use *muuɗum* in the response.

*A yoppi o Ouagadougou naa? A'aa, mi wardii **e makko***.
Did you leave him in Ouagadougou? No, I came with him.

Note: Because the pronoun *o* is used in the question it is necessary to use *makko* in the response.

Object pronouns after other prepositions:

The object of any prepositional phrase, not just those beginning with *e*, takes the same form as the possessive pronouns listed in Table 8.5.

Examples:
Salla a wattii bindirgal am ley dewtere ndeeto naa?
*A'aa, mi yoppi **ngal** dow **mayre**.*
Did you put my pen in that book over there?
No, I left it [the pen] on it [the book].

Salla puccu mon na nanndi puccu ngu naa?
*Ayyo, **ngu** wo hono **maggu** sanne!*
Does your horse look like that one?
Yes, it [that horse] is a lot like it [our horse].

D. Possessive Pronouns:

Table 8.5 Possessive Pronouns

PERSON	SINGUALAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	am	Exclusive amin	Inclusive meeɗen men
SECOND	maaɗa/maa	moodon/mon	
THIRD			
SINGULAR NOUN CLASS		PLURAL NOUN CLASS	
o	makko	*ɓe*	maɓɓe
	muuɗum/mum		muɓɓen*
dam	majjam	*de*	majje
dum	makkum	*di*	majji
ka	makka	*ko$_2$*	makko
ki	maaki	*koy*	makkoy
ko$_1$	makko		
kal	makkal		
kol	makkol		
nde	mayre		
ndi	mayri		
ndu	mayru		
nga	magga		
nge	magge		
ngi	maggi		
ngo	maggo		
ngu	maggu		
ngal	maggal		
ngel	maggel		
ngol	maggol		

* In **Sebba** muuɗum'en is also used.

There is a difference between third PERSON singular *makko* and *muuɗum* and
between the third PERSON plural *maɓɓe* and *muɓɓen*. The distinction is made
along the lines of whether or not the possessive pronoun is referring to a
noun, proper name or title versus if the possessive pronoun is referring to a
pronoun. In the case of the pronoun *o* being used, then the possessive
pronoun would be *makko*. If the plural pronoun *ɓe* is used, then the
possessive pronoun would be *maɓɓe*. On the other hand, if a noun, proper
name or title was used, then either *muuɗum* or its shortened form *mum* would
be used as the possessive pronoun in a singular case, and *muɓɓen* in a plural
case. *Muuɗum* is often shortened to *mum*, or, if the noun it follows ends in a
vowel, to simply -*m*. For example *suudu muuɗum* becomes *suudum*.
Muɓɓen is a contracted form of *muuɗum'en*.

Examples:

Almasiihu yamiri taaliɓɓe **muuɗum** *ɓe njiɗundura.*
Christ commanded His disciples to love one another.

Note: As the name of Christ is used as the subject the possessive pronoun must be *muuɗum*.

O yamiri taaliɓɓe **makko** *ɓe njiɗundura.*
He commanded His disciples to love one another.

Note: As the subject pronoun *o* is used the possessive pronoun must be *makko*.

Lobbo hokkii o keekel muuɗum.
Lobbo gave him his bike.

Note: In this case the bike is Lobbo's. We know this because the possessive
pronoun *muuɗum* is used which refers to the proper name Lobbo in the sentence.

O hokkii Daniyel keekel makko.
He gave Daniel his bike.

Note: The bike is still Lobbo's. This time the possessive prounoun *makko* is used, which
refers to the subject pronoun *o*.

They would NOT say: *Lobbo hokkii Daniyel keekel makko.*
Rather they would say: *Lobbo hookii keekel muuɗum Daniyel.*
       Lobbo gave his bike [to] Daniel.

Note: The bike is still Lobbo's. While there are two proper names in the sentence
muuɗum is placed after Lobbo's name and before Daniel's name, so it refers back to
Lobbo.

Lobbo hokkii Daniyel keekel muuɗum.
Lobbo gave Daniel his bike.

Note: The bike is Daniel's in this example because Daniel is the closest name
preceding *muuɗum* that *muuɗum* can refer back to.

O hokkii o keekel makko.
He gave him his bike.

Note: There is not enough information in this sentence to know to whom the bike belongs.

Please note that muuɗum is used with all singular nouns and not for just
people! Likewise muɓɓen is used with all plural nouns. For example:

Gertogal na waali dow ɓoccooɗe muuɗum.
Ingal waali dow ɓoccooɗe maggal.

Gertooɗe na mbaali dow ɓoccooɗe muɓɓen.
Iɗe mbaali dow ɓoccooɗe majje.

Ommbooɗe taasawal na hippi dow taasawal muuɗum.
Inde hippi dow taasawal mayre.

Ommbooɗe taasaaje na kippi dow taasaaje muɓɓen.
Iɗe kippi dow taasaaje majje.

E. Possessive Suffixes:

In certain situations, particularly when referring to family members, these
SUFFIXes are added to the end of a noun. The distinction described above
between *makko/muuɗum* and *maɓɓe/muɓɓen* is also applied to *-iiko/-um* and
-iiɓe/-umen. Not all dialect areas use these SUFFIXes so check what is used
in your ministry area!

Table 8.6 Possessive Suffixes*

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	-am	exclusive	not used
		inclusive	-ii'en/-iiɗen
SECOND	-a	-ii'on/-iiɗon	
THIRD	-iiko	-iiɓe	
	-um	-umen	

*These are the basic forms of possessive SUFFIXes. These are used to form a contraction bewteen
 various nouns used to describe family members and the possessive pronouns. See Appendix C,
 p. 206 for a listing of these words and their various forms.

Biyam warii hannden.	My child came today.
Noy deeka wadi?	How is your wife?
Deekiiko jaɓaay fey.	His wife did not argee at all.
Aamaa hokkaay deekum paɗɗe.	Aamaa didn't give his wife shoes.
Gorko o hokkaay deekum paɗɗe.	That man didn't give his wife shoes.
Be piyii biyiiɓe.	They spanked their child.
Hama e Saala piyii biyumen.	Hama e Saala spanked their child.

F. Emphatic Pronouns:

Emphatic pronouns are used to give emphasis as in, "It was I who did it." Note the lengthening in some of the CONJUGATIONS indicating that focalization is taking place.

Table 8.7 Emphatic Pronouns

PERSON	SINGUALAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	miin	Exclusive minen	Inclusive enen*
SECOND	an†	onon*	
THIRD			
SINGULAR NOUN CLASS		PLURAL NOUN CLASS	
o	kanko	*ɓe*	kamɓe
	kam		kamɓen
ɗam	kanjam		kam'en
ɗum	kanjum	*ɗe*	kanje
ka	kanka	*ɗi*	kanji
ki	kanki	*ko₂*	kanko
ko₁	kanko	*koy*	kankoy
kal	kankal		
kol	kankol		
nde	kayre		
ndi	kayri		
ndu	kayru		
nga	kannga		
nge	kannge		
ngi	kanngi		
ngo	kanngo		
ngu	kanngu		
ngal	kanngal		
ngel	kanngel		
ngol	kanngol		

*In Sebba *anon* is used for *onon* or *enen*. In Tenkodogo *anon* is used for *enen*.
†In Djibo *aan* is used.

Examples:
Wanna kanko, **miin** *moyyini ɗum.*
It wasn't he, it was I who made it.

Kanko, *o yahan to esiraaɓe makko, imo suusi?*
He is going to his in-laws, does he dare?

Aan, *tuubaaku, a jogaaki kaalisi?!?*
You, a white man, don't have any money?!?

Minen *tan njahata.*
Just we (exclusive) will go.

Aan *waɗata ɗum fuu.*
It is you who will do this all.

When an emphatic pronoun is the subject it demands a Relative verb FORM. However, the three singular persons all use the CONJUGATION for the third person singular, and the three plural persons use the CONJUGATION for the third person plural; e.g. *Onon ngadata ɗum fuu.* The reason for this is to preserve the emphatic pronoun. The normal inverted Relative FORMs cannot be used because the emphatic pronoun would disappear. See Table 13.2, page 84 for the Relative Complete paradigm and Table 13.3, page 85 for the Relative Incomplete paradigm. -Ed.

The distinction between *kanko* and *kam* is the same as that between *makko* and *muuɗum*. That is that *kanko* refers to a pronoun while *kam* refers to a proper name or a noun. Be careful to not confuse the object pronoun *kam* with the emphatic pronoun *kam*! An examination of the role of the word in the sentence should distinguish the difference. Likewise, the distinction between *kamɓe* and *kamɓen*, or the shortened form, *kam'en*, is the same as the difference between *maɓɓe* and *muɓɓen*. *Kamɓe* refers to a pronoun while *kamɓen* or *kam'en* refer to a proper name or a noun.

Example:
Almasiihu wurtii e huɓeere, **kam** *e taaliɓɓe muuɗum.*
Christ left the village, he and his disciples.

However, if *Almasiihu* is substituted with a pronoun...

O wurtii e huɓeere, **kanko** *e taaliɓɓe makko.*
He left the village, he and his disciples

G. Demonstrative Pronouns and Locators:

Demonstrative pronouns are used for specifying a particular thing or person by pointing at it. These pronouns can be translated as "this" or "that." The *ɗo*, *to*, and *ga* listed in Table 8.8 are **locators** which enable the speaker to add some precision to the location of objects relative to each other. *Do* and *ga* roughly mean the same thing, i.e. "here,"[49] while the *to* generally means "over there." Be aware that in some areas there may be some variation in what is used. For instance, in Sebba *to* is often used for both here and there. Check in your ministry area to find which of these words are used and what they mean. Some Fulfulde speakers elongate the vowel if it is the final letter, e.g. *oo*, *ɓee*, *kii*. Others not only elongate the final vowel, but also place a very subtle glottal stop in these words, e.g. *o'o*, *ɓe'e*, *ki'i*. Still others would place a glottal stop at the end of the word without elongating the final vowel, e.g. o', ɓe', ki'. For the time being we have decided to represent them as written below in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Demonstrative Pronouns

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN	ɗo	ga	to
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR			
o	ooɗo	ooga	ooto
ɗam	ɗamɗo	ɗamga	ɗamto
ɗum	ɗumɗo	ɗumga	ɗumto
ka	kaaɗo	kaaga	kaato
ki	kiiɗo	kiiga	kiito
ko₁	kooɗo	kooga	kooto
kal	kalɗo	kalga	kalto
kol	kolɗo	kolga	kolto
nde	ndeenɗo	ndeega	ndeeto
ndi	nduuɗo	ndiiga	ndiito
ndu	ndiiɗo	nguuga	nduuto
nga	ngaaɗo	ngaaga	ngaato
nge	ngeeɗo	ngeega	ngeeto
ngi	ngiiɗo	ngiiga	ngiito
ngo	ngooɗo	ngooga	ngooto
ngu	nguuɗo	nguuga	nguuto
ngal	ngalɗo	ngalga	ngalto
ngel	ngelɗo	ngelga	ngelto
ngol	ngolɗo	ngolga	ngolto
THIRD PERSON PLURAL			
ɓe	ɓeeɗo	ɓeega	ɓeeto
ɗe	ɗeeɗo	ɗeega	ɗeeto
ɗi	ɗiiɗo	ɗiiga	ɗiito
ko₂	kooɗo	kooga	kooto
koy	koyɗo	koyga	koyto

[49]Some would say that *ɗo* means right here while *ga* is bit further away but *ɗo* and *ga* are not used together to distinguish between the location of two objects.

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Examples:

*Hokkaram laɓi **ki**. **Kiiɗo?** A'aa, **kiito**.*
Give me that knife. This one here? No, that one over there.

*Mi soodan daago **ngo**. **Ngooto?** A'aa, **ngooga***
I will buy this mat. That one there? No, this one right here.

*Miɗo yiɗi anndude yalla nagge **ngeega** bonnii nokku am naa **ngeeto**.*
I would like to know whether this cow ruined my garden or whether it
was that one there.

*Nagge bonnunge sardiŋe maa ngeen wanaa **nge**.*
The cow which ruined your garden is not this cow.

*Min kirsan ndamndi pamardi **ndi***
We will butcher this small goat.

*Toy woni amiiru? Ley suudu **nduuto**.*
Where is the chief? In that hut over there.

*Gorko **ooto** wo caahiiɗo sanne!*
That man over there is very generous/polite/correct!

H. Referential Pronouns:

Table 8.9 Referential Pronouns

NOUN CLASS	REFERENTIAL PRONOUN	2ND REFERENTIAL PRONOUN
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR		
o	oon	oye oon
ɗam	ɗaam	ɗame ɗaam
ɗum	ɗuum	ɗume ɗuum
ka	kaan	kaye kaan
ki	kiin	kiye kiin
ko	koon	koye koon
kal	kaal	kale kaal
kol	kool	kole kool
nde	ndeen	ndeye ndeen
ndi	ndiin	ndiye ndiin
ndu	nduun	nduye nduun
nga	ngaan	ngaye ngaan
nge	ngeen	ngeye ngeen
ngi	ngiin	ngiye ngiin
ngo	ngoon	ngoye ngoon
ngu	nguun	nguye nguun
ngal	ngaal	ngale ngaal
ngel	ngeel	ngele ngeel
ngol	ngool	ngole ngool
THIRD PERSON PLURAL		
ɓe	ɓeen	ɓeye ɓeen
ɗe	ɗeen	ɗeye ɗeeno
ɗi	ɗiin	ɗiye ɗiin
ko₂	koon	koye kool
koy	kooy	koye kooy

Referential Pronouns are used to refer to a noun already used in the narrative or conversation. They are formed by lengthening and nasalizing the final vowel. Referential pronouns can be used as a subject, object, or as a demonstrative. The locators *ɗo,* and *to*, can also be lengthened and nasalized taking on a referential dimension; e.g. *ɗo* (here) becomes *ɗoon* (here or there) and *to* becomes *toon* (there). The first list of referential pronouns gives what are normally used in referring to a noun already mentioned in the narrative or conversation, while the second list of referential pronouns gives you the ability to distinguish a second item in the case where two things are being discussed.

Examples:
Mi anndaa oon.
I don't know him (the one just mentioned).

*Nyannde gomma Muusa soodii dewte ɗiɗi. O soodi dewtere dow laawol Laamɗo de o soodi dewtere fillaaji Fulɓe. Nde o hewtinoo suudu makko ndeen o janngi dewtere **ndeen**, ammaa o resi dewtere **ndeye ndeen**.*

One day Muusa bought two books. He bought a book about the way to God and he bought a book of Fulani stories. When he got home then he read the first book [about God that we mentioned before], but he put the second book [that was also mentioned before] away.

*Laamɗo yamiri Nuuhu waɗa **laana** ndiyam mawka sabo O wardan yimɓe e ilam tuufaandu. Nuuhu e sukaaɓe muuɗum tato na ngaɗi **laana kaan** faa waɗi duuɓi hemre. Ika mawni sanne.*

God commanded Noah to make a big boat because He was going to kill everyone with a great flood. Noah and his three sons worked on the boat [which has already been mentioned] for one hundred years. It [the boat] was very big.

I. Indefinite Pronouns:

Indefinite pronouns in Fulfulde are:

huunde	-something
fay huunde	-nothing, not a thing
fay meere	-nothing
nokku	-somewhere
fay nokku	-anywhere, nowhere
neɗɗo	-someone
fay neɗɗo	-anyone, no one (lit. no person)
fay gooto	-anyone, no one (must be conjugated for each class; e.g. *ndi → fay ngootiri*, etc., see page 160.)
yoga	-some/certain people
yogaaɓe	-some/certain people
yoga en	-some/certain people
heewɓe	-many (must be conjugated for each plural class; e.g. *keewde, keewɗi*)
mono fuu	-each one (must be conjugated for each class; e.g. *ndi → mondi* fuu)
mono kala	-same meaning as *mono fuu* but less frequently used
ɓe fuu ɓe	-everyone (must be conjugated for each plural class; e.g. *ɗe fuu ɗe, ɗi fuu ɗi*)
ɓe kala ɓe	-same meaning as ɓe fuu ɓe but less frequently used
goɗɗo	-another, others (must be conjugated for each class; e.g. *woɓɓe, wonnde*, etc, see page 160.)
gooto men/amin	-one of us

Examples:

Huunde *na toon!*
Something is there!

O hokkaay kam **fay hunnde/fay meere.**
He did not give me anything at all.

Toy ponndiɗaa? Mi yahan **nokku.**
Where are you headed? I am going somewhere.

Gilla fajiri, mi yahaay fay **nokku.**
Since morning, I have not gone anywhere.

Ndoomen faa **neɗɗo** *wara.*
Let's wait until someone comes.

Mi yi'aay **fay gooto/fay neɗɗo** *to suudu maa toon.*
I did not see anyone over there in your hut.

Almasiihu, min keɓaay **fay gooto** *si wanaa aan.*
Christ, we have (trust) no one else but you.

Yoga *na yiɗi,* **yoga** *yiɗaa fey.*
Some like it, some don't like it at all.

Yogaaɓe *na njiɗi,* **yogaaɓe** *njiɗaa fey.*
Some like it, some don't like it at all.

Heewɓe *eggii Boussouma.*
Many have migrated from Boussouma.

Mono fuu *na haani ƴamude inna mum.*
Each one must ask her mother.

Si Joomiraaɗo wartii, **ɓe fuu ɓe** *keɓan ko ɓe nyaama.*
When the Lord comes back, everyone will have enough to eat.

Ɓe kala ɓe *keɓii!*
Everyone received some!

Goɗɗo *waran caggal am.*
Another will come after me.

Woɓɓe *ngaran caggal am.*
Others will come after me.

Gooto e amin *na haani jaɓɓowaade na'i ɗi.*
One of us must go look for/check on the cows.

J. Interrogative Pronouns:

Of the various interrogatives we might think of three of them as
being pronouns. These are *moy, ɓeye* (who), and *dume* (what).
The other interrogatives, *ndey* (when), *toy* (where), *ko saabi, ko wadi* (why),
noy (how), *noy foti* (how many) are adverbs. For a discussion of
interrogatives and a complete listing of the words meaning "which" in an
interrogative sense see Table 13.4, page 88.

Examples:
Moy wari hankin?
Who came last night?

Dume cuɓidaa?
What did you choose?

Nagge ngeye cumataa joonin?
Which cow will you brand now?

K. Relative Pronouns:

In Fulfulde there is a group of words known as relative pronouns
which are used in a variety of contexts. For a listing of the various
relative pronouns see Table 13.5, and for an explanation of when
they are used see the the discussion beginning on page 91.

VERBS

9. MASTER VERB CHART

Table 9.1 Basic Conjugations of 13 Verb Forms

Aspect →	Complete			Incomplete		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Form ↓	Aspect Focused					
General	*-ii*	*-eke**	*-aama*	*-an*	*-oto*	*-ete*
	Other plus Aspect Focused					
Negative	*-aay*	*-aaki*	*-aaka*	*-ataa*	*-ataako*	*-ataake*
Relative	*-i*	*-ii*	*-aa*	*-ata*	*-otoo*	*-etee*
Participle	*-uɗo*	*-iiɗo*	*-aaɗo*	*-oowo*	*-otooɗo*	*-eteeɗo*
	Other Focused					
Voice →	Active		Middle		Passive	
Emphatic	-u/ø		-i		-a	
Stative	*-i*		*-ii*		*-aa*	
Negative Stative	*-aa*		ø[†]		ø[†]	
Progressive	*-a*		*-oo*		*-ee*	
Subjunctive	*-a*		*-oo*		*-ee*	
	Non-Focused					
First Infinitive	*-ude*		*-aade*		*-eede*	
Second Infinitive	*-ugol*		*-agol*		*-egol*	
Imperative	*-u/-ø*		*-a*		*-e*	
Desiderative	*-u/-ø*		*-o*		*-e*	

*Note: In various areas the following General Complete middle VOICE SUFFIXes are used: -ake, -eke, -oke. Check in your ministry area to see which SUFFIX is used. However, for the purpose of consistency -eke will be used throughout this grammar.

†The Negative Stative is not used for middle or passive VOICE verbs. Instead the Negative Complete FORM is used.

See Appendix D for a listing of all the CONJUGATIONS for the various verb FORMs listed in the master verb chart.

10. VERB ROOT TRANSFORMATIONS

With the exception of √*yaa-* (go), verb ROOTs rarely change their internal structure in Fulfulde.

Yaa! (Go!)
O yehii. (He went)

There are, however, changes to the initial and final consonants of the verb roots, the initial consonant changes being extensive and consistent, the final consonant changes being less extensive and incidental to the phonetic environment.

A. Initial Consonant Changes:

There are certain pairs of consonants that alternate depending on whether the verb is in a singular or plural CONJUGATION, or a non-inverted or inverted CONJUGATION. The plural and inverted CONJUGATIONs are used when the verb is plural and when the subject and verb are inverted, as with the Relative and Subjunctive verb FORMs presented below.[50] The alternations are shown below in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Initial Consonant Changes for Verbs

Singular		Plural
non-inverted		inverted
b	→	mb
d	→	nd
f	→	p
g	→	ng
h	→	k
j	→	nj
r	→	nd
s	→	c
w	→	mb
w	→	ng
y	→	nj

Examples:

O barminii neɗɗo. → Ɓe mbarminii neɗɗo.
O defii hiraande. → Ɓe ndefii hiraande.
O gollii ... → Ɓe ngollii ...
O janngii dewtere. → Ɓe njanngii dewtere.
O remii ngesa. → Ɓe ndemii ngesa.
O warii Djibo. → Ɓe ngarii Djibo.
O yarii kosam. → Ɓe njaarii kosam.
O fijii ballon → Ɓe pijii ballon
O hollii o. → Ɓe kollii o.
O soodii huunde. → Ɓe coodii huunde.

There is a similar but different set of alternations for the noun system and for participles.[51]

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[50] See Section 13, p. 83 *ff.* for details about the Relative FORM and Section 18, p. 115 *ff.* for details about the Subjunctive FORM.
[51] Note the similarities to the initial consonant changes for nouns found in Table 5.1, p. 31 and participles found in Table 14.2, p. 100.

B. Final Consonant Changes:

The final consonant changes that occur on the ROOT are less consistent, and are not related to pluralization. Vallette referred to this as harmonization of the final consonant. Dave Wilkinson commented that this is an assimilation of sound that occurs in speech in any language, and which makes something easier to say. Notice that in some cases the word is contracted, generally by dropping a vowel, in order to facilitate the harmonization. Here are some examples:

dɓ → ɓɓ *hokkitidɓe* → *hokkitiɓɓe*
dɗ → ɗɗ *hokkitidde* → *kokkitiɗɗo*
ɗɗ → tt *ngaduɗen* → *ngadɗen* (first contracted) → *ngatten* (then harmonized)
dd → gg *hokkitidde* → *hokkitiggol*
ɗn → nn *woɗande* → *woɗnde* (first contracted) → *wonnde* (second harmonized)
nɗ → ɗɗ *woɗude* » o class participle → *goɗɗo*
nɓ → ɓɓ *woɗude* » ɓe class participle → *woɓɓe*
nk → kk *woɗude* » ka class participle → *ngokka*
nr → rr *nanrude* → *narrude*

11. THE GENERAL

The General is probably the most straightforward of the verbal FORMs for an Anglophone to understand. It is the only completely ASPECT FOCUSed FORM. In its Complete FORM it communicates that something has happened, which to an Anglophone sounds a lot like the past tense. In its Incomplete FORM it communicates that something either has not finished happening as of yet, or has yet to begin to happen – it is incomplete!

Table 11.1 Conjugations of the General Complete & Incomplete

Aspect →	Complete			Incomplete		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Form ↓	Aspect Focused					
General	*-ii*	*-eke* *	*-aama*	*-an*	*-oto*	*-ete*

*Note: In various areas the following General Complete middle VOICE ASPECT SUFFIXes are used: *-ake*, *-eke*, *-oke*. Check in your ministry area to see which SUFFIX is used. However, for the purpose of consistency *-eke* will be used throughout this grammar.

A. The General Complete

The General Complete is used in the following five contexts:

1. Completed events:

The General Complete is used to make general statements about events that are completed. The General Complete FORM is in bold type in the examples:

*O **yehii** luumo.*
He went to the market.

*Mi **warii** keeŋan.*
I came yesterday.

*Ɓe **nyaamii** hiraande.*
They ate supper.

*Tuubaaku o **yarii** kosam defaaɗam tan!*
That white man drank only cooked/boiled milk!

*O **fukkeke** law hankin.*
He went to bed early last night.

*Ɓe **njiileke** ley ngeendi faa laasara.*
They wandered around town until late afternoon.

*Mi **looteke** fajiri han.*
 I washed myself this morning.

*Mi **tileke** golle oon.*
 I finished the work.

*Fatimata **rimaama** gilla mi hoɗaay Tenkodogo.*
Fatimata was born before I came to live in Tenkodogo.

*Aysa **fiyaama**.*
Aysa was hit/spanked.

2. First verb in a narrative:

If the action to be described is <u>complete</u>, the General Complete is used for the first verb at the beginning of a narrative or a paragraph. OTHER FOCUS FORMs, especially the Relative, are used for the remainder of the narrative or paragraph. However, sometimes if a new thought is introduced, or there are other overriding factors, such as a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE, the General Complete will be used. The General Complete FORMs are underlined once and the Relative Complete twice in the examples:

Haddi leydi Jelgooji ndi kaa min njiitan. Leydi amin ndi <u>worrii</u> duuɓi teemede tati e capanɗe jeegom e duuɓi jeegom (A. D. 1616). Ɗuum leydi ndi <u>hoɗiri</u> ɗo hikka (1982). Fulɓe ɓeen <u>laamori</u> duuɓi teemede tati e capanɗe jeegom e duuɓi jeegom. Dum <u>woni</u> ko ɓe <u>ngardi</u> e Jelgooji. Ɓe artoraaynaa Sona. Ɓe <u>ngaɗi</u> Sona duuɓi nooogaay e ɗiɗi. Ɗe ɓe <u>ngari</u> Maati, ɓe <u>tawi</u> ndiyam walaa Maati. Ɓe tonnga pucci maɓɓe hordoore toon. Ɗum <u>wonnoo</u> maanaa Tonngommayel. Ɓe <u>njehi</u>, ɓe <u>tiimowi</u> weendu Jibow ndu. Ɓe <u>tawi</u> kaaɗo gooto, ina wi'ee Jibo Kurminke. Ɗo suudu doonye, ɗo ɓe <u>ngari</u>, ɓe <u>koɗi</u>. Ɓe <u>ngari</u>, ɓe <u>ngaɗi</u> laamu maɓɓe. To ɓe <u>ngaɗi</u> laamu maɓɓe toon fuu e hoore muuɗum.[52]

We can show you all about the territory of the Jelgooɓe. Our country has been here for three hundred and sixty six years. That many years ago this year the land was settled here. The Fulani have ruled for three hundred and sixty six years. That was the arrival of the Jelgooji. They started from Sona. The spent twenty two years at Sona. Then they came to Maati, but they didn't find any water at Maati. They tied up their horses south of there. That is the meaning of Tongommayel. Then they went and spotted Djibo lake. They found one African named Jibo Kurminike. They settled where the customs office is. They came, they made their kingdom. That was how their kindgom began.

Ndeen joomiraaɓe anndal koode <u>yuuri</u> lettugal ngari Urusaliima, iɓe yama, "Toy Kaananke Alhuudiya'en dimaaɗo joonin oon <u>woni</u>? Min <u>nji'ii</u> hoodere Makko <u>ɓangii</u> lettugal de min <u>ngarii</u> faa min teddina O." Nde Hirudus kaananke oon <u>nannoo</u> ɗum fu <u>huli</u>, kam e yimɓe Urusaliima fuu. Hirudus <u>hawrunduri</u> mawɓe almaami'en e jannginooɓe Tawreeta fuu, o <u>yami</u> ɗum en toy Almasiihu <u>rimetee</u>.[53] (Matta 2:1b-4)

Then the wise men from the east came to Jerusalem, they asked, "Where is the newborn King of the Jews? We saw His star appear in the east and we came so that we could honor/worship Him." When King Herod heard this he was afraid, he and all of Jerusalem. Herod gathered all the chief priests and scribes and asked them where the Messiah was to be born. (Mathew 2:1b-4)

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[52] Adapted from: *Dewtere Fillaaji Jelgooji*, 1985, Abidjan, p. 49: The account was recounted by Hammadi Baagal of Burrow in 1982.

[53] Note the single underlined verbs (General Complete) in this examples are part of a quote that is inserted in the flow of the narration. A direct quote necessitates the use of the General Complete. It is worth noting that the usage of the Relative FORM resumes immediately after the quote. It is also worth noting that the *de* in this example is merely conjunctive – it links two clauses together, but both of them are independent and are capable of standing alone.

3. In a subordinate clause:

If the action is positively stated, the General Complete is used in certain SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.[54] The particular SUBORDINATE CLAUSES where the General Complete is used are detailed below. The following is a discussion of four TRIGGER WORDS (*si/sabo/faa/salla*) that might trigger the utilization of the General Complete **in** the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.[55]

One particular type of SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE.[56] Conditional sentences (those sentences which contain a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE) are easy to spot. They contain the TRIGGER WORD *si*.[57] Conditional sentences are particular in their construction, in as much as they propose something which has not yet happened as if it had happened. A conditional sentence will contain two parts: the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE, which begins with a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION, and the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. Because of the unique perspective of a conditional sentence, the construction of these sentences is very regular. The CONDITIONAL CLAUSE usually requires the General Complete verb FORM and the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE usually requires the General Incomplete verb FORM if the action is stated positively.[58] If the action is stated negatively for either part of a conditional sentence, then the Negative FORM is used in that part of the sentence, with the Negative Complete being used instead of the General Complete in the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE half of the sentence, and the Negative Incomplete being used in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE half of the sentence.[59] All of the following are possible:

<div align="center">

CONDITIONAL CLAUSE – INDEPENDENT CLAUSE

Si (pos. – Gen. Comp.) – (pos. - Gen Incomp.)
Si o warii law en dawan.
If she comes soon - we will leave in the morning.

Si (neg – Neg. Comp.) – (pos. - Gen. Incomp.)
Si o waraay hannden en ndooman o.
If she doesn't come today - we will wait for her.

Si (pos. – Gen. Comp.) – (neg. – Neg. Incomp.)
Si o warii hannden en dillataa ɗo fey.
If she comes today - we will not leave here at all.

Si (neg. – Neg. Comp.) – (neg. – Neg. Incomp.)
Si o waraay hannden en ndoomataa ɗo katin.
If she doesn't come today - we won't wait here any longer.

</div>

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[54] Bear in mind the Subjunctive is used with these same clauses if the action is <u>incomplete</u>, especially after *faa* and with indirect discourse; see Section 18.B/C, p. 117 *ff.* for discussion. For a more comprehensive discussion of SUBORDINATE CLAUSES see Section 25 on page 145 *ff.*

[55] See discussion of COMPLEX SENTENCE, SUBORDINATE CLAUSE, and TRIGGER WORDS in the Glossary.

[56] What is being described in this discussion of CONDITIONAL CLAUSEs is what English grammarians refer to as a type 1 CONDITIONAL CLAUSE – one that refers to real and possible conditions. In both English and Fulfulde the typical type 1 CONDITIONAL CLAUSE uses a past tense/complete FORM in the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE and a future tense/incomplete FORM in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. It is also possible in both English and Fulfulde to form a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE with a future tense/incomplete FORM in the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE and a future tense/incomplete FORM in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE; e.g. *Si o waran hannden en dillataa ɗo fey.* {If she will come today then we won't leave here at all.}

[57] Four other commonly encountered compound TRIGGER WORDS which contain *si* are: *fay si* (even if), *ammaa si* (but if), *sabo si* (because if), and *si wanaa* (if not, unless, except). *Fay si* triggers a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE, but an emphatic one, which means that the Relative Complete is required (see. Section 13.E.1, p. 95). *Ammaa si* and *sabo si* are just variations of *si*, triggering a "normal" CONDITIONAL CLAUSE, and eliciting the use of the General Complete or Participial Complete in most positively stated cases. *Si wanaa* literally means "if it is not." This grammatical structure is invariable. *Si + wondude* always triggers the Stative Negative FORM → *si wanaa*. It is used to introduce an exception to the main thought of the sentence.

[58] Keep in mind that if the thought being expressed requires either the use of either of the Stative or Progressive verb FORMs, then these will "trump" the "default" verb FORM. Sometime the *Fulɓe* will use a Participial Complete FORM instead of the General Complete.

[59] If the thought being communicated requires the Negative Stative verb FORM, this will "trump" either the Negative Complete or Incomplete in either part of the sentence.

a. In conditional clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *si* (if):[60]

As stated above, the General Complete is the verb FORM used in the first half of positively stated conditional sentences - the part with the "if."[61] It is this first clause in the sentence which is subordinate to the second part. Note in each example below, the CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSE cannot stand alone as a complete sentence, while the second clause (the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE) in these sentences could stand alone. The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined in the examples below and the General Complete FORMs are in bold type:

*Si a **naatii** ley laawol kisindam, ginnaaji torrataa ma katin.*
If you become a Christian, the evil spirits will no longer bother you.

*Si Pullo **heɓii** puccu, o heɓan teddengal ley yimɓe.*
If a *Pullo* has a horse, he will have honor among the people.

*Si o **yehii** luumo, o soodan gawri.*
If he goes to the market, he will buy millet.

b. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *sabo* (because):[62]

Sabo (or one of its variations) is a TRIGGER WORD and in a positively stated clause where the action is complete and the FOCUS is on the ASPECT (completeness) of the action, it triggers the usage of the General Complete FORM in the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.[63] The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined in the examples below, and the General Complete FORMs are in bold type:

*Sabo o **yennii** kam, waɗi [ɗe] piimi o.*
Because he cursed me is why [I] hit him.

*Sanaa kokken o saaya, sabo jaangol **torrii** o.*
We should give him a robe because the cold bothered him.

*Mi soodii biyƴe, sabo ɓiɓɓe na'i **njolbii** sanne.*
I bought cottonseed meal because the calves were very hungry.

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[60] Depending on the area of your ministry, either *si* or *so*, or both, are used to mean "if" or "when." In Mahadaga some use *se*. Check in your area to see which of these terms is used. For the purpose of consistency *si* will be used throughout this grammar.

[61] See footnote 56 for the exceptions to the rule.

[62] Other forms of this same SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION are: *sabu, gam, gan, ngam, ngan.* Check your dialect area for which of these CONJUNCTIONS are preferred.

[63] In positive statements, the FOCUS of a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE beginning with *sabo* could also require either a Stative verb FORM or a Progressive verb FORM. In negative statements either the Negative Complete or the Stative Negative could be use in a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE with the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *sabo*.

Note: There are several words which resemble each other, but which have very different grammatical functions in Fulfulde. *Sabo* (or *sabu*) is the CONJUNCTION which introduces a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE and means "because." *Saabe* (or *saabi*) is an adverb that begins an adverbial phrase and means "because of." Having said this you should be warned that in some areas there is not much distinction made between *sabo* and *saabe*. The *Yaagaare* speakers of Sebba do not seem to make much of a distinction between *sabo* and *saabe*. Likewise they use the local equivalents *gam/gan*, *ngam/ngan* in both grammatical situations where "because" would be used and in grammatical situations where "because of" would be used. Check how this works in your area. *Ko saabi* and *ko wadi*[64] are adverb phrases than can be used either as adverbs or as interrogatives and mean "why." *Sabaabu* is a noun that means "the reason." *Saabanaade* is a verb which means "to cause."   Examples:

*Be njahaay ladde **sabo** gooruwol na luggi.*
They didn't go [out] to the bush because the river was [too] deep.

*Be njahaay ladde **saabe** ndiyam.*
They didn't go [out] to the bush because of the water [which was too deep].

*Piirtanaa kam **ko saabi** a waraay keeɲan.*
Explain to me why you didn't come yesterday.

***Sabaabu** wargol am wo faa Laamɗo faamdina en o.*
The reason for my coming was so that God might manifest Him to us.

*Joonin kaa wanaa ko kaalandaa min ɗuum **saabanii** min hoolaade o, joonin kaa minen, e ko'e amin, min nani ko o waajii . . .*

Now it's not that what you have told us that causes us to believe in Him, now we have ourselves [lit.-with our own heads] heard Him preach . . .

---

[64] Both *ko saabi* and *ko wadi* function as interrogatives and mean "why." They both might be called relative phases. In the case of *ko saabi* the phrase is composed of the relative pronoun *ko* and the adverb *saabi/saabe*. In the case of *ko wadi* the phrase is composed of the relative pronoun *ko* and the third person singular Relative Complete CONJUGATION of the verb *waɗude*.

c. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *faa* (until):

In positively stated clauses beginning with the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *faa* where the action is <u>complete</u>, either the General Complete or the Relative Complete will be used, depending on whether the speaker wishes to put an emphasis on the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE or not.[65] When the General Complete is used there is no emphasis on either the INDEPENDENT or the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. When the Relative Complete is used the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is emphasized.[66] The difference is a very subtle one. The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined in the examples below and the General Complete FORMs are in bold type:

*Mi rookeke <u>faa mi **heɓii**</u>.* – General Complete[67]
I asked until I got it.

Mi rookeke <u>faa keɓumi</u>. – Relative Complete[68]
I asked until I got it.

*O gollii <u>faa o **tampii**</u>.*
He worked until he was tired.

*Mi nanaay fay huunde <u>faa mi **narrii** Bureyma</u>.*
I didn't hear a thing of it until Bureyma informed me.

*Suka oon nyaamii <u>faa nyiiri ndi fuu **timmii**</u>.*
The child ate until all the cooked millet was gone.

d. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *yalla* or *salla* (whether or not):

In a positively stated clause whose action is <u>complete</u> either the General Complete or the Stative verb FORMs will follow the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS "yalla" and "salla." The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined below and the General Complete FORM is in bold type:

*Hecci-keeyan mi nanii o waran Markoy, kaa mi anndaa <u>yalla o **warii** naa o waraay</u>.*[69]
The day before yesterday I heard he was coming to Markoy, but I don't know whether he came or not.

Mi nanii faro Amerik na woodi safaare durma de <u>salla ina woodi naa walaa</u> mi anndaa.
I heard that in America there is cold medicine, but whether or not there is or isn't I don't know.

---

[65] When the action described is positive but <u>incomplete</u>, the verb after *faa* will nearly always conjugate with the Subjunctive FORM. See Section 18.B, p. 117 for details of the use of the Subjunctive with the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *faa*.

[66] See Section 13.E.2, p. 95 for discussion of the use of the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *faa* when the action is <u>complete</u> and the Relative FORM is used to FOCUS on the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

[67] The FOCUS of the sentence using the General Complete is that these two things <u>happened</u>: ① I asked, ② I got it. One could just as easily say: *Mi rookeke de mi heɓii.* {I asked and I got it.}.

[68] The FOCUS of the sentence using the Relative FORM is the message of the subordinate clause: "I got it." One could also say: *Mi rookeke de keɓumi.* {I asked and I got it.}.

[69] This is a COMPOUND SENTENCE consisting of two INDEPENDENT CLAUSES joined by the non-subordinating CONJUNCTION *kaa* (but). However, within the second INDEPENDENT CLAUSE are two SUBORDINATE CLAUSES set off by the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *yalla*. The first SUBORDINATE CLAUSE uses the General Complete as the speaker is speculating what he heard might be true (positive) and complete. The second SUBORDINATE CLAUSE uses the Negative Complete as the speaker continues to speculate that what he heard might not be true (negative) and not complete.

4. In indirect discourse:

Indirect discourse (I heard that..., he said that...) is in use when only the thought behind the actual words spoken are repeated. For example, if quoting someone (*direct discourse*) one would say: "He said, 'I came home last night.' " while when employing *indirect discourse* one would convey that same information like this: "He said he came home last night." In cases where the thought being related in *indirect discourse* is positive and <u>complete</u> the General Complete FORM is used.[70] It should be noted that the General Complete is always used in *indirect discourse*, even in narratives, thus breaking the pattern of Relative verb FORMs that normally appear in a narrative.[71] In the examples below the phrases indicating the indirect discourse are underlined and the General Complete FORMs are in bold type:

<u>*Mi nanii*</u> *o* **wujjii** *na'i faa keewi.*
I heard that he has stolen many cows.

<u>*Fatimata wi'ii*</u> *ɓinngel mum* **unii** *hiraande maɓɓe.*
Fatimata said that her daughter pounded [the millet for] their evening meal.

<u>*Ɓe mbi'ii*</u> *ɓe* **nji'ii** *banndii gooto ley ferro.*
They said that they saw one bandit in the bush.

<u>*Mi nanii*</u> *Nawma* **maayii**, *ɗum wo goonga naa?*
I heard that Nawma died, is this true?

5. With *kori* (hopefully):[72]
Examples:

Kori a **waalii** *e jam?*
Hopefully you passed the night in peace?

Kori a **yiitii** *ngelooba maa?*
Hopefully you found your camel?

B. The General Incomplete

The General Incomplete is used in the following two contexts:

1. In uncompleted events
The General Incomplete is used for general statements about incomplete events. In some sub-dialects these may also indicate a strong intention. The General Incomplete FORMs are in bold type in the following examples:

Mi **yahan** *luumo janngo, si Alla jaɓii.*
I will go to market tomorrow, if God wills.

Moodibbo o **jooɗoto** *dow daago ngo faa yimɓe fuu koota.*
That Marabou will sit on the mat until everyone goes home.

Sabo o hasii Bukari, daabaaji makko **marete** *faa gasa.*
Because he hired Bukari, his animals will be well taken care of.

Amiiru **yahan** *toon jeɗɗiire waroore, si Alla jaɓii.*
The chief will go there next week, if God wills.

When the General Incomplete active VOICE is followed by *ma*, the SUFFIX combines with the object pronoun and then morphs to form the SUFFIX -*ete*.

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[70] When the thought being related in indirect discourse is positive and <u>incomplete</u> the Subjunctive FORM is used.
[71] See above at Section 11.A.2, p. 68 for the discussion of the use of the General Complete in a narration.
[72] The particle *kori* is also discussed in Section 32.D, p. 178.

For example: *mi hokkan ma → mi hokkete* {I will give [it] to you.}
This can be easily confused with the General Incomplete passive VOICE FORM, however context and usage will usually aid in distinguishing the FORMs.[73] Examples of General Incomplete active with *ma*:[74]

> *Mi **hokkete** ko nyaama.*
> I will give you something to eat.

> *Alu **noddete** fajiri law.*
> Alu will call you early in the morning.

2. After a conditional clause:

Above, in the discussion of CONDITIONAL CLAUSEs and the General Complete, it was described how the TRIGGER WORD *si* triggers the use of the General Complete verb FORM **in** certain CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.[75] However, this same TRIGGER WORD, as well as *fay si*, also triggers the use of either the General Incomplete or the Progressive verb FORMs in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE that follows the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE if the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is positively stated.[76] It is due to the nature of conditional sentences that the action in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE will usually be incomplete.

a. After a conditional clause with the subordinating conjunction *si*:

Either the General Incomplete or the Progressive is used in a positively stated INDEPENDENT CLAUSE which follows a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE employing the subordinator *si* (if).[77] The CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSES are underlined in the examples below and the General Incomplete FORMS are in bold type:

> <u>*Si mi yehii Fada*</u>, *mi **soodan** caaku gawri, <u>si Alla jaɓii</u>.*
> If I go to Fada, I will buy a sack of millet, if God wills.

> <u>*Si a waɗii ɗum*</u>, *bammaa **fiyete**.*
> If you do that, your father will spank you.

> <u>*Si a nyiɓii garuwal*</u>, *ndeen a **ɓooyan** ga.*
> If you build a mud house, then you will stay here.

> <u>*Si o sellaa*</u>, *o **fukkoto**.*
> If he doesn't feel well, he will lie down.

b. After a conditional clause with the subordinating conjunction *fay si*:

Usually either the General Incomplete or the Progressive is used in a positively stated INDEPENDENT CLAUSE which follows a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE employing the subordinator *fay si*.[78]

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[73] See Table 11.1, p. 66 above for the General Incomplete passive FORM.
[74] For additional examples of the General Incomplete active with the object pronoun *ma* see Section 8.C.1, p. 50.
[75] The General Complete FORM would be the "normal" verb FORM used in a positively stated *si* clause. However, as stated throughout this grammar, other FORMs sometimes "trump" the General Complete in this situation. For a positively stated clause this would include occasions where the speaker uses a participle instead of the General Complete, or if the thought being expressed requires either the Stative or Progressive FORMs. Occasionally, as alluded to in footnote 55, the General Incomplete might be used in both the dependent and INDEPENDENT CLAUSES; e.g. *Si a nyiɓan garuwal, ndeen a **ɓooyan** ga* {If you will build a house then you will stay here.}.
[76] Remember, *fay si* triggers an emphatic CONDITIONAL CLAUSE which requires the Relative Complete rather than the General Complete. If the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE of a conditional sentence is negatively stated then the Negative Incomplete is required; e.g. *Si o wujjii ɗum, mi **haaldataa** e makko katin abada.* {If he stole it I will never speak with him again.}; *Fay si o walli en, mi **hokkataa** o mbeewa fay ngoota.* {Even if he helps us I won't give him a single goat.}
[77] See Section 17.D.1, p. 113 for a discussion of the use of the Progressive FORM after CONDITIONAL CLAUSES using the TRIGGER WORD *si*.
[78] See Section 17.D.2, p. 113 for a discussion on the use of the Progressive FORM after CONDITIONAL CLAUSES using the TRIGGER WORDS "*fay si*." Actually a great number of INDEPENDENT CLAUSES will be stated in the Negative Incomplete when in opposition to *fay si*. If a Stative is called for then either the Stative or the Stative Negative will be used instead of the General or Negative Incomplete.

The CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSES are underlined in the examples below and the General Incomplete FORMS are in bold type:

> *Fay si kokkuɗaa ɓe kaalisi e cuuɗi*, ɓe **eggan**.
> Even if you give them money and houses, they will migrate.

> *Fay si ɗum welaa Baa*, mi **jokkan** *Joomiraaɗo*.
> Even if it doesn't please Father, I will follow the Lord.

3. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *yalla* or *salla* (whether or not):

In SUBORDINATE CLAUSES introduced by the TRIGGER WORDS *yalla* or *salla* where the action in <u>incomplete</u>, positively stated actions will use either General Incomplete or the Progressive verb FORM and negatively stated actions will use the Negative Incomplete FORM. In the examples below the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined and the General Complete verb FORM is in bold type.

> *Yamaa o <u>yalla o **hirsan** ndamndi naa o hirsataa</u>*.
> You should ask him whether (or not) he will butcher a (male) goat.

> *Yamaa o <u>salla o **yarnan** na'i makko naa o yarnataa</u>*.
> You should ask him whether or not he is going to water his cows.

4. After adverbs of speculation:

Often the adverb *hasi*, the Progressive FORM of *moyyude* (*ina moyya*) and either the General Incomplete FORM of *tawude* (*tawan*) or the General Incomplete FORM of *taweede* (*tawete* or one of its contracted forms: *tawte*, *tayte*) is used to speculate about the future. In these cases these conjugated verbs are functioning as adverbs. The verb being modified by these adverbs will be in the General Incomplete FORM. In the examples the adverb of speculation is underlined and the General Incomplete FORMs are in bold type. Note the difference of meaning between the second example (*moyyude* conjugated in Progressive FORM) and the third example (*moyyude* conjugated in the Stative FORM).

> *<u>Hasi</u> o **waran** luumo subaka*.
> Probably he will come to market tomorrow.

> *<u>Na moyya</u> o **waran** jaango*.
> Maybe he will come tomorrow.

> *<u>Na moyyi si</u> o **waran** jaango*.[79]
> It will be good if he comes tomorrow.

> *<u>Tawan/Tayte</u> o **waran** jaango*.
> We will find that he will come tomorrow.

There are a number of other situations where one may want to use a General Incomplete FORM, but the Subjunctive is used instead, such as after *faa*, *na haani*, *sanaa*, *tilay*, in indirect discourse, and with a series of verbs.[80]

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[79] As pointed out in footnote 56, it is possible to have a conditional clause which employs something besides the General Complete. In this example the General Incomplete is used.

[80] See Section 18.A p. 116 for a discussion of the Subjunctive verb FORM with verbs of obligation, and Section 18.B, p. 117 for a discussion of the Subjunctive used after *faa*.

12. THE NEGATIVE

After the General FORM, the Negative FORM is probably the easiest verbal FORM for Anglophones to understand. The Negative is categorized as an OTHER FOCUSED plus ASPECT FOCUSED verb FORM on the Master Verb Chart (Table 9.1, page 64) since the speaker is focusing on the fact of negation with some regard to whether or not the thing being negated is complete or incomplete. The Negative Complete indicates single instance negation (it did not happen). The Negative Incomplete can indicate single instance negation or communicate the fact that a person habitually does not do something, or even the sense of refusing to do something.

FOCUS on the negative overrides all other considerations as to what verb FORM should appear in a given situation. The Stative, Imperative, and Desiderative have different ways of forming the negative. All other verb FORMs use the Negative FORM when a negation is required. There are only two Negative FORMs: one for all complete FORMs and one for all incomplete FORMs (in each VOICE). If, for example, a Subjunctive verb FORM is required in a certain situation, but the speaker frames the thought negatively, the FOCUS on negative overrides the FOCUS on the subjunctive, requiring the speaker to use the Negative Incomplete FORM. There is no Subjunctive Negative or Relative Negative, and so forth. One further comment. Fulfulde frequently requires the use of what we would call double negatives; note the use of *abada* and *fay* below.

Table 12.1 Conjugations of the Negative Complete & Incomplete

Aspect →	Complete			Incomplete		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Form ↓	Other plus Aspect Focused					
Negative	*-aay*	*-aaki*	*-aaka*	*-ataa*	*-ataako*	*-ataake*

A. The Negative Complete
The Negative Complete verb FORM is used in the following four contexts:

1. Single instance negation to a completed action:
The principle use of the Negative Complete is with single instance negation relating to a past event. In the examples below the Negative Complete is in bold type:

*Mi **nyaamaay** fay batte.*
I didn't eat anything.

*Burayma **ɓiraay** na'i muuɗum sabo ɓiɓɓe na'i muynii.*
Burayma did not milk his cows because the calves nursed (too early).

*Aadama **waɗɗaaki** puccu sabo ngu walaa semmbe.*
Aadama did not mount the horse because it was not strong.

*Aysata **roondaaki** siwo ndiyam oon.*
Aysata did not carry the bucket of water on her head.

2. Negatively stated action in a conditional clause:

As discussed above, the General Complete is usually used with the TRIGGER WORD *si* (if). The Relative Complete is normally used in positively stated CONDITIONAL CLAUSEs that employ *fay si* (even if).[81] However, if the thought being conveyed in the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE is negative, then the Negative Complete is usually required.[82] In the following examples the CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSEs are underlined and the Negative Complete verb FORMS are in bold type:

*Si a **naataay** ley laawol kisindam, ginnaaji torrete katin.*
If you don't enter the way of salvation, the evil spirits will continue to bother you.

*Si Pullo **jogaaki** nagge fay woote, o walaa Pulaaku.*
If a Pullo doesn't own a single cow, he has no Fulaniness.

*Si o **yahaay** luumo, en nyaamataa hannden.*
If he didn't go to the market, we won't eat today.

*Fay si a **hokkaay** ɓe kaalisi, ɓe ndunnyan.*
Even if you didn't give them money, they will leave.

3. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *yalla* or *salla* (whether or not):[83]

Yalla or *salla* can be translated as "whether or not." In Fulfulde the "or not" may be stated, or it may be understood from context. As such these CONJUNCTIONS function both as a negation auxiliaries and as SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS. In the examples the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined and the Negative Complete verb FORMS are in bold type:

*Hecci-keeŋan mi nanii o waran Markoy, kaa mi anndaa yalla o warii naa o **waraay** .[84]*
The day before yesterday I heard he was coming to Markoy, but I don't know whether he came or not.

Miɗo yiɗi ndaarude salla ɗum heɓaama naa heɓaaka.
I want to see whether it can be had or not.

4. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *sabo* (because):

In any SUBORDINATE CLAUSE where the action is <u>complete</u> and stated negatively the Negative Complete is used. In the example the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is underlined and the Negative Complete FORM is in bold type:

*Sabo o **waraay** en mbaawaa runnyude jaango.*
Because he didn't come we can't leave tomorrow.

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[81] See Section 13.E.1 (p. 95).

[82] I say "usually," because it is possible that a *si* clause could contain incomplete FORMS in both the DEPENDENT and the INDEPENDENT CLAUSES; e.g. *Fay si a **hokkataa** ɓe kaalisi, ɓe ndunnyan.* {Even if you will not give them money, they will leave.}. It is also possible to see a Negative Stative FORM in the conditional portion of the sentence.

[83] If a positive DECLARATIVE construction is called for and the action is <u>incomplete</u>, the Progressive is always used after *yalla* (see Section 17.D.3, pp. 114). When the action is <u>complete</u>, the Stative (see Section 16.C, p. 110) or General Complete (see Section 11.A.3.d, p. 72) is used in a positive DECLARATIVE construction.

[84] This is a COMPOUND SENTENCE consisting of two INDEPENDENT CLAUSES joined by the COORDINATING CONJUNCTION "*kaa*" (but). However, within the second INDEPENDENT CLAUSES are two SUBORDINATE CLAUSES set off by the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION "*yalla.*" The first SUBORDINATE CLAUSE uses the General Complete as the speaker is speculating what he heard might be true (positive) and complete. The second SUBORDINATE CLAUSE uses the Negative Complete as the speaker continues to speculate that what he heard might not be true (negative) and not complete.

B. The Negative Incomplete
The Negative Incomplete is used in four contexts:

1. Negation of a single instance relating to something incomplete:

> *Aadama **wadɗataako** pucco sabo ngu walaa semmbe.*
> Aadama will not mount/ride the horse because it is not strong.

> *Aysata **roondataako** siwo ndiyam o.*
> Aysata will not carry that bucket of water on her head.

> *Mi **nyaamataa** fay batte.*
> I will not eat anything.

> *Burayma **ɓirataa** na'i muuɗum.*
> Burayma will not milk his cows.

2. Negation of an habitual action or the connotation of refusing to do something:

> *Aadama **wadɗataako** pucco ngu.*
> Aadama will not/refuses to mount/ride the horse.

> *Aysata **roondataako** siwo ndiyam.*
> Aysata will not/refuses to carry a bucket of water on her head.

> *Baaba **ɓirataa** na'i.*
> Baaba will not/never does/refuses to milk the cows.

3. In the independent clause of a conditional sentence:
As discussed above, the General Incomplete or Progressive verbal FORMS are used in INDEPENDENT CLAUSES of conditional sentences that are positively stated.[85] However, if the thought being conveyed in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is negative, then the Negative Incomplete is required. In the following examples the CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSEs are underlined and the Negative Incomplete verb FORMS are in bold type:

> <u>*Si a wadii ɗum*</u>, *bammaa **wallataa ma***.
> If you do that, your father will not help you.

> <u>*Si a nyiɓii garuwal*</u>, *ndeen a **torrataako** ley ndunngu.*
> If you build a mud house, then you won't have problems in the rainy season.

> <u>*Fay si kokkuɗaa ɓe kaalisi e cuuɗi*</u>, *ɓe **njooɗataako**.*
> Even if you give them money and houses, they won't stay put (lit. sit).

> <u>Fay si ɗum welataa Baa</u>, mi **jokkataa** na'i meeɗen jaango.
> Even if it will not please Father, I won't herd our cows tomorrow.

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[85] As mentioned in footnote 79, it is possible to have incomplete forms in both halves of a COMPLEX SENTENCE; e.g. *Si a naatataa ley laawol kisindam, ginnaaji accataa ma abada.* {If you will not enter the way of salvation the demons will never leave you alone.}

4. In SUBORDINATE CLAUSES **introduced by the** SUBORDINATING
CONJUNCTIONS *yalla* **or** *salla* **(whether or not):**
In SUBORDINATE CLAUSES introduced by the TRIGGER WORDS *yalla* or
salla where the action is <u>incomplete</u>, positively stated actions will use
either the General Complete or the Progressive verb FORM and
negatively stated actions will use the Negative Incomplete FORM.
In the examples below the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined and
the Negative Incomplete verb FORM is in bold type.

> *Yamaa o <u>yalla o hirsan ndamndi naa o **hirsataa**</u> .*
> You should ask him whether (or not) he will butcher a (male) goat.

> *Yamaa o <u>salla o yarnan na'i makko naa o **yarnataa**</u>.*
> You should ask him whether or not he is going to water his cows.

C. Negating Auxiliaries
There are a number of adverbs and indefinite pronouns which are routinely used by
the *Fulɓe* to intensify the negation. In fact sometimes these adverbs are used as
single word interjections that function as negatives even without the verb!
Other adverbs temper the negation. The CONJUNCTIONS *yalla* and *salla* have a
negating effect in a sentence, even in the absence of a Negative verb FORM.
And the Negative Stative *wanaa* is often used as an auxiliary in negations meaning
"neither ... nor."

1. Adverbs which intensify the negation:
abada* - never
faa'e – nothing
fay[†] – not even, nothing
fes – not at all, nothing
fey – not at all, nothing
fus – not at all, nothing
fuy – not at all, nothing

*Usually *abada* precedes the verb, but may follow it. Note that in certain contexts (usually with *faa*),
abada can mean just the opposite, in other words "forever"; e.g. *To aljanna min mbuurata <u>faa abada</u>.*
{In heaven we will live forever.}   [†]*ba* is used the same as *fay* in Sebba and Mahadaga

Examples:
> ***Abada*** *mi yahataa toon.*
> I will never go there.

> ***Abada*** *o yi'aay leydi Mali.*
> He has never seen Mali before.

> *Mi hokkataa ma ɗum **abada**.*
> I will never give it to you.

> *Mi nyaamaay **fey**.*
> I haven't eaten at all, not a thing.

> ***Fay*** *suudu wooturu wulaay.*
> Not even one hut burned.

> ***Fay*** *nagge woote waataay.*
> Not even one cow died.

> *Wabbere **fay** wootere fuɗaay fey.*
> Not even one seed sprouted.

*O hokkaay ma kaalisi oon? **Fes**, o hokkaay kam **fay batte**.*
He didn't give you the money? Not at all, he didn't give me a thing.

*Kori na'i makko mbonnaay ngesa maa? A'aa, ɗi naataay ngesa am **fey**.*
I hope his cows didn't ruin your field? No, they did not enter my field at all.

*Mi gollanii o, ammaa mi heɓaay **faa'e**.*
I worked for him, but I received nothing.

*Mi yehii to maɓɓe de mi heɓaay **fus**.*
I went to them but I received nothing.

*Ɗume tawuɗaa toon? **Fus**!*
What did you find there? Nothing!

*Ɗume keɓumi to maɓɓe? Ndagu **fuy**!*
What did I get from them? Like nothing!

2. Indefinite pronouns:

These pronouns were mentioned in Section 8, pages 61-62. They are formed with the adverb *fay* plus either another adverb, an adjective or a noun. These indefinite pronouns form a COMPLEMENT with the negated verb.

fay batte (ipn) – nothing

gooto (adj) – one (*wootude* must be conjugated for each noun class – see Table 26.5, page 160)
fay gooto (ipn) – no one (*wootude* must be conjugated for each noun class – see Table 26.5, p. 160)

huunde (n) – something, anything
fay huunde (ipn) – nothing

meere (n) - nothing
fay meere (ipn) – nothing

neɗɗo (n) – somone
fay neɗɗo (ipn) – no one

nokku (n) – somewhere
fay nokku (ipn) – nowhere

Examples:

*O hokkaay kam **fay batte/fay hunnde/fay meere**.*
He did not give me anything at all.

*Mi yi'aay **fay gooto/fay neɗɗo** to suudu maa.*
I did not see anyone in your hut.

*Gilla beetee, mi yahaay **fay nokku**.*
Since morning, I have not gone anywhere.

For more examples see page 62.

3. Adverbs which temper the negation:

The negative can be tempered by adding the adverbs *ginan, tafon, tahen, tawam, tuwam* (depending on the dialect area), which adds the meaning of "yet" to a negative sentence. These adverbs are often used with a negative verb.[86] Examples:

> *Miɗo yiɗi yarude kosam, kaa Usumaana ɓiraay na'i ɗii **tafon**.*
> I would like to drink milk but Usumaana has not milked the cows yet.

> *Dembo remaay **ginan**.*
> Dembo has not plowed yet.

> *Gawri ndi ɓenndaay **tafon**, yimɓe ɓe njolbi sanne.*
> The millet is not ripe yet, the people are very hungry.

> *Sukaaɓe ɓe pukkeke naa pukkaaki **tafon**?*
> The children have or have not gone to bed yet?

4. The CONJUNCTIONS *yalla* and *salla*:

The SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS *yalla* and *salla* and their role in negatively stated <u>complete</u> SUBORDINATE CLAUSES and negatively stated <u>incomplete</u> INDEPENDENT CLAUSES was discussed above.[87]
Yalla or *salla* can be translated as "whether or not." In Fulfulde the "or not" may be stated or it may be understood from context.
This adds a negating feature to the sentence in and apart from the verb FORM. For example:

> *O yamii ma **salla** hoore maa na naawa.*
> He asked you whether your head hurts (or not).

> *O haalaay **yalla** galle makko na mawni na mawnaa.*
> He didn't say whether his compound is big or not.

> *Yamaa o **yalla** imo hirsa naa o hirsataa ndamndi.*
> Ask him whether or not he will butcher a male goat

5. Use of *wanaa* with a negated verb:

There is not a clear "neither...nor" in Fulfulde, but at times one will hear *wanaa* repeated, which can have more or less the same effect. Examples:

> *Lobbo remaay hikka, **wanaa** ngesam, **wanaa** ngesa goɗɗo.*
> Lobbo didn't cultivate this year, neither his field nor somebody elses.

> *O yi'aay fay huunde, **wanaa** puccu makko, **wanaa** pucci goɗɗi.*
> He didn't see anything, neither his horse nor any other horses.

D. The Negative Stative

Briefly the Negative Stative is used with a small number of active VOICE Stative verbs and is formed with the verbal SUFFIX *-aa*.[88]

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[86] *Tafon* and its cognates can also mean "still" or "first."
[87] See Section 12.A.3, p. 77 for a discussion of use with Negative Complete and Section 12.B.4, p. 79 for a discussion of use with Negative Incomplete.
[88] For more details on the Stative Negative see Section 16.D, pp. 110.

E. The Negative Imperative

The Imperative Negative is formed with the auxiliary words *taa*, *tinna taa*, or *tinta*.[89]

F. The Negative Desiderative

As with the Imperative, the auxiliary words *taa*, *tinna taa*, or *tinta* have a negative connotation when used with the Desiderative.[90]

G. How to Respond to Negative Questions

In response to statements or positively phrased questions one responds with "yes" or "no" as one would in English. With negatively phrased questions, one responds in Fulfulde the exact reverse from English. In Fulfulde the "yes" or "no" indicate agreement or disagreement with the fact implied by the question. "Yes" is *ayyo* and "no" is *a'aa*. In essence they answer the question first with a simple *ayyo* or *a'aa* and if necessary they tack on a clarifying response. Examples:

> *Tinna, yaaram Dori. A'aa, mi waawaa. Yimɓe heewuɓe ngoni ley mobel ngel.*
> Please try to take me to Dori. No, I cannot. There are a lot of people in the car.

> *A yahan luumo Petaga hannden? A'aa, mi yahataa hannden.*
> Will you go to the Petaga market today? No, I will not go today.
> > or
> *Ayyo, mi yahan hannden.*
> Yes, I will go today.

> *A yahataa luumo Petaga hannden? Ayyo, mi yahataa hannden.*
> You are not going to the Petaga market today? Yes, I am not going.
> > or
> *A'aa, mi yahan hannden.*
> No, I will go today.

H. Negative Verbs with Positive Meanings

The negative form of a Fulfulde verb when it has the particle *-naa* on the end carries a positive meaning. The long vowel becomes short when it follows a long vowel. In *Jelgoore* this particle, *-naa*, has been altered to *-noo*, so remember that in the following examples *-naa* may be also read as *-noo*. This unfortunately is the same as a Negative verb with a Preterite! Happily this particular construction is rarely use. Also the context should help you decide what is being said. This positive construction of a Negative verb carries a greater degree of sureness than the same thing stated in a more normal positive construction. Examples:

> [in Djibo] *Dume ngaɗataa? Mi **nyaamataano** gawri.*
> What are you doing? I am eating millet.

> *Toy woni suudu maa? Suudu am **wonaayna** ɗakkol luumo.*
> Where is your house? My house is next to the market.

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[89] For more details on the Negative Imperative see Section 20.D on p. 127.
[90] For more details on the Negative Desiderative see Section 21.B on page 129.

*Dume kaajeɗaa? Mi **haajaakanaa** golle.*
What do you need? I need work.

*Toy ƴuurataa? Mi **ƴuurataana** Faransi.*
Where are you from? I come from France.

*Noy o wi'etee? O **wi'ataakenaa** Sammbo.*
How is he called? He is called Sammbo.

*Aawoowo **aawataana** konngol Laamɗo.*
The sower sows God's word.

13. THE RELATIVE

As depicted in the Master Verb Chart (Table 9.1, page 64) the Relative verb FORM is one of three OTHER FOCUS plus ASPECT FOCUS FORMs. While the Relative does have complete and incomplete FORMs - the Relative Complete is used if the action is complete, and the Relative Incomplete is used if the action is incomplete - this is not where the verb's main FOCUS is. Apart from narrations, the Relative verb FORM'S main FOCUS relates to telling how, when, where, who, what and why something happened. The Relative FORM mainly focuses attention on "other" things, such as:
- the object or time
- the events in a narration
- a relative pronoun
- an interrogative pronoun
- a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
- verb of completed action after *sanaa* (must)

Table 13.1 Basic Conjugations of the Relative Complete & Incomplete

Aspect →	Complete			Incomplete		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Form ↓	Other plus Aspect Focused					
Relative	*-i*	*-ii*	*-aa*	*-ata*	*-otoo*	*-etee*

As mentioned in the discussion on CONJUGATION in the Glossary, only the Relative and Subjunctive FORMs have full CONJUGATIONs for PERSON and NUMBER in addition to the CONJUGATIONs for VOICE.[91]

The relative demonstrates the two characteristics of OTHER FOCUSING:
- ➤ Lengthening: especially apparent in the middle and passive VOICE FORMS.
  There the lengthening is distributed to the end of the SUFFIX except for the first person singular.
- ➤ Upsetting of the usual word order: occurs in four of the seven persons.
  Even though this is not done consistently throughout all persons, the pattern is present. Also notice that the initial consonant of the verb root alters when the subject and verb are inverted.[92]

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[91] See Glossary, p. 179 for a discussion of CONJUGATION. See Table 13.2 and Table 13.3 below for the full CONJUGATION paradigms for the Relative Complete and Relative Incomplete.
[92] See Section 10.A, p. 65 *ff*. for a discussion of initial consonant change in verb roots.

<div align="center">Table 13.2 Relative Complete Paradigm</div>

Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb →	suuɗude	suuɗaade	suuɗeede
PERSON ↓			
Singular			
FIRST	cuuɗ-u·mi*	cuuɗ-ii·mi	cuuɗ-aa·mi
SECOND	cuuɗ-u·ɗaa	cuuɗ-i·ɗaa	cuuɗ-a·ɗaa
THIRD	o suuɗ-i[93]	o suuɗ-ii[94]	o suuɗ-aa[95]
Plural			
FIRST EXCLUSIVE	min cuuɗ-i	min cuuɗ-ii	min cuuɗ-aa
FIRST INCLUSIVE	cuuɗ-u·ɗen	cuuɗ-i·ɗen	cuuɗ-a·ɗen
SECOND	cuuɗ-u·ɗon	cuuɗ-i·ɗon	cuuɗ-a·ɗon
THIRD	ɓe cuuɗ-i	ɓe cuuɗ-ii	ɓe cuuɗ-aa

*Don't forget that the object pronoun *ma* is inserted between the Relative Complete active VOICE SUFFIX "-u" and the inverted first person pronoun *mi*.   *cuuɗ-umi* + *ma* → *cuuɗ-u·m<u>aa</u>·mi*[96]

As mentioned above, there are six FOCUSes with which the Relative verb FORM is used.

A. Focus on the Object or Time

In the following examples using the Relative Complete, the object (what) or time (when) being FOCUSed on is underlined:

*Nyiiri hoy **nyaamumi** joonin.*
It was cooked millet and baobab leaf sauce that I ate just now.

*Gilla fajiri <u>Fulfulde tan</u> o **janngi**.*
Since this morning it is only Fulfulde that she has studied.

*<u>Joonin, joonin</u> **miccitiimi**.*
It's just now that I remembered.

*Duuɓi tati **mbayrumi** yiide mawnam gorko.*
It's been three years since I've seen my older brother.

*<u>Keeŋan tan</u> nyahel ngel **rimaa**.*
It was just yesterday that this calf was born.

---

[93] The base SUFFIX is that of the third PERSON (both singular and plural) – as well as that of the exclusive first PERSON plural. This is the SUFFIX shown in the Master Verb Chart (p. 64). The other four CONJUGATIONs move the pronoun to the end of the verb. For phonetical reasons the Relative Complete active VOICE SUFFIX "-i" morphs to "-u" in the four inverted CONJUGATIONs. Except for the first PERSON singular pronoun, *mi*, which begins with a consonant, the other inverted CONJUGATIONs, all of which begin with a vowel, are lengthened by the addition of "ɗ" at the beginning of the pronoun. Again this is for phonetical reasons – to keep the "u" sound of the Relative Complete SUFFIX away from the "a," "e" and "o" vowel sounds of the pronouns. This lengthened pronoun is then tacked onto the SUFFIX "-u." It is worth noting that if the base SUFFIX did not morph to "-u" it would be impossible to tell the difference between the three regular inverted CONJUGATIONs in the active and middle VOICES: "*cuudidaa*" vs. *cuudidaa*

[94] The base SUFFIX is "-ii" for the Relative Complete middle VOICE FORM. For phonetical reasons the SUFFIX is shortened to "-i" with the three regular inverted CONJUGATIONs which undergo lengthening (i.e. *-daa*, *-den*, *-don*). Note that **unlike** with the first person active VOICE singular CONJUGATION, the first PERSON middle VOICE singular CONJUGATION retains the base SUFFIX form "-ii"! This is because the *Fulɓe* prefer the long vowel sound prior to the pronoun *mi*. However, retaining the base form of the SUFFIX means that the first PERSON singular CONJUGATION is irregular when compared to the other three inverted CONJUGATIONs.

[95] The base SUFFIX is "-aa" for the Relative Complete passive VOICE FORM. As with the middle VOICE, the first person singular passive CONJUGATION retains the base SUFFIX in order to preserve the long vowel sound, and tacks the pronoun *mi* on the end. As with the Relative Complete middle VOICE, the three remaining inverted CONJUGATIONs in the Relative Complete passive voice shorten the base SUFFIX before the lengthened pronoun. So the passive complete SUFFIX "-aa" becomes "-a" with these three inverted CONJUGATIONs.

[96] See Section 7.C.4, p. 51 for a discussion of the objected pronoun *ma* when used with the subject pronoun *mi* in the Relative verb FORM. The reason the object pronoun *ma* is lengthen to *maa* is the same as explained in the two footnotes above. The *Fulɓe* like the long vowel sound before the pronoun *mi* and so go to great lengths to procure it, even if it means elongating the object pronoun.

Table 13.3 Relative Incomplete Paradigm

Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb →	suuɗude	suuɗaade	suuɗeede
PERSON ↓			
Singular			
FIRST	cuuɗ-am·mi*	cuuɗ-otoo·mi	cuuɗ-etee·mi
SECOND	cuuɗ-at·aa	cuuɗ-oto·ɗaa	cuuɗ-ete·ɗaa
THIRD	o suuɗ-ata[97]	o suuɗ-otoo[98]	o suuɗ-etee[99]
Plural			
FIRST EXCLUSIVE	min cuuɗ-ata	min cuuɗ-otoo	min cuuɗ-etee
FIRST INCLUSIVE	cuuɗ-at·en	cuuɗ-oto·ɗen	cuuɗ-ete·ɗen
SECOND	cuuɗ-at·on	cuuɗ-oto·ɗon	cuuɗ-ete·ɗon
THIRD	ɓe cuuɗ-ata	ɓe cuuɗ-otoo	ɓe cuuɗ-etee

*Don't forget that the object pronoun *ma* is inserted between the Relative Incomplete active VOICE SUFFIX -*am* and the inverted first person pronoun *mi.   cuuɗ-am·mi* + ma → *cuuɗ-am·maa·mi*[100]

> In the following examples using the Relative Incomplete, the object (what) or time (when) being FOCUSed on is underlined:
>
> *Nyiiri hoy* **nyaamataa** *faa kootaa Mahadaga.*
> It is just millet and baobab leaf sauce that you will eat until you return to Mahadaga.
>
> *Sebba* **njooɗotoomi** *mawuuri.*
> It's in Sebba I will live next year.
>
> *Jaango o* **segilotoo**.
> It's tomorrow he will get ready.

---

[97] For the Relative Incomplete active VOICE the base SUFFIX is "-ata." In the case of the first PERSON singular, first the final "a" of the base SUFFIX is dropped and the "t" is harmonized (see Section 10.B, p. 66) to "m" and then the pronoun *mi* is tacked on the end.
    1s   -at**a** + -mi → -a**t** + -mi → am + mi → -am·mi
Unlike with the Relative Complete active VOICE paradigm, the Relative Incomplete active VOICE does not elongate the remaining three inverted CONJUGATIONs with the addition of "ɗ." Rather, the base SUFFIX is shorted to "-at" which makes it phonetically possible for the pronouns to be added directly to the SUFFIX.
    2s   -at**a** + -aa → -a**t** + -aa → -at·aa

[98] The base SUFFIX for the Relative Incomplete middle VOICE is "-otoo." As with the Relative Complete middle VOICE first PERSON singular, the Relative Incomplete middle VOICE first PERSON singular also retains the full base SUFFIX and then adds the pronoun *mi* to the end. When compared with the other three inverted CONJUGATIONs this is irregular. The *Fulɓe* do this because they like the long vowel sound before *mi*. As with the Relative Complete middle VOICE, the remaining three inverted CONJUGATIONs in the Relative Incomplete middle VOICE shorted the base SUFFIX. It becomes "-oto," and a lengthened form of the pronoun is added (i.e. -*ɗaa*, -*ɗen*, -*ɗon*). This is necessitated for phonetical reasons by the presence of the remaining vowel ("o") at the end of the shortened SUFFIX.

[99] The base SUFFIX for the Relative Incomplete passive VOICE FORM is "-etee." The first person singular FORM retains this base FORM to preserve the long vowel sound while adding the pronoun *mi* at the end. The remaining three inverted CONJUGATIONs shorten the SUFFIX to "-ete" and then add an elongated form of the pronoun to the end.

[100] See Section 7.C.4, p. 51 for a discussion of the objected pronoun *ma* when used with the subject pronoun *mi* in the Relative verb FORM. The reason the object pronoun *ma* is lengthen to *maa* is the same as explained in the two footnotes above. The *Fulɓe* like the long vowel sound before the pronoun *mi* and so go to great lengths to procure it, even if it means changing the pattern of CONJUGATION, or in this case, elongating the object pronoun.

B. Focus on Narrative:

As mentioned under the discussion of the General Complete, the first verb in a narrative is normally in an ASPECT FOCUS FORM (usually the General Complete), while the remainder of the verbs are OTHER FOCUS FORMs. Unless one wants to FOCUS on the Negative, Stative, or Progressive, or unless the Subjunctive is required, the remainder of the verbs in a narrative will be in the Relative FORM. Robin Watson says the Relative FORM is the "default FORM" in narrations as it marks unhighlighted descriptions. As such the Relative seems to be the work-horse verbal FORM of Fulfulde narratives, a kind of neutral FORM which allows the speaker and the listener to focus on the event itself, or the actors in the event. The *Fulɓe* are not overly concerned with the exact timing of the events within a narrative.

The narrative is its own universe where the only concern with time is whether or not an action is complete or incomplete relative to the ASPECT introduced in the first verb (or two). If there is some reason to emphasize time, adverbs or the Preterite are used.[101] Note that when a person speaks in a narrative, the verbs within the quote revert back to General FORMs. This includes both direct speech (a quote) or indirect speech. In other words the influence of narrative on the verb FORMs is temporarily suspended. Other occasions when the use of the Relative is suspended in a narrative are explained in Section 30, page 174. Examples:

> *Nde min* **ngaɗunoo**[1] *ɗoon balɗe seeɗa fu annabaajo bi'eteeɗo Agabus* **ɣuuri**[2] *Yahuudiya* **wari**.[3] *O* **wari**[4] *to amin, o* **hooyi**[5] *kaɓɓorgol Pol, o* **haɓɓi**[6] *koyɗe makko e juuɗe makko, o* **wi'i,**[7] "Alhuudiya'en ley Urusaliima kaɓɓiran[8] jom kaɓɓorgol ngol, ni ɓe kokkitira[9] ɗum yimɓe ɓe nganaa Alhuudiya'en."*
> *Nde min* **nannoo**[10] *ɗum fu, minen e woɓɓe wonɓe ɗoon, min* **ndookii**[11] *Pol sanne taa yaha Urusaliima.* (Golleeji Nulaaɓe 21:10-12)

Here is an analysis of the verb FORMS in the above text. Each verb is numbered. The narration is in italics, the quotation is in normal type, and the Relative FORMS are in bold.
1. Relative Complete with Preterite
2-7. Relative Complete
8. General Incomplete – part of a quote
9. Progressive – part of a quote
10. Relative Complete with Preterite – nan·unoo → nan·noo ("u" drops out between 2 "n's")
11. Relative Complete

---

[101] See Section 23, p. 131 *ff.* for a discussion of the Preterite.

*Nde min **mburtinoo**[1], min **njottii**[2] leydi fu, min **nani**[3] leydi ngonndi[4] ley maayo, ndiin **wi'etee**[5] Malta. Yimɓe leydi ndiin **cakkitorii**[6] min jam, ɓe **ngaddani**[7] min yiite sabo yuwoonde ina toɓa,[8] jaangol ina woodi.[9] Nde Pol **hooƴunoo**[10] ledɗe, ina watta[11] ley yiite, ndeen foosokere **wurtii**[12] ley ledɗe ɗeen saabe nguleefi, nde **ŋati**[13] Pol, nde **fiilii**[14] e junngo muudum. Nde yimɓe ɓeen **nji'unoo**[15] mbooddi ina fiilii[16] e junngo Pol fu, ɓe **mbi'unduri**[17] hakkunde maɓɓe,* "Eɗen tennyori[18] gorko o wo ittoowo[19] yonkiiji. Fay si o daɗi[20] ley maayo ngo du, sariya accataa[21] o o wuura."[22] *Ndeen Pol **fiɗɗi**[23] junngo muudum mbooddi ndiin **boɓɓii**[24] ley yiite, Pol maataay[25] huunde fuu ina naawa[26] ɗum.* (Golleeji Nulaaɓe 28:1-5)

Here is an analysis of the verb forms in the above text. Each verb is numbered. The narration is in italics, the quote is in normal type, and the Relative FORMs are in bold.
1. Relative Complete with Preterite
2-3. Relative Complete
4. Participle Complete active VOICE for *ndi*
5. Relative Incomplete
6-7. Relative Complete
8. Progressive
9. Stative
10. Relative Complete with Preterite
11. Progressive
12-14 Relative Complete
15. Relative Complete with Preterite
16. Stative
17. Relative Complete
18. Stative – part of quote
19. Participle Incomplete active VOICE for *o*
20. Relative Complete (note *fay si* before verb)
21. Negative Incomplete – part of quote
22. Subjunctive – part of quote
23-24 Relative Complete
25. Negative Complete
26. Progressive

C. Focus on Interrogative Pronouns:

In questions formulated with an interrogative, OTHER FOCUSing is clearly present. The speaker is concerned about who, where, when, etc. Therefore an OTHER FOCUSed verb FORM must always be used. After an interrogative pronoun the Relative Complete or Incomplete or the Negative is used.

The *o* and *ɓe* classes have nouns for both humans and objects so *mo*y and *ɓeye* can be used for both "who" and "which." The interrogative pronouns are found in Table 13.4.

Table 13.4 Interrogative Pronouns

who	moy, ɓeye
what	ɗume
when	ndey
where	toy
why	ko saabi, ko waɗi
how	noy
how much	noy foti
which	conjugated for each noun class as follows
SINGULAR NOUN CLASSES	
o	moye (for persons) oye (for things)
ɗam	ɗame
ɗum	ɗume
ka	kaye
kal	kale
ki	kiye
ko₁	koye
kol	kole
nde	ndeye
ndi	ndiye
ndu	nduye
nga	ngaye
nge	ngeye
ngi	ngiyi
ngo	ngoye
ngu	nguye
ngal	ngale
ngel	ngele
ngol	ngole
PLURAL NOUN CLASSES	
ɓe	ɓeye
ɗe	ɗeye
ɗi	ɗiye
ko₂	koye
koy	koye

Examples of FOCUSing on an Interrogative Pronoun using the Relative Complete - the relative pronouns are underlined and the verbs in Relative Complete FORM are in bold type:

*Moy **laatii** kaananke maɓɓe?*
Who became their leader?

*Moy **kawruɗaa** keeɲan ɗakkol misiide nde?*
Who did you meet yesterday beside the mosque?

*Beye **njiiduɗaa** naanen?*
Who [plural] did you see a little while ago?

*Ndey Burayma **wari**?*
When did Burayma come?

*Ndey **kayniɗaa** pobbi ɗi?*
When did you spot the hyenas?

*Toy **ponndiɗaa**?*
Where were/are you headed (going)?

*Toy **njiiltowiɗon** faa hejjere hankin?*
Where did you wander around until late last night?

*Ko saabi **cooduɗaa** puccu nguuto?*
Why did you buy that horse?

*Ko saabi ɓe **kaɓi**?*
Why did they fight?

*Dume **woni**?*
What is it?

*Noy gujjo **yaltiri** kasu?*
How did the thief get out of prison?

*Noy **moyƴinⁱⁱrⁱudaa** ɗum?*
How did you fix this/that?

*Noy foti **cooduɗaa** disaare nde?*
How much did you pay for that cloth?

*Cekke foti o **jogii**?*
How many mats does she own?

*Araawa ngaye **daasi** torkooru?*
Which donkey pulled the donkey cart?

*Ley suudu nduye **nannuɗaa** keesuwal?*
In which hut did you put the trunk?

*Lekki kiye **fuɗi**?*
Which tree sprouted/grew?

*Ngele **rimaa** keeɲan?*
Which one [calf] was born yesterday?

Examples of FOCUSing on an Interrogative Pronoun using the Relative Incomplete - the relative pronouns are underlined and the verbs in Relative Incomplete FORM are in bold type::

*Moy **yarnata** ledɗe?*
Who will water the trees?

*Moy **laatotoo** amiiru wuro?*
Who will become chief of the village?

*Moy **kokkataa** nagge maa faa o ɓira?*
To whom will you give your cow so he can milk it?

*Ndey **ndemataa** ngesa maa?*
When will you plow your field?

*Ndey **ngarataa**?*
When will you come back?

*Toy **ponndotoɗaa**?*
Where are you headed?

*Toy **njippotoɗaa**?*
Where are you getting down/stopping?

*Ko saabi o **nyaamata** maaro tan?*
Why does he only eat rice?

Ko saabi o nyaamataa maaro?
Why won't he eat rice?
Note: This example employs the Negative not the Relative Incomplete. Note the similarity in spelling to the above example!

*Ɗume **pilotoɗaa**?*
What are you looking for?

*Ɗume **ngaɗataa** laasaraaku?*
What will you make in the afternoon?

*Noy curki **yaltirta**?*
How will the smoke get out?

*Noy **njaarataa** Djibo?*
How will you go to Djibo?

*Noy **mbiltortoɗaa** golle o gilla jemma yottaaki?*
How will you finish this work before night comes?

*Noy foti **cottataa** nagge nge?*
How much are you selling this cow for?

*Yimɓe foto **njaarataa** Matiakoali?*
How many people will you take to Matiakoali?

*Dewtere ndeye o **dursitotoo**?*
Which book will he memorize?

*Gese ɗeye ɓe **taɣata** jaango?*
Which fields will they harvest tomorrow?

Besides functioning as interrogative pronouns, this same set of pronouns can also function as adjectives and as relative pronouns. For example:

Interrogative: *Nagge **ngeye** Yero wujji?*
Which cow did Yero steal?

Adjective: *O yeggitii nagge **ngeye** baabam hokki kam rawanin.*
He forgot which cow my father gave me last year.

Relative Pronoun: *Mi anndaa **ngeye** walaa kosam.*
ngeye = nagge
I don't know which (cow/one) doesn't have any milk.

*Salla a yi'ii nagge **nge** <u>baabam hokki kam rawanin</u> ley luumo Garango hannden naa?*
Did you see the cow (which my father gave me last year) in the Garango market today?

Note that regardless of how these pronouns are functioning, they trigger a Relative verb FORM in a positively stated clause. Furthermore, in the three examples using the interrogative pronoun *ngeye*, the pronoun does not act as a subordinator, while the relative pronoun *nge* in the fourth example does subordinate the relative clause it introduces. In the third example *ngeye* replaces *nagge*, while in the fourth example *nge* begins a parenthetical clause telling us some additional information about the cow. This entire relative clause acts as an adjective for the noun "cow." Both the second and the fourth examples use the pronoun in an adjectival way, however, the fourth example introduces a clause where *nge* links the relative clause (*nge baabam hokki kam rawanin*) to the independent clause (*Salla a yi'ii nagge ley luumo Garango hannden*) while the second example is part and parcel of the sentence – there is no dependent clause.

D. Focus on Relative Pronouns:

The Relative FOCUSes attention on the relative pronouns which are used to create relative clauses. Relative clauses are one type of SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

Table 13.5 Relative Pronouns and Closure Markers

	Relative Pronoun	Closure Marker
when	*nde* *	ndee
where	*to* *	too
how	*no* *	nii
how much, how many	*no foti* *	koo
who (singular)	*mo*	oo
who (plural)	*ɓe*	ɓee
what	*ko*	ɗum

*Note: Technically "when," "where," "how" are adverbs, while "how much" or "how many" are adjectives, not relative pronouns. However, in Fulfulde they function exactly the same as relative pronouns, and so for the sake of simplicity are included in this section.

Table 13.5 Relative Pronouns and Closure Markers *continued*

which	SINGULAR NOUN CLASS	
	ɗam	ɗam
	ɗum	ɗum
	ka	kaa
	kal	kal
	ki	kii
	ko₁	koo
	kol	kol
	nde	ndee
	ndi	ndii
	ndu	nduu
	nga	ngaa
	nge	ngee
	ngi	ngii
	ngo	ngoo
	ngu	nguu
	ngal	ngal
	ngel	ngel
	ngol	ngol
	PLURAL NOUN CLASS	
	ɓe	ɓee
	ɗe	ɗee
	ɗi	ɗii
	ko₂	koo
	koy	koy
why	ɗum saadi de, ɗum waɗi de …	

*Note: Ɗ*um waɗi de* and *ɗum saabi de* are technically not relative pronouns, but are actually relative phrases. However, they function as a relative pronoun would and so are included in this list. Sometimes the "*ɗum*" is dropped leaving *waɗi de*. For example:[102]

Sabo o yennii kam - *waɗi de* - ***piimi* o.**
Because he cursed me – [that] is why - I hit him.

*O yennii kam, ɗum waɗi de **piimi** o.*
He cursed me, that is why I hit him.

Sabo o remaay - *waɗi de* - *sukaaɓe makko **njolbi**.*
Because he did not farm – [that] is why - his children are hungry.

However, NOT all phrases containing "*ɗum waɗi de*" are followed by a Relative verb form, as the Stative, Progressive and Negative will all "trump" the Relative. For example:

Matta 14:2 *Duum waɗi de **ina waawi** waɗde kaayeefiiji.* (The verb FORM is Stative not Relative!)
Matthew 14:2 That is why he can do miracles.

---

[102] The first and third examples contain the SUBORDINATING CONJUCTION *sabo*. I have underlined the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE in these examples. In the first example the General Complete is used because this is a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE whose action is complete. The "*waɗi de*" is a relative phrase. It is an abbreviated form of "*ɗum waɗi de*" meaning "that is why." In the examples, "*waɗi de piimi o*" and "*waɗi de sukaaɓe makko njolbi*" are relative clauses. Note that these relative clauses are NOT SUBORDINATE CLAUSES! Without the *ɗum* they cannot stand alone, but if the *ɗum* was inserted they could stand as INDEPENDENT CLAUSES.

Relative clauses have three characteristics in Fulfulde:

    1) an opening relative pronoun (see Table 13.5)
    2) a verb in a Relative FORM (see Tables 13.1-3)
    3) a closure marker in some dialects (see Table 13.5)

In essence, Fulfulde likes to put brackets around relative clauses. This is done by placing the relative pronoun before the clause and a closure marker at the end of the clause. The closure marker is formed by lengthening the final vowel (if it is vowel final) of the relative pronoun that opened the clause. However, the closure marker is not used consistently in everyday speech, being frequently dropped. There are a few additional exceptions that must be noted:

    1) If the clause is sentence final the closure marker is almost always dropped.
    2) With the relative pronoun *no* the closure marker is *nii* and not *noo*.
        While speaking of the relative pronoun *no*, it is worth pointing out that the INFIX "-ir-/-or-" is always used in the Relative verb following *no* as it is with the interrogative pronoun *noy*; e.g. *O faamaay **no** ɓii nagge wurt**o**rii hoggo ɓiɓɓe na'i.* {He doesn't understand how the calf got out of the calf corral.}

NOTE: In checking with informants both from Djibo and Sebba it appears that these "closure markers" are highly optional here in Burkina. In none of the examples below was I told that omitting the "closure marker" had an adverse effect on the sense of the phrase. The choice of whether or not to elongate the final vowel seemed to be somewhat personal. Often our informants, particularly those from Djibo, would also use a referential pronoun (see Section 8.H, p. 60) instead of a relative pronoun (see Table 13.5, p. 92). The use of a referential pronoun gives a slightly different sense to the phrase and is only used in the context of a discussion about something where the thing referred to has been previously mentioned. In the following examples of the Relative Complete used in a relative clause, the relative pronoun and closure markers are underlined. Optional words are marked with brackets [ ] and optional letters with parentheses ( ). If a referential pronoun could be used I have indicated that as well in the bracket. Finally, most of these examples contain an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE with a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE in which the subordinator is the relative pronoun. The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES have been marked with curly brackets {}.

    *Mi yi'ii {<u>mo</u> **kokkumi** laɓi am [ki(i)/kiin] [o/oon].}*
    I saw - the person to whom I gave my knife.

    *Mi yi'ii {<u>mo</u> **njaadumi** e mum luumo [oo/oon].}*
    I saw - the person with whom I went to market.

    *Suka {<u>mo</u> **njaaruɗaa** dokotoro keeyan [oo/oon],} kori o samtanaama.*
    The child - whom you took to the doctor yesterday - hopefully is feeling better.

    *Nyawɗo {<u>mo</u> **kokkuɗaa** safaare rawanin [oo/oon]} waalii ga nyannden.*
    The sick person – to whom you gave medicine last year - stayed here overnight the other day.

    *{<u>Nde</u> **ngonnoomi** Pièla [ndee/ndeen]} mi sellaa fey.*
    When I was in Pièla - I was very sick.

    *{<u>Nde</u> **ngarnoomi** Djibo [ndee/ndeen],} mi nanataa Fulfulde fey.*
    When I came to Djibo then, - I couldn't understand Fulfulde at all.

    *Mi ƴamaay o {<u>to</u> o **yiiti** be'i makko ɗi.}*
    I did not ask him - where he found his goats.

*Aysata sanyan sekko {hono <u>no</u> Fatimata **sanyiri** rawanin <u>nii</u>.}*
Aysata will weave a mat - like the one Fatimata wove last year.

*Mi limii caakuuji maaro {<u>foti</u> **njogiiɗaa**}.*
I counted - how many - sacks of rice - you own.

*Mi yi'aay {<u>ko</u> Burayma **hokki** ɓe [ɗum/ɗuum].}*
I did not see - what Burayma gave to them.

*Won {<u>ko</u> **njiɗumi** ɣamude ma}.*
There is - something that I want to ask you. (weak independent clause ☺)

*Won {<u>to</u> ɓe **njaari** o}.*
There is - somewhere they took her. ☺

*Miɗo anndi {<u>ko</u> **njiɗumi** e majjum}, miɗo yiɗi...*
I know - what I want out of it, - I want...

*Cogganaa kam ngaari {<u>ndi</u> **coodumi** luumo Djibo} {<u>faa yaha So</u>}.*
Herd for me the bull - which I bought at the Djibo market - until (you) get to So.

*Nokku {<u>to</u> garuwal amiiru **woni**} ina toowi.*
The place - where the chief's house was situated - is high.

*Mi doggii, ngarumi law law, <u>ɗum saabi de</u> **tampumi**.[103]*
I ran, I came quickly - that is why I am tired.

Examples of Relative Incomplete used in a relative clause:
*Mawniiko, {<u>mo</u> **nji'ataa** faɓɓi jaango [oo/oon]}, wo caahiiɗo sanne.*
His older brother - whom you will see the day after tomorrow - is a polite/
correct person.

*Yimɓe wuro [ɓe(e)/ɓeen] fuu eggan, koɗowa {<u>to</u> gawri **hoyi** hikka [to(o)/toon]}.*
The people will move and settle - where millet is cheap this year.

*{<u>No</u> ɓe **njaarata** <u>nii</u>,} Isiyaaka ɣami bammum Ibrahiima.*
As they were walking along, - Isaac queried his father Abraham.

E. Focus on a Subordinate Clause:
There are two ways one can emphasize the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. The first
way involves using the Relative Complete verb FORM <u>in</u> the SUBORDINATE
CLAUSE. The TRIGGER WORDS for these clauses are the SUBORDINATING
CONJUNCTIONS *fay si* and *faa*, and the subordinating adverb *de*.
Additionally, relative clauses, which are introduced by relative pronouns,
may be SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. As with the General Complete, the Relative
Complete is called for when the clause is a positive statement and the ASPECT
is complete. The difference is that the General Complete FORM FOCUSes on
the ASPECT (the completeness) of the clause, where the Relative FORM
FOCUSes on the who, what, why, where, and when of the SUBORDINATE
CLAUSE. Often this difference in FOCUS is very subtle, and even a *Pullo*
would have a hard time explaining the difference.

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[103] Assuming this is someone's statement, and not part of a story, this is an example of the speaker choosing to
place emphasis on his coming quickly because he could have said: *Mi doggii, mi warii law, ɗum saabi de
tampumi.* {I ran, I came quickly, because of this I am tired.}. However, the use of the Relative is an expected
choice in this phrase, especially if the person is late for something, as he would wish to underscore what an effort
he made to arrive quickly. Note that the structure *ɗum saabi de* does require a Relative FORM, which results in
two emphasized clauses in the sentence, neither of which are subordinate.

1. In a conditional clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction
   ***fay si* (even if):**
   The TRIGGER WORDS *fay si* trigger the use of the Relative Complete.
   Because of the intensifying particle (adverb) *fay,* the FOCUS of the
   SUBORDINATE CLAUSE shifts from ASPECT (completeness) – which is
   the FOCUS in a *si* clause – to the **futile condition** introduced by this
   type of CONDITIONAL CLAUSE. In the examples the SUBORDINATE
   CLAUSES are underlined and the Relative Complete FORMS are in bold
   type:

   > *Fay si **neldumi** <u>Amerke, nde heɓataake sabo safaare durma walaa ley</u>*
   > <u>*adunaaru.*</u> {Relative Complete}
   > Even if I send to America for it, it cannot be had because medicine for
   > colds does not exist (anywhere) in the world.

   > *Fay si **kokkudaa** <u>ɓe kaalisi e cuudi fu,</u> ɓe eggan.* {Relative Complete}
   > Even if you give them money and houses they will migrate.

2. In a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction
   ***faa* (until, to the point of):[104]**
   As discussed under the General Complete, with a <u>completed</u> positively
   stated action either the General Complete or the Relative Complete is
   used when following the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *faa*, depending
   on whether or not the speaker wishes to emphasize the SUBORDINATE
   CLAUSE. If the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is to be emphasized then the
   Relative Complete FORM is used. The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are
   underlined in the following examples:

   > *Mi rookeke <u>faa</u> **keɓumi**.*[105] {Relative Complete}
   > I asked until I got it.

   > *Mi rookeke <u>faa mi heɓii</u>.*[106] {General Complete}
   > I asked until/and I got it.

   > *Warɓe njoodeke <u>faa laasara</u> **juulaa**.* {Relative Complete}
   > The ones (visitors) who came sat until the third prayer had been prayed.

3. In a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinating adverb *de* which
   follows the use of the Emphatic in the independent clause:
   Another case where the Relative FORM is used <u>in</u> a SUBORDINATE
   CLAUSE, in order to emphasize the thought expressed by the
   SUBORDINATE CLAUSE, involves using the Emphatic FORM in the
   INDEPENDENT CLAUSE, followed by the subordinating adverb *de,*
   which means: so, so that, so then, then, therefore, that is why, for this

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[104] Remember that *faa* can serve as either a preposition or a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION. When it means "until"
and is relating to a noun or pronoun, it is functioning as a preposition: e.g. **Faa hannden o waraay.** {Until today
she has not come.}; *Mi dowtete faa laawol.* {I will go with you as far as the road.}. The *faa* in these two cases is
relating to *hannden* and *laawol*. *Faa* can also mean "until" and function as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION;
Waɗu faa heewa. {Fix a lot. – lit. Do it until its a lot.}. Additionally the CONJUNCTION *faa* can mean "in order
to" or "so that."
[105] The focus of the sentence using the Relative Complete FORM is the message of the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE: I got it.
[106] The focus of the sentence using the General Complete is that these two things <u>happened</u>: ① I asked, ② I got it.
See Section 11.A.3.c, p. 72 for a discussion of the use of the General Complete verb FORM with the
SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *faa*.

reason.[107]   Note in the examples below how the use of the Emphatic
FORM in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE necessitates an explanation.
Note how this is different than just recounting two things that
happened in sequence by contrasting the first two examples.
The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined and the Relative Complete
FORMs are in bold type:

> *O doggu <u>de o **saami***</u>. {Emphatic – de – Relative Complete}
> He ran, that is why he fell.

> *O doggii de o saamii.* {General Complete – de – General Complete}
> He ran and fell down.

> *O bonnu jawdi laamu <u>de o **nanngaa**</u>.* {Emphatic – de – Relative Complete}
> He ruined government property so he was arrested.

> *O jambi <u>de o **nanngaa**</u>.* {Emphatic – de – Relative Complete}
> He cheated so he was arrested.

4. In a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun:
A relative pronoun introduces a relative clause, which is usually
subordinate. The relative pronouns are highlighted in bold type and
the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined in the following examples:[108]

> *Mi anndaa **mo** <u>o haɓi</u>.*
> I don't know **who** <u>he fought with</u>.

> *Mi yi'ii **no** <u>ɓe nyibirta buguuji</u>.*
> I saw **how** <u>they build grass houses</u>.

> *Mumini hollii kam <u>nagge **nge** o sonnata</u>.*
> Mumini showed me **which** <u>cow he is selling</u>

> *Bureyma ina anndi **to** <u>luumo woni hannden</u>.*
> Bureyma knows **where** <u>the market is today</u>.

> *Nyawɗo **mo** <u>kokkuɗaa safaare rawanin oo/oon</u> waalii ga nyannden.*
> The sick person <u>to whom you gave medicine last year</u> stayed here
> overnight the other day.

> *Aysata sanyan sekko **hono no** <u>Fatimata sanyiri rawanin nii</u>.*
> Aysata will weave a mat <u>like the one Fatimata wove last year</u>.

> ***Nde** <u>ngarnoomi Djibo ndee/ndeen</u>, mi nanataa Fulfulde fey.*
> <u>When I came to Djibo</u>, I couldn't understand Fulfulde at all.

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[107] Make sure you understand how *de* is functioning in a given sentence! *De* in Fulfulde is generally used as a
COORDINATING CONJUNCTION, meaning simply: and, and then, but, however. It simply links two parts of a
COMPOUND SENTENCE together. In the vast majority of cases this is how *de* is used. The COORDINATING
CONJUNCTION *de* is often followed by a Relative verb FORM because it is often employed in narrative sequences –
it is not triggering the Relative FORM, it just happens to be there connecting thoughts. *De* can also be used as a
subordinating adverb, meaning: so, so then, so that, therefore, this is why, or for this reason; thus triggering the
use of the Relative Complete. That is how it is being used in the above examples. Be sure not to confound the
CONJUNCTION/adverb *de* with either the plural relative pronoun *de* or the denasalized relative pronoun *nde*
meaning "when." *Gurmaare* speakers routinely denasalize *nde* to *de.* However, many speakers in other dialects
also drop the initial "n" in rapid speech and even when they write in Fulfulde!
[108] Remember, relative clauses are one type of SUBORDINATING CLAUSE. However, not all relative clauses are also
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES (see p. 92 for examples where the relative clause is not subordinate). The relative
pronouns usually function as subordinators – although they don't always – and they clearly mark the clauses
where they are in usage as being relative clauses, which means the verb in the relative clause needs to be
rendered as a Relative FORM.

5. Following a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction *sabo* (because):

A second way of placing emphasis on the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE involves using a Relative verb FORM in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE after the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. This usage depends on the degree of emphasis the speaker wants to give to the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. The TRIGGER WORD for this type of construction is *sabo*. If the action is complete the Relative Complete FORM is used, and if the action is incomplete the Relative Incomplete FORM is employed. In both cases the Relative verb in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE points back to the "why" of the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. Note the question posed in examples below and the two contrasting ways of responding to the question. The emphasis is subtle. The SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined in the examples below and the Relative FORMs are in bold type:

*Ɗume **haɗata** o yaade golle?*
What stopped him from going to work?

O yaahataa golle sabo o sellaa. (No focus on subordinate clause.)
He didn't go to work because he was not well.

*Sabo o sellaa **haɗata** o yaade golle*. (Focus is on **why** he didn't go to work.)
Because he was not well, [this] stopped him from going to work.[109]

*Ko saabi ɓe **eggi?***
Why did they move?

Ɓe eggii sabo kammu toɓaay.   (No emphasis)
They moved because it didn't rain.

*Sabo kammu toɓaay **eggini** ɓe*. (Emphasis is on **why** they moved)
Because it did not rain [this] caused them to migrate.[109]

*Ko wadi **piiɗaa** o?*
Why did you hit him?

Mi fiyii o sabo o yennii kam. (No emphasis.)
I hit him because he cursed me.

*Sabo o yennii kam, **piirumi** o*. (Emphasis is on **why** he hit him.)
Because he cursed me, I hit him.

---

[109] Note that with the first two examples for the second clause to be considered an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE (one that can stand alone as a sentence) one needs to assume that there is a *ɗum*, meaning "this," implied. The third example contains a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE followed by an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE.

F. Focus on a clause introduced by the auxiliary verb *sanaa (it is necessary, must):*[110]

Sanaa, and its various forms, is an auxiliary to the verb. When the action of the verb after the adverb *sanaa* is <u>complete</u>, the Relative Complete is used.[111]

The Relative Complete FORMs are in bold type in the examples:

*Si wanaa **nyalmiimi** kaalisi de kemmi ko mi nyaama.*
It was necessary for me to borrow money so that I could have something to eat.

*Paɗe am kiinɗii faa timmii sanaa **coodumi** kese.*
My old sandals are finished so I had to buy some new ones.

14. THE PARTICIPIAL

The Participial is an OTHER FOCUS plus ASPECT FOCUS FORM. The ASPECT FOCUS is seen in that it conjugates for both complete and incomplete ASPECTs. Its OTHER FOCUS is shown by the lengthening of the vowels in the SUFFIX and the changes in the word order. Technically the subject of a participle is displaced after the verb ROOT similar to the Relative or Subjunctive verb FORMS. For instance, in the participle *nyaamoowo,* the final "*o*" is the 3rd PERSON singular pronoun.

Table 14.1 The Base Participial Suffixes Compared to the Relative Suffixes[112]

Aspect →	Complete			Incomplete		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Form ↓	Other plus Aspect Focused					
Relative	*-i*	*-ii*	*-aa*	*-ata*	*-otoo*	*-etee*
Participle	*-uɗo*	*-iiɗo*	*-aaɗo*	*-oowo*	*-otooɗo*	*-eteeɗo*

It is worth noting that Stative verbs only have Complete Participial FORMs while verbs that either take Stative and Progressive FORMs, or just Progressive FORMs, will have both Complete and Incomplete Participial FORMs.

In Fulfulde participles, or verbal nominals, are basically self-contained relative phrases. They can frequently be translated by "the one who..." or "the thing that...". As such, they can function as nouns, serving as the subject or object of a sentence, or they can modify a noun being used as a subject or object. For example:

***Cooduɗo** warii.*
The buyer came (the one who bought came).

*Mi yi'ii **laɓiiɗo**.*
I saw the one who was shaved.

*Hollam na'i **ɓiraaɗi**.*
Show me the cows that have been milked.

---

[110] *Sanaa* is a contraction of *si wanaa.* Other variations of this TRIGGER WORD include: *kanaa, say,* and *sey.*
[111] When the action of the verb after *sanaa* is <u>incomplete</u> the Subjunctive is used.
[112] Note that four of the six participle endings are similar to the Relative FORM'S endings; i.e. those for the middle and passive Complete and Incomplete.

Many participles appear to be common static nouns in the language such as *duroowo* "herder" or *demoowo* "farmer." However, it must be remembered that participles are verbal nominals. The verbal characteristics of a participle are shown by the fact that participles can be conjugated according to ASPECT and VOICE. Taking the three examples above, we can analyze each of the participles as follows:

Verb Root	+	Voice/Aspect	+	Class	=	Participle
sood(ude)	+	-u- (active/complete)	+	*ɗo* (o class)	=	*cooduɗo*
laɓ(aade)	+	-ii- (middle/complete)	+	*ɗo* (o class)	=	*laɓiiɗo*
ɓir(eede)	+	-aa- (passive/complete)	+	*ɗi* (*ɗi* class)	=	*ɓiraaɗi*

It is also possible for a participle to appear to be acting as a verb. One frequently hears the following: "*Mi jahoowo luumo.*" {I am going to market.}. The meaning is the same as the Progressive and is often used in place of the Progressive.[113] However, the full sentence should be as follows: *Mi woni jahoowo luumo.* I am the one who is going to market. The *woni* is dropped in rapid speech causing the participle to appear as if it is being used as a verb. The *jahoowo* is actually serving as a predicate noun.[114]

Participles are often created on-the-run, as the *Fulɓe* often replace the verb with a participle. For example:

Verb	Noun	Participle
yarude	*njaram (ɗam)* - drink	*njareteeɗam* - drinking water
bonude	*bone (ɗe)* - evil things	*na'i bonɗi* - bad cows
haalude	*haala (ka)* - speech	*konngol kaalaangol* - a word spoken
hoolaade	*hoolaare (nde)* - trust	*kooliiɗo Laamɗo* - one who trusts in God
moyyude	*moyyere (nde)* - goodness	*mobel moyyinaangel* - the car that was repaired
faamude	*faamu (ndu)* - understanding	*koongol paamaangol* - a word that is understood
anndude	*anndal (ngal)* - knowledge	*huunde anndaande* - a thing that is known
hawrude	*kawral (ngal)* - agreement	*kawruɗo* - a person who met someone
laaɓude	*laaɓal (ngal)* - cleanliness	*kaakol laaɓungol* - a clean dish
sellude	*cellal (ngal)* - health	*nguurndam celluɗam* - healthy life
haɓude	*haɓo (ngo)* - fight	*kaɓeteeɗo* - warrior

A participle is formed by adding both a VOICE/ASPECT marker and a noun class ending which agrees with the noun being modified to a verb ROOT. It is also necessary to modify the initial consonant of a participle according to the rules stated for initial consonant changes in the noun system.[115]

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[113] See Section 17, p. 111 *ff.* for a discussion of the Progressive verb FORM.
[114] A predicate noun renames the subject and is used only with intransitive or "linking" verbs where there is no object and no action (i.e. being verbs). For example: "He is the teacher." where "teacher" is the predicate noun.
[115] For convenience Table 5.1, p. 31 has been reproduced as Table 14.2 below. Check it for the details of initial consonant changes in participles.

Example of the formation of a participle:

Noun	Verb Root	+	Voice/Aspect	+	Class	=	Participle
nagge	sakit-[116]	+	-ii (middle complete)	+	nge	=	sakitiinge

nagge sakitiinge nge {the last cow}

Noun	Verb Root	+	Voice/Aspect	+	Class	=	Participle
neɗɗo	s → cakit-[117]	+	-otoo (middle complete)	+	o/ɗo	=	cakitotooɗo

neɗɗo cakitotooɗo o {the last person}

When forming participles one must remember to change the initial consonant in accordance with the noun class it will fall into. These initial consonant changes are regular. The initial consonant changes for the participles are the same as those for the noun system. The transformations are the following:

Table 14.2 Initial Consonant Changes of Participles[118]

Initial Consonant of Verb Root	GROUP I ɓe, ko, nde ndu, nge, ngo	GROUP II ɗe, ɗi, ɗum, kal, kol, ngal, ngel, ngol, o	GROUP III ɗam, ka, ki, ko, koy, ndi, nga, ngi, ngu
b	b	b	mb
d	d	d	nd
g	g	g	ng
j	j	j	nj
f	f	p	p
h	h	k	k
s	s	c	c
r	r	d	nd
w	w	b	mb
w	w	g	ng
y	y	j	nj
y[119]	y	g	ng

There are also rules for the formation of **adjectives** which are formed somewhat similarly to participles. However, adjectives use somewhat different forms, do not conjugate as to VOICE and ASPECT, but do conjugate according to the noun class of the noun which they modify. These adjectives also have the same pattern of initial consonant change used by participles and nouns.[120]

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[116] *Nagge* belong to the noun class *nge*, which is found in Group I. Consulting Table 14.2, one sees that verb ROOTS being used to form a participle which begin with the letter "S" remain the letter "S." So for the verb ROOT √*sakit-* there is no initial letter change.

[117] Because the word *neɗɗo* represents a person it is the *o* noun class, which is found in Group II. Consulting Table 14.2, one sees that verb ROOTS being used to form a participle which begin with the letter "S" change to "C." So the verb ROOT √*sakit-* is transformed to *cakit-*.

[118] So despite being derived from a verb ROOT, the initial consonant changes in accordance with the noun paradigm. Table 14.2 is the same as Table 5.1, page 31 found in the noun section.

[119] None of the 160 verbs listed in the dictionary beginning with "y" form a participle in Group II with "g." Neither do I know of a verb beginning with "y" that forms adjectives which would use this "y → g → ng" paradigm. So while in principle it might occur, practically speaking I don't know of one case where it does occur.

[120] The adjectives are discussed in Section 26, p. 150.

<p style="text-align:center">Table 14.3 Participle Endings</p>

Aspect	COMPLETE			INCOMPLETE		
Voice	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Group I						
ɓe	-(u)ɓe	-iiɓe	-aaɓe	-ooɓe	-otooɓe	-eteeɓe
ko₁	-(u)ko	-iiko	-aako	-ooho	-otooko	-eteeko
nde	**-(u)nde**	**-iinde**	**-aande**	**-oore**	**-otoonde**	**-eteende**
ndu	**-(u)ndu**	**-iindu**	**-aandu**	**-ooru**	**-otoondu**	**-eteendu**
nge	-(u)nge	-iinge	-aange	-oowe	-otoonge	-eteenge
ngo	-(u)ngo	-iingo	-aango	-oowo	-otoongo	-eteengo
Group II						
ɗe	-(u)ɗe	-iiɗe	-aaɗe	-ooje	-otooɗe	-eteeɗe
ɗi	-(u)ɗi	-iiɗi	-aaɗi	-ooji	-otooɗi	-eteeɗi
ɗum	-(u)ɗum	-iiɗum	-aaɗum	-oojum	-otooɗum	-eteeɗum
kal	-(u)kal	-iikal	-aakal	-oohal	-otookal	-eteelal
kol	-(u)kol	-iikol	-aakol	-oohol	-otookol	-eteekol
ngal	**-(u)ngal**	**-iingal**	**-aangal**	**-oowal**	**-otoongal**	**-eteengal**
ngel	-(u)ngel	-iingel	-aangel	-oowel	-otoongel	-eteengel
ngol	-(u)ngol	-iingol	-aangol	-oowol	-otoongol	-eteengol
o	**-(u)ɗo**	**-iiɗo**	**-aaɗo**	**-oowo***	**-otooɗo**	**-eteeɗo**
Group III						
ɗam	-(u)ɗam	-iiɗam	-aaɗam	-oojam	-otooɗam	-eteeɗam
ka	-(u)ka	-iika	-aaka	-ooha	-otooka	-eteeka
ki	-(u)ki	-iiki	-aaki	-oohi	-otooki	-eteeki
ko₂	-(u)ko	-iiko	-aako	-ooho	-otooko	-eteeko
koy	-(u)koy	-iikoy	-aakoy	-oohoy	-otookoy	-eteekoy
ndi	-(u)ndi	-iindi	-aandi	-oori	-otoondi	-eteendi
nga	**-(u)nga**	**-iinga**	**-aanga**	**-oowa**	**-otoonga**	**-eteenga**
ngi	-(u)ngi	-iingi	-aangi	-oowi	-otoongi	-eteengi
ngu	-(u)ngu	-iingu	-aangu	-oowu	-otoongu	-eteengu

<p style="text-align:center">*Note: In the Sebba region this form is contracted to -oo</p>

Table 14.3 looks complicated at first glance, however note that in the middle and passive VOICES, the ASPECT markers (*-ii-, -aa-, -otoo-,* and *-etee-*) are the same as the Relative FORM SUFFIXes shown in Table 13.1. Note too that the noun class endings are consistent except for the active Incomplete where extensive but consistent changes are made. The *Fulɓe* use participles a lot, so it is important to practice making them yourself in your everyday speech. The data regarding the frequency of occurrence of various nouns listed by noun class in Section 4 can help one focus on learning the ending for the three most important single noun class markers:

o	29%
nde	21%
ngal	10%
	60%

So if one focused on mastering initially the participle endings for the above three singular noun classes, plus *ɓe*, one would know how to form participles for more than half of the cases one would normally encounter in speaking.

Following are examples of participles formed with the three groupings of consonants found in Table 14.2 to illustrate how these participles are formed.

Table 14.4 Participles with the Initial Consonants: b - d - g - j

Verb	barkineede	dartaade	gasude	jeyeede
Aspect	incomplete	incomplete	incomplete	complete
Group I				
ɓe	barkineteeɓe†	dartotooɓe	gasooɓe	jeyaaɓe
ko₁	barkineteeko	dartotooko	gasooho	jeyaako
nde	barkineteende	dartotoonde	gasoore	jeyaande
ndu	barkineteendu	dartotoondu	gasooru	jeyaandu
nge	barkineteenge	dartotoonge	gasoowe	jeyaange
ngo	barkineteengo	dartotoongo	gasoowo	jeyaango
Group II				
ɗe	barkineteeɗe	dartotooɗe	gasooje	jeyaaɗe
ɗi	barkineteeɗi	dartotooɗi	gasooji	jeyaaɗi
ɗum	barkineteeɗum	dartotooɗum	gasoojum	jeyaaɗum
kal	barkineteekal	dartotookal	gasoohal	jeyaakal
kol	barkineteekol	dartotookol	gasoohol	jeyaakol
ngal	barkineteengal	dartotoongal	gasoowal	jeyaangal
ngel	barkineteengel	dartotoongel	gasoowel	jeyaangel
ngol	barkineteengol	dartotoongol	gasoowol	jeyaangol
o	barkineteeɗo	dartotooɗo	gasoowo	jeyaaɗo
Group III				
ɗam	mbarkineteeɗam	ndartotooɗam	ngasoojam	njeyaaɗam
ka	mbarkineteeka	ndartotooka	ngasooha	njeyaaka
ki	mbarkineteeki	ndartotooki	ngasoohi	njeyaaki
ko₂	mbarkineteeko	ndartotooko	ngasooho	njeyaako
koy	mbarkineteekoy	ndartotookoy	ngasoohoy	njeyaakoy
ndi	mbarkineteendi	ndartotoondi	ngasoori	njeyaandi
nga	mbarkineteenga	ndartotoonga	ngasoowa	njeyaanga
ngi	mbarkineteengi	ndartotoongi	ngasoowi	njeyaangi
ngu	mbarkineteengu	ndartotoongu	ngasoowu	njeyaangu

†The above paradigm for *barkineede* show the "correct" conjugation for the various noun classes, but in reality the *Fulɓe* would drop the first "e" of the suffix; e.g. *barkinteeɓe, mbarkinteengu*

Table 14.5 Participles with the Intitial Consonants: f - h - s

Verb	feewude	heddaade	sakitaade
Aspect	incomplete	complete	complete
Group I			
ɓe	feewooɓe	heddiiɓe	sakitiiɓe
ko	feewooho	heddiiko	sakitiiko
nde	feewoore	heddiinde	sakitiinde
ndu	feewooru	heddiindu	sakitiindu
nge	feewoowe	heddiinge	sakitiinge
ngo	feewoowo	heddiingo	sakitiingo
Group II			
ɗe	peewooje	keddiiɗe	cakitiiɗe
ɗi	peewooji	keddiiɗi	cakitiiɗi
ɗum	peewoojum	keddiiɗum	cakitiiɗum
kal	peewoohal	keddiikal	cakitiikal
kol	peewoohol	keddiikol	cakitiikol
ngal	peewoowal	keddiingal	cakitiingal
ngel	peewoowel	keddiingel	cakitiingel
ngol	peewoowol	keddiingol	cakitiingol
o	peewoowo	keddiiɗo	cakitiiɗo
Group III			
ɗam	peewoojam	keddiiɗam	cakitiiɗam
ka	peewooha	keddiika	cakitiika
ki	peewoohi	keddiiki	cakitiiki
ko_2	peewooho	keddiiko	cakitiiko
koy	peewoohoy	keddiikoy	cakitiikoy
ndi	peewoori	keddiindi	cakitiindi
nga	peewoowa	keddiinga	cakitiinga
ngi	peewoowi	keddiingi	cakitiingi
ngu	peewoowu	keddiingu	cakitiingu

Participles are used frequently in Fulfulde, and in all sorts of situations.
Note that if the participle is modified, as with relative pronoun phrases, there is a closure marker (see the first two examples below). In the examples below the participles and closure markers are underlined:

Garɗo hankin o nyawii sanne.
The person who came last evening is really sick.

Toy duroowo Dule o yahata? O jahoowo luumo.
Where is Dule's herder going? He is going to the market.

Wuyɓe na keewi Abidjan, yoga nanngaaɓe, yoga yoppaaɓe mbujjan katin.
There are many thieves in Abidjan, some have been caught, some have been let go and will steal again.

Hollam na'i ɓireteeɗi. Baleewe e wuule woɗeewe tan keddii na ɓiree.
Show me the cows that are being milked. Only the black one and white faced brown one are still being milked.

Table 14.6 Participles with the Initial Consonants: r - w - y

Verb	reynude	waanneede	wonude	yaaɓaade
Aspect	complete	complete	complete	complete
ɓe	reynuɓe	waannaaɓe	wonɓe	yaaɓiiɓe
ko₁	reynuko	waannaako	wonko	yaaɓiiko
nde	reynunde	waannaande	wonnde	yaaɓiinde
ndu	reynundu	waannaandu	wonndu	yaaɓiindu
nge	reynunge	waannaange	wonnge	yaaɓiinge
ngo	reynungo	waannaango	wonngo	yaaɓiingo
ɗe	deynuɗe	baannaaɗe	gonɗe	jaaɓiiɗe
ɗi	deynuɗi	baannaaɗi	gonɗi	jaaɓiiɗi
ɗum	deynuɗum	baannaaɗum	gonɗum	jaaɓiiɗum
kal	deynukal	baannaakal	gonkal	jaaɓiikal
kol	deynukol	baannaakol	gonkol	jaaɓiikol
ngal	deynungal	baannaangal	gonngal	jaaɓiingal
ngel	deynungel	baannaangel	gonngel	jaaɓiingel
ngol	deynungol	baannaangol	gonngol	jaaɓiingol
o	deynuɗo	baannaaɗo	gonɗo	jaaɓiiɗo
ɗam	ndeynuɗam	mbaannaaɗam	ngonɗam	njaaɓiiɗam
ka	ndeynuka	mbaannaaka	ngonka	njaaɓiika
ki	ndeynuki	mbaannaaki	ngonki	njaaɓiiki
ko₂	ndeynuko	mbaannaako	ngonko	njaaɓiiko
koy	ndeynukoy	mbaannaakoy	ngonkoy	njaaɓiikoy
ndi	ndeynundi	mbaannaandi	ngonndi	njaaɓiindi
nga	ndeynunga	mbaannaanga	ngonnga	njaaɓiinga
ngi	ndeynungi	mbaannaangi	ngonngi	njaaɓiingi
ngu	ndeynungu	mbaannaangu	ngonngu	njaaɓiingu

Examples continued:

Miɗo maata luumngol araawa mbaatunga nga.
I smell the stench of that dead donkey.

Miɗo aawa toon siiji ledɗe keewɗe faa mi ƴeewa puɗooje e ɗe puɗataa e leydi toon ndi.
I will try many species of trees to determine which will grow there and which will not.

Wanaa huɗo heɓaako fuu koy.
Hey, it's not just any old grass.

Wanaa dewtere heɓaande fuu koy.
It's not just any old book.

15. THE EMPHATIC

The Emphatic is an OTHER FOCUS FORM. Rather than FOCUSING on the ASPECT (completeness vs. incompleteness) of an action, it draws attention to the meaning of the verb. This FORM is sometimes used in conjunction with emphatic pronouns.[121] The Emphatic is a subtle FORM that adds impact/emotion to one's words, in fact it is likely that until one is quite fluent in Fulfulde and familiar with *Fulɓe* culture, one would tend to use the FORM inappropriately.

Table 15.1 Conjugations of the Emphatic

Other Focused			
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Emphatic	-u/ø	-i	-a

The Emphatic verb FORM gives emphasis to the meaning of the verb. It is often used to respond to somewhat challenging questions thus giving emphasis to one's response. The *Fulɓe* use it invariably in certain situations, such as "*o daani*" (she sleeps). In the examples below the verb being emphasized is in bold type and any emphatic pronouns are underlined:

*Fuu **fotu**.*
It is/was all the same.

*Kanko **fii** ma.*
It was he who hit you.

*O soodaay, o **wujju**!*
He didn't buy it, he stole it!

*Noy ngaduɗaa nyiiri ndi? Mi **nyaamu** ndi!*
What did you do with the cooked millet? I ate it!

*Bintu **nyaamu** ndi!*
Bintu ate it!

*Dume ngaduɗaa de kaawu maa **duki** e maa?*
What did you do so that your uncle argued with you?

*Mi **nyaamu** nyiiri ndi!*
I ate the cooked millet!

*Mi **yennu** Baaba!*
I said bad things to Father!

*Mi **yaaɓu** tummbude nde!*
I stepped on the calabash!

*Mi **fukki**!*
I am lying down!

*O **ɗaani**!*
She is sleeping!

*A **fiya** naa?*

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[121] See Section 8.F, p. 56 for a discussion of emphatic pronouns.

You were hit?
*Mi **fiya**!*
I was hit!

*O **fiya** de imo woya!*
He was hit and he is crying!

*Kanko ka, o **nyaamu** nyiiri ndi.*
As for him, he ate the cooked millet.

16. THE STATIVE

The Stative is an OTHER FOCUS verb FORM. As implied by the name, the Stative verb
FORM FOCUSES attention on the status or state of being of someone or something.
The Stative has two indicators of OTHER FOCUSING. First, the SUFFIX is lengthen – this
is especially apparent in the middle and passive VOICEs. Secondly, the natural word
order is upset. That is the "locator" occurs ahead of the verb rather than in its more
natural position after the verb. Vallette explains that this FORM indicates that
something has <u>here</u> happened. The <u>here</u>, or "locator," has a sort of combined
time/space meaning. *Na* is the locator in the first example and *-do*, attached to the
first person pronoun *mi*, is the locator in the second example.

> *Suudu ndu <u>na</u> **mawni**.*
> This hut [here/now] is big.

> *Mido woodi kolse.*
> I have a small herd.

Table 16.1 Conjugations of the Stative

Other Focused			
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Stative	*-i*	*-ii*	*-aa*
Negative Stative	*-aa*	ø[122]	ø[122]

The use of the Stative FORM is easy to spot because of the ever present "locators."
If the subject of the sentence is a noun, the particle "*na*" (it is here) is the "locator."
If the subject is a personal pronoun, the pronoun combines with the locator "*do*"
(here) to construct the long-form subject pronouns.[123] If the subject is one of the noun
class pronouns, an "e-" or "i-" is added to the beginning of the pronoun. See Table
16.2 below for the long-form subject pronouns used in the northern dialects. In the
Moosiire dialect the locator *na* is always used with the normal subject pronoun (see
Table 16.3 below). See Table 16.4 for the form of the long-form subject pronouns
used in Mahadaga.

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[122] The middle and passive voices do not have a Negative Stative FORM, rather the Negative Complete FORM is used.
[123] See Section 8.B, pp. 47-48 for a discussion of long-form subject pronouns.

Table 16.2 Long-Form Subject Pronouns[124]

PERSON	SINGUALAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	miɗo	Exclusive miɗen	Inclusive eɗen
SECOND	aɗa	oɗon	
THIRD			
SINGULAR NOUN CLASS		PLURAL NOUN CLASS	
o	imo/omo	*ɓe*	eɓe/iɓe
ɗam	eɗam/iɗam	*ɗe*	eɗe/iɗe
ɗum	eɗum/iɗum	*ɗi*	eɗi/iɗi
ka	eke/iki	*ko₂*	eko/iko
ki	eki/iki	*koy*	ekoy/ikoy
ko₁	eko/eko		
kal	ekal/ikal		
kol	ekol/ikol		
nde	ende/inde		
ndi	endi/inde		
ndu	endu/indu		
nga	enga/inga		
nge	enge/inge		
ngi	engi/ingi		
ngo	engo/ingo		
ngu	engu/ingu		
ngal	engal/ingal		
ngel	engel/ingel		
ngol	engol/ingol		

Table 16.3 Long-Form Subject Pronouns used in Moosiire[125]

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	na mi	Exclusive na min	Inclusive na en
SECOND	na a	na on	
THIRD	na o	na ɓe	

Table 16.4 Long-Form Subject Pronouns used in Mahadaga

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
FIRST	mino	Exclusive minen	Inclusive enen
SECOND	ana	onon	
THIRD	omo	eɓe	

---

[124] The long-form pronouns are used only with the Stative and Progressive verb FORMS.
[125] This way of forming long-form pronouns is used all over the country by the *Fulɓe*, but it is the exclusive form used in much of the *Moosiire* area.

A. Stative Indicates State of Being:

The Stative indicates a completed/accomplished state of being, a situation that will not likely change. Examples:

*Hamma Saydu **na naywi** sanne.*
Hamma Saydu is very old (is in the state of being very old).

***Eɓe anndi** ɗum.*
They know that (are in the state of knowing).

***Miɗo yidi** soodude na'i e pucci.*
I want to buy cows and horses (I am in the state of wanting, an accomplished fact).

*Bamako **na woɗɗi.***
Bamako is far away.

*Suudu ndu **na mawni.***
That hut is big.

Indu mawni.
It (the hut) is big.

*Nagge nge **na fooyi** sanne.*
That cow is very thin.

***Enge fooyi** sanne.*
It (the cow) is very thin.

***Imo jogii** na'i keewɗi.*
He owns many cows.

*Maryama **na fukkii.***
Maryama is lying down/sleeping.

***Miɗo anniyii** yaade Sebba jeɗɗiire waroore.*
I intend (am already in the state of intending) to go to Sebba next week.

*Araawa nga **na darii.***
The donkey is standing up.

Inga darii.
It (the donkey) is standing up.

The Stative forms what might be called "the many *na*'s," which function more or less as adjectives in Fulfulde. Technically they would be called "predicate adjectives" in English. They may be preceded by a noun or simply stated to describe some facet of the subject being discussed. One can say "*suudu ndu na mawni*" or simply "*indu mawni*" if the subject is obvious from the context. Commonly used *na*'s are the following:

Contrasting Statives	
na ɓadii - it's near	*na woɗɗi* - it's far
na boni - it's bad	*na moƴƴi* - it's good, nice, okay
na ɓuuɓi - it's cold *na feewi* - it's cold, well made	*na wuli* - it's hot
na darti - it's straight, true	*na onyii* - it's crooked
na ɗeppiɗi - it's flat	*na tamii* - it's round
na faaɗi - it's narrow	*na yaaji* - it's wide
na famɗi - it's small	*na mawni* - it's big
na hoyfi - it's light	*na teddi* - it's heavy
na juuti - it's long *na toowi* - it's tall	*na raɓɓiɗi* - it's short
na laaɓi - it's clean	*na tuuni* - it's dirty
na muddiɗi - it's blunt	*na seeɓi* - it's pointed *na weli* - its sharp
na naawi - it's painful	*na weli* – it is pleasurable
na haaɗi – it is bitter	*na weli* - it's good (tasting)
na selbi - it's dilute *na sewi* - it's thin	*na tekki* - it's thick
na ɲarɗi - it's beautiful *na wooɗi* - it's pretty, good	*na ɗaayi* – it's ugly
na taaɗi - it's slow, too late	*na yaawi* - it's fast
na tiiɗi - it's difficult, expensive	*na yaafi* - it's easy, cheap
na teeɲi - it's tight	*na yoli* – it's loose
Miscellaneous Statives	
na haaynii - it's amazing	*na heewi* - it's plenty
na heƴa - it's enough	*na lokkiɗi* - it's weak
na luggi - it's deep	*na nafa* - it's useful
na wooɗi - it's in existence	*na woowi* - it's normal, used to it

B. Stative used with Locators:

ɗo, ga, to: Long-form subject pronouns can be used with a locator such as *ɗo*, *ga*, or *to* to indicate location of someone or something.[126] The verb (probably *wonude*) has been dropped from the sentence which certainly would have been in the Stative FORM. Examples:

Miɗo woni ga. → *Miɗo ga.* I am here.

Imo woni toon. → *Imo toon.* He is there.

Eɓe ɗo. They are here.

Ina ga. It is here.

---

[126] See Section 8.G, p. 58 for a discussion of locators.

C. In Subordinate Clauses:

All the various subordinating TRIGGER WORDS (except *faa*) mentioned under the General Complete, Negative Complete, Relative Complete and Progressive can also call for a Stative verb FORM. This includes *si*, *fay si*, *sabo*, *yalla* and *salla*. In other words, if a Stative verb FORM is called for this will "trump" the use of either the General Complete, Relative Complete or Progressive verb FORMs, in a positively stated sentence, **despite** the presence of these TRIGGER WORDS. Likewise the Stative Negative will "trump" the Negative Complete if the clause is stated negatively.

In the examples the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined and the Stative FORMs are in bold type:

> *Si ngenndi **na mawni** mi lallan.*
> If the city is big I will get lost.

> *Fay si ngenndi **na mawni** a lallataa.*
> Even if the city is big you won't get lost.

> *Sabo henndu hannkin **na hulɓinii** wadi de mi wuurtaaki suudu am.*
> Because the wind last night was frightening is why I didn't leave my house.

> *Sabo ɣuwoonde na toɓa sanne leɗɗe toon **na maawni**.*[127]
> Because it rains a lot the trees there are big.

> *O haalaay* {Neg. Complete} *yalla galle makko **na mawni*** {Stative} *naa **mawnaa*** {Stative Neg.}.
> He did not say whether his compound is big or not.

D. Negative Stative:

The Stative has its own negative, as can be seen in both the Master Verb Chart and in Table 16.1. It is formed by the addition of the SUFFIX "*-aa*" to the verb ROOT, and connotes the meaning of not-being-in-the-state-of and the-state-of-being-is-not-likely-to-change in the future. Note that the Negative Stative is only used for active VOICE verbs. Middle and passive VOICE verbs use the Negative Complete to form their negatives. The long-form pronouns are not used, this being consistent since the state of being is **not** here/now existing. A frequently used Negative Stative is *wonaa*, often appearing as *wanaa* or *walaa*, which is translated differently in different contexts, but is basically the negative of *wonude* "to be, to exist." Examples:

> *Ɓe **anndaa** ɗum.*
> They don't know that (and probably will not in the future).

> *Suudu ndu **mawnaa**.*
> The hut is not big (and obviously will not get bigger).

> *Ndu **mawnaa**.*
> It (the hut) is not big.

> *Cofal ngal **famdaa**.*
> The chicken is not small.

---

[127] Of the various subordinators, *sabo* is the least fastidious in requiring a certain verb FORM in the two halves of a COMPLEX SENTENCE (a sentence with a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE in it). So it should not be too surprising that this example has a Stative FORM in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE.

*Ngal **famɗaa**.*
It (the chicken) is not small.

*Ouagadougou **woɗɗaa** fey.*
Ouagadougou is not far away at all (and will not get farther away).

*Mi **walaa** kaalisi.*
I don't have any money.

*Dum **walaa** nafaa.*
It has no use.

*Pobbi **ngalaa** ga joonin.*
There are no hyenas in the area now.

17. THE PROGRESSIVE (HABITUAL)

The Progressive is an OTHER FOCUS verb FORM. It either FOCUSes attention on an incomplete action – one which is in progress – or upon a habitual action.
The Progressive has two indicators of OTHER FOCUSING. The SUFFIX is lengthened, especially in the middle and passive conjugations, and the natural word order is upset. As with the Stative, there is a "locator" which occurs ahead of the verb indicating that something is happening <u>here</u>. The Progressive uses the same locative particle "*na*" and the same locative long-form pronouns as the Stative verb FORM. *Na* is the locator in the first example and *-ɗo*, attached to the first person pronoun *mi*, is the locator in the second example.

Fajiiri fuu tuubaaku oon <u>na</u> du'oo
Every morning that white persons prays [habitually].

*Mi<u>ɗo</u> **una** gawri.*
I am [here/now] pounding millet.

Table 17.1 Conjugations of the Progressive

Other Focused		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Progressive	*-a*	*-oo*	*-ee*

A. Used in Ongoing Action:
The Progressive indicates an ongoing action which is in process.
It can also indicate the very immediate future. If the latter is the case, the phrase *si Alla/Laamɗo jaɓii* or "if God wills" is frequently added to the sentence. Examples:

*Burayma **na yaha** misiide nde.*
Burayma is going to the mosque.

*Miɗen **moyƴina** torkooru makko, si Laamɗo jaɓii.*
We will fix his donkey cart, if God agrees.

*Lekki ki **na mawna** joonin.*
This tree is growing now.

Eki mawna joonin.
It (the tree) is growing now.

Eɓe pornyoo Kouri.
They are returning to Kouri.

Fatimata na roondoo tummbude kosam nde.
Fatimata is carrying the calabash of milk on her head.

Na'i ɗi na mbaaloo.
The cows are lying down.

Eɗi mbaaloo.
They (the cows) are lying down.

Gujjo na nanngee!
A thief is being caught!

Si gawri na unee, aɗa anndi laasara wari.
If millet is being pounded, you know that it is late afternoon.

B. Used for Habitual Actions:
When describing regularly reoccurring or habitual actions the Progressive FORM is employed. Examples:

Burayma na yaha misiide nde Aljuma fuu.
Burayma goes to the mosque every Friday.

Na'i ɗi na mbaaloo ley cukkuri kiikiiɗe fuu.
The cows lay down in the thicket every afternoon.

Imo una gawri laasara fuu.
She pounds millet every evening.

Rik na rema ngesa muɗɗum salifana fuu.
Rick hoes in his field every afternoon.

C. Use of Participial as Substitute for the Progressive:
There is one usage of the Participial FORM which occurs quite frequently that serves as a substitute for the Progressive and has the same progressive meaning.[128] Here are a few examples:

Mi jahoowo ɓunndu ndu.
I am going to the well.

On nyaamooɓe naa?
You are eating now?

On yiidooɓe? A'aa, bisimilla, min gaajotooɓe tan.
Are you having a private discussion? No, welcome (come on in) we are just talking.

---

[128] See also Section 14, p. 99.

D. In Sentences with Subordinate Clauses:

1. Following conditional *si* (if) clauses:
Either the Progressive or the General Incomplete can be used in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE following a CONDITIONAL *si* CLAUSE if the action of the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is incomplete.[129] The General Incomplete FORM would be used in cases where the action is future (to our way of thinking). The Progressive FORM would be used if the action is ongoing or habitual. The CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSES are underlined in the following examples and the Progressive FORMS are in bold type:

> *Si o yehii luumo* **imo soodana** *sukaaɓe kurakuraaji.*
> If he goes to market he buys (habitually) the children peanut rings.

> *Si imo wara wuro ɗo* **imo nyaama**, **imo fukkoo** *tan.*
> If he comes here he only eats and sleeps.

> *Si ɓe ɓira na'i maɓɓe* **iɓe kaɓɓa** *ɓiɓɓe na'i ɗi e koyɗe inniraaɓe majji.*
> If they milk their cows they tie the calves to the legs of their mothers.

> *Si polisi'en na ndaara talki yahooɓe e keekoy fu*, **iɓe teeta** *keekoy keewkoy*, **iɓe ndesa** *ɗi faa ɗi njoɓanee.*
> If the police are looking at the paper of those going on bikes they seize lots of bikes, they store them until the fine is paid.

2. Following conditional *fay si* (even if) clauses:
Either the Progressive, General Incomplete, or Relative FORMS may be used in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE following a CONDITIONAL (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSE using the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *fay si* (even if). The SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is underlined and the Progressive FORM is in bold type in the examples:

> *Fay si jannginoowo walaa toon* *sukaaɓe* **na njaha** *leekol.*
> Even if the teacher isn't there the children go to school.

> *Fay si/ko batiki ommbaa* *yimɓe* **na njaha** *toon nyannde fuu.*
> Even if/that the store is closed, people go there every day.

> *Fay si coggu gawri na tiiɗi* *yimɓe* **na cooda** *faa heewi.*
> Even if the price of millet is high people buy lots of it.

---

[129] For discussion of the General Incomplete in CONDITIONAL CLAUSES where the action is incomplete see Section 11.B.2.a, p. 74.

3. In subordinate clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *yalla* or *salla* (whether or not):
Yalla and *salla* has two usages that involve the Progressive:

a. *Yalla* or *salla* meaning "whether or not":
The conjunction y*alla* or *salla* can have the meaning "whether," "whether or not," or "if." If these words are found in a COMPLEX SENTENCE they function as subordinators. When the verbal action is complete and positively stated the General Complete is used. When relating to a Stative verb the Stative or Participial Complete verb FORMs are used. When the action is incomplete and positively stated either the Progressive or the General Incomplete is used. In the examples below the verb being acted on by the conjunction is in bold type and the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is underlined:

Deekiiko yamii kam salla o hewtii naa o hewtaay. (Gen. & Neg. Complete)
His wife asked me whether he arrived or not.

O haalaay salla mobel makko na yaawi naa yaawaa. (Stative & Stative Neg.)
He didn't say whether his car is fast or not.

O haalaay salla mobel makko wo kesel naa kiinngel. (Participial)
He didn't say whether his truck was new or used.

Mi anndaa yalla imo nyiɓa benal hikka. (incomplete action – Progressive)
I don't know whether he will build a brick house this year.

O yamii ma yalla hoore maa na naawa. (incomplete action – Progressive)
He asked you whether (or not) your head hurts.

Yamaa o yalla o hirsan ndamndi naa o hirsataa . (incomplete action – Gen. Inc.)
You should ask him whether (or not) he will butcher a (male) goat.

b. *Yalla* or *salla* meaning "so that' or "in order that":
"*Yalla*" or "*Salla*" can also serve as a subordinator having the meaning "so that" or "in order that," after which the Progressive is used. In the examples the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is underlined and the Progressive FORMs are in bold type.

Imo golla to tuubaaku yalla imo heɓa ko o nyaama.
He is working for the white man so that he will have something to eat.

Ɓe ngaddii o Tenkodogo yalla imo heɓa safaare.
They brought her to Tenkodogo so that she could get medicine.

Yimɓe wuro ɓe ndokkeke Laamɗo yalla kammu na toɓa.
The people of the town prayed to God so that it would rain (or prayed to God for rain).

Ndaroɗen ga yalla pucci ɗi na poofta.
Let's stop here so the horses can rest.

Piloɗen ɓoggi ɗiɗi yalla dabaaji ɗi na njarnee law.
Let's get two well ropes so that the animals can be watered in a hurry.

18. THE SUBJUNCTIVE

The Subjunctive can be a slippery FORM which appropriately has no complete ASPECT and permits a speaker to be vague and non-committal about the present and future. It allows that something could happen, or should happen, or may happen, but makes no promises. The Subjunctive keeps the speaker from appearing to prescribe fate, to play God. It is clearly an OTHER FOCUS FORM seeming to FOCUS on its own indefiniteness.

In spite of the indefiniteness of the Subjunctive, many of its uses are in very regular clearly discerned contexts, such as after *faa* or *sanaa* and so forth (A-F below). At least 60% of the battle for the Subjunctive can be won by simply using it correctly in these more fixed contexts. There are, however, some usages (G-H below) which are less consistent or less easily explained. These more slippery usages appear to have a common characteristic in that the sentences in which they appear seem to portray, in a *Pullo's* mind, some sort of cause and effect linkage. The effect or result is then generally put in the Subjunctive FORM, although at times it may be in some other incomplete FORM.

The Subjunctive clearly demonstrates the lengthening feature of OTHER FOCUS FORMs, but it only demonstrates the word order changes in three of the seven PERSONs rather than in four of the seven as in the Relative.

Table 18.1 Basic Conjugations of the Subjunctive[130]

Other Focused			
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Subjunctive	*-a*	*-oo*	*-ee*

Table 18.2 Full Subjunctive Paradigm

	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb	suuɗude	suuɗaade	suuɗeede
PERSON ↓			
Singular			
FIRST	*mi suud-a*	*mi suud-oo*	*mi suud-ee*
SECOND	*cuud-aa*	*cuudod-aa*	*cuud-edaa*
THIRD	*o suud-a*	*o suud-oo*	*o suud-ee*
Plural			
FIRST EXCLUSIVE	*min cuud-a*	*min cuud-oo*	*min cuud-ee*
FIRST INCLUSIVE	*cuud-en*	*cuud-oden*	*cuud-eden*
SECOND	*cuud-on*	*cuud-odon*	*cuud-edon*
THIRD	*ɓe cuud-a*	*ɓe cuud-oo*	*ɓe cuud-ee*

---

[130] Note that the Subjunctive SUFFIXes are exactly the same as those of the Progressive FORM. However, unlike the Progressive FORM, the Subjunctive does not use locative particles in conjunction with the verb.

The subjunctive is used in the following 8 situations:
- after verbs of obligation when the action required is incomplete
- after *faa* when the action is incomplete
- with indirect discourse when action is incomplete
- after *yiɗude*
- after a verb in the Imperative FORM
- with polite commands
- after the relative pronoun *ko*
- in a series of verbs

As can be seen by a perusal of this list, the Subjunctive is the verb FORM often pressed into service when the action described by the verb is incomplete. Here are the details:

A. After Verbs of Obligation:
The *Fulɓe* use a variety of verbs to denote obligation. The weakest expression of obligation would be the verb *haanude* (should). Then come the auxiliary verb *sanaa* and its synonyms (should, must).[131] Even more forceful are the auxiliary verbs *tilay* and *waajibi*, and the verbs *tilsude* and *waajibaade* (absolutely must do). When the action is incomplete, the Subjunctive is always used after these verbs of obligation. When the action is complete the Relative Complete is used.[132] In the examples the verbs of obligation are underlined and the Subjunctive forms are in bold type:

*Na haani mi **ɲotta** yaade luumo ngo hannden.*
I should rest from going to the market today.

*Na haani o **sooda** puccu nguun.*
He should buy the horse [that we have been talking about].

*Sanaa mi **suddoo** sabo jaangol na heewi.*
I must (it is necessary for me to) cover up because it is cold.

*Sey mi **sooda** na'i sabo miɗo hoɗi ley pulaaku.*
I must buy cows since I am living in the Fulbe community.

*Kanaa mi **nyalmoo** kaalisi faa mi heɓa ko mi nyaama.*
I must borrow some money so that I will have something to eat.

*Tilay mi **waala** gese hannden sabo na'i kewtii ɗakkol ngesa am.*
I must spend the night in the fields because some cows have arrive next to my field.

*Waajibi **kokkitaa** o sabo kanko jey.*
You must give [it] to him because it is his.

*Joonin kaa na tilsi **njoppen** golle o sabo jemma warii.*
Now we must stop this work because night has come.

*Na waajibii ɓe **ngara** ɗo iidi fuu.*
They must come here for every religious feast.

---

[131] *Sanaa* is a contraction of *si wanaa*. Other forms of this adverb are: *kanaa, say, sey.*
[132] See Section 13.F, p. 98 for a discussion of the use of the Relative Complete with *sanaa*.

B. After *faa*:[133]

When the action described is <u>incomplete</u>, a verb after *faa* (until/so that) will nearly always take the Subjunctive. When the action is complete, the General Complete is used.[134] Contrast the first two examples. In the first example the action in the subordinate clause introduced by *faa* is incomplete, hence the Subjunctive is used. In the second example the action in the clause is complete so the General Complete verb FORM is employed. The SUBOR-DINATE CLAUSES are underlined in the examples and the Subjunctive FORMs are in bold type.

> *Ɓe ngollan <u>faa ɓe **tampa**</u>.*
> They will work until they are completely worn out.

> *Ɓe ngollii <u>faa ɓe tampii</u>.*
> They worked until they were completely worn out.

> *Dewte Fulfulde ɓe njanngata <u>faa ɓe **ɓeyda** ɓaamu</u>.*
> It's Fulfulde books they will study until/so that they increase their understanding.

> *Si o yi'ii tuubaaku o ɓeydan coggu <u>faa **tiiɗa**</u>.*
> If/when he sees a white person he will increase the price so that it is very expensive.

C. In Indirect Discourse:

When the action described is <u>incomplete</u>, the Subjunctive is used in indirect discourse, that is after such constructions as "He said that...", "I heard that...", etc.[135] In the examples below the phrases indicating the indirect discourse are underlined and the Subjunctive FORMs are in bold type:

> <u>*Mi nanii o wa'owii hudo faa o **nyiɓa** suudu deekiiko*</u>.[136]
> I heard he went to cut grass so that he can build a hut for his wife.

> <u>*O wi'ii ɓiyiiko **sotta** na'i mum faa **laaɓa***</u>.[136]
> He told his son to sell all his cows (until not one was left).

D. After *yidude*:

The Subjunctive is often used after *yidude* (to want/to need). This can take on the form of a Polite Imperative or simply express a desire. For example:

> *Miɗo yiɗi **coodanaa** kam somay to luumo toon.*
> I want you/would like you to buy some ingredients for the sauce at the market for me.

> *Miɗo yiɗi **ngaddanaa** kam caaku mo coodumi hecci keeɲan.*
> I want you/would like you to bring the sack I bought the day before yesterday.

---

[133] It should be noted that the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION *taa* functions as the negative counterpart to *faa*, literally meaning "so that not." See Section 20D, p. 127 for a discussion of *taa* used with the Imperative.

[134] See Section 11.A.3.c, p. 72 for a discussion of the use of the General Complete with *faa*.

[135] When the action is *complete*, the General Complete is used - see Section 11.A.4, p. 73.

[136] *Nyiɓa* and *laaɓa* are cases of the Subjunctive used after the CONJUNCTION *faa* in a situation where the action is incomplete – see point 18.B above.

*Miɗo yiɗi **paaboɗaa** kam e golle o.*
I want you/would like you to help me with this work.

*Dokotoro o na yiɗi mi **yaha** Abidjan.*
The doctor wants me to go to Abidjan.

E. After an Imperative:

The Subjunctive is often used after an Imperative.[137] Examples:

*Yah **lootaa** yeeso maa!*
Go and wash your face!

*War **nanngaa** ɓoggol ngol!*
Come take this rope!

*Accu mi **yaha** to baabam.*
Let me go to my father.

*Yoppu nge **yara** faa haara.*
Let it (the cow) drink until it's full.

*War **nyaamen**!*
Come, let's eat!

F. Used with Polite Commands:

The Subjunctive is used for polite commands and with polite negative command.[138] Some further examples:

***Coodanaa** kam caaku maaro Fada.*
Please buy me a sack of rice in Fada.

***Njehen njuulen** misiide.*
Let's go pray at the mosque.

***Ndiiwen** baali ɗiin taa ɗi mbonna jardin.*
Let's chase the sheep away so that they do not ruin the garden.

***Taa accon** baali ɗiin mbonna sardiɲe am!*
Don't let those sheep ruin my garden.

G. After the Relative Pronoun *ko*:

The Subjunctive is used after the relative pronoun "*ko*" when the relative clause describes the fulfillment of a need such as eating, drinking, to buy something, etc. In the examples the relative clauses are in bold, and the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined:

*O yehii luumo <u>faa o filoo **ko o nyaama**</u>.*[139]
He went to the market in order to look for that which he could eat.

---

[137] This usage is explained more fully in Section 20.C, p. 126 on the Imperative.
[138] Also see Section 20.B, p. 125. In reality the *Fulɓe* rarely use such polite expressions.
[139] In diagramming this sentence, *O yehii luumo* is the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. "*Faa*" is acting as a subordinator so everything following it is underlined as a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. However, within this particular SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is a relative clause (bold type). Remember, relative clauses are often SUBORDINATE CLAUSES – so we have a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE within a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE! Finally note that the relative clause acts as the object of the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

*O heewaa kaalisi, kaa o heɓii **ko o nyaama**.*[140]
He doesn't have a lot of money, but (at least) he has that which he can eat.

*Miɗo yiɗi baaji **ko mi nyiɓtoroo suudu am**.*[141]
I would like some bark rope with which I can rebuild my hut.

*Imo yiɗi **ko o nyaama tan**.*[142]
He only wants that which he could eat.

H. With a Series of Verbs:

Where a series of verbs is used to describe an action, or series of closely related actions which are habitual or could/might happen, the Subjunctive is used for all the verbs except the following: for the first verb (which usually indicates the ASPECT), in cases where some other facet of the action might need to be emphasized such as Progressive or Negative, or the presence of some other grammatical feature in the sentence which requires something other than the Subjunctive (in a sense overrides the Subjunctive) - as after *yalla* or *salla*. This is clearly one of the more difficult uses of the Subjunctive. The Subjunctive FORMs in the examples are in bold type:

*Nyannde fuu nde rewɓe ɓeen pinii fajiri, ɓe loowan jollooji maɓɓe kosam, ɓe **njonka** faa **ɗaata** de ɓe **ndoondoo**, ɓe **njaara** luumo. Ɓe **nyalla**, eɓe njiiltoo faa terde maɓɓe **tayʼa**. Haya, si ɓe keɓii kaalisi, ndeen kaa ɓe **comoo**, ɓe **cooda** somay de ɓe **ndoondoo** tummbude maɓɓe, hono noon ɓe **koota** cuudi maɓɓe.*

Every day when the women get up, they fill up their (butter churns) calabashes with milk, they churn it until smooth (soft), then they put their load of milk on their head and bring it into the market. They stay there all day, they wander around until they are very tired. Anyway, if they earn some money, then they look for condiments, they buy condiments, then they put their calabashes on their heads and like this they return home.

*Nyannde fuu si duroowo nyallii, na dura faa sallifana fu, wartan de **hooya** lokuurem de **yaha** ɓulli de **wecca** walka faa **heewa** de naʼi muuɗum **ngara njara** faa **ɗomɗita** de **riiwa** naʼi ɓireteeɗi **yaara** wuro de **hooyʼa** tummbude muuɗum, **ɓira** naʼi ɗiin de **nanna** suudum, **tawa** deekum defii de **nyaama** faa **haara** de **toɓɓa**.*

Every day if a herdsman spends the day herding until early afternoon [he] will the take his calabash and rope and go to the well and fill the water trough so that his cows can come and drink until [they] are no longer thirsty, then he chases the milking cows home and he takes his calabash and milks those cows, then he enters his house and finds his wife has cooked a meal that [he] eats until he is full, then he mixes what's left with milk [and drinks it].

---

[140] This is a COMPOUND SENTENCE . The second INDEPENDENT CLAUSE however, has a relative clause within it. As in the above example the relative clause is the object of this INDEPENDENT CLAUSE.

[141] This is a COMPLEX SENTENCE composed of an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE and a relative (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSE. In this case the relative clause functions as an adjective describing the noun *baaji*.

[142] *Imo yiɗi* is a INDEPENDENT CLAUSE and *ko o nyaama tan* is a relative (SUBORDINATE) CLAUSE. This relative clause functions as the direct object of the sentence.

19. THE INFINITIVE

English and French speakers tend to think of the infinitive as the ROOT of the verb while in Fulfulde the Infinitive is a conjugated form, that is, there are endings that are added to the verb ROOT to create the Infinitive.[143] In English we have one Infinitive FORM which is the lexical form (the word listed in the dictionary).[144] In Fulfulde there are two Infinitive verb FORMs. In the dictionary the first Infinitive FORM is the lexeme and is listed in bold type. The second Infinitive FORM is listed in italics right behind the first Infinitive FORM. Despite these differences, the usage of the Infinitive is very similar to that in English or French. In English Infinitive FORMs are used when two verbs are used in tandem, with auxiliary verbs, and also can serve as nouns.
In Fulfulde the first Infinitive FORM is used in all three of those cases and the second Infinitive FORM serves as a verbal nominal. The Infinitive verb FORMs are NON-FOCUSed. They are ASPECT neutral and thus ASPECT can only be shown by accompanying verbs or context.

Table 19.1 Conjugations of First & Second Infinitive Forms

Non-Focused			
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
First Infinitive	*-ude**	*-aade*	*-eede*
Second Infinitive	*-ugol**	*-agol*	*-egol*

*Note that in different dialects of Fulfulde the active VOICE *-u-* may or may not be present. The *-u* is generally retained for roots ending with a double consonant or a consonantal stop such as *b, ɓ, d ɗ, g, k, p, and t*, whereas it tends to be dropped for the other consonants.

A. As Second Verb:

In sentences in which two verbs are used in tandem, the second verb will take the first Infinitive FORM, if the second verb is functioning as a verb. If the second verb functions as a noun then they would use the second Infinitive FORM. The Infinitive FORMs are in bold type:

*O yehii **noddude** Saadu.*
He went to call Saadu.

*O warii **jooɗaade** yeeso kawrital.*
He came to sit in front of the meeting.

*Mayrama yehii **tufeede**.*
Mayrama went to be injected.

*Mayrama yehii **tufegol**.*
Mayrama went to the vaccination program.

---

[143] Generally English infinitives are the present tense form of the verb.
[144] Actually the Infinitive FORM of English verbs includes "to" where the lexical form is listed without the "to."

B. With Auxiliary Verbs:

The first Infinitive FORM is often used with an auxiliary verb.
Some common auxiliary verbs are listed below in Table 19.2.

Table 19.2 Auxiliary Verbs

Active Voice	
anndude	to know
haanude	should do
haɗude	to hinder, prevent
heɓude	to have, obtain
hesude	about to, almost
jaɓude	to agree
suusude	to dare
tilsude	must do
waawude	can, able to
wayrude	to be awhile since
woowude	to be used to
yiɗude	to need, like, love
Middle Voice	
anniyaade	intend to do
fellisaade	to decide to do something brave
filaade	to look for
heɓindaade	to have time, be able to
heddaade	to remain, still be
Passive Voice	
haajeede	to need
hilleede	to care about

The auxiliary verbs are conjugated and underlined in the examples while the first Infinitive FORMS are in bold type:

*Mi <u>waawaa</u> **warde** joonin.*
I cannot come now.

*Miɗo <u>yiɗi</u> **soodude** puccu.*
I want to buy a horse.

*O <u>hesii</u> **yaaɓude** mboddi ndi.*
He just about stepped on the snake.

*Miɗo <u>woowi</u> **yaade** toon.*
I am used to going there.

*Mi <u>jaɓaay</u> **nyaagaade** moodibbo o fey.*
I didn't agree at all to plead with the marabout.

*Imo <u>anniyii</u> **dursitaade** dewtere nde fuu.*
He intends to memorize the whole book.

*Aɗa <u>heddi</u> **waawude** ummaade naa?*
You can still get up?

*Suka oon <u>suusii</u> **tufeede**.*
That child was brave to be injected.

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C. Infinitives with *fadde*:

The adverb *fadde* (before) deserves special mention because of the unique way it is used, often involving Infinitive FORMS. *Fadde* is used with one of two formulations:

    1. It is used with a possessive pronoun plus and Infinitive verb FORM. For example:

        Pilođon, nji'on o fadde mon runnyude.
        Look for and see him before you leave.

        Fadde am runnyude gese mi yahan suudu makko.
        Before I go to the fields I will go to his house.

    2. It is also use with time (*fadde* + time). For example:

        Fadde futuro ngaraa.
        Before sundown [you] come.

        Fadde Ase warde tawan mi runnyii.
        Before Saturday comes it will be found that I have left.

D. Infinitives as Nouns:

Verbal Infinitives can also function as nouns in a sentence.[145] Both the first and second Infinitives are often used in this capacity. In the examples the Infinitive FORMS are in bold type:[146]

    Yoɓude *lampo na tiiđi.*
    Paying taxes is difficult.

    Waayde yarde *woni naawalla Korka.*
    To go without drinking is the hard part of Ramadan.

    Jooɗaade *heese na tiiđi e suka oon.*
    Sitting still is hard for that child.

    Mooreede *na weli o sanne.*
    Having her hair done pleases her a great deal.

    *O wađii kile keewđe e **suudugol** nyawu makko.* (*suudude*)
    On many occassion he hid his disease.

    *O yarii ɓooɗe kile keewđe e **suudagol**.* (*suudaade*)
    He took drugs many times while hiding.

    *O nyaamii toon e **suudegol**.* (*suudeede*)
    He ate there while being hidden.

---

[145] In Section 14, p. 98 *ff.* we saw how the Participial FORM also uses verbs as nominals.
[146] In translating these Infinitive nominal FORMS we can generally use either the Infinitive FORM in English, e.g. **to go**, or the gerund FORM, e.g. **going**.

E. Forming Nouns from Verbs

Beside using the Second Infinitive SUFFIXes (-ugol, -agol, egol) to create nouns, there is a series of other SUFFIXes that can be added to various words, usually a verb ROOT, to create a noun. This is very similar to the -er (baker), -ist (evangelist), -ism (heathenism), and other SUFFIXes in English with which anyone can create words (creationist, reformism) if need be.

In Fulfulde, as in English, many of these nouns are fixed words with fixed usages, but in other cases these SUFFIXes can be added to a verb ROOT or a noun to create a new word to meet the needs of the occasion. *Natirgal*, for example, can be used to designate a "camera," for which there is no word in Fulfulde. *-nkooɓe* could be added to any town or region name to indicate the people that come from that town or area.   The first three examples below use the INFIX *-ir-* to give the meaning "the-thing-with-which" or "the-place-where" one does something. These SUFFIXes are listed in the far left column of Table 19.3 below.

Table 19.3 Suffixes Added to Verb Root to Create Nouns

suffix	meaning	example	meaning
-irde	a place	*janng-irde*	school
-irgal	a thing	*nanng-irgal*	a thing for taking out, tweezers for example, also a camera
-orde	a thing	*haɓɓ-orde*	hobble for a horse
-aaku/-aagu	a place a quality of being	*loot-orde* *kiikiid-aaku* *pul-aaku* *ngorg-aaku* *haasid-aaku* *neetar-aaku*	bathing area during the afternoon of being Fulɓe, Fulɓe community courage, of being manly jealousy impoliteness
-nkooɓe	a people	*Moosink-ooɓe* *Gurmank-ooɓe*	Mossi people Gourma people
-nke	a person	*Moos-inke* *Gurm-anke*	a Mossi a Gourma
-nkoore	a language	*Farans-inkoore* *Moos-inkoore* *Gurm-ankoore*	French language Moré Gourmanche

20. THE IMPERATIVE

As in most languages, the Imperative is used to give commands. However, there is a difference between our usage and *Fulɓe* usage of this verb FORM. Simply stated *Fulɓe* use the Imperative much more quickly and in many more situations than we would. The reasons for this are cultural. Some of us find direct commands to be impolite unless one knows the individual well or the person addressed is much younger than oneself. Whereas the *Fulɓe*, living as they do in closely inter-tangled communities where nearly everyone is a relative or known well to the speaker, have developed a frank (blunt?) style of speech. There exists a polite form of imperative described in this section, but many of us would want to over use the polite form. If one wants to speak good Fulfulde note how the *Fulɓe* use the Imperative and imitate them.

Table 20.1 Conjugations of Imperative Form

Non-Focused			
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive
Singular	-u/ø	-a	-e
Plural	-ee	-ee	-ee
Imperative Negative	taa/tinna taa/tinta followed by the Imperative		

A. In Urgent Commands:
The Imperative verb FORM is used to both express a command to someone else and to convey a sense of urgency at the same time. Examples:

Hootu!
Go home!

Nanngu daago ngo!
Grab that mat!

War ga!
Come here!

Yah to!
Go there!

Nyaam faa kaaraa!
Eat until you are full!

Doggu law!
Hurry up!

Jooɗa dow daago ngo!
Sit on the mat!

Henya law!
Hurry up (get it quickly)!

Umma gilla o waraay!
Get up before he comes!

Dara caggal taabawal ngal!
Stand behind the table!

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Kootee!
Go home!

Nanngee daago ngo!
Take the mat!

Ngaree ga!
Come here!

Njahee to!
Go there!

Nyaamee faa kaaron!
Eat until you are full!

Ndogee law!
Hurry up (get it quickly)!

Njooɗee dow daago ngo!
Sit on the mat!

Kenyee law!
Hurry up!

Ummee gilla o waraay!
Get up before he comes!

B. The Polite Imperative:

The Polite Imperative is formed with the Subjunctive. It softens the force of the Imperative by taking on the sense of "you should" or in the plural of "let's." It also is less urgent. If you want someone to do something in a day or in a month this is the tense to use. Full conjugations for the Polite Imperative, formed with the Subjunctive, are shown below in bold in Table 20.2. The third person singular and plural would only be used in the case of the third PERSON Imperative (see 20.E below).

Table 20.2 Full Conjugations for Polite Imperative Form (Subjunctive)

	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb →	suuɗude	suuɗaade	suuɗeede
PERSON ↓			
Singular			
FIRST	mi suuɗa	mi suuɗoo	mi suuɗee
SECOND	**cuuɗaa**	**cuuɗoɗaa**	**cuuɗeɗaa**
THIRD	o suuɗa	o suuɗoo	o suuɗee
Plural			
FIRST EXCLUSIVE	min cuuɗa	min cuuɗoo	min cuuɗee
FIRST INCLUSIVE	**cuuɗen**	**cuuɗoɗen**	**cuuɗeɗen**
SECOND	**cuuɗon**	**cuuɗoɗen**	**cuuɗeɗon**
THIRD	ɓe cuuɗa	ɓe cuuɗoo	ɓe cuuɗee

Note that for the active VOICE the *-u* is generally retained for roots ending with a double consonant or a consonantal stop such as *b, ɓ, d, ɗ g, p and t*, whereas it tends to be dropped for the other consonants.

Examples:

Kootaa.
Go home/you should return home.

Nanngaa daago ngo.
Take the mat/you should take the mat.

Nanngen daage ɗe.
Let's take the mats.

Ngaraa ga.
Come here/you should come here.

Njahaa to.
Go over there/you should go over there.

Njehen to.
Let's go over there.

Njooɗoɗaa dow leeso ngo.
Sit on the bed/you should sit on the bed.

Njooɗoɗen dow leeso ngo.
Let's sit on the bed.

Yamaa o.
Ask him/you should ask him.

Yamen o.
Let's ask him.

C. **Two Imperatives Used Together:**
When two Imperatives are used together, the second is often in the Polite or Subjunctive FORM. If the first verb is a Polite FORM, then the second must also be a Polite FORM. Examples:

Ngaree, nyaamen.
Come, let's eat.

War, njooɗoɗaa dow leeso ngo. OR *War, jooɗa dow leeso ngo.*
Come sit on the bed.

Yah to, nanngaa daago ngo.
Go there and take the mat.

Njehon, yamon o.   OR *Njehee, yamee o.*   OR *Njehee, yamon o.*
Why don't you go ask him.   OR   Go ask him.   OR   Go ask him

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D. **The Negative Imperative:**

All of the above FORMS, both the regular Imperative and the Polite Imperative, can be put in the negative by placing *taa* at the head of the sentence.[147]   It should be noted that when *taa* is used with the Imperative it acts as a negative auxiliary to the verb. But when it is used with either the Negative Polite Imperative (Subjunctive) or the Desiderative it acts as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION. However, *taa* does not subordinate when used with the Negative Imperative. Examples:

> *Taa yah toon!*
> Don't go there!
>
> *Tinta nyaam ɗum!*
> Don't eat that!
>
> *Tinna taa kootaa tafon, ngaajoɗen seeɗa.*
> Don't return home yet, let's talk for awhile.
>
> *Taa jooɗa, yaare na toon!*
> Don't sit down, there's a scorpion there!

E. **A Third Person Imperative:**

Used when a third party is passing on the orders or commands of another.
Either the Imperative or the Subjunctive (polite form) could be used.
The Imperative FORM is in bold type in the examples below:

> *Sule wi'ii ɓe, "Jom na'i wi'ii taa duroowo **accu** na'i muuɗum njolba naa domɗa."* (Imperative)
> Sule said to them, "The owner of the cows said that the herdsman must not allow his cows to be either hungry or thirsty."
>
> *Sule wi'ii ɓe, "Jom na'i wi'ii taa duroowo **acca** na'i muuɗum njolba naa domɗa."* (Subjunctive)
> Sule said to them, "The owner of the cows said that the herdsman should not allow his cows to be either hungry or thirsty."
>
> *Wi'u o naata.*
> Tell him to enter.

21. THE DESIDERATIVE

The Desiderative verb FORM is used in certain situations to express wishes or desires. It is especially used in the many expressions of Godspeed or blessing which are continually expressed by the *Fulɓe*. As you will soon notice, *Alla/Laamɗo* is very central to the *Fulɓe*. They do not know him in a personal way as Christians might since *Alla* and fate are closely linked and very impersonal in *Fulɓe* theology. However, he is seen as the author of both good and evil, and very much in control of all things. Therefore, the *Fulɓe* do two things: one, they frequently express their hope that *Alla* or fate will be positively disposed towards another's situation by using many wishful expressions in the Desiderative FORM. Two, they hedge their bets on the

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[147] Cognates of *taa* include: *tinna taa* or *tinta*. In the Sebba region *ta* and *to* are also used.

future by frequently adding *"si Alla jaɓii"* or "if God agrees," whenever describing plans for the future.

The Desiderative FORM is more or less ASPECT neutral. It does not exactly parallel the DECLARATIVE verbal FORMS as it does not affect the word order in sentences, and it does not have complete/incomplete FORMS, but it does lengthen the SUFFIX in the middle and passive VOICEs. The latter may simply signal that there is certainly no more than weak ASPECT FOCUS, since in actuality this FORM is rather indifferent to ASPECT/time altogether.

<p align="center">Table 21.1 Basic Desiderative Conjugations</p>

Non-Focused			
Voice →	Active Voice	Middle Voice	Passive Voice
Desiderative Mood	-u/ø	-o	-e
Desiderative Negative	taa/tinna taa/tinta followed by the Desiderative		

A. In Expressions of Blessing and Godspeed:
In these expressions the *wo/yo* (check which of these is used in your area) may or may not be used depending on the speaker; it has been included in the following examples more or less randomly. It could be translated as "may." There are several possible responses to these sayings, all of which are valid in any situation: *aamiin, aamiina yaa Allaahu, amina yaarabbi.* A response must be given, sometimes if one is inattentive another will give a response or the blessing will be repeated until a response is received. Examples of commonly used blessings are:

Wo Alla ɓeydu jam!
May God increase (your) peace!

Alla yaafin!
May God ease your way!

Alla famɗin!
May God diminish (your trouble)!

Alla newnu!
May God ease/make gentle your way!

Wo Alla moyƴin!
May God fix it (make it good)!

Wo Alla hokku!
May God give it!

Wo Laamɗo dannu en!
May God deliver us!

Wo Alla dannu en baasi mum!
May God deliver us from this evil!

Wo Laamɗo reendu en!
May God protect us!

Alla jaɓu!
May God agree!

Alla jaabo!
May God answer!

Wo Alla humtu haaje maa!
May God cause you to succeed with your affairs!

Wo Alla humtene haaje maa!
May God cause you to succeed with your affairs!

Wo Alla mooɓu!
May God keep/protect (them/it)!
(Said when cows or larger items are lost.)

Wo Alla hollu en ndeen!
May God show us/save us until then!

Wo Laamɗo hinno o, yaafo o!
May God save him, forgive him! (Said at funerals or to relatives or friends of
the deceased when news of a death arrives.)

Jam wonan en!
May we all find peace!

B. The Desiderative Negative:

In phrases where the prevention of something occurring is the expressed
desire, the Desiderative FORM is used with the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION
taa.[148] It is indeed similar in meaning and in its effect to the Negative
Imperative and is often used following an imperative expression, but in this
case the *taa* is followed by the Desiderative verb FORM rather than the
Imperative. In the examples the SUBORDINATE CLAUSEs have been
underlined:

Nanngen araawa nga taa nga bonnu gawri ndi.
Let's catch the donkey so that it does not ruin the millet.

Be kullan tinta a waasu hokkude.
They are afraid you will not give.

Kooten tinna taa jemma tawu en ɗo.
Let's return home before night finds us here.

Suuɗowa taa kumaandaw o suɓe!
Go hide so that the Commandant doesn't choose you!

A hokkii o kaalisi taa o nyamlo goɗɗo?
You gave her money so that she won't borrow from someone else?

Kaalanaa o taa o hapto.
Explain it to him so that he does not get angry.

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[148] Cognates of *taa* include: *tinna taa, tinta.* It means "so that it does not." See also Section 25, p. 145, on
subordination.

22. THE PASSIVE VOICE

The passive VOICE has more or less the same function in Fulfulde as in English or French, in other words the action of the verb was meted out on the subject. The main difference may be that in Fulfulde the agent who did the action is usually not stated. If there is a known agent, and it is stated, then the verb is usually in the active VOICE. For example, instead of saying "*o fiyaama Burayma*," "he was hit by Burayma," it would be stated as "*Burayma fiyii o*," "Burayma hit him."

The passive is used quite often and in all the same places and with the same rules and guidelines as for the other voices. In other words, there are no special rules for the passive that override the usages of the Relative or the Subjunctive or other verb FORMS.

See Table 9.1 on page 64 for a full listing of the passive VOICE base FORMs.

The following are a collation of examples scattered throughout this grammar, along with a few other useful expressions (the passive verb FORMs are underlined):

Mi nanii <u>wi'aama</u>...
I have heard it said...

Fatimata <u>rimaama</u> gilla mi hoɗaay Tenkodogo.[149]
Fatimata was born before I came to live in Tenkodogo.

Keeŋan tan nyalehel ngel <u>rimaa</u>.[150]
It was just yesterday that this calf was born.

Ngele <u>rimaa</u> keeŋan?[151]
Which one [calf] was born yesterday?

Warɓe jooɗeke faa laasara <u>juulaa</u>.[152]
The ones who came (visitors) sat until the third prayer had been prayed.

O bonnii jawdi laamu de o <u>nanngaa</u>.[153]
He embezzled government funds so he was arrested.

Wuyɓe na keewi Abidjan, yoga <u>nanngaaɓe</u>, yoga <u>yoppaaɓe</u> mbujjan katin.[154]
There are many thieves in Abidjan, some have been caught, some have been let go and will steal again.

Hollam na'i <u>ɓireteeɗi</u>. Baleewe e waale-woɗeewe tan keddi <u>na ɓiree</u>.[154]
Show me the cows that are being milked. Only the black one and white faced brown one are still being milked.

Gujjo <u>na nanngee</u>![155]
A thief is being caught!

Si gawri <u>na unee</u>, aɗa anndi laasara wari.[155]
If millet is being pounded, you know that it is late afternoon.

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[149] General Complete, Section 11.A.1, p. 67
[150] Relative Complete, Section 13.A, p. 84
[151] Relative Complete, Section 13.C, p. 89
[152] Relative Complete, Section 13.E.2, p. 95
[153] Relative Complete, Section 13.E.3, p. 96
[154] Participial, Section 14, p. 103
[155] Progressive, Section 17.A, p. 112

23. THE PRETERITE

The Preterite is the only true TENSE in Fulfulde. It indicates that an event definitely occurred in the past. It is the equivalant to the English Past Perfect tense, which is usually rendered as "had." It can be added to most verb FORMs including the Participial. The Preterite does have OTHER FOCUSed and ASPECT FOCUSed FORMs, although the lengthening of the OTHER FOCUSed FORMs is not always carried out consistently.

The Preterite is formed by adding either the SUFFIX "-no" or "-noo" to the conjugated verb. A listing for the base SUFFIXes added to the verb ROOT are listed in Table 23.1.[156] Note the SUFFIXes in Table 23.1 are an amalgamation of the verb FORM's normal SUFFIX with the Preterite SUFFIX. Which verb FORM is being used will determine where the Preterite SUFFIX is added. It is worth noting that for the General and Negative FORMs a simple Preterite SUFFIX "-no" is tacked on to the end of the normal verb FORM's SUFFIX. With the Relative, Stative and Progressive FORMs the Preterite affects the normal verb FORM's SUFFIX, especially in the active VOICE. Generally the normal verb FORM's SUFFIX is simply shortened in the middle and passive VOICE CONJUGATIONs. With the Participial FORM the Preterite's SUFFIX is actually inserted between the VOICE/ASPECT marker and the class marker.[157] There is the same shortening of the normal verb FORM's SUFFIX in the middle and passive voices for the Participial's Preterite endings. The Participial's normal active FORM SUFFIX is not affected by the Preterite's SUFFIX. Finally, note that not all the verb FORMs listed in the master verb chart (Table 9.1 and Table 23.1 below) use the Preterite.

Table 23.1 Basic Conjugations for the Preterite

Aspect →	Complete			Incomplete		
Voice →	Active	Middle	Passive	Active	Middle	Passive
Form ↓	Aspect Focused					
General	-ii·no	-eke·no	-aama·no	-an·no	-oto·no	-ete·no
	Other plus Aspect Focused					
Negative	-aay·no	-aaki·no	-aaka·no	-ataa·no	-ataako·no	-ataake·no
Relative	-u·noo	-i·noo	-a·noo	-an·noo	-oto·noo	-ete·noo
Participial	-u·noo·ɗo	-i·noo·ɗo	-a·noo·ɗo	-oowo·no	-oto·noo·ɗo	-ete·noo·ɗo
	Other Focused					
Voice →	Active		Middle		Passive	
Emphatic	-u/ø·no		-i·no		-a·no	
Stative	-u·noo		-i·noo		-a·noo	
Negative Stative	-aa·no		ø		ø	
Progressive	-a·nnoo		-o·noo		-e·noo	
Subjunctive	No Preterite					
	Non-Focused					
First Infinitive	No Preterite					
Second Infinitive	No Preterite					
Imperative	No Preterite					
Desiderative	No Preterite					

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[156] As with all the verb charts in this grammar, the "base" conjugation would be either the conjugation for a given VOICE with verb FORMs that do not have different PERSON and NUMBER forms, or the third person singular conjugation for those who do.

[157] See diagram of how a participle is constructed on p. 99.

A. The Preterite with the General:
Here are some examples of the Preterite used with the General Complete and Incomplete.

*Mi **soodiino** baali de ɗi fuu mbaatii.* (General Complete – Active Voice)
I had purchased some sheep but they all died.

*O **fukkekeno** balɗe tati sabo o sellaano.* (General Complete – Middle Voice & Neg. Stative – Active Voice)
She was lying in bed for three days because she had been sick.

*Suka **lootaamano** de maawniiko ɓobɓini o ley loofal.* (General Complete – Passive Voice)
The child had been washed but his older sibling knocked him into the mud.

*Mi **loonnowanno** de yuwoonde ummeke.* (General Incomplete – Active Voice)
I was going to do laundry but it started to rain.

*Mi **fukkoytono** ley suudu de tawumi pobbi naatii galle amin.* (General Incomplete – Middle Voice)
I was going to lie down in the house when I discovered hyenas had come into our yard.

*Na'i **nanneteno** ley hoggo de araaji panti, cankiti na'i ɗiin.* (General Incomplete – Passive Voice)
The cows were going into the corral but the donkeys passed by and scattered them.

One additional bit of helpful information about the use of the Preterite with the General verb FORM relates to the case when one is using the object pronoun *ma* with the first PERSON singular *mi* in either the active or middle VOICEs of the General Complete and Incomplete.[158] Note that while the objective pronoun *ma* is not tacked on to the end of General Complete FORM, when the Preterite is added to the <u>active</u> VOICE of the General, the object pronoun *ma* is also assimilated. Some like to put the pronoun first, followed by the Preterite, some like the inverse (see example below). However, the object pronoun *ma* is not assimilated with the <u>middle</u> VOICE conjugations of the General Complete. With the General Incomplete FORM the object pronoun *ma* is assimilated into the SUFFIX with both active and middle VOICE verbs. So when the preterite is added it is simply added to the end of the verb.

General Complete
mi suudii ma → mi suuɗ-ii·ma·no or suuɗ-ii·no·ma
mi rook-eke ma → mi rook-eke·no ma

General Incomplete
mi suuɗ-an ma → mi suuɗ-ete → mi suuɗ-ete·no
mi rook-oto ma → mi rook-ete → mi rook-ete·no

B. The Preterite with the Negative:
Here are some examples of the Preterite with the Negative Complete and Incomplete:

*Min **nyaamaayno** nyiiri de min ngari Burkina.* (Negative Complete – Active Voice)
We had not eaten nyiiri when we came to Burkina.

*Weerɓe maɓɓe ngarii law de tawi ɓe **ummaakino** tafon.* (Negative Complete – Middle Voice)
Their guest arrived early and found they had not gotten up yet.

*Sukaaɓe **njoppaakano** de ɓe njehi leekol Niamey.* (Negative Complete – Passive Voice)
The children had never been left before they went to school in Niamey.

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[158] See Section 8.C.1, p. 50 for a discussion of this particular grammatical feature.

*O **remataano** ngesa ngaaɗo hikka.* (Negative Incomplete – Active Voice)
He was not going to plant this field here this year.

*O **hokkataamano** ngaari ndi.* (Negative Incomplete – Middle Voice)
He was not going to give you that bull.

*Kamanaari **awataakeno** ley gese maɓɓe gilla maamiiɓe maayi.* (Neg. Inc. – Passive Voice)
Corn has not been planted in their fields since their grandfather died.

Also note the use of the object pronoun *ma* with the <u>active</u> VOICE CONJUGATIONs of the Negative Complete and Incomplete when the Preterite is added to the negation. Remember, when the Preterite is not in use the object pronoun *ma* is NOT assimilated into the verb with either the Negative Complete or Incomplete. However, when the Preterite is used with either the Negative Complete or Incomplete <u>active</u> VOICE, the object pronoun *ma* is assimilated into the verb. Some prefer to add the *ma* between the negative SUFFIX and the Preterite, and some prefer the inverse. The object pronoun *ma* is NOT assimilated into the verb when the Preterite is used with either the Negative Complete or Incomplete <u>middle</u> VOICE verbs.

<div align="center">

Negative Complete
mi suuɗ-aay ma → mi suuɗ-aay·ma·no or suuɗ-aay·no·ma
mi rook-aaki ma → mi rook-aaki·no ma

Negative Incomplete
mi suuɗ-ataa ma → mi suuɗ-ataa·ma·no
mi rook-ataako ma → mi rook-ataako·no ma

</div>

For example:

*Mi **suuɗataamano** kabaaruuji am fuu arande de joonin mi suuɗete.*
I have not been hiding anything about myself but now I will hide [my information.]

*Mi **rookataakono** ma arande e joonin fuu.*
I was not asking you before and I am not now.

C. The Preterite with the Relative:

Full conjugations of the Preterite with the Relative verb FORMs are shown in Tables 23.2 and 23.3. Some examples of the Relative Complete with the Preterite:

*Nde **kewtunoomi** ladde toon, tawi huɗo **nyaametenooko** toon wooɗaa.*
                    (Relative Complete- Active Voice & Progressive – Passive Voice)
When I had arrived in the bush there all the grass they were eating was bad.

*Wo puccu ngu jooro **waɗɗinoo** faa o yaha to laamu, holla ɓe kabaaru rafo maɓɓe.*
                    (Relative Complete – Active Voice)
It was that horse the chief had ridden in order to go to the goverment to show them the news of their famine.

*Na'i ɗiin **tampanoo** ley ladde.* (Relative Complete – Passive Voice)
The cows had been suffering in the bush.

Table 23.2 The Relative Complete with & without the Preterite

Voice	Active[‡]	Middle[†]	Passive[§]
Verb	suuɗude	suuɗaade	suuɗeede
Singular			
1st Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-u·mi[159]	cuuɗ-ii·mi[159]	cuuɗ-aa·mi[159]
1st with Preterite	cuuɗ-u·noo·mi[160]	cuuɗ-i·noo·mi[160]	cuuɗ-a·noo·mi[160]
2nd Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-u·ɗaa	cuuɗ-i·ɗaa	cuuɗ-a·ɗaa
2nd with Preterite	cuuɗ-u·no·ɗaa	cuuɗ-i·no·ɗaa	cuuɗ-a·no·ɗaa
3rd Non-Preterite	o suuɗ-i	o suuɗ-ii	o suuɗ-aa
3rd with Preterite	o suuɗ-u·noo	o suuɗ-i·noo	o suuɗ-a·noo
Plural			
1 exclusive Non-Preterite	min cuuɗ-i	min cuuɗ-ii	min cuuɗ-aa
1st exclusive with Preterite	min cuuɗ-u·noo	min cuuɗ-i·noo	min cuuɗ-a·noo
1st inclusive Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-u·ɗen	cuuɗ-i·ɗen	cuuɗ-a·ɗen
1st inclusive with Preterite	cuuɗ-u·no·ɗen	cuuɗ-i·no·ɗen	cuuɗ-a·no·ɗen
2nd Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-u·ɗon	cuuɗ-i·ɗon	cuuɗ-a·ɗon
2nd with Preterite	cuuɗ-u·no·ɗon	cuuɗ-i·no·ɗon	cuuɗ-a·no·ɗon
3rd Non-Preterite	ɓe cuuɗ-i	ɓe cuuɗ-ii	ɓe cuuɗ-aa
3rd with Preterite	ɓe cuuɗ-u·noo	ɓe cuuɗ-i·noo	ɓe cuuɗ-a·noo

For contrast, the normal Relative Complete CONJUGATIONs, and the Relative Complete with the Preterite CONJUGATIONs for all three VOICEs, singular and plural, are shown in Table 23.2. The key is that the Preterite's SUFFIX is placed <u>after</u> the normal Relative Complete FORM's SUFFIX, but <u>before</u> any of the inverted pronouns that are tacked on the end in four of the seven CONJUGATIONS. For a lot of people this is all the information you want to know. For those who enjoy grammar the small print has the grim details of what is happening in each VOICE. Proceed at your own risk!

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[‡]Note the following regarding the changes that occur to the Relative Complete active VOICE SUFFIXes when the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo" is added – for convenience sake, some information covered in Section 13 is covered again here:
For the three base active VOICE forms (3s, 1p-ex., 3p) the normal non-Preterite SUFFIX is "-i." With the addition of the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo," the "i" morphs to "u," rendering "-u·noo."[161]

     3s, 1p-ex, 3p   **-i** + -noo → -u + -noo → -u·noo

The diagram below shows both how the non-Preterite Relative Incomplete SUFFIX is arrived at (left column) for the three regular inverted CONJUGATIONS (2s, 1p-in, 2p) and how the Preterite interacts with those endings (right column). The pronoun is added to the end of these CONJUGATIONS, hence the appellation "inverted." With the non-Preterite CONJUGATIONS, the three regular inverted CONJUGATIONS morph to "-u" to distinguish them from those of the middle VOICE. With the Preterite FORM, the Preterite's SUFFIX is shortened to "-no" in these three CONJUGATIONS and the lengthened pronouns are added at the end.[162]

2s   **-i** + -ɗaa → -u + -ɗaa → -u·ɗaa   -u + -noo + -ɗaa → -u + -no + -ɗaa → -u·no·ɗaa
1p-in **-i** + -ɗen → -u + -ɗen → -u·ɗen   -u + -noo + -ɗen → -u + -no + -ɗen → -u·no·ɗen
2p   **-i** + -ɗon → -u + -ɗon → -u·ɗon   -u + -noo + -ɗon → -u + -no + -ɗon → -u·no·ɗon

[159]Don't forget that the object pronoun *ma* is inserted between the Relative Complete's various VOICE SUFFIXes and the inverted first PERSON pronoun *mi*; e.g. *cuuɗ-(VOICE SUFFIX)·mi + ma* → (3 VOICES) *cuuɗ-u·maa·mi; cuuɗ-ii·maa·mi; cuuɗ-aa·maa·mi.* See section 7.C.4, p. 51 for a discussion of the objected pronoun *ma* when used with the subject pronoun *mi* in the Relative Complete FORM. The reason the object pronoun *ma* is lengthen to *maa* is the *Fulɓe* like the long vowel sound before the pronoun *mi* and so go to great lengths to procure it, even if it means elongating the object pronoun.

[160] With the Preterite the object pronoun *ma* is inserted between the Preterite's SUFFIX and the first person pronoun *mi*; e.g. (3 VOICES) *cuuɗ-u·no·maa·mi; cuuɗ-i·no·maa·mi; cuuɗ-a·no·maa·mi.* With the elongated object pronoun *maa* supplying the elongated vowels before the subject pronoun *mi*, the Preterite shortens to –*no*, as with the other inverted forms.

[161] If the base SUFFIX did not morph to "u" it would be impossible to distinguish the three regular inverted active VOICE FORMS of the Relative Complete from those of the middle VOICE FORM: "*cuudidaa*" vs. *cuudidaa.*

[162] Apparently the *Fulɓe* didn't like the long vowel sound before the implosive "ɗ" as they consistently shorten the base FORMS or the Preterite's FORM to shorten the vowel sounds before the "ɗ."

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The 1s is an inverted FORM too, but it is not regular – that is, it is not the same as the other three inverted FORMS. The reason for this irregularity is that while the *Fulɓe* do not like the long vowel sound before the implosive "ɗ" they do like it before the pronoun *mi* when it occurs at the end of a word. So rather than follow the same pattern used with the other inverted CONJUGATIONs they alter the pattern in all three VOICEs to insure the *mi* sound is preceded by a long vowel sound. The non-Preterite Relative Complete active VOICE 1s ending would be "-u·mi." When the Preterite is in use the way the *Fulɓe* maintain the long vowel sound before *mi* is to retain the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo" without shortening it, and the pronoun tacked on the end.

<p style="text-align:center">1s   -**i** + -mi → -u + -mi → -u·mi   -u + -noo + -mi → -an·<u>noo</u>·mi</p>

†Note the following regarding the changes that occur to the Relative Complete middle VOICE SUFFIXes when the Preterite's SUFFIX is added – for convenience sake, some information covered in Section 13 is covered again here: The base (3s, 1p-ex, 3p) non-Preterite Relative Incomplete middle VOICE SUFFIX is "-ii." When the Preterite's SUFFIX (-noo) is added it causes the normal Relative Incomplete to shorten to "-i."

<p style="text-align:center">3s, 1p-ex, 3p   -i**i** + -noo → -i + -noo → -i·noo</p>

Remember, the shorted Relative Complete middle VOICE SUFFIX "-i" is already the normal SUFFIX for the three regular inverted FORMS (2s, 1p-in, 2p). So nothing changes there when the Preterite is added. Rather the Preterite's SUFFIX is shortened to "-no" and the lengthened pronouns (-*ɗaa, -ɗen, -ɗon*) are tacked on the end. The non-Preterite Relative Complete CONJUGATIONs are on the left and the Relative Complete with the Preterite CONJUGATIONs are on the right. The CONJUGATIONs on the right build from the CONJUGATIONs on the left, with the insertion of the Preterite between the non-Preterite SUFFIX and the inverted pronouns.

<p style="text-align:center">2s   -i**i** + -ɗaa → -i + ɗaa → -i·ɗaa   -i + -no**o** + -ɗaa → -i + -no + -ɗaa → -i·no·ɗaa
1p-in   -i**i** + -ɗen → -i + ɗen → -i·ɗen   -i + -no**o** + -ɗen → -i + -no + -ɗen → -i·no·ɗen
2p   -i**i** + -ɗon → -i + ɗon → -i·ɗon   -i + -no**o** + -ɗon → -i + -no + -ɗon → -i·no·ɗon</p>

The non-Preterite Relative Complete middle VOICE 1s SUFFIX is inverted, but irregular (when compared to the other three inverted CONJUGATIONs). This is because the *Fulɓe* like the sound of the long vowel before the pronoun *mi*. So when the Preterite is not in play, the base ending ("-ii') is used with the pronoun added on the end: "-ii·mi." However, when the Preterite is added to the Relative Complete middle VOICE 1s, the same short form as used with all the other persons is used (-i), principally because the double vowel sound of the base SUFFIX is not needed with the Preterite as the Preterite's SUFFIX will supply it. In order to retain the long vowel sound before the pronoun *mi* the Preterite's SUFFIX is not shortened as with the other inverted FORMS. The non-Preterite Relative Complete CONJUGATION is on the left and the CONJUGATION with the Preterite is on the right:

<p style="text-align:center">1s   -i**i** + -mi → -<u>ii</u>·mi   -i**i** + -noo + -mi → -i + -noo + -mi → -i·<u>noo</u>·mi</p>

§Note the following regarding the changes that occur to the Relative Incomplete passive VOICE SUFFIX when the Preterite's SUFFIX is added – for convenience sake, some information covered in Section 13 is covered again here: The base (3s, 1p-ex, 3p) Relative Complete passive VOICE SUFFIX is "-aa." As with the middle VOICE, this base SUFFIX is shortened when the Preterite is used. The Preterite's SUFFIX (-noo) is tacked on the end of this shortened base SUFFIX.

<p style="text-align:center">3s, 1p-ex, 3p   -a**a** + -noo → -a + -noo → -a·noo</p>

The three regular inverted FORMs (2s, 1p-in, 2p) already use the shorted base Relative Incomplete SUFFIX "-a" so there is no change. However, the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo" is shortened to "-no" (remember the *Fulɓe* don't like the long vowel sound before the "ɗ") and added to the shortened base SUFFIX, with the lengthened pronouns (-*ɗaa, -ɗen, -ɗon*) being added on after the Preterite's SUFFIX. The non-Preterite Relative Complete FORMs are on the left and those with the Preterite on the left. The CONJUGATIONs on the right build from the CONJUGATIONs on the left, with the insertion of the Preterite between the non-Preterite SUFFIX and the inverted pronouns.

2s   -et**ee** + -ɗaa → -ete + -ɗaa → -ete·ɗaa   -ete + -no**o** + -ɗaa → -ete + -no + -ɗaa → -ete·no·ɗaa
1p-in -et**ee** + -ɗen → -ete + -ɗen → -ete·ɗen   -ete + -no**o** + -ɗen → -ete + -no + -ɗen → -ete·no·ɗen
2p   -et**ee** + -ɗon → -ete + -ɗon → -ete·ɗon   -ete + -no**o** + -ɗon → -ete + -no + -ɗon → -ete·no·ɗon

As with the middle VOICE, the irregular Relative Incomplete passive VOICE 1s shortens the normal base SUFFIX with the long vowel sound (in this case it is "-et<u>ee</u>") before the Preterite's SUFFIX. The Preterite's SUFFIX remains long to retain the long vowel sound before *mi* and the pronoun is tacked on the end. The non-Preterite CONJUGATION is to the left and the CONJUGATION with the Preterite is to the left.

1s -et**ee** + -mi → -et<u>ee</u>·mi   -et**ee** + -noo + -mi → -ete + -noo + -mi → -ete·<u>noo</u>·mi

Table 23.3 The Relative Incomplete with & without the Preterite

Voice	Active[‡]	Middle[†]	Passive[§]
Verb	suuɗude	suuɗaade	suuɗeede
Singular			
1st Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-am·mi[163]	cuuɗ-otoo·mi[163]	cuuɗetee·mi[163]
1st with Preterite	cuuɗ-an·noo·mi[164]	cuuɗ-oto·noo·mi[164]	cuuɗ-ete·noo·mi[164]
2nd Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-at·aa	cuuɗ-oto·ɗaa	cuuɗ-ete·ɗaa
2nd with Preterite	cuuɗ-an·no·ɗaa	cuuɗ-oto·no·ɗaa	cuuɗ-ete·no·ɗaa
3rd Non-Preterite	o suuɗ-ata	o suuɗ-otoo	o suuɗ-etee
3rd with Preterite	o suuɗ-an·noo	o suuɗ-oto·noo	o suuɗ-ete·noo
Plural			
1 exclusive Non-Preterite	min cuuɗ-ata	min cuuɗ-otoo	min cuuɗ-etee
1st exclusive with Preterite	min cuuɗ-an·noo	min cuuɗ-oto·noo	min cuuɗ-ete·noo
1st inclusive Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-at·en	cuuɗ-oto·ɗen	cuuɗ-ete·ɗen
1st inclusive with Preterite	cuuɗ-an·no·ɗen	cuuɗ-oto·no·ɗen	cuuɗ-ete·no·ɗen
2nd Non-Preterite	cuuɗ-at·on	cuuɗ-oto·ɗon	cuuɗete·ɗen
2nd with Preterite	cuuɗ-an·no·ɗon	cuuɗ-oto·no·ɗon	cuuɗ-ete·no·ɗon
3rd Non-Preterite	ɓe cuuɗ-ata	ɓe cuuɗ-oto·noo	ɓe cuuɗ-ete·noo
3rd with Preterite	ɓe cuuɗ-an·noo	ɓe cuuɗ-oto·noo	ɓe cuuɗ-ete·noo

*Hikka ngaari lobbiri **keɓannoomi** saabe golle am.* (Relative Incomplete – Active Voice)
This year I was going to have a nice bull because of my work.

*Na'i yigoo am **ɓaanotonoomi** faa ladde horɗoore.* (Relative Incomplete – Middle Voice)
I was going to herd my friends cows in the south.

*Huɗo nafooho **sonnetenoo** toon.* (Relative Incomplete – Passive Voice)
Good grass was being sold there.

For contrast the normal Relative Incomplete CONJUGATIONs and the Relative Incomplete with the Preterite for all three voices, singular and plural, are shown in Table 23.3. The key is that the Preterite's SUFFIX is placed <u>after</u> the normal Relative Incomplete FORM'S SUFFIX, but <u>before</u> any of the inverted pronouns that are tacked on the end in four of the seven CONJUGATIONs. For a lot of people this is all the information you want to know. For those who enjoy grammar the small print has the mind numbing details of what is happening in each VOICE. Proceed at your own risk!

☠

[‡]Note the following regarding the changes that occur to the Relative Incomplete active VOICE SUFFIXes when the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo" is added – for convenience sake, some information covered in Section 13 is covered again here:
For the three base active VOICE CONJUGATIONs (3s, 1p-ex., 3p) the normal non-Preterite SUFFIX is "-ata." With the addition of the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo," the final "a" of the Relative Incomplete SUFFIX is dropped and the "t" morphs to "n" to harmonize phonetically, rendering "-an·noo."[165]
     3s, 1p-ex, 3p   -ata + -noo → -at + -noo → -an + -noo → -an·noo
The diagram below shows both how the non-Preterite Relative Incomplete SUFFIX is arrived at (left column) for the three regular inverted CONJUGATIONs (2s, 1p-in, 2p) and how the Preterite interacts with those endings (right column). The pronoun is added to the end of these CONJUGATIONs, hence the appellation "inverted." With the non-Preterite CONJUGATIONs, the three regular inverted CONJUGATIONs drop the final "a" of the base SUFFIX "-ata,"

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[163]Don't forget that the object pronoun *ma* is inserted between the Relative Incomplete various VOICE SUFFIXes and the inverted first PERSON pronoun *mi*; e.g. *cuuɗ-(VOICE SUFFIX)·mi + ma → cuuɗ-am·maa·mi; cuuɗ-oto·maa·mi; cuuɗ-ete·maa·mi.* See Section 7.C.4, p. 51 for a discussion of the objected pronoun *ma* when used with the subject pronoun *mi* in the Relative verb FORM. The reason the object pronoun *ma* is lengthen to *maa* is the *Fulɓe* like the long vowel sound before the pronoun *mi* and so go to great lengths to procure it, even if it means changing the pattern of CONJUGATION, or in this case, elongating the object pronoun

[164] With the Preterite the object pronoun *ma* is inserted between the Preterite's SUFFIX and the first person pronoun *mi*; e.g. *cuuɗ-an·no·maa·mi; cuuɗ-oto·no·maa·mi; cuuɗ-ete·no·maa·mi.* Note how the Relative Incomplete's SUFFIX "-am" morphs to " -an" to harmonize with the Preterite's "n." With the elongated object pronoun *maa* supplying the elongated vowels before the subject pronoun mi, the Preterite shortens to *–no*, as with the other inverted forms.

[165] Both the "t" and "ɗ" can be seen to be weak consonants in this discussion. The "t" will harmonize when in contact with another consonant.

leaving "-at," and the "ɗ" of the pronoun is also dropped for phonetical reasons, with the remaining vowels from the pronoun added on the end (-aa, -en, -on).[166] With the Preterite, the Preterite's SUFFIX is shortened to "-no" in these three CONJUGATIONS.[167] Having the "n" of the Preterite's SUFFIX next to the "t" of the Relative Incomplete's SUFFIX causes the "t" to harmonize to "n." However, because the Preterite's SUFFIX ends with a vowel ("o") the "ɗ" of the inverted pronoun reappears.

2s	-ata + -ɗaa → -at + -aa → -at·aa	-at + -noo + -ɗaa → -an + -no + -ɗaa → -an·<u>no</u>·ɗaa
1p-in	-ata + -ɗen → -at + -en → -at·en	-at + -noo + -ɗen → -an + -no + -ɗen → -an·<u>no</u>·ɗen
2p	-ata + -ɗon → -at + -on → -at·on	-at + -noo + -ɗon → -an + -no + -ɗon → -an·<u>no</u>·ɗon

The 1s is an inverted FORM too, but it is not regular – that is, it is not the same as the other three inverted FORM. The reason for this irregularity is that while the *Fulɓe* do not like the long vowel sound before the implosive "ɗ" they do like it before the pronoun *mi* when it occurs at the end of a word. So rather than follow the same pattern used with the other inverted CONJUGATIONs they alter the pattern in all three voices to insure the *mi* sound is preceded by a long vowel sound. The non-Preterite Relative Incomplete active VOICE 1s ending would be "-am·mi." As stated above, the base Non-Preterite Relative Incomplete ending is "-ata," but as with all the inverted FORMS, the final "a" is normally dropped and the "t" morphs to "m" for purposes of harmonization. When the "t" of the base ending finds itself next to the "n" of the Preterite's SUFFIX it harmonizes to "n" as well. In this case the way the *Fulɓe* maintain the long vowel sound before *mi* is to retain the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo" without shortening it, and the pronoun tacked on the end.

1s	-ata + -mi → -at + -mi → -am + -mi → -am·mi	-am + -noo + -mi → -an + -no + -mi → -an·<u>noo</u>·mi

[†]Note the following regarding the changes that occur to the Relative Incomplete middle VOICE SUFFIXes when the Preterite's SUFFIX is added – for convenience, some information covered in Section 13 is covered again here:
The base (3s, 1p-ex, 3p) non-Preterite Relative Incomplete middle VOICE SUFFIX is "-otoo." When the Preterite's SUFFIX (-noo) is added it causes the normal Relative Incomplete to shorten to "-oto."

3s, 1p-ex, 3p   -otoo + -noo → -oto + -noo → -oto·noo

Remember, the shorted Relative Incomplete middle VOICE SUFFIX "-oto" is already the normal SUFFIX for the three regular inverted FORMS (2s, 1p-in, 2p). So nothing changes there when the Preterite is added. Rather the Preterite's SUFFIX is shortened to "-no" and the pronouns (-ɗaa, -ɗen, -ɗon) are tacked on the end. The non-Preterite Relative Incomplete CONJUGATIONs are on the left and the Relative Incomplete with the Preterite CONJUGATIONs are on the right. The CONJUGATIONs on the right build from the CONJUGATIONs on the left, with the insertion of the Preterite between the non-Preterite SUFFIX and the inverted pronouns.

2s	-otoo + -ɗaa → -oto + ɗaa → -oto·ɗaa	-oto + -noo + -ɗaa → -oto + -no + -ɗaa → -oto·<u>no</u>·ɗaa
1p-in	-otoo + -ɗen → -oto + ɗen → -oto·ɗen	-oto + -noo + -ɗen → -oto + -no + -ɗen → -oto·<u>no</u>·ɗen
2p	-otoo + -ɗon → -oto + ɗon → -oto·ɗon	-oto + -noo + -ɗon → -oto + -no + -ɗon → -oto·<u>no</u>·ɗon

The non-Preterite Relative Incomplete 1s SUFFIX is inverted, but irregular (when compared to the other three inverted CONJUGATIONs). This is because the *Fulɓe* like the sound of the long vowel before the pronoun *mi*. So when the Preterite is not in play the base ending ("-otoo') is used with the pronoun added on the end: "-otoo·mi." However, when the Preterite is added to the Relative Incomplete middle VOICE 1s, the same short ending as used with all the other persons is used (-oto), principally because the double vowel sound of the base SUFFIX is not needed with the Preterite as the Preterite's SUFFIX will supply it. In order to retain the long vowel sound before the inverted pronoun *mi* the Preterite's SUFFIX is not shortened as with the other inverted endings. The non-Preterite Relative Incomplete CONJUGATION is on the left and the CONJUGATION with the Preterite is on the right:

1s	-otoo + -mi → -otoo·mi	-otoo + -noo + -mi → -oto + -noo + -mi → -oto·<u>noo</u>·mi

[§]Note the following regarding the changes that occur to the Relative Incomplete passive VOICE SUFFIX when the Preterite's SUFFIX is added – for convenience sake, some information covered in Section 13 is covered again here:
The base (3s, 1p-ex, 3p) Relative Incomplete passive VOICE SUFFIX is "-etee." As with the middle VOICE, this base SUFFIX is shortened when the Preterite is used. The Preterite's SUFFIX (-noo) is tacked on the end of this shortened base SUFFIX.

3s, 1p-ex, 3p -etee + -noo → -ete + -noo → -ete·noo

The three regular inverted FORMS (2s, 1p-in, 2p) already use the shorted base Relative Incomplete SUFFIX "-ete" so there is no change. However, the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo" is shortened to "-no" (remember the *Fulɓe* don't like the long vowel sound before the "ɗ") and added to the shortened base SUFFIX, with the pronouns (-ɗaa, -ɗen, -ɗon) being added on after the Preterite's SUFFIX.

2s	-etee + -ɗaa → -ete + -ɗaa → -ete·ɗaa	-ete + -noo + -ɗaa → -ete + -no + -ɗaa → -ete·<u>no</u>·ɗaa
1p-in	-etee + -ɗen → -ete + -ɗen → -ete·ɗen	-ete + -noo + -ɗen → -ete + -no + -ɗen → -ete·<u>no</u>·ɗen
2p	-etee + -ɗon → -ete + -ɗon → -ete·ɗon	-ete + -noo + -ɗon → -ete + -no + -ɗon → -ete·<u>no</u>·ɗon

As with the middle VOICE, the irregular Relative Incomplete passive VOICE 1s shortens the normal base SUFFIX with the long vowel sound (in this case it is "-et<u>ee</u>") before the Preterite's SUFFIX. The Preterite's SUFFIX remains long to retain the long vowel sound before *mi* which is tacked on the end. The non-Preterite CONJUGATION is to the left and the CONJUGATION with the Preterite is to the left.

1s	-etee + -mi → -etee·mi	-etee + -noo + -mi → -ete + -noo + -mi → -ete·<u>noo</u>·mi

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[166] Apparently the *Fulɓe* didn't like the sound of *–ata·ɗaa*, *-ata·ɗen* or *–ata·ɗon*, so both the final "a" of the Relative Incomplete base SUFFIX (-ata) and the "ɗ" of the inverted pronoun will drop right out.
[167] Apparently the *Fulɓe* didn't like the long vowel sound before the implosive "ɗ" either as they consistently shorten the base forms or the Preterite's form to shorten the vowel sounds before the "ɗ."

D. The Preterite and the Emphatic:

The Preterite ending -no is added after the Emphatic SUFFIX. The Emphatic FORMs with the Preterite are in bold type in the examples below:

*Mi **nyaamuno** nyiiri ndi!*
I had eaten the cooked millet!

*Mi **yennuno** Baaba!*
I had said bad things to Father!

*Mi **yaaɓuno** tummbude nde!*
I had stepped on the calabash!

*O **ɗaanino**!*
She had been sleeping!

E. The Preterite with the Stative and Progressive:

Full conjugations of the Preterite in the Stative (Table 23.4) and in the Progressive (Table 23.6) are given below. Here are some examples of the Preterite used with Statives:

*Eɗen **njiɗunoo** marude kulle.* (Stative – Active Voice)
We used to like caring for animals.

*En **njiɗaano** marude kulle.* (Neg. Stative - Active Voice)
We didn't used to like caring for animals.

*Oɗon **njooɗinoo** e jam.* (Stative – Middle Voice)
You had been living in peace.

*On **njooɗaakino** e jam.* (Neg. Complete – Middle Voice)
You had not been living in peace.

*Sukaaaɓe wuro maɓɓe na **kaajanoo** kosam.* (Stative – Passive Voice)
The children of their village were in need of milk.

*Sukaaɓe wuro maɓɓe **kaajaakano** kosam.* (Neg. Complete – Passive Voice)
The children of their village were not in need of milk.

Here are some examples of the Progessive with the Preterite:

*Aɗa **remannoo** ley ngesa ma nde pantumi wuro.* (Progressive – Active Voice)
You were hoeing in your field when I went by.

*Imo **lootonoo** de be'i makko lalli.* (Progressive – Middle Voice)
She was washing when her goats got lost.

*Gawri wuro fuu **ina unenoo** laasara.* (Progressive – Passive Voice)
Grain everywhere in the village was being pounded in the afternoon.

Table 23.4 The Preterite with the Stative

Voice	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb	yiɗude	jaalaade	yiɗeede
Singular			
1st	miɗo yiɗ-u·noo[168]	miɗo jaal-i·noo[169]	miɗo yiɗ-a·noo[170]
2nd	aɗa yiɗ-u·noo	aɗa jaal-i·noo	aɗa yiɗ-a·noo
3rd	imo yiɗ-u·noo	imo jaal-i·noo	imo yiɗ-a·noo
Plural			
1st exclusive	miɗen njiɗ-u·noo	miɗen njaal-i·noo	miɗen njiɗ-a·noo
1st inclusive	eɗen njiɗ-u·noo	eɗen njaal-i·noo	eɗen njiɗ-a·noo
2nd	oɗon njiɗ-u·noo	oɗon njaal-i·noo	oɗon njiɗ-a·noo
3rd	eɓe njiɗ-u·noo	eɓe njaal-i·noo	eɓe njiɗ-a·noo

Table 23.5 The Preterite with the Negative Stative

Voice	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb	yiɗude	jaalaade†	yiɗeede†
Singular			
1st	mi yiɗ-aa·no	mi jaal-aaki·no	mi yiɗ-aaka·no
2nd	a yiɗ-aa·no	a jaal-aaki·no	a yiɗ-aaka·no
3rd	o yiɗ-aa·no	o jaal-aaki·no	o yiɗ-aaka·noo
Plural			
1st exclusive	min njiɗ-aa·no	min njaal-aaki·no	min njiɗ-aaka·no
1st inclusive	en njiɗ-aa·no	en njaal-aaki·no	en njiɗ-aaka·no
2nd	on njiɗ-aa·no	on njaal-aaki·no	on njiɗ-aaka·no
3rd	ɓe njiɗ-aa·no	ɓe njaal-aaki·no	ɓe njiɗ-aaka·no

†Remember neither the middle nor the passive VOICE have a Negative Stative FORM, but rather they use the Negative Complete FORM. Therefore the middle and passive VOICE CONJUGATIONs shown here are for the Negative Complete with the Preterite.

Table 23.5 The Preterite with the Progressive

Voice	Active	Middle	Passive
Verb	hokkude	yaafaade	yaafeede
Singular			
1st	miɗo hokk-a·nnoo[171]	miɗo yaaf-o·noo[172]	miɗo yaaf-e·noo[173]
2nd	aɗa hokk-a·nnoo	aɗa yaaf-o·noo	aɗa yaaf-e·noo
3rd	imo hokk-a·nnoo	imo yaaf-o·noo	imo yaaf-e·noo
Plural			
1st exclusive	miɗen kokk-a·nnoo	miɗen njaaf-o·noo	miɗen njaaf-e·noo
1st inclusive	eɗen kokk-a·nnoo	eɗen njaaf-o·noo	eɗen njaaf-e·noo
2nd	oɗon kokk-a·nnoo	oɗon njaaf-o·noo	oɗon njaaf-e·noo
3rd	eɓe kokk-a·nnoo	eɓe njaaf-o·noo	eɓe njaaf-e·noo

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[168] The normal SUFFIX for the Stative active VOICE is "-i." Because the middle VOICE SUFFIX shortens to "-i" when using the Preterite, it was necessary for the active VOICE SUFFIX to morph to "-u." This is the same problem encountered with the active and middle VOICE SUFFIXes in the Relative Complete and the solution is the same as well.

[169] The normal SUFFIX for the Stative middle VOICE is "-ii." This shortens to "-i" in all seven CONJUGATIONs.

[170] The normal SUFFIX for the Stative passive VOICE is "-aa." This shortens to "-a" in all seven CONJUGATIONs.

[171] The normal SUFFIX for the Progressive active VOICE is "-a." The only change is a facultative "n' is added between the "a" and the Preterite's SUFFIX "-noo."

[172] The normal SUFFIX for the Progressive middle VOICE is "-oo." This SUFFIX shortens to "-o" when the Preterite is added in all seven CONJUGATIONs.

[173] The normal SUFFIX for the Progressive passive VOICE is "-ee." This SUFFIX shortens to "-e" when the Preterite is added in all seven CONJUGATIONs.

F. The Preterite in Sequencing:

The preterite can be attached to a verb in a single verb sentence to indicate that the action described definitely took place in the past. However, it is most often used in two clause sentences and can be translated as "when such and such had been accomplished, then..."[174] The Preterite is in bold type in the examples:

*Nde o **yottinoo** wuro ngo o nanngi laawol Baagadumba.*
When he had left home he took the road to Baagadumba

*Kanko **wonnoo** ga naanen.* (stative)
He was here awhile ago.

*Si mi **soodiino** nagge nge, kaalisi am timman.* (general complete)
If I had bought the cow, my money would be finished.

*Si mi **naatiino** ɗo mobel am nufan.* (general complete)
If I had gone in here my car would be stuck.

G. The Preterite with a Noun

The preterite can also be used with nouns, indicating a prior state which has since changed. For example:

*... jom suudu makko Saaratu du wo **dimaro·no** ...* (Ibraninkooɓe 11:11)
... his wife Sara had been baren ... (Hebrews 11:11)

*... Abigayil jeyaaɗo Karmel, dee **Nabal·no**.* 1 Samuyiila 27:3
... Abigail of Carmel who had been Nabal's wife. I Samuel 27:3

24. INFIXES

Verbal INFIXes are particles that are attached directly to the verb ROOT and in some way alter the meaning of the verb. They might be thought of as multiple SUFFIXes. Of the nine INFIXes below, two are used in situations where English or French would use prepositions while the other seven alter or add meaning to the verb. It should be noted that INFIXes can be altered by, or can alter, surrounding sounds, depending on the phonetic environment. You will notice that some of the INFIXes have more than one basic form depending on the phonetic environment. Pay attention in the following examples to those INFIXes and ROOTs which have undergone some alteration for phonetical reasons, the altered words will be underlined if the alteration was caused by the INFIX.

A. -an-

The use of this INFIX adds the meaning to the verb that one does the action of the verb for someone. Some call this the "benefactive" INFIX. This INFIX causes the normal active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX *-ude* to contract to *-de*. Examples:

*Mi **sood-an-**ii o disaare.*
I bought a cloth for her.

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[174] See Section 30.B, p. 175 on tail-head linkage for further examples of the use of the preterite in sequencing.

O haal-ente fuu ko wadi.[175]
He will explain for you everything that happened.

Mi fil-an-eke o safaare, ammaa mi yi'aay.
I looked for medicine for him, but I didn't find any.

Njaar-an-aa kam ɗum to amiiru.
Take it for me to the chief.

Ngadd-an-aa kam ndiyam mi yara.
Bring water for me to drink.

B. -d-/-id- (e)

This INFIX has two meanings:
1. To do something together with another person (uses the *e* meaning "with").
   Sometimes this INFIX is referred to as the "associative."
2. For some action to be completed (does not use the *e*).
This INFIX causes the normal active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX *-ude* to lengthen to *-inde*, or *-idde* in some dialect areas. Examples:

Miɗo haal-d-a e Aamaa ley luumo.
I habitually speak with Aamaa in the market.

Goram yaa-d-ii e maɓɓe Sampelga.
My husband went with them to Sampelga.

Nde ngarumi ndeen, iɓe ngon-d-i e golle.
When I came, they were working together.

Min nyaam-d-ii hankin
We ate together last night.

Na'i ɗi njar-d-aay tafon naa?
The cows have not finished drinking yet?

C. -ɗ-/-iɗ-

This INFIX means "to be in the state of" – hence it is referred to as the "stative" INFIX. As with the "associative" INFIX, this INFIX causes the active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX *-ude* to lengthen to *-inde*, or sometimes *-idde*. Examples:

Wulaare nde kaɓɓumi nde na ɓuri nde kaɓɓuɗaa nde ɓenk-iɗ-inde.
The bundle of millet I tied is shorter than the one you tied.

Wo o dof-iɗ-inɗo.
He is a coward.

Debbo mawɗo makko na hugg-iɗ-i.
He old mother is hump-backed.

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[175] Hopefully you have recognized what this strange looking CONJUGATION is. The objective pronoun *ma* has been assimilated into the General Incomplete SUFFIX "-an" as "-ete." The infix "-an-" is contracted to just "n" and is inserted after the first "e" of the suffix "-ete": *o haal-an-an + ma* → haal-**an**-ete → haal-e**n**te. See Section 8.C.1, p. 50 for a discussion of this grammatical construction.

D. -n-/-in-

This INFIX signifies one causing the action of the verb to occur. Some call this the "causative" INFIX. This extension causes the active VOICE infinitive ending to contract from -ude to -de.[176] Examples:

*O sell-**in**-ii nyawɓe waddaaɓe to makko fuu.*
He healed (caused to be made well) all the sick that were brought to him.

*Jannginoowo na janng-**in**-a janngooɓe jande muɓɓen ley janngirde nde.*
The teacher is teaching (causing to learn) the students their lesson in the school.

*Baylo o na moyƴ-**in**-a torkooru tuubaaku ndu.*
That blacksmith is repairing (is causing to be good) the white man's donkey cart.

E. -inkin-

This INFIX means "to pretend to do something." For that reason some refer to this as the "imitative" INFIX. This INFIX causes the normal active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX -ude to contract to -de. Examples:

*O maay-t-**inkin**-ii.*
He pretended to be dead.

*Ɓe kaɓ-**inkin**-ii.*
They pretended to fight.

*O woy-t-**inkin**-eke.*
He recounted a sad story to evoke pity.

*O leeƴ-**inkin**-eke.*
He is humble (lit. He made himself low).

F. -r-/-ir-/-or- (the latter with middle voice verbs)[177]

This INFIX signifies that something is to be done or accomplished in a certain manner, or by the means of certain devices/tools/etc. Remember this INFIX is called for when using either the relative pronoun *no* or the interrogative pronoun *noy*. This INFIX is referred to as the "instrumental" INFIX. When used in an active VOICE verb this INFIX causes the infinitive ending to contract to -de. Examples:

*Noy njaa-**r**-at·aa So?*
How will you go to So?

*Miɗo yaa-**r**-a e mobel am ngel.*
I will go in (by means of) my car.

Noy ngat-ten?[178]
How should we do it?

*Noy mbilt-**or**-to·ɗaa golle o gilla jemma yottaaki?*
How will you finish the work before night comes?

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[176] Ed. Note: in doing a study of verbs ending with -*inde* in the dictionary I found that of 362 such verbs, 204 were actually the causative INFIX -*in*- followed by the contracted active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX -*de*. That means that 56% of the time you see a verb ending in -*inde*, the actual SUFFIX (the part that will drop away when the verb is conjugated) is -*de*. In the other 44% of the cases the SUFFIX is -*inde*. See Appendix D for the mind numbing details!

[177] Actually the INFIX -*or*- is often used with the "stative" INFIX -*d*-. See Appendix D #5 for several examples. The infinitive ending of these active voice verbs would be -*inde*.

[178] In this example, due to phonetical considerations, the final "d" of the verbal ROOT √*wad*- morphs to "t," the entire INFIX "-ir" is contracted out, as is the inital "a" of the Relative Incomplete SUFFIX "-*ata*": *waɗude: ngaɗ-**ir**-at·en → ngat-t·en*

*Dembo wall-**ir**-an kam e ndiyam si laasara warii.*
Dembo will help me with some water in the late afternoon.

*Noy moyɲ-in-**ir**-ta·a ɗum?*
How will you make that?

*Mi moyɲ-in-**ir**-ii ɗum e jammbere nde.*
I made it with (by means of) the ax.

*Noy curki ki yalt-**ir**-ta?*
How will the smoke get out?

*Curki ki na yalt-**ir**-a e yulde nde.*
The smoke will go out by means of this hole.

G. -t-/-it-//-tin-/-tind-

This INFIX has the following meanings:

1. It is used in verbs where an action is being reversed. When functioning in this sense it is referred to as the "reversive" INFIX.
2. It is also used to signify the repetition of an action. When functioning with this meaning it is called the "repetitive" INFIX.
3. It is also sometimes used simply to intensify the meaning of the verb, and so is referred to as the "intensive" INFIX. On occasions the intensification has to do with doing something again (harkening back to the sense mentioned in 2 above). The INFIXes *-tin-* and *-tind-* are exclusively intensifiers.[179]

The INFIX *-it-* causes the active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX *-ude* to lenghten to *-inde*. However, the INFIX *-tin-* causes the active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX to contract to *-de*. Examples:

*Samba war-**t**-ii keeɲan.*
Samba came back yesterday.

*A uddii naa uddi-**t**-ii dammbugal ngal?*
Did you close or open the door?

*O waran haɓɓ-**it**-<u>inde</u> ngaari ndi laasaraaku.*
He will come untie the bull in the afternoon.

*Salla Muusa na waawi henng-**it**-<u>idde</u> keekel am hannden naa?*
Can Muusa fix my bike to day?

*Miin fes-**it**-i yeeso am.*[180]
Me, I tattooed my own face.

*Moy waawi nan-**tin**-de haala makko faa paamen?*
Who can translate what he is saying so we understand?

*Ɓe ket-**tind**-eke haala am.*
They paid attention to what I said.

*Min ndaar-**tind**-eke.*
We looked carefully.

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[179] The "intensive" INFIX *-tin-* can be found following another INFIX (see Appendix E #3 for examples) or by itself (see Appendix E #8 for examples) in active voice verbs. The intensive *-tind-* is used as an INFIX with middle voice verbs.

[180] *Fesitaade* is an emphatic way of saying "I tattooed myself." Additionally note the use of the emphatic pronoun *miin* and that the Emphatic verb FORM is employed.

H. –ondir-/-undur-[181]

This INFIX signifies "mutually doing something to each other." This is known as the "reciprocal" INFIX. This INFIX causes the active VOICE infinitive SUFFIX to contract to *-de*. Examples:

*Keeɲan ɓe njenn-**undur**-ii faa naawi, hannden eɓe njid'-**undur**-i, d'um woni tagu sukaaɓe.*
Yesterday they insulted each other horribly, today they like each other, that's the way of children.

*Miskiini'en na kaani wall-**ondir**-de.*
Poor people must help each other.

*Ɓe nyaam-**ondir**-ii jawdi faa ɓe did'o fuu ɓe laateke miskiini'en.*
They ate (plundered) each other's wealth until each one became poor.

I. –ow-/-oy-

This INFIX signifies "going to do something." Thus it is called the "distantive" INFIX.   Examples:

*Ɓe nyaam-**ow**-ii.*
They went to eat.

*A rem-**ow**-ii hannden naa?*
You went [to the field] to cultivate today?

*Rewɓe Guduru na cipp-**ow**-a Nampala nyannde fuu.*
The women of Guduru go to Nampala to sell milk everyday.

J. Multiple Infixes on One Verb Root:

Usage: it has been said that some linguists and some *Fulɓe* once got together and placed twelve INFIXes on a Fulfulde verb ROOT, creating a legitimate word.
That little exercise demonstrated the range of possibilities, even if it did not reflect everyday usage. However, it is not unusual for two to three INFIXes to be placed on one verb's ROOT. Examples:

*Ɓe kaal-**an-d-ir**-ii fuu.*
They explained everything to each other.

*O haɓɓ-**an-ir**-ii kam e boggol na'i am.*
He tied up [my cow] for me with my cow rope.

*Nawma na rem-**an-ow-ir**-a kam ngesa e na'i Guri.*
Nawma will go to plow a field for me with Guri's cow.

*Baylo o moyy-**in-ir**-ii wowru am e njamndi.*
The blacksmith fixed my mortar with metal.

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[181] The INFIX "*-undur-*" tends to be the preferred form in Djibo, while "*-ondir-*" tends to be preferred in Sebba, Tenkodogo and Mahadaga.

25. SUBORDINATION

A fair bit of attention has been paid to the issue of subordination in this edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde Grammar*. In each verbal section where subordination is an issue the various TRIGGER WORDS used in reference to a particular verbal FORM are mentioned as often these TRIGGER WORDS trigger a "default" verbal FORM in the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.[182] The terminology used in discussing subordination has been extensively defined in the Glossary (see page 179 *ff.*) – recall that all the terms listed throughout the grammar in small caps are words which are defined in the Glossary. However, in an effort to pull a lot of that information together in one spot, here is a quick review of subordination as it relates to Fulfulde grammar.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are clauses that depend upon another clause (the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE) in the sentence. An INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is a clause which can stand by itself as a complete sentence, while a DEPENDENT or SUBORDINATE CLAUSE cannot stand by itself. It requires the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE to make good sense.

Subordinators which trigger a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE include SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS, subordinating adverbs, and relative pronouns. Relative pronouns actually trigger relative clauses, which are usually subordinate.[183] One particular kind of SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE. In Fulfulde CONDITIONAL CLAUSEs are triggered by *si* or one of its compounded forms.[184]

What is meant here by "triggering" is that due to the grammatical features of various kinds of SUBORDINATE CLAUSES, there is often a certain verbal "default" FORM called for in that particular grammatical construction. However, as pointed out throughout this section on verbs, these "defaults" are often overridden by other considerations. The "default" FORM depends on whether the thought expressed by the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is positive or negative. Sometimes it depends on what the FOCUS of the clause is. If the FOCUS is on the ASPECT (completeness) then one FORM will be called for, while if the FOCUS is on something else, then a different FORM may be called for. Finally, if the thought expressed by the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE requires either the Stative, Negative Stative, Progressive, Imperative, or the Polite Imperative (Subjunctive), then the normal default will be overridden by that consideration. So these TRIGGER WORDS do trigger predictable grammatical features, but frequently enough either the Stative, Progressive, Imperative or Subjunctive will "trump" the expected grammatical default. One needs to continually bear this in mind when thinking about subordination.

Table 25.1 contains a listing of common subordinators used in Fulfulde, their definition, and what verbal FORM theses subordinators trigger in a positively stated complete or incomplete clause.

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[182] Subordinators are discussed throughout the Glossary (p. 179 *ff.*), in Section 11.A.3 (p. 69 *ff.*) on the General Complete, in Section 13.D (p. 92 – footnote 102) and Section 13.E (p. 94 *ff.*) on the Relative, and in Section 21.B (p. 129) on the desiderative.

[183] One type of relative clause which does not seem to be subordinate or dependent is one introduced by *dum saabi de* or *dum wadi de*, meaning "because of this," or "for this reason." Sometimes the *dum* is only implied (see p. 92 for examples of this). This type of relative clause appears to be able to stand on its own as an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE.

[184] Compounded forms of *si* would include *ammaa si, sabo si,* and *fay si.*

Table 25.1 Common Subordinators Used in Fulfulde

Subordinators	Part of Speech	Meaning	Default verb FORM triggered with Complete-Positive clause	Default verb FORM triggered with Incomplete-Positive clause
de	adverb	so, so that, so then, then, therefore, that is why, for this reason, in order that	General Complete in non-narrations, including direct and indirect speech Relative Complete in narration	Subjunctive or General Incomplete
de[185]	conjunction	and yet, but still, however, that, that even	same as above	same as above
faa[186]	adv/conj	so that, until	General Complete in ASPECT FOCUSed clauses Relative Complete in other FOCUSed clauses	Subjunctive
fay si[187]	conjunction	even if	Relative Complete	
ko[188]	adverb	that, what	Relative Complete	Relative Incomplete
nde[189]	adverb	when	Relative Complete	Relative Incomplete
no[190]	adverb	how	Relative Complete	Relative Incomplete
sabo[191]	conjunction	because, since	General Complete in ASPECT FOCUSed clauses Relative Complete in other FOCUSed clauses	
salla[192]	conjunction	whether (or not)	General Complete or Stative	General Incomplete or Progressive
si[193]	conjunction	if	General Complete	
si wanaa[194]	conjunction	unless, except		
to[195]	adverb	where	Relative complete	Relative Incomplete
mo	relative pronoun	who, whom	Relative Complete	Relative Incomplete
ɓe	relative pronoun	who, whom	Relative Complete	Relative Incomplete
ɗam, ɗe, ɗi, ɗum, ka, kal, ki, ko, kol, koy, nde, ndi, ndu, nga, ngal, nge, ngel, ngi, ngo, ngol, ngu , o	relative pronoun	which	Relative Complete	Relative Incomplete

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[185] *De* can function as either a subordinating adverb or SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION, with the meanings listed above in Table 25.1. However, usually *de* functions as a simple COORDINATING CONJUNCTION meaning "and," "and then," or "but." When functioning as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION *de* does not trigger the use of any particular verbal FORM. Because *de* is often found in narrations linking various parts of the narration together it is often associate with the Relative Complete FORM, but it is not per se triggering the Relative Complete FORM. Rather it would be the narration itself which triggered the use of the Relative Complete FORM and the *de* just happens to be present as a non-SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION linking clauses together.

[186] A cognate of *faa* is the adverb/CONJUNCTION *faɗo*, a contraction of *faa ɗo* (until here). The negative counterpart of *faa* is *taa* (so that not). *Taa* is used as a aux. verb with the Negative Imperative, but with the Negative Polite Imperative (Subjunctive), and the Negative Desiderative it functions as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION meaning basically "so that not" or "so that it does not."

[187] Synonyms of *fay si* are *ba se* and *jaka* all meaning "even if."

[188] *Ko* functions as an adverb when meaning "that." *Ko* is obviously also one of the 24 relative pronouns meaning "which" or "what." In either case *ko* triggers a relative clause. Compounded forms of *ko* would include the compound CONJUNCTIONS *ammaa ko* (but that), and the emphatic *fay ko* (even that, even though). These compounded subordinators function as relative pronouns which trigger a relative clause. A relative clause is usually subordinate in a COMPLEX SENTENCE.

[189] *Nde* functions as an adverb when meaning "when." *Nde* is also one of the 24 relative pronouns meaning "which." In either case *nde* triggers a relative clause. Compounded forms of *nde* would include *ammaa nde* (but when), the emphatic *fay nde* or *baa nde* (even when), and *faa nde* (until when). These compounded subordinators function as relative pronouns which trigger a relative clause. A relative clause is usually subordinate in a COMPLEX SENTENCE.

[190] The adverb *no* (how) functions as a relative pronoun triggering a relative clause. (*No*) *foti* (how much) is a compounded form of *no*. A relative clause is usually subordinate in a COMPLEX SENTENCE.

[191] Synonyms for sabo include: *sabu, gam, ngam, ngan* and *batte*.

[192] *Yalla* (whether) is a synonym of *salla*.

[193] Compounded forms of *si* include: *ammaa si* (but if), and *sabo si* (because if). These compound CONJUNCTIONS function exactly the same as *si*, triggering either the General or Participial Complete verb FORMs.

[194] *Si wanaa* is an invariable form. The verb is *wonude* and it is always rendered as a Negative Stative. However, the phrase introduces a qualifying thought which is subordinate to the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. The phrase does not trigger a particular verb FORM, but can be used in conjunction with a variety of verb FORMs.

[195] The adverb *to* (where) functions as a relative pronoun triggering a relative clause.

A. Subordinating Conjunctions:

In the following examples the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION is in bold and the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is underlined. There is a mixture of positively and negatively stated clauses. The verb FORM triggered by the subordinator is in normal type to highlight it (the rest of the sentence is in italics):

Si *o* yehii *luumo, o soodan gawri.* (General Complete)
If/When he goes to the market, he will buy millet.

Fay si neldumi *Almerke, nde heɓetaake sabo safaare durma walaa ley adunaaru.* (Relative Complete)
Even if I send to America for it, it cannot be had because medicine for colds does not exist (anywhere) in the world.

Fay si njahumi *faa mi* sooda *petoro to makko* mi heɓataa *sabo o* tawataake wakkati fuu.[196] (Relative Complete)/(Subjunctive)/(Negative Incomplete)
Even if I go to buy kerosene from him I won't get any because he [the person selling it] is never there.

Jaka *a* waawaa *nyiɓude suudu* de mbiiɗaa kam aɗa waawi! (Negative Stative)
Even though you can't build a house you told me you can!

*Munyu ga **faa** mi* wara. (Subjunctive)
Wait here until I come back.

*O gollii **faa** o* tampii. (General Complete)
He worked until he was tired.

*Heɗa faa **nde*** njahammi ***de*** njaaden. (Subjunctive – Polite Imperative)
Wait until I go, then we can go together.

*Sanaa kokken o saaya **sabo** jaangol* torrii *o.* (General Complete)
Let's give him a robe because the cold is really bothering him.

*Lobbo walaa gawri hikka **gam** o* remaay. (Negative Complete)
Lobbo doesn't have any grain this year because he didn't cultivate.

*A haalanaay kam goonga **batte** a* yiɗaa *salanaade kam.* (Negative Stative)
You didn't tell me the truth because you didn't want to refuse me.

*Tinna taa wurta ɗo **faɗo*** ngartumi! (Relative Complete)
Don't leave here until I get back!

*O bonnu jawdi laamu **de** o* nanngaa. (Relative Complete)
He embezzled government funds so he was arrested.

*Nanngen araawa nga **taa** nga* bonnu *gawri ndi.*[197] (Negative Desiderative)
*Nanngen araawa nga **taa** nga* bonna *gawri ndi.* (Negative Polite Imperative)
Let's catch the donkey so that it does not ruin the millet.

There is one subordinator that has not been dealt with in any other section since it can be followed by any verb FORM. This is the second meaning of *si wanaa*: "if it is not, unless, except."[198] The CONJUNCTION s*i wanaa* acts as a

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[196] This is a rather complex example as there are three separate subordinate clauses, two of which are conditional clauses. *Fay si* (even if) introduces a clause of futility, and *sabo* introduces a clause explaining why the speaker won't get any kerosene. *To* (to, from) is functioning as a preposition in this example, not as a relative pronoun. The only thing left as the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is the terse statement *mi heɓataa* (I will not have).

[197] See footnote 185 on *taa* as the negative conterpart of *faa*.

[198] Remember that *si wanaa* (or *sanaa*) can also mean "must" or "it is necessary."

qualifying phrase that is inserted as a parenthesis introducing an exception to the thought of the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. A verb might be found in the phrase following *si wanaa*.[199] However, *si wanaa* does not trigger any particular verbal FORM. Actually, the verb impacted by *si* is always *wonude* (to be), and invariably it is rendered in the Negative Stative FORM. Only the first example has a verb following *wanaa*. There is often a negative element in the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE, but not necessarily so. In the examples the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE is underlined and the CONJUNCTION is in bold type. *Wanaa* is not italicized as it is always the verb impacted by the *si*.

Si **wanaa** *ko o hokkunoo kam kaalisi keeɲan*, *mi maayannoo rafo.*[200]
If he had not given me money yesterday, I would have died of hunger.

Si **wanaa** *keme ɗiɗi*, *mi gollataa.*[201]
Except for 1,000 francs I will not work.

Mt 13:34b *Huunde fuu o haalanaay yimɓe* **si** **wanaa** *e banndi.*
He didn't say anything to the people except in parables.

Dan. 2:11b "*Fay gooto waawaa hollude kaananke* **si** **wanaa** *maleyka'en, ammaa ɓe njooɗataako hakkunde yimɓe.*"
No one can show the king except angels, but they don't sit among men.

B. Subordination with Subordinating Adverbs:

Four of the six subordinating adverbs listed in Table 25.1 introduce a relative clause, just as the relative pronouns do, and trigger a Relative verb FORM in a positively stated clause. When *ko* and *nde* are functioning as subordinating adverbs, meaning "what/that" and "when," they will always begin a relative clause which will be subordinate. When they are functioning as relative pronouns, meaning "which," they will also begin a relative clause, which will also be subordinate. In the examples below the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is underlined, the subordinating adverbs and the closure markers (when present) are in bold type. The verb impacted by the adverb is in normal type.

Mi yi'aay **ko** *Burayma* hokki *ɓe* **dum**. (Relative Complete)
I did not see what Burayma gave to them.

Nde ngarumi *Djibo* **ndeen**, *mi nanataa Fulfulde fey.* (Relative Complete)
When I came to Djibo, I couldn't understand Fulfulde at all.

No *ɓe* njaarata **nii**, *Isiyaaka ɲami bammum Ibrahiima.* (Relative Incomplete)
As they were walking along, Isaac queried his father Abraham

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[199] Ed. Note: In doing a survey of this expression in the Bible portions we have in Fulfulde at present I found in the vast majority of cases a noun will be found in the phrase following *si wanaa* and not a verb.

[200] In this example the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE has been inverted with the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. This is commonly done when emphasizing the thought of the SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. The "normal" sentence would be: *Mi maayanno rafo, si wanaa ko o hokkunoo kam kaalisi keeɲan*. The verb *hokkude* is rendered in the Relative Complete FORM because of the relative pronoun *ko* and not because of the presence of *si wanaa*.

[201] Obviously the subject, the verb, and object have been left out of this sentence. The full sentence would be properly rendered: *Si wanaa keme ɗiɗi njoɓataa kam, mi gollataa*. This would be the most natural way they would express this thought. One could also possibly say: *Si wanaa a yoɓan kam keme ɗiɗi, mi gollataa*, but this does not carry the emphatic "punch" of the first wording. The non-inverted sentence would be: *Mi gollataa si wanaa keme ɗiɗi njoɓataa kam.* {lit. - I will not work unless 1,000 cfa you pay me.}

*Mi limii caakuuji maaro **foti** njogiɗaa.* (Relative Complete)
I counted how many sacks of rice you own.

*Mi yamaay o **to** o* yiiti *be'i makko ɗi.* (Relative Complete)
I did not ask him where he found his goats.

*Mi yahan luumo **faa** mi sootta nagge baabam.*
I am going to market in order to sell my father's cow.

C. Subordination with Relative Pronouns:

Remember that relative clauses which start with "which" will be SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.[202] These clauses make a parenthetical comment about either the subject or the object of the INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. As such the entire relative clause relates to the noun or pronoun it is modifying as an adjective. The only relative clauses that don't appear to be dependent are those begun by *ɗum saabi de* or *ɗum waɗi de* (see first example) meaning "because of this," "for this reason" or "that this why." In the examples the SUBORDINATE CLAUSES are underlined, the relative pronoun is in bold type, and the verb impacted by the relative pronoun is in normal type:

*Mi doggii, ngarumi law law, **ɗum saabi de** tampumi.*[203]
I ran and I came quickly - that is why I am tired.

Ngaddanaa kam huɗo ko tayumi keeɲan.
Bring me the grass which I cut yesterday.

*Cogganaa kam ngaari **ndi** coodumi luumo Djibo **faa yaha So**.* (Relative Complete)/(Subjunctive)
Herd for me the bull which I bought at the Djibo market to So.

*Mawniiko **mo** nji'ataa faɓɓi jaango **o** wo caahiiɗo sanne.* (Relative Incomplete)
His older brother, who you will see the day after tomorrow, is a very polite person.

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[202] For a discussion of relative clauses, see Section 13.C (pp. 88) and 13.D (p. 91).
[203] This is a compound sentence with two INDEPENDENT CLAUSES.

ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS & PREPOSITIONS

26. ADJECTIVES

In Fulfulde syntax an adjective always follows the noun it is modifying; e.g. *gorko mawɗo* (the old man). Adjectives, like participles, can also serve as nouns; e.g. *Inan mawɗo wuro.* (Here is the head of the household.) There are four main mechanisms for modifying nouns. These are:

A. **The Use of the particle *na*:**
   The use of *na* is described in Section 16.A, page 109. These are basically what in English would be called predicate adjectives. For example:

   *Suudu ndu **na mawni**.*
   That hut is **big**.

   *Suudu ndu **na famɗi**.*
   That hut is **small**.

B. **Participles:**
   Participles can be used to modify nouns. An explanation of participles and examples of usage have been given in Section 14, page 98 *ff.*

C. **Real Adjectives:**
   There is a limited number of real adjectives in Fulfulde. Below is a listing of the various types of adjectives found in the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde-English/English-Fulfulde Dictionary*. They fall into 4 categories:

   ### 1. Invariable adjectives:
   The *Burkina Faso Fulfulde-English/English-Fulfulde Dictionary* lists sixteen invariable adjectives which do not conjugate for noun class (plus a trio of compound adjectives meaning "each one"):

   arano – first
   bulabula – adj. blue (related to *bulɗude*)
   deke - plus, some, more than, and a little (related to *dekude*)
   foti - how many, how much – used with things
   foto - how many – used with persons
   fuu - all
   gomma – some
   gootum – same
   iri – like
   kala – all
   liddi - the opposite
   nano – left
   nyaamo – right
   sedɗa/seeɗa – a little
   sowre – many
   togosi – small
   mo hen fuu/mono fuu/mono kala - each one

   ### 2. Conjugatable adjectives:
   There are two adjectives which do conjugate for each of the 24 noun classes:

   huɗo hecco – green – (related to verb *heccidinde*)
   feere – different, distinct

3. Cardinal numbers:

ɓolum - zero, nothing
go'o – one

a. Cardinals used with the plural noun classes *ɗe* and *ɗi*:

ɗiɗi - two
tati - three
nay - four
joy - five
jeegom - six
jeɗɗi - seven
jeetati (*jetti*) - eight
jeenay - nine
sappo - ten
capanɗe - signifies tens
noogay/laso - twenty
capanɗe tati/woronja - thirty
capanɗe nay/lasooji ɗiɗi - fourty
capanɗe joy/woygu - fifty
capanɗe jeegom/lasooji tati - sixty
capanɗe jeɗɗi/lasooji tati e sappo - seventy
capanɗe jeetati/lasooji nay - eighty
cepanɗe jeenay/lasooji nay e sappo - ninty
hemre - one hundred
keme - signifies hundreds
ujunere - one thousand

b. Cardinal numbers – used with the plural noun classes *ɓe* and *ko₂*:

ɗiɗo
tato
nayo
njoyo
jeegomo/njeegomo
njeɗɗo
njeetato
njeenayo

c. Cardinal numbers – used with the plural noun class *koy*:

ɗiɗoy
tatoy
nayoy
joyoy/njoyoy
jeegoy/njeegomoy
njeɗɗoy
njeetatoy
njeenayoy

4. Ordinal numbers:

first (from *go'o*): **Group I** ɓe/go'aɓe, ko₁/go'aɓo, nde/go'aɓerde, ndu/go'aɓurdu, nge/go'aɓe, ngo/go'aɓo **Group II** ɗe/go'aɓe, ɗi/go'aɓi, ɗum/go'aɓum, kal/go'aɓal, kol/go'aɓol, ngal/go'aɓal, ngel/go'aɓel, ngol/go'aɓol, o/go'o **Group III** ɗam/ngo'aɓam, ka/ngo'aɓa, ki/ngo'aɓi, ko₂/ngo'aɓo, koy/ngo'aɓoy, ndi/ngo'aɓirdi, nga/ngo'aɓa, ngi/ngo'aɓi, ngu/ngo'aɓu

second (from *ɗiɗi*): **Group I** ɓe/ɗiɗaɓe, ko₁/ɗiɗaɓo, nde/ɗiɗaɓerde, ndu/ɗiɗaɓurdu, nge/ɗiɗaɓe, ngo/ɗiɗaɓo **Group II** ɗe/ɗiɗaɓe, ɗi/ɗiɗaɓe, ɗum/ɗiɗaɓum, kal/ɗiɗaɓal, kol/ɗiɗaɓol, ngal/ɗiɗaɓal, ngel/ɗiɗaɓel, ngol/ɗiɗaɓol, o/ɗiɗaɓo **Group III** ɗam/ɗiɗaɓam, ka/ɗiɗaɓa, ki/ɗiɗaɓi, ko₂/ɗiɗaɓo, koy/ɗiɗaɓoy, ndi/ɗiɗaɓirdi, nga/ɗiɗaɓa, ngi/ɗiɗaɓi, ngu/ɗiɗaɓu

third (from *tati*): **Group I** ɓe/tataɓe, ko₁/tataɓo, nde/tataɓerde, ndu/tataɓurdu, nge/tataɓe, ngo/tataɓo **Group II** ɗe/tataɓe, ɗi/tataɓi, ɗum/tataɓum, kal/tataɓal, kol/tataɓol, ngal/tataɓal, ngel/tataɓel, ngol/tataɓol, o/tataɓo **Group III** ɗam/tataɓam, ka/tataɓa, ki/tataɓi, ko₂/tataɓo, koy/tataɓoy, ndi/tataɓirdi, nga/tataɓa, ngi/tataɓi, ngu/tataɓu

forth (from *nay*): **Group I** *ɓe/nayaɓe, ko₁/nayaɓo, nde/nayaɓerde, ndu/nayaɓurdu, nge/nayaɓe, ngo/nayaɓo* **Group II** *ɗe/nayaɓe, ɗi/nayaɓi, ɗum/nayaɓum, kal/nayaɓal, kol/nayaɓol, ngal/nayaɓal, ngel/nayaɓel, ngol/nayɓol, o/nayaɓo* **Group III** *ɗam/nayaɓam, ka/nayaɓa, ki/nayaɓi, ko₂/nayaɓo, koy/nayaɓoy, ndi/nayaɓirdi, nga/nayaɓa, ngi/nayaɓi, ngu/nayaɓu*

fifth (from *joy*): **Group I** ɓe/joyaɓe, ko₁/joyaɓo, nde/joyaɓerde, ndu/joyaɓurdu, nge/joyaɓe, ngo/joyaɓo **Group II** ɗe/joyaɓe, ɗi/joyaɓi, ɗum/joyaɓum, kal/joyaɓal, kol/joyaɓol, ngal/joyaɓal, ngel/joyaɓel, ngol/joyaɓol, o/joyoɓo **Group III** ɗam/njoyaɓam, ka/njoyaɓa, ki/njoyaɓi, ko₂/njoyaɓo, koy/njoyaɓoy, ndi/njoyaɓirdi, nga/njoyaɓa, ngi/njoyaɓi, ngu/njoyaɓu

sixth (from *jeegom*): **Group I** ɓe/jeegaɓe, ko₁/jeegaɓo, nde/jeegaɓerde, ndu/jeegaɓurdu, nge/jeegaɓe, ngo/jeegaɓo **Group II** ɗe/jeegaɓe, ɗi/jeegaɓi, ɗum/jeegaɓum, kal/jeegaɓal, kol/jeegaɓol, ngal/jeegaɓal, ngel/jeegaɓel, ngol/jeegaɓol, o/jeegaɓo **Group III** ɗam/njeegaɓam, ka/njeegaɓa, ki/njeegaɓi, ko₂/njeegaɓo, koy/njeegaɓoy, ndi/njeegaɓirdi, nga/njeegaɓa, ngi/njeegaɓi, ngu/njeegaɓu

seventh (from *jeɗɗi*): **Group I** ɓe/jeɗɗaɓe, ko/jeɗɗaɓo, nde/jeɗɗaɓi, ndu/jeɗɗaɓurdu, nge/jeɗɗaɓe, ngo/jeɗɗaɓo **Group II** ɗe/jeɗɗaɓe, ɗi/jeɗɗaɓi, ɗum/jeɗɗaɓum, kal/jeɗɗaɓal, kol/jeɗɗaɓol, ngal/jeɗɗaɓal, ngel/jeɗɗaɓel, ngol/jeɗɗaɓol, o/jeɗɗaɓol **Group III** ɗam/njeɗɗaɓam, ka/njeɗɗaɓa, ki/njeɗɗaɓi, ko/njeɗɗaɓo, koy/njeɗɗaɓoy, ndi/njeɗɗaɓirdi, nga/njeɗɗaɓa, ngi/njeɗɗaɓi, ngu/njeɗɗaɓu

eighth (from *jeetati*): **Group I** ɓe/jeetataɓe, ko₁/jeetataɓo, nde/jeetataɓerde, ndu/jeetataɓurdu, nge/jeetataɓe, ngo/jeetataɓo **Group II** ɗe/jeetataɓe, ɗi/jeetataɓi, ɗum/jeetataɓum, kal/jeetataɓal, kol/jeetataɓol, ngal/jeetataɓal, ngel/jeetataɓel, ngol/jeetataɓol, o/jeetataɓo **Group III** ɗam/njeetataɓam, ka/njeetataɓa, ki/njeetataɓi, ko₂/njeetataɓo, koy/njeetataɓoy, ndi/njeetataɓirdi, nga/njeetataɓa, ngi/njeetataɓi, ngu/njeetataɓu

ninth (from *jeenay*): **Group I** ɓe/jeenayaɓe, ko₁/jeenayaɓo, nde/jeenayaɓerde, ndu/jeenayaɓurdu, nge/jeenayaɓe, ngo/jeenayaɓo **Group II** ɗe/jeenayaɓe, ɗi/jeenayaɓi, ɗum/jeenayaɓum, kal/jeenayaɓal, kol/jeenayaɓol, ngal/jeenayaɓal, ngel/jeenayaɓel, ngol/jeenayaɓol, o/jeenayaɓo **Group III** ɗam/njeenayaɓam, ka/njeenayaɓa, ki/njeenayaɓi, ko₂/njeenayaɓo, koy/njeenayaɓoy, ndi/njeenayaɓirdi, nga/njeenayaɓa, ngi/njeenayaɓi, ngu/njeenayaɓu

tenth (from *sappo*): **Group I** ɓe/sappoɓe, ko₁/sappoɓo, nde/sappoɓerde, ndu/saooɓurdu, nge/sappoɓe, ngo/sappoɓo **Group II** ɗe/sappoɓe, ɗi/sappoɓi, ɗum/sappoɓum, kal/sappoɓal, kol/sappoɓol, ngal/sappoɓal, ngel/sappoɓel, ngol/sappoɓol, o/sappoɓo **Group III** ɗam/sappoɓam, ka/sappoɓa, ki/sappoɓi, ko₂/sappoɓo, koy/sappoɓoy, ndi/sappoɓirdi, nga/sappoɓa, ngi/sappoɓi, ngu/sappoɓu

twentieth (from *noogay*): **Group I** ɓe/noogayaɓe, ko₁/noogayaɓo, nde/noogayaɓerde, nge/noogayaɓe, ngo/noogayaɓo **Group II** ɗe/noogayaɓe, ɗi/noogayaɓi, ɗum/noogayaɓum, kal/noogayaɓal, kol/noogayaɓol, ngal/noogayaɓal, ngel/noogayaɓel, ngol/noogayaɓol, o/noogayaɓo **Group III** ɗam/noogayaɓam, ka/noogayaɓa, ki/noogayaɓi, ko₂/noogayaɓo, koy/noogayaɓoy, ndi/noogayaɓirdi, nga/noogayaɓa, ngi/noogayaɓi, ngu/noogayaɓu

twentieth (from *laso*): **Group I** ɓe/lasoɓe, ko₁/lasoɓo, de/lasoɓerde, du/lasoɓurdu, ge/lasoɓe, go/lasoɓo **Group II** ɗe/lasoɓe, ɗi/lasoɓi, ɗum/lasoɓum, kal/lasoɓal, kol/lasoɓol, gal/lasoɓal, gel/lasoɓel, gol/lasoɓol, o/lasoɓo **Group III** ɗam/lasoɓam, ka/lasoɓa, ki/lasoɓi, ko₂/lasoɓo, koy/lasoɓoy, di/lasoɓirdi, ga/lasoɓa, gi/lasoɓi, gu/lasoɓu

one hundredth (from *hemre*): **Group I** ɓe/hemre go'aɓe; ko₁/hemre go'aɓo; nde/hemre go'aɓerde; ndu/hemre go'aɓurdu; nge/hemre go'aɓe; ngo/hemre go'aɓo **Group II** ɗe/hemre go'aɓe; ɗi/hemre go'aɓi; ɗum/hemre go'aɓum; kal/hemre go'aɓal; kol/hemre go'aɓol; ngal/hemre go'aɓal; ngel/hemre go'aɓel; ngol/hemre go'aɓol; o/hemre go'o
Group III ɗam/hemre ngo'aɓam; ka/hemre ngo'aɓa; ki/hemre ngo'aɓi; ko₂/hemre ngo'aɓo; koy/hemre ngo'aɓoy; ndi/hemre ngo'aɓirdi; nga/hemre ngo'aɓa; ngi/hemre ngo'aɓi, ngu/hemre ngo'aɓu

one thousandth (from *ujunere*): **Group I** ɓe/ujunere go'aɓe; ko₁/ujunere go'aɓo; nde/ujunere go'aɓerde; ndu/ujunere go'aɓurdu; nge/ujunere go'aɓe; ngo/ujunere go'aɓo **Group II** ɗe/ujunere go'aɓe; ɗi/ujunere go'aɓi; ɗum/ujunere go'aɓum; kal/ujunere go'aɓal; kol/ujunere go'aɓol; ngal/ujunere go'aɓal; ngel/ujunere go'aɓel; ngol/ujunere go'aɓol; o/ujunere go'o **Group III** ɗam/ujunere ngo'aɓam; ka/ujunere ngo'aɓa; ki/ujunere ngo'aɓi; ko₂/ujunere ngo'aɓo; koy/ujunere ngo'aɓoy; ndi/ujunere ngo'aɓirdi; nga/ujunere ngo'aɓa; ngi/ujunere ngo'aɓi, ngu/ujunere ngo'aɓu

D. Adjectives Derived from Other Parts of Speech:

All of these adjectives in this fourth group are formed by conjugating some other part of speech: verbs, interrogative pronouns (which may function as adjectives), nouns, one preposition, and one adverb

1. Adjectives formed from verbs:

Most adjectives are formed from verbs. There are different endings which can be attached to certain verb roots to create an adjective, which harmonize the adjective with the noun class of the noun being modified (see details below). Adjectives may appear to be similar to participles, but the adjectives have their own distinct set of endings, tend to tamper with the verb ROOT in order to phonetically harmonize the root with the endings, and they do not conjugate as to VOICE and ASPECT as do participles. However, adjectives do have the same pattern of initial consonant changes as that used by participles and nouns (see Table 26.1 below). Certain Stative verbs conjugate to form adjectives for each of the 24 noun classes.

Especially noteworthy are those verb relating to color or an animal's coat pattern. All of these verbs (except *nyonndidinde* and *siiditinde*) are conjugated in the tables below, and they are all conjugated in the dictionary:

ɗokkiɗinde – to be blind in one eye
fahɗude – to be deaf
famɗude – to be small
furɗude – to be dusty, dirty
guddidinde – to be short or sawed off
heccidinde – to be fresh, new (see CONJUGATION of green in Table 26.7)
hellidinde – to be speckled
hesidinde – to be new
heyɗude – to be new
hiinɗude/hiidɗude – to be old
huggidinde – to be humped
laaɓude – to be clean, pure
lobbidinde – to be beautiful
maandinde – to explain
mawnude – to be big
muumɗude – to be mute
nyonndidinde – to speak with a nasal quality
raɓɓidinde – to be short
rewɗude – to submit (see CONJUGATION of female in Table 26.10)
waggidinde – to be soft, tender, young
woɗude – to be other, another
wonude – to be
wootude – to be one
worɗude – to be male (see CONJUGATION of male in Table 26.10)

ɓawlude – to be black
bulɗude – to be blue
oolɗude – to be yellow
rawnude – to be white
siiditinde – to be brownish
siiɗude - to be dark brown
wojjude – to be red
wuunɗude – to be grey

dargidinde – to have patches of color
herɗude – to have patches of color
jamoldinde – to be mottled, dappled
mallidinde – to be spotted
noorɗude – to be patched
sayɗude – to be speckled
siiwɗude – to be striped
solɗude – to be speckled
waagidinde – to have patches or bands of color

2. Interrogative pronouns:

All of these mean "which" and can function as adjectives:[204]

ɓeye (ɓe)	*moye (o)*	*ngiye (ngi)*
ɗame (ɗam)	*ndeye (nde)*	*ngole (ngol)*
ɗeye (ɗe)	*ndiye (ndi)*	*ngoye (ngo)*
ɗiye (ɗi)	*nduye (ndu)*	*nguye (ngu)*
kale (kal)	*ngale (ngal)*	*noy foti* – how much
kaye (ka)	*ngaye (nga)*	*oye (o)*
kole (ko)	*ngele (ngel)*	
koye (koy)	*ngeye (nge)*	

3. Miscellaneous:

There is one adverb , one preposition, and two nouns which form adjectives by conjugating for the pertinent noun classes.

arande – (adv) before

hakkunde – (prep) to be medium, average

goonga – (noun) truth (related to *goondude*)
ɓii – (noun) offspring

Features of Fulfulde adjectives:

➢ Most adjectives are derived from verbs, but as noted above, there are a few that are not (although some of these also have a related verbal form).
➢ Initial consonant change of the word's base form (generally per the rules set forth in Table 26.1 below).
➢ In some cases the verbal ROOT is tampered with in order to harmonize the ROOT with the adjectival SUFFIXes.
➢ In some cases (particularly with adjectives describing colors or coat patterns) vowels are placed between the base form and the SUFFIXes.
➢ Adjectival SUFFIXes, which are different than those used to form participles, are then added to conjugate the adjective for each appropriate noun class. The two main patterns, with their variations are listed below.

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[204] See Section 13.C, p. 88 for more information on the interrogative pronouns. See each pronouns' listing in the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde-English/English-Fulfulde Dictionary* for examples of how and when these pronouns are used as adjectives.

Table 26.1 Initial Consonant Changes of Adjectives (same as Table 5.1)

Initial Consonant of Verb Root*	GROUP I	GROUP II	GROUP III
	ɓe, ko, nde ndu, nge, ngo	ɗe, ɗi, ɗum, kal, kol, ngal, ngel, ngol, o	ɗam, ka, ki, ko, koy, ndi, nga, ngi, ngu
b	b	b	mb
d	d	d	nd
g	g	g	ng
j	j	j	nj
f	f	p	p
h	h	k	k
s	s	c	c
r	r	d	nd
w	w	b	mb
w	w	g	ng
y	y	j	nj
y	y	g	ng

As noted above, there are changes that take place between the ROOT and the ending for quite a number of adjectives. There is no clearly discernible logical pattern, but there are a limited number of adjectives in Fulfulde and Tables 26.2-10 conjugate most of these for your reference. See Section 10.B on Final Consonant Changes (page 66) for an explanation of the variation of forms for some of these adjectives' terminations in the charts below. In particular, base forms ending with "ɗ" tend to harmonize extensively throughout the series, with the "ɗ" morphing to whatever letter the SUFFIX begins with; e.g. *wod- + ɓe → woɓ-ɓe, wod- + ko → wok-ko, wod- nde → won-nde, wod- + ɗam → ngoɗɗam*. Here are two basic patterns that the *Fulɓe* follow in forming the endings of these adjectives.

Pattern A: For most of the verbs, except *mallidine, saydude*, and six of eight verbs referring to color, the root of the verb, minus its INFIX (usually "-iɗ" or "-ɗ") forms the base of the adjective form, and some form of the noun class marker is added as the SUFFIX. Unfortunately, this pattern has several varations, depending on the phonetical environment at the end of the verb's root. For a few of the verbs the entire noun class marker is used as the SUFFIX; e.g. *hey- + ko → hey-ko*.[205] Most of the adjectival SUFFIXes are formed by dropping the first letter (or blended consonant such "ng") of the noun class marker, and the remaining vowel becomes the SUFFIX; e.g. *hes- + ko → hes-o*. Often the SUFFIXes for *ɓe, nde, ndi,* and *ndu* are a bit different than the rest in a series. Sometimes a facultative "u" is added between the verb root and *ɓe*; e.g. *dokk- + u + ɓe → dokk-uɓe*.[206] Sadly the the nasal blend "nd" has five different ways it forms its SUFFIXes. In some case the entire noun class marker is added as the SUFFIX; e.g. *hiin-nde, maw-nde, won-ndi, sii-ndu*. Sometimes the "nd" morphs to "r" with the remaining vowel tacked on the end to form the SUFFIX; e.g. *nde → -re, ndi → -ri, ndu → -ru*.[207] For example: *hey-re, key-ri, hey-ru*. At other times only the "n" is dropped to form the SUFFIX; e.g. *nde → -de, ndi → -di, ndu → -du*.[208] For example: *wor-de, ngor-di, wor-du*. In other phonetical environments the "nd" is dropped, but then the remaining

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[205] This is true of *hey-, hiin-, hiid-, maw-,* and *won-*

[206] In particular after b, ɓ, d, g, k and t this facultative "u" is placed between the root and *-ɓe*; e.g. *lobb-uɓe, rabɓ-uɓe, gudd-uɓe, hugg-uɓe, dokk-uɓe, geet-uɓe*. In other cases the *-ɓe* is added to the verb root directly; e.g. *hey-ɓe, fah-ɓe, muum-ɓe, fur-ɓe, ɓol-ɓe*.

[207] This SUFFIX (-re, -ri, -ru) is found when the verbal root ends with y, h, or m; e.g. *hey-re, pah-ri, muum-ru*.

[208] This SUFFIX (-de, -di, -du) is found when the verb root ends with r or l; e.g. *famar-de, ool-di*.

vowel reduplicates with a "r" inserted between the vowel to form the SUFFIX; e.g. *nde* → -ere, *ndi* → -iri, *ndu* → -uru.[209] For example: *raɓɓ-ere, ndaɓɓ-iri, raɓɓ-uru*. As with other noun classes, a facultative "u" is placed between the verb root and the noun class marker when the root ends with certain letters (see footnote 206); e.g. *laaɓ-u-nde, laaɓ-u-ndi, laaɓ-u-ndu*.

Pattern B: Particularly for the color adjectives, and a couple of the coat pattern adjectives, the base form from which the adjectives are formed comprises some altered form of the verb root - often letters are omitted from the verb's root – with one or two vowels tacked on the end as phonetical facilitators. What determines whether one or two vowels are used between the base form and the SUFFIX is the length of the SUFFIX. Most of the SUFFIXes are short (two letters) and with these a double vowel is used between the base form and the SUFFIX; e.g. *ɓalee-ho* (*ko*), *danee-je* (*ɗe*), *mboɗee-wa* (*nga*). For the long SUFFIXes derived from *ɗam, ɗum, kal, kol, koy, ngal, ngel*, and *ngol*, only one vowel is inserted between the base form and the SUFFIX; e.g. *ɓale-jam* (*ɗam*), *ndane-hoy* (*koy*), *boɗe-wal* (*ngal*). The initial consonants of all of the SUFFIXes (except -*ɓe*) morph to form the adjectival SUFFIXes. The changes are mercifully regular: ɗ → j; k → h; nd → r; ng → w.

> **Note to language learners:** Because of their slightly irregular formation, most of the adjectives we know of at present are conjugated in Tables 26.2-10. They are also all conjugated in the dictionary under their lexeme on the Fulfulde side. Unless you have a photographic memory, you might do well to pick a few of these that you think you might use regularly and memorize the forms for the noun classes that are most extensively used (as was recommended on page 101 in Section 14 dealing with participles). I would recommend learning the forms for: *o, ɓe, nde, ndu, ngal* and *nga*.

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[209] These SUFFIXes (-*ere*, -*iri*, -*uru*) are found when the verb ROOT ends with b, ɓ d, g, k or t; e.g. *lobb-ere, raɓɓ-ere, ngudd-iri, kugg-iri, ɗokk-uru, geet-uru*. This is the same set of consonants that use a "u" between the base form and -*ɓe*.

Verb →		hes-iɗ-inde†	hey-ɗ-ude†	hiin-ɗ-ude*	hiiɗ-ɗ-ude*	fam-ɗ-ude	maw-n-ude§
Base Form →		(h)es-	(h)ey-	(h)iin-	hiiɗ-	(f)amar-	maw-
Noun Class Marker	Noun	Adjective Forms					
ɓe	yimɓe		hey-ɓe	hiin-ɓe	hiiɓ-ɓe	famar-ɓe	maw-ɓe
ko	huɗo	hes-o		hiin-ko	hiik-ko	famar-o	maw-ko
nde	dewtere		hey-re	hiin-nde	hiin-nde	famar-de	maw-nde
ndu	suudu		hey-ru	hiin-ndu	hiin-ndu	famar-du	maw-ndu
nge	nagge	hes-e		hiin-nge	hiin-nge	famar-e	maw-nge man-nge
ngo	daago	hes-o		hiin-ngo	hiin-ngo	famar-o	maw-ngo man-ngo
ɗe	leyɗe	kes-e		kiin-ɗe	kiiɗ-ɗe	pamar-e	maw-ɗe
ɗi	na'i	kes-i		kiin-ɗi	kiiɗ-ɗi	pamar-i	maw-ɗi
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	kes-um		kiin-ɗum	kiiɗ-ɗum	pamar-um	maw-ɗum
kal	ndihal	kes-al		kiin-kal	kiik-kal	pamar-al	maw-kal
kol	nyalohol	kes-ol		kiin-kol	kiik-kol	pamar-ol	maw-kol
ngal	cofal	kes-al		kiin-ngal	kiin-ngal	pamar-al	maw-ngal man-ngal
ngel	cukalel	kes-el		kiin-ngel	kiin-ngel	pamar-el	maw-ngel man-ngel
ngol	kokuwol	kes-ol		kiin-ngol	kiin-ngol	pamar-ol	maw-ngol man-ngol
o	neɗɗo	kes-o		kiin-ɗo	kiiɗ-ɗo	pamar-o	mawɗo
ɗam	kosam	kes-am		kiin-ɗam	kiiɗ-ɗam	pamar-am	maw-ɗam
ka	laana	kes-a		kiin-ka	kiik-ka	pamar-a	maw-ka
ki	lekki	kes-i		kiin-ki	kiik-ki	pamar-i	maw-ki
ko₂	na'o	kes-o		kiin-ko	kiik-ko	pamar-o	maw-ko
koy	kuukoy	kes-oy		kiin-koy	kiik-koy	pamar-oy	maw-koy
ndi	ngaari		key-ri	kiin-ndi	kiin-ndi	pamar-di	maw-ndi
nga	ngesa	kes-a		kiin-nga	kiin-nga	pamar-a	maw-nga man-nga
ngi	naggi	kes-i		kiin-ngi	kiin-ngi	pamar-i	maw-ngi man-ngi
ngu	puccu	kes-u		kiin-ngu	kiin-ngu	pamar-u	maw-ngu man-ngu

†These two sets of adjectives are complementary and mean the same thing – to be new. The verb root √hes- is used for all the noun classes, except ɓe, nde, ndi, and ndu, where the root √hey- is used instead.

*It appears *hiinɗude* is the original verb form, and *hiiɗɗude* is the harmonized version, which may be the more familiar of the two forms. Note the extensive harmonization that continues throughout the series with *hiiɗɗude*.

§Note that with *mawnude*, the verb root's final "n" is dropped and the base form used in forming adjectives becomes *maw-*. Also, when the base form *maw-* is followed by "ng," it can also harmonize to *man-*; e.g. *maw-ngu, man-ngu*.

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles. Note with *famɗude* not only is the "-ɗ-" INFIX dropped, but "-ar-" is added as the base form's termination for phonetical reasons.

Table 26.3 Conjugation of Some Adjectives Formed From Verbs (blind, deaf, mute, humped, short)

Verb →	ɗokk-iɗ-inde*	fah-ɗ-ude†	muum-ɗ-ude†	hugg-iɗ-inde*	gudd-iɗ-inde*	raɓɓ-iɗ-inde*
Base Form →	ɗokk-	fah-	muum-	hugg-	gudd-	raɓɓ-
Noun Class Marker / Noun	Adjective Forms					

Noun Class Marker	Noun						
ɓe	yimɓe	ɗokk-uɓe	fah-ɓe	muum-ɓe	hugg-uɓe	gudd-uɓe	raɓɓ-uɓe
ko₁	huɗo					gudd-o	raɓɓ-o
nde	wojere	ɗokk-ere	fah-re	muum-re	hugg-ere	gudd-ere	raɓɓ-ere
ndu	ɓoosaaru	ɗokk-uru	fah-ru	muum-ru	hugg-uru	gudd-uru	raɓɓ-uru
nge	nagge	ɗokk-e	fah-e	muum-e	hugg-e	gudd-e	raɓɓ-e
ngo	daago					gudd-o	raɓɓ-o
ɗe	cofe	ɗokk-e	pah-e	muum-ɗe	kugg-e	gudd-e	daɓɓ-e
ɗi	na'i	ɗokk-i	pah-i	muum-ɗi	kugg-i	gudd-i	daɓɓ-i
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	ɗokk-um	pah-um	muum-ɗum	kugg-um	gudd-um	daɓɓ-um
kal	ndihal						
kol	nyalohol	ɗokk-ol	pah-ol	muum-ol	kugg-ol	gudd-ol	daɓɓ-ol
ngal	cofal	ɗokk-al	pah-al	muum-al	kugg-al	gudd-al	daɓɓ-al
ngel	cukalel	ɗokk-el	pah-el	muum-el	kugg-el	gudd-el	daɓɓ-el
ngol	'ɓoggol'²¹⁰	ɗokk-ol				gudd-ol	daɓɓ-ol
o	neɗɗo	ɗokk-o	pah-o	muum-ɗo	kugg-o	gudd-o	daɓɓ-o
ɗam	lamɗam					ngudd-am	ndaɓɓ-am
ka	laana					ngudd-a	ndaɓɓ-a
ki	lekki				kugg-i	ngudd-i	ndaɓɓ-i
ko₂	na'o	ɗokk-o	pah-o	muum-o	kugg-o	ngudd-o	ndaɓɓ-o
koy	ɓiikoy	ɗokk-oy	pah-oy	muum-oy	kugg-oy	ngudd-oy	ndaɓɓ-oy
ndi	ngaari	ɗokk-iri	pah-ri	muum-ri	kugg-iri	ngudd-iri	ndaɓɓ-iri
nga	araawa	ɗokk-a	pah-a	muum-a	kugg-a	ngudd-a	ndaɓɓ-a
ngi	naggi	ɗokk-i	pah-i	muum-i	kugg-i	ngudd-i	ndaɓɓ-i
ngu	puccu	ɗokk-u	pah-u	muum-u	kugg-u	ngudd-u	ndaɓɓ-u

* The adjectives formed from *ɗokkiɗinde*, *huggiɗinde*, *gudɗiɗinde* and *raɓɓiɗinde* all follow the same pattern. For most noun classes only the final letter(s) of the noun class marker is used as the SUFFIX with the initial consonant or consonant blend being dropped. As often is the case, the endings for *ɓe* (-*uɓe*), *nde* (-*ere*), *ndi* (-*iri*), and *ndu* (-*uru*) are consistently irregular to the rest.

†The adjectives formed from *fahɗude* and *muumɗude* are largely formed the same as the other adjectives in this chart – that is by using the final letter(s) of the noun class marker as the SUFFIX. However, the four "irregular" noun classes use a different scheme for forming adjectives as there is no connecting vowel between the base form and the SUFFIX; e.g. *ɓe* (-*ɓe*), *nde* (-*re*), *ndi* (-*ri*), *ndu* (-*ru*). Also, the "ɗ" is retained for the noun classes *ɗe* (-*ɗe*), *ɗi* (-*ɗi*), *ɗum* (-*ɗum*), and *o* (-*ɗo*).

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles.

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²¹⁰ '*ɓoggol*' refers to a snake.

Table 26.4 Conjugation of Some Adjectives Formed From Verbs (clean, dirty, perfect, good, soft)

Verb →	laaɓ-ude	fur-ɗ-ude	geet-iɗ-inde	lobb-ude	wagg-iɗ-inde
Base Form →	laaɓ(u)-*	fur-	geet-	lobb-	(w)agg-
Noun Class Marker	Noun	Adjective Forms			
ɓe	yimɓe	laaɓ(u)-ɓe	fur-ɓe	geet-uɓe	lobb-uɓe	wagg-uɓe
ko₁	huɗo	laaɓ(u)-ko	fur-o		lobb-o	wagg-o
nde	wojere	laaɓu-nde	fur-de	geet-ere	lobb-ere	wagg-ere
ndu	fowru	laaɓu-ndu	fur-du	geet-uru	lobb-uru	wagg-uru
nge	nagge	laaɓu-nge	fur-e	geet-e	lobb-e	wagg-e
ngo	daago	laaɓu-ngo	fur-o		lobb-o	wagg-o
ɗe	disaaje	laaɓ(u)-ɗe	pur-e	geet-e	lobb-e	bagg-e
ɗi	na'i	laaɓ(u)-ɗi	pur-i	geet-i	lobb-i	bagg-i
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	laaɓ(u)-ɗum	pur-um	geet-um	lobb-um	bagg-um
kal	kuɗolal	laaɓ(u)-kal	pur-al		lobb-al	bagg-al
kol	nyalohol	laaɓ(u)-kol	pur-ol	geet-ol	lobb-ol	bagg-ol
ngal	cofal	laaɓu-ngal	pur-al	geet-al	lobb-al	bagg-al
ngel	cukalel	laaɓu-ngel	pur-el	geet-el	lobb-el	bagg-el
ngol	ɓoggol	laaɓu-ngol	pur-ol		lobb-ol	bagg-ol
o	neɗɗo	laaɓ-(u)ɗo*	pur-o	geet-o	lobb-o	bagg-o
ɗam	kosam	laaɓ(u)-ɗam	pur-am		lobb-am	
ka	laana	laaɓ(u)-ka	pur-a		lobb-a	mbagg-a
ki	lekki	laaɓ(u)-ki	pur-i		lobb-i	mbagg-i
ko₂	na'o	laaɓ(u)-ko	pur-o	ngeet-o	lobb-o	mbagg-o
koy	cukaloy	laaɓ(u)-koy	pur-oy	ngeet-oy	lobb-oy	mbagg-oy
ndi	ngaari	laaɓu-ndi	pur-di	ngeet-iri	lobb-iri	mbgagg-iri
nga	ngora	laaɓu-nga	pur-a	ngeet-a	lobb-a	mbagg-a
ngi	naggi	laaɓu-ngi	pur-i	ngeet-i	lobb-i	mbagg-i
ngu	puccu	laaɓu-ngu	pur-u	ngeet-u	lobb-u	mbagg-u

*A second series of adjectives can be formed for *laaɓude*, except for the *o* noun class: *laam-* + -noun class marker. For example: *laamɓe* (*ɓe*), *laamɗe* (*ɗe*), *laamɗam* (*ɗam*).

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles.

Table 26.5 Conjugation of Some Adjectives Formed From Verbs (none, one, another, together)

Verb →		ɓolɗ-ude	woot-ude[∂]	woɗ-ude[†]	won-ude[§]
Base Form →		ɓol-*	woot-	woɗ-	won-
Noun Class Markers	Noun	Adjective Forms			
ɓe	yimɓe	ɓol-ɓe		woɓ-ɓe	won-ɓe
ko	huɗo	ɓol-o		wok-ko	won-ko
nde	tummbude	ɓol-de	woot-ere	won-nde	won-nde
ndu	suudu	ɓol-du	woot-uru	won-ndu	won-ndu
nge	nagge	ɓol-e	woot-e	won-nge	won-nge
ngo	daago	ɓol-o	woot-o	won-ngo	won-ngo
ɗe	leyɗe	ɓol-e		goɗ-ɗe	gon-ɗe
ɗi	na'i	ɓol-i		goɗ-ɗi	gon-ɗi
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	ɓol-um	goot-um	goɗ-ɗum	gon-ɗum
kal	ndihal	ɓol-ol	goot-al	gok-kal	gon-kal
kol	nyalohol	ɓol-ol	goot-ol	gok-kol	gon-kol
ngal	cofal	ɓol-al	goot-al	gon-ngal	gon-ngal
ngel	cukalel	ɓol-el	goot-el	gon-ngel	gon-ngel
ngol	kokuwol	ɓol-ol	goot-ol	gon-ngol	gon-ngol
o	neɗɗo	ɓol-o	goot-o	goɗ-ɗo	gon-ɗo
ɗam	kosam	ɓol-am	ngoot-am	ngoɗ-ɗam	ngon-ɗam
ka	laana	ɓol-a	ngoot-a	ngok-ka	ngon-ka
ki	lekki	ɓol-i	ngoot-i	ngok-ki	ngon-ki
ko₂	na'o	ɓol-o		ngok-ko	ngon-ko
koy	cukaloy	ɓol-oy		ngok-koy	ngon-koy
ndi	ngaari	ɓol-di	ngoot-iri	ngon-ndi	ngon-ndi
nga	ngesa	ɓol-a	ngoot-a	ngon-nga	ngon-nga
ngi	naggi	ɓol-i	ngoot-i	ngon-ngi	ngon-ngi
ngu	puccu	ɓol-u	ngoot-u	ngon-ngu	ngon-ngu

*As is generally the case, the "stative" INFIX -ɗ- is dropped in forming the base form from which the adjectives are formed. In this series all only the last letter (or two) of the noun class is used. As is often the case the adjectives for *nde*, *ndi*, and *ndu* are formed slightly differently than the others.

[∂] This verb is not used in Burkina for anything except as the ROOT used in forming these adjectives meaning "one of."

[†]The verb *woɗude* (other, another) is not used for anything except the formation of adjectives. Note that throughout this series the verb ROOT's termination "ɗ" harmonizes with the first consonant of the noun class marker. This same ROOT √*woɗ*- is also used to form the series of adjectives for something red (see Table 26.6).

[§]Becareful not to conflate the adjectives coming from *wonude* with those coming from *woɗude*. With the noun class markers that begin with a "n" the forms of the these two sets of adjectives is identical, which can be confusing! However "another horse" (*puccu ngonngu* – from √*woɗ*-) is not the same as "the horse with me" (*puccu ngonngu* – from √*won*-).

Colors

Table 26.6 Conjugation of Some Adjectives Formed From Verbs (black, white, red, yellow, grey, brown)

Verb →		ɓawl-ude[†]	rawn-ude[†]	woɗ-ude*	ool-ɗ-ude	wuun-ɗ-ude[†]	sii-ɗ-ude
Base Form →		ɓale(e)-	(r)anee-	(w)oɗe(e)-	ool-	(w)une(e)-	(s)ii-
Noun Class Marker	Noun	Adjective Forms					
ɓe	yimɓe	ɓalee-ɓe	ranee-ɓe	woɗee-ɓe	ool-ɓe	wunee-ɓe	sii-ɓe
ko	huɗo	ɓalee-ho	ranee-ho	woɗee-ho	ool-o	wunee-ho	sii-ko
nde	tummbude	ɓalee-re	ranee-re	woɗee-re	ool-de	wunee-re	sii-nde
ndu	suudu	ɓalee-ru	ranee-ru	woɗee-ru	ool-du	wunee-ru	sii-ndu
nge	nagge	ɓalee-we	ranee-we	woɗee-we	ool-e	wunee-we	sii-nge
ngo	daago	ɓalee-wo	ranee-wo	woɗee-wo	ool-o	wunee-wo	sii-ngo
ɗe	disaaje	ɓalee-je	danee-je	boɗee-je	ool-e	bunee-je	cii-ɗe
ɗi	na'i	ɓalee-ji	danee-ji	boɗee-ji	ool-i	bunee-ji	cii-ɗi
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	ɓale-jum	dane-jum	boɗe-jum	ool-um	bune-jum	cii-ɗum
kal	ndihal	ɓale-hal	dane-hal	boɗe-hal	ool-al	bune-hal	cii-kal
kol	nyalohol	ɓale-hol	dane-hol	boɗe-hol	ool-ol	bune-hol	cii-kol
ngal	cofal	ɓale-wal	dane-wal	boɗe-wal	ool-al	bune-wal	cii-ngal
ngel	cukalel	ɓale-wel	dane-wel	boɗe-wel	ool-el	bune-wel	cii-ngel
ngol	ɓoggol	ɓale-wol	dane-wol	boɗe-wol	ool-ol	bune-wol	cii-ngol
o	neɗɗo	ɓalee-jo	danee-jo	boɗee-jo	ool-o	bunee-jo	cii-ɗo
ɗam	kosam	ɓale-jam	ndane-jam	mboɗe-jam	ool-am	mbune-jam	cii-ɗam
ka	laana	ɓale-ha	ndanee-ha	mboɗee-ha	ool-a	mbunee-ha	cii-ka
ki	lekki	ɓale-hi	ndanee-hi	mboɗee-hi	ool-i	mbunee-hi	cii-ki
ko₂	na'o	ɓale-ho	ndanee-ho	mboɗee-ho	ool-o	mbunee-ho	cii-ko
koy	cukaloy	ɓale-hoy	ndane-hoy	mboɗe-hoy	ool-oy	mbune-hoy	cii-koy
ndi	ngaari	ɓalee-ri	ndanee-ri	mboɗee-ri	ool-di	mbunee-ri	cii-ndi
nga	mbeewa	ɓalee-wa	ndanee-wa	mboɗee-wa	ool-a	mbunee-wa	cii-nga
ngi	naggi	ɓalee-wi	ndanee-wi	mboɗee-wi	ool-i	mbunee-wi	cii-ngi
ngu	puccu	ɓalee-wu	ndanee-wu	mboɗee-wu	ool-u	mbunee-wu	cii-ngu

[†]With the base forms which end in a double vowel (i.e. *ɓalee-*, *ranee-*, *woɗee-*, *wunee-*) the long vowel sound is maintained before a short SUFFIX and shorten before a long SUFFIX; e.g ɓal<u>ee-wu</u> vs. ɓal<u>e-hoy</u>

*While the verb meaning to be red is *wojjude* the suppletive root √*woɗ-* is used to form the adjectives. This ROOT is also used to form the adjectives describing "another, other" – see Table 26.5

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles.

Table 26.7 Conjugation of Some Adjectives (blue, green, different) & an Adverb (before)

Verb/Adjective/Adverb →		bul-ɗ-ude	hecc-iɗ-inde	feere	arande
Base Form →		§bulabula(a)-	†huɗo hecco(o)-	¥feere(e)-	‡arande(e)-
Noun Class Marker	Noun	Adjective Forms			
ɓe	yimɓe	*bulabulaa-ɓe*	*huɗo heccoo-ɓe*	feeree-ɓe	arandee-ɓe
ko₁	huɗo	bulabulaa-ho	huɗo heccoo-ho	feeree-ho	arandee-ho
nde	tummbude	bulabulaa-re	huɗo heccoo-re	feeree-re	arandee-re
ndu	suudu	bulabulaa-ru	huɗo heccoo-ru	feeree-ru	arandee-ru
nge	yiite	bulabulaa-we	huɗo heccoo-we	feeree-we	arandee-we
ngo	daago	bulabulaa-wo	huɗo heccoo-wo	feeree-wo	arandee-wo
ɗe	leyɗe	bulabulaa-je	huɗo heccoo-je	feeree-je	arandee-je
ɗi	na'i	bulabulaa-ji	huɗo heccoo-ji	feeree-ji	arandee-ji
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	bulabula-jum	huɗo hecco-jum	feere-jum	arande-jum
kal	ndihal	bulabula-hal	huɗo hecco-hal	feere-hal	arande-hal
kol	nyalohol	*bulabula-hol*	*huɗo hecco-hol*	feere-hol	arande-hol
ngal	cofal	bulabula-wal	huɗo hecco-wal	feere-wal	arande-wal
ngel	siwowel	bulabula-wel	huɗo hecco-wel	feere-wel	arande-wel
ngol	kokowol	bulabula-wol	huɗo hecco-wol	feere-wol	arande-wol
o	montoro	bulabulaa-jo	huɗo heccoo-jo	feeree-jo	arandee-jo
ɗam	kosam	mbulambula-jam	huɗo hecco-jam	feere-jam	arande-jam
ka	laana	mbulambulaa-ha	huɗo heccoo-ha	feere-ha	arandee-ha
ki	lekki	mbulambulaa-hi	huɗo heccoo-hi	feere-hi	arandee-hi
ko₂	na'o	mbulambulaa-ho	huɗo heccoo-ho	feeree-ho	arandee-ho
koy	paɗoy	mbulambula-hoy	huɗo hecco-hoy	feere-hoy	arande-hoy
ndi	ngaari	mbulambulaa-ri	huɗo heccoo-ri	feeree-ri	arandee-ri
nga	cuuga	mbulambulaa-wa	huɗo heccoo-wa	feeree-wa	arandee-wa
ngi	cuugi	mbulambulaa-wi	huɗo heccoo-wi	feeree-wi	arandee-wi
ngu	cuugu	mbulambula-wu	huɗo heccoo-wu	feeree-wu	arandee-wu

§This is an adjective, but it is allied to the verb *bulɗude*. Obviously the adjective form for some of these noun classes would be rarely, if ever, used by the *Fulɓe*. For example, we refer to someone turning "blue," but for obvious reasons they would not think to do so.

†This is an adjective, but it is allied to the verb *heccidinde*. Obviously the adjective form for some of these noun classes would be rarely, if ever, used by the *Fulɓe*. For example, we refer to "little green men," but they don't know of such a thing.

¥This is an adjective which conjugates for each noun class.

‡This is an adverb which conjugates to form adjectives for each noun class.

Note: Each of the base forms for these four words ends in a double vowel and the long vowel sound is maintained before a short SUFFIX and shortened before a long SUFFIX; e.g. *feer<u>ee</u>-<u>wu</u>* vs. *feer<u>e</u>-<u>hoy</u>*. This is not always the case for adjectives using this B pattern that are not built upon a verb root.

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles.

Coat Patterns

Table 26.8 Conjugation of Some Adjectives (banded, blotched, patched, spotted)*

Verb →		daak-iɗ-inde	waag-iɗ-inde	darg-iɗ-inde	her-ɗ-ude	noor-ɗ-ude	siiw-ɗ-ude
Base Form →		daak-	waag-	darg-	hero(o)-	noor-	siiw-
Noun Class Marker	Noun	Adjective Forms					
ɓe	yimɓe			darg-uɓe	heroo-ɓe		
ko₁	huɗo						
nde	huunde	daak-ere	waag-ere	darg-ere	heroo-re	noor-de	siiw-re
ndu	rawaandu		waag-uru	darg-uru	heroo-ru		siiw-ru
nge	nagge	daak-e	waag-e	darg-e	heroo-we	noor-e	siiw-e
ngo	daago						siiw-o
ɗe	disaaje		baag-e	darg-e	keroo-je		ciiw-e
ɗi	na'i	daak-i	baag-i	darg-i	keroo-ji	noor-i	ciiw-i
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	daak-um	baag-um	darg-um	kero-jum	noor-um	ciiw-um
kal	ndihal						
kol	nyalohol	daak-ol	baag-ol	darg-ol	kero-hol	noor-ol	ciiw-ol
ngal	naggal	daak-al	baag-al	darg-al	kero-wal	noor-al	ciiw-al
ngel	naggel	daak-el	baag-el	darg-el	kero-wel	noor-el	ciiw-el
ngol	'ɓoggol'						ciiw-ol
o	neɗɗo		baag-o	darg-o	keroo-jo		
ɗam	kosam						
ka	saaya		mbaag-a		keroo-ha		ciiw-a
ki	lekki						
ko₂	na'o	ndaak-o	mbaag-o	ndarg-o	keroo-ho	noor-o	ciiw-o
koy	na'oy	ndaak-oy	mbaag-oy	ndarg-oy	kero-hoy	noor-oy	ciiw-oy
ndi	ngaari	ndaak-iri or ndaaŋ-ri	mbaag-iri	ndarg-iri	keroo-ri	noor-di	ciiw-ri
nga	nagga	ndaak-a	mbaag-a	ndarg-a	keroo-wa	noor-a	ciiw-a
ngi	naggi	ndaak-i	mbaag-i	ndarg-i	keroo-wi	noor-i	ciiw-i
ngu	naggu	ndaak-u	mbaag-u	ndarg-u	keroo-wu	noor-u	ciiw-u

*Note: these terms are specifically used for different types of animals. Only the terms applicable to those animals are therefore listed. See dictionary for the details.

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles.

Table 26.9 Adjectives Formed From Verbs (dappled, speckled, spotted)*

Verb →	jamol-ɗ-inde	say-ɗ-ude	sayg-iɗ-inde	hell-iɗ-inde	sol-ɗ-ude	mall-iɗ-inde
Noun Class Marker	jamal-	saye(e)-	sayg-	hell-	sod-	malle(e)-
Noun				Adjective Forms		
ɓe — yimɓe		sayee-ɓe				mallee-ɓe
ko_1 — huɗo		sayee-ho				
nde — huunde	jamal-de	sayee-re	sayg-ere	hell-ere	sol-de	mallee-re
ndu — rawaandu	jamal-du	sayee-ru			sol-du	mallee-ru
nge — nagge	jamal-e	sayee-we	sayg-e		sol-e	mallee-we
ngo — daago		sayee-wo				mallee-wo
ɗe — kulle	jamal-e	cayee-je	cayg-e		col-e	mallee-je
ɗi — na'i / *be'i*	jamal-i	cayee-ji	*cayg-i*	kell-i	col-i	mallee-ji
ɗum — ɗum ɗo	jamal-um	caye-jum	cayg-um	kell-um	col-um	malle-jum
kal — ndihal		caye-hal				
kol — nyalohol	jamal-ol	caye-hol	cayg-ol		col-ol	malle-hol
ngal — naggal / *be'al*	jamal-al	caye-wal	*cayg-al*	kell-al	col-al	malle-wal
ngel — naggel / *be'el*	jamal-el	caye-wel	*cayg-el*	kell-el	col-el	malle-wel
ngol — "ɓoggol"		caye-wol				malle-wol
o — forgo	jamal-o	cayee-jo				mallee-jo
ɗam — kosam		caye-jam				
ka — saaya	njamal-a	cayee-ha				mallee-ha
ki — lekki		cayee-hi				
ko_2 — na'o / *mbe'o*	njamal-o	cayee-ho	*cayg-o*	kell-o	col-o	mallee-ho
koy — na'oy / *mbe'oy*	njamal-oy	caye-hoy	*cayg-oy*	kell-oy	col-oy	malle-hoy
ndi — ngaari / *ndamndi*	njamal-di	cayee-ri	*cayg-iri*	kell-iri	col-di	mallee-ri
nga — nagga / *mbeewa*	njamal-a	cayee-wa	*cayg-a*	kell-a	col-a	mallee-wa
ngi — naggi / *mbe'i*	njamal-i	cayee-wi	*cayg-i*	kell-i	col-i	mallee-wi
ngu — naggu / *mbe'u*	njamal-u	cayee-wu	*cayg-u*	kell-u	col-u	mallee-wu

*Note: these terms are specifically used for different types of animals. Only the terms applicable to those animals are therefore listed. See dictionary for the details.

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjectives or participles.

Table 26.10
Conjugations of Some Adjectives Formed From a Preposition (average),
Nouns (offspring, truth) & Verbs (female, male, explain)

Preposition/ Noun/Verb →		Hakkunde	ɓii	goon-ɗ-ude	rew-ɗ-ude[†]	wor-ɗ-ude[§]	maan-ɗ-inde[¥]
Base Form →		Hakkunde(e)-*	ɓiyii-[∂]	goonga(a)/(laa)-[‡]	(r)ew-	(w)or-	maanii-
Noun Class Markers	Noun			Adjective Forms			
ɓe	yimɓe	hakkundeeɓe	ɓiyii-ɓe	goongaa-ɓe	rew-ɓe	wor-ɓe	maanii-ɓe
ko₁	huɗo	hakkundee-ho	ɓiyii-ko	goongaa-ho			maanii-ho
nde	wojjere	hakkundee-re	ɓiyii-re	goongaa-re	rew-re	wor-de	maanii-re
ndu	ɓoosaaru	hakkundee-ru	ɓiyii-ru	goongaa-ru	rew-ru	wor-du	maanii-ru
nge	nagge	hakkundee-we	ɓiyii-ge	goongaa-we	rew-e		maanii-we
ngo	maayo	hakkundee-wo	ɓiyii-go	goongaa-wo			maanii-wo
ɗe	kulle	hakkundee-je	ɓiyii-je	goongaa-je	dew-e	gor-e	maanii-je
ɗi	dawaaɗi	hakkundee-jo	ɓiyii-ji	goongaa-ji	deb-bi	gor-i	maanii-ji
ɗum	ɗum ɗo	hakkunde-jum	ɓiyii-jum	goonga-jum	dew-um	gor-um	maani-jum
kal	ndihal	hakkunde-hal		goonga-hal			maani-hal
kol	puccu	hakkunde-hol	ɓiyii-kol	goonga-hol	dew-ol	gor-ol	maani-hol
ngal	cofal	hakkunde-wal	ɓiyii-gal	goonga-wal	dew-al	gor-al[§]	maani-wal
ngel	naggel	hakkunde-wel	ɓiyii-gel	goonga-wel	dew-el	gor-el[§]	maani-wel
ngol	"ɓoggol"	hakkunde-wol	ɓiyii-gol	goonga-wol	dew-ol	gor-ol	maani-wol
o	neɗɗo	hakkunde-jo	biyii-ko	goongaa-jo	deb-bo	gor-ko	maanii-jo
ɗam	kosam	hakkunde-jam		ngoonga-jam			maanii-jam
ka	haala	hakkundee-ha	ɓiyii-ka	ngoongaa-ha	ndew-a	ngor-a	maanii-ha
ki	lekki	hakkundee-hi	ɓiyii-ki	ngoongaa-hi	ndew-i	ngor-i	maanii-hi
ko₂	na'o		ɓiyii-ko	ngoongaa-ho	ndew-o	ngor-o[§]	maanii-ho
koy	kuukoy	hakkunde-hoy	ɓiyii-koy	ngoonga-hoy	ndew-oy	ngor-oy	maani-hoy
ndi	ngaari	hakkundee-ri	ɓiyii-ri	ngoogaa-ri	ndew-i		maanii-ri
nga	mbeewa	hakkundee-wa	ɓiyii-ga	ngoongaa-wa	ndew-a	ngor-a[§]	maanii-wa
ngi	naggi		ɓiyii-gi	ngoongaa-wi	ndew-i	ngor-i[§]	maanii-wi
ngu	puccu	hakkundee-wu	ɓiyii-gu	ngoongaa-wu	ndew-u	ngor-u	maanii-wu

*This series of adjectives comes from the preposition *hakkunde*, here meaning "average in size." There is no adjective formed for the noun classes *ko₂* or *ngi* as they refer to exculsively large things. Note that some speakers refer to an average cow as *hakkundeeye*, with the "y" replacing the "w." Note that unlike with verbs, whose first letter undergoes change from group to group, the adjectives springing from this preposition do not undergo any change in the first consonant from group to group.

[∂]These series of adjectives formed from the noun *ɓii* (offspring) uses the base form *ɓiyii-*. Note that unlike adjectives in pattern B (see page 156), the double vowels at the end of the base form are not shortened when using the longer SUFFIXes; e.g. *ɓiyiikoy* NOT *ɓiyikoy*. This irregularity is likely due to the fact these adjective are springing from a noun and not a verb. The SUFFIX for the *o* class is a bit surprising too – *ɓiyii-ko* rather than something like *ɓiyii-ɗo*. Note how the adjective formed from the base *ɓiyii-* are irregular the initial "k" is retained but the "ɗ" morphs to "j," the "nd" morphs to "r" but the "ng" doesn't morph to "w," rather the "n" is dropped and the rest is added as the suffix (*ɓiyii* + *ngu* → *ɓiyii-gu*). The other words look regular.

[‡]It appears this group of adjective come from the noun *goonga*, which is related to the verb *goonɗude* (to tell the truth). With these adjectives formed from the noun *goonga*, there are two possible base form terminations, the shorter one is –a(a)- and the longer one is –ala(a)-. Either can be used for any of the noun classes; e.g. *puccu ngoongalaawu, cofoy ngoongalahoy*

[†]This series of adjectives actually meaning a "female" spring from the verb *rewɗude* (to submit). The form for the *ɗi* and *o* classes are surprising; i.e. *debbi* and *debbo* rather than the expected *dewi* and *dewo*.

[§]Ed. Note: it seemed to me that if "female" springs from a verb, then so should "male," but none of my informants know of such a verb. So I am going out on the limb a bit here and speculating that it exists, but is only used to form adjectives. This is the same situation as with *wootude* or *woɗude*. In my formulation of this verb I use the same "to be" INFIX used with the word that generates the adjectives for female. A perusal of the dictionary shows the importance of this base form in masculine words; e.g. *goraaku* (masculinity, manhood), *ngorba/gorbi* (male donkey/pl.), *gorgu* (penis, courage), *gorko/worɓe* (man, boy), *goroo* (husband), *gortalo* (unmarried man). The forms used with noun classes designating large things (*ngal, ko₂, nga,* and *ngi*) or small things (*ngel*) would not correspond to animals but to people.

Note: Stative verbs using the "-iɗ-/-ɗ-" INFIX typically drop the INFIX both when forming adjective or participles.

Here are some examples of the use of adjectives. The adjectives are in bold type:

*Burayma hokku ma nde? A'aa, neɗɗo **goɗɗo** hokkii kam.*
Did Burayma give it to you? No, another person gave it to me.

*Aysata soodii cofal **pamaral** ngal.*
Aysata bought that small chicken.

*Suudu **famardu** ndu tan wuli.*
Only the small hut burned.

*Burayma naatii ley suudu **mawndu** ndu.*
Burayma entered that large hut.

*Mi walaa daago **hiinngo** sakko heso.*
I don't have an old mat much less a new one.

*Mi jogaaki tummbude si wanaa tummbude **hiinnde** nde tan.*
I don't have any calabashes except this old one.

*Nagge **maaniiwe** ndiilunoomaami rawanin nge ɓeynii.*
Such and such a cow which I gave you to milk last year, gave birth.

*Yimɓe **arandeeɓe** na mbuuranno duuɓi ujunere.*
The ancients (the people in ancient times) lived for a thousand years.

*Laana **arandeeha** daɗata.*
The first canoe wins (the race).

*Aɗa jogi suudu **lobburu** de/koy.*
You have a nice hut, that's for sure.

*Ngaari **ɓaleeri** ndi na boni sanne.*
The black bull is very difficult to handle/is a big nuisance.

*Nagge **wodeewe** e nagge wuule **wodeewe** keddii ɓiraaka.*
The brown cow and the white faced brown cow still have not been milked.

27. ADVERBS

In Fulfulde syntax adverbs may appear either before or after the verbs they are modifying. It is important to recognize that adverbs, unlike adjectives, never conjugate. Most adverbs modify the verb they relate to by telling us how, how much, when, where or why something is happening:

How

hasi – maybe, perhaps, possibily, probably
heese – carefully, leisurely, gently, slowly
ina moyya – maybe, perhaps, possibly, probably
kori – hopefully
koy – certainly, surely, of course
law – quickly, early
nii – this, like this
no – how
non/noon – as, like this, in this way or manner
noy – how
seese – carefully, leisurely, gently, slowly
sikan – quickly, early
tan – only

How Much

ba - nothing
fes - nothing
fey - nothing
hunnde – a lot
sanne – very, a lot
sedda/seeda – a little

Comparatively How

*dagu/*ndagu – like, as
diina/illa – better than, more than, rather than
haddu/haggu – like, just like, as, in the manner
gootum/fuu gootum – same
hano/hono – like, as
liddi - opposite
sakko – much less, let alone

Some examples of how comparative adverbs are use:
> *Hikka mi yahan Maasina **diina** Mopti.*
> This year I will go to Maasina **rather than** Mopti.

> *Suudu nduudo e suudu nduuto, **fuu gootum.***
> This hut and that hut are **the same**.

> *Abada mi yi'aay ndunngu **hono** ndunngu hikka.*
> I have never seen a rainy season **like** this year's rainy season.

> *Mi walaa kaalisi **sakko** mi sooda radio.*
> I don't have any money **much less** buy a radio.

There is also a group of verbs which are often employed in comparing different things. These include:

> *6urude* – to be better
> *faaytinde* – to resemble, be comparable
> *jaasude* – to be the least, worst
> *miccinde* – to resemble, to remind one off
> *seerude* – to be separate
> *seedude* – to be different
> *nanndude* – to look alike, resemble
> *wa'ude* – to resemble
> *waldaa/wondaa[211]* – to be different, not the same
> *wayde* – to resemble

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[211] *Waldaa* and *wondaa* are Stative Negative FORMS of ***wondude***.

Here are some examples using verbs as comparatives:

Suudu nduuɗo e suudu nduuto, **waldaa**.
This hut and that hut **are not the same**.

Puccu Lobbo na **ɓuri** *pucci fuu.*
Lobbo's horse **is better** than all the other horses.

Ɗum **ɓuri**.
That's **better**.

Ko **ɓurani** *ma fuu.*
Whatever **is better** for you.

Ndunngu 1984 kam **jaasii** *fuu.*
The rainy season of 1984 was **the worst**.

Na seedi *seeɗa.*
They are a little bit **different**.

Araaji maɓɓe ɗi **na nanndi**.
Their donkeys **look like** each other.

Huunde nde pilotoɗaa **na wa'i** *hono horde naa tummbude?*
The thing you are looking for **is like** a laddle or a calabash?

Superlatively How

ɓati/ɓeta – new, soft
bil/pet – full
bugu – smells good
butum/doli – soft
butum/doli/mugu/neke/yutum - finely ground
buy – yellow
buy/gusa/uur - smells good
cak/cap – just right
cay/dak/mup - blind
celem/cololoy - dilute
cerem – pointed
corom/taray/toɓol/torom - sour
coy - red
ɗer/ŋiti/nyir/nyiti – thin
dik/tiɓa/tip – concentrated, thick
doli/yoti/yuta – smooth
dugu/duk/dus – stinks
far/tarr – white
fasii/jaati/kak/kap/menga/pasii/pay- exactly
fos/foy – a lot
hosi/nyar/waki – rough
jaw/juk/taw – hot
kak/poɗo/tak - dead
kaŋ/kayŋ/koloŋ/koŋ/korom/koroŋ – hard
kati/roki/tok – bitter
kirim/kurum/tiki – black
legi/lesa/leti – soft
luy/nyirim – pointed
mati/nigi/resem/yerem/ẏerem – cold
paca/pata/poto – moist, soggy, wet
pul – nice
sim/sip/sit/siw – at once
tal – clean

These superlative adverbs intensify the main verb. Here are a few examples of how they are used:

*Debbo mawɗo oon na wumi **dak***.
That old woman is **really** blind.

Araawa Maamuudu waatii **tak**!
Maamuudu's donkey is **really** dead!

*Amnatu, cobbal maa na moddi **dik**!*
Amnatu, you cobal is **very** thick!

*Nde worɓe ɓeen paɗɗunoo Yunusa ley maayo henndu deyɓinii **siw***.
When the men had thrown Jonah into the sea the wind calmed down **all at once**.

When

abada - never; (*faa abada* - forever)
arande/aranel/fadde[212] – before
de/deen/denno – then
gilla/illa/jilla – since, before
ginan/tafon/tahen/tawam/tuwam – not yet
jonkaa – now, therefore
joonin – now
kadin/kasen/katin/gadin/gasin/gatin – again
naadiri – once in a while
naanen – a short while ago
nde – when, then
ndeen – then
ndeen kaa/deen kay – back then, in those days, at that time
ndelle - so then, therefore, consequently, hence
nyannden – the other day

rawtanin – 2 years ago
rawanin/rowanin – last year

subaka – early morning, tomorrow
jaango – tomorrow
faɓɓi/faɗɗi jaango – in 2 days
faɓɓiti/faɗɗiti jaango – in 3 days
faɓɓitittiyel/faɗɗitittiyel jaango – in 4 days

hannden - today

keeŋan – yesterday
kiyam – yesterday
hecci keeŋan – 2 days ago
hecciti keeŋan – 3 days ago
heccitiriiti keeŋan – 4 days ago
heccitiriiti keeŋan – 5 days ago

mawuuri – next year
mawtuuri – in 2 years

Where

ɗo/ga – here
ɗon/ɗoon – here or there
gere goɗɗo – somewhere
inan/nani – here it is
to – there
ton/toon – there
toy – where
yeeso – ahead, beyond, forward

gorgal – west
hiirnaange - west

horɗoore – south
horɗoore-gorgaare – southwest
horɗoore-lettugaare – southeast

lettugal – east

saahel – north
soɓɓiire – north
soɓɓiire-gorgaare – northwest
soɓɓiire-lettugaare – northeast

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[212] See *Section 19.C, p. 122* for a discussion of how *fadde* is used.

Why

ko saabi – why
ko waɗi – why
konno – why

batte – because
de – so, so that, therefore, that is why
dow ko – since, seeing that
gam – because, because of, since
gilla – since, before
taa – so as not
fi – because of
gaaya – because of
kammbari – because
ndelle – so then, therefore, consequently, hence
ngam – because, because of, since
saabe – because of
sabu/o – because, since

Miscellaneous Adverbs

Finally, here are a few miscellaneous adverbs that don't fit into the above patterns:

a'aa - no
ayyo - yes

ba(a) – even
fay – even, though
ba se/fay si – even if, because
do/du – also, too
de – so, so that
jakka – even, even though, so, so that

28. CONJUNCTIONS

If one studies the dictionary, one finds in English that often it is hard to tease apart when some words function as CONJUNCTIONS and when they function as adverbs. That is true in Fulfulde too. A number of the words listed below can function as either CONJUNCTIONS or adverbs. CONJUNCTIONS might be divided into two large groups. The first group would be COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS. These are CONJUNCTIONS that "glue" two INDEPENDENT CLAUSEs together. The second group would be SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS. These are CONJUNCTIONS which are used to join an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE to a dependent clause.

COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS[213]

ammaa/kaa/kay – but, however
de - and, and then, and yet, but, but still, however, that even
e - and, plus
maa/naa - or, nor

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[213] See the discussion on COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS under CONJUNCTIONS in the Glossary, p. 180.

ba de/fay nde/batte – even when
ba se/fay si/fay so/batte – even if
de – that
faa/faɗo - until
fay ko - even though, though, although
fay nde - even when
fay si/so - even if
gam/gan/ngam/sabo/sabu - because, because of, since
ke/ko – that
salla/yalla - whether, whether or not, if
se/si/so - if
si wanaa/so wanaa - if not, unless, except

Because the SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS have been extensively dealt with elsewhere (see footnote 214 below) only the COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS will be focused on here.

Ammaa and *naa*, and their cognates (see list above) are used to join contrasting INDEPENDENT CLAUSES together. For example:

> *O yehii luumo **kaa** o soodaay fay huunde.*
> He went to market but he didn't buy anything.

> *A yahan luumo **naa** a yahan Pentenga?*
> Are you going to market or are you going to Pentenga?

De is a commonly occurring CONJUNCTION which generally is used as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION meaning "and" or "and then." Because this formulation is most often used in narrations where the Relative verb FORM is the "default" FORM, *de* is often associated with the Relative FORM. However, it is the narration that is triggering the Relative FORM, not *de*! *De* can also be used like *ammaa*, *kaa* and *naa* as a contrasting CONJUNCTION meaning "and then," "and yet," "but," "but still," and "however."

> *Matta 4:20 Wakkati oon fuu ɓe njoppi fiiliiji maɓɓe **de** ɓe njokki ɗum.*
> Matthew 4:20 At that time they left their nets **and** they followed him.

> *Matta 11:18-19a "Yaayaa warii, nyaamataa buuru, yarataa ndiyam inaboojam lamminaaɗam **de** yimɓe mbi'ii imo wondi e nginnaaw. **De** miin, Ɓii-Neɗɗo, mi warii, miɗo nyaama, miɗo yara ndiyam inaboojam lamminaaɗam **de** yimɓe mbi'ii wo mi kaanɗuɗo, wo mi culiiɗo, wo mi jiɗɗo nanngooɓe lampo waɗooɓe hakkeeji e waɗooɓe hakkeeji woɓɓe."*
> Matthew 11:18-19a "John came neither eating nor drinking **and** they said 'he has a demon.' **But** I, the Son of Man, came eating **and** drinking and they said I am a glutton, I am a drunk, I am a lover of tax collectors and sinners."

> *Matta 9:37 O wi'i taalibaaɓe makko: "Ko taƴetee ina heewi **de** taƴooɓe keewaa."*
> Matthew 9:37 He said to his disciples, "The harvest is bountiful **but** the workers are few."

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[214] See the discussion on SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS under CONJUNCTIONS in the Glossary, p. 180. Most of these CONJUNCTIONS are also discussed under TRIGGER WORDS in the Glossary, p. 183 *ff.* Finally, a thorough treatment of subordination can be found in Section 25, p. 145 *ff.*

> *Matta 10:28 "Taa kulon waawɓe ittude yonkiiji* **de** *ngalaa baawɗe dow majji katin."*
>
> Matthew 10:28 "Don't fear those who can kill the body, **but** then have no power over the soul."

The CONJUNCTION *e* (and) is not used to link INDEPENDENT CLAUSES describing a series of events like we do in English, rather it is used in forming lists of items. For example:

> *Ɓe coodi na'i* **e** *pucci* **e** *be'i.*
> They bought cows **and** horses **and** goats.

When relating a series of events they would usually not use any CONJUNCTIONS to tie the clauses together. In so linking clauses it is not unusual for the pronouns to drop out, as in the first example.

> *Yuwonnde ndeen hewti ɗum dow balangol ɗoon, micci ɓokki kiin, doggani ki, naati ley ɓokki toon.*
> The rain caught him on the road there, [he] remember that baobab tree, [he] ran to the tree, [he] entered the tree there.

> *Ɓe ndilli, ɓe naati ladde, ɓe piloo ko ɓe nyaama, ɓe piloo, ɓe piloo, ɓe ngari, ɓe keɓi jaawle, ɓe keɓi gerre, ɓe keɓi bilbildi, ɓe keɓi kuutooji, ɓe keɓi eleleldu, ɓe keɓi doombi, ɓe keɓi nyaamduuji fuu e ley kulloy ley ladde.*
> They left, then entered the bush, they searched for that which they could eat, they searched, they searched, they got guine-fowl eggs, they got quail, they got bats, they got monitor lizards, they got mice, they got all kinds of food from amoung the little creatures in the bush.

29. PREPOSITIONS

As in English, prepositions in Fulfulde are used with either a noun or pronoun to denote its relation to something else in the sentence. There are 31 words listed as prepositions in the dictionary:

fadde[215] - before
ɓaawo/caggal/gaɗa - after, afterward, behind
ɓannge/ɗakkol/gannde/takkol - beside, next to
dere/e/ley/nder - in
dow/e – on, about
e - with
faa/faɗo - until, up to, as far as
faro/hedde - toward, facing
fiyaa - about, toward
gaaye – without
gilla/illa/jilla – from, since
hakkunde - between
ley - under

sella - outside
to - to, from
yaasin - outside of
yeeso - before, in front of, across from; ahead, beyond, forward

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[215] See Section 19.C, p. 122 on how *fadde* is used.

Examples:

*Lukka 3:16a Ndeen Yaayaa wi'i yimɓe ɓeen fuu: "Miin kaa miɗo mutina on **ley** ndiyam, ammaa ɓurɗo kam baawɗe ina wara **gaɗa** am."*
Luke 3:16a Then John said to them, "I have come baptizing **in** water, but one who is greater than I is coming **after** me."

*Lukka 3:3 O wari **dakkol** gooruwol Urdun fuu imo waajoo yimɓe tuuba njaɓa mutineede faa hakkeeji muɓɓen njaafee.*
Luke 3:3 He came **next to** the Jordon river in order to preach a baptism for the repentance of sins.

*Lukka 3:4 Ɗum laatoreke hono no annabi Esaaya winndirnoo noon: "O ɣeewnoto **ley** ladde imo wi'a: 'Moyɣinee balangol Joomiraaɗo, ndartinee ngol'"*
Luke 3:4 as it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet, "The voice of one crying **in** the wilderness, 'Make ready the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.' "

*Lukka 3:22a Ruuhu Ceniiɗo jippii **dow** muuɗum ina wa'i hono wuugaandu.*
Luke 3:22a The Holy Spirit descended **upon** him like a dove.

Ndaar e tabawal toon, salla montoro maa na toon.
Look **on** the table to see if your watch is there.

*Accu mi ɗowte **faa** laawol.*
Let me accompany you to the road.

*Nde o dillunoo ɗo o fonndeke **faro** Piilaaɗi.*
When he left here he was heading toward Piilaaɗi.

*Lukka 1:15c O heewan Ruuhu Ceniiɗo **gilla** imo woni **ley** reedu.*
Luke 1:15c He will be full of the Holy Spirit **from** the time he is in the womb.

*Kori ko ɓe mbujji ma ɓe tawaay faa'e **e** danga maa.*
I hope when they stole your wallet they didn't find anything **in** it.

*Mi yi'ii Lobbo na yaada **e** Mark.*
I see Lobbo is going with Mark.

*Ko o wari hannden, o haalaay **fiyaa** golleeji adunaaru, ammaa **fiyaa** diina tan o haali.*
When he came today he didn't talk **about** secular work, but he only talked about religion.

*Bita waawaa waɗeede **gaaye** ndiyam.*
You cannot make bita without water.

*Lukka 4:30 Ndeen o rewi **hakkunde** maɓɓe, o dilli.*
Luke 4:30 Then he passed between them and left.

*Pol na golla **ley** mobel muɗɗum.*
Paul is working under his truck.

*Taa ŋawlunduree ley suudu ga, njehee **sella**.*
Don't wrestle in the house, go outside.

*O yehii **to** maɓɓe.*
He went to them.

*Kanaa njehen **yaasin** luumo faa nyaamen buuru maasa oon.*
We must go **outside** the market to eat the fried cakes.

*Suudu makko wo **yeeso** luumo.*
His house is across **from**/**beyond** the market.

SYNTAX[216]

30. NARRATIVE/DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Every language has grammatical rules which govern the formation of phrases and sentences. Every language also has rules that govern the formation of paragraphs or the narration of stories or events. Here are some general principles of Fulfulde syntax:

A. Verb Forms:

An ASPECT FOCUS FORM, the General, is usually used for the first one or two verbs in a narration, or at any major turning points in the narration.
Other FOCUS FORMs, usually the Relative, are used for all verbs which follow, unless the Negative, Stative, Negative Stative, Progress, Imperative, Negative Imperative, Subjunctive, Negative Subjunctive, Infinitive, or Participial FORMs are specifically called for. There are two situations where other FOCUS FORMs are routinely overruled in a narration:

1. In direct and indirect discourse:

When either direct quotes or indirect discourse (he said that ...) appear in the middle of a narration, the General Complete is used for positively stated completed thoughts and the Subjunctive is used with positively stated expressions that are incomplete.[217]

2. With the condition conjunction *si*:

When the conditional conjunction *si* is used, the General Complete FORM is used, even in a narration.[218]

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[216] Syntax might be defined as "that part of grammar which deals with the structure of the sentence, i.e. with the proper arrangement of word forms (word order) to show their mutual relations and their functions in the sentence." *English Grammar for Language Students*, Frank X. Braun Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 19

[217] See Section 11.A.4, p. 73 for a discussion of the General Complete's usage in indirect discourse, and Section 31, p. 176 *ff.* for a discussion of indirect discourse. See Section 18.C, p. 117 for a discussion of the Subjunctive's use in indirect discourse.

[218] See Section 11.A.3.a, p. 70 for a discussion of the use of the General Complete in conditional *si* clauses.

B. Turning Points:

A turning point or new thought is often introduced by a conjunction or an adverb, words that could be called discourse markers such as:

a*mmaa/de/kaa* - however, but (gives a contrast with what came before)
n*deen* – then
ndelle - therefore, and so, thus
ndeen kaa - then, at that time, in those days, back then
jonkaa - therefore (a conclusion marker)

Robin Watson also speaks of what linguists call "tail-head linkage" in which the last verb is repeated in order to slow the pace of the story down just before a key event. In the examples the head is underlined once & tail is underlined twice:

Yuwoonde ndeen hewti ɗum dow balangol ɗoon, miccii ɓokki kiin, doggan ki, <u>naati</u> ley ɓokki toon. Nde <u><u>naatunoo</u></u> fu, <u>soppinii</u> faro dammbugal ɗoon. Nde <u><u>soppininoo</u></u> dammbugal ɗoon fu, yeesoojo mum fecci goroore muuɗum faa yakka.
The rain caught him on the road there, [he] remember that baobab tree, [he] ran to the tree, [he] entered the tree there. When he had entered he squatted facing the opening. When he had squatted in the door there, the one in front of him broke his cola nut to chew on.

Tawi imo yaha, imo yaha, faa wari, o fitti, o <u>naati</u> galle goɗɗo. Nde o <u><u>naannoo</u></u> galle goɗɗo fu, tawi joomum du maatii.
Come to find out he was going and going until he jumped the wall and entered into someone's courtyard. When he had entered into the courtyard come to find the owner was aware of it.

C. Pronouns:

Generally, once the name of an actor has been given in a narration, this person will only be referred to by pronouns until such time as there is a change in actors. Then the second actor is named and he/she is referred to by pronouns until there is another change in actors, and so forth.

D. Response:

During a narration, the listeners respond at very regular intervals (almost in a rhythmic fashion) with appropriate grunts, hums, uh-huh's, exclamatory adjectives, and at times body movements. Sometimes several will respond while at other times someone seems to take on the roll of responder and the others will listen silently or only interject at sporadic intervals.

31. DIRECT & INDIRECT DISCOURSE

Direct discourse is what we would call quoting. It might be a quote of something written or of something spoken. Indirect discourse takes place when someone repeats what someone else has said or written, but not as an exact quote. While some form of the verb *wi'ude* (to say) is the main marker for spoken discourse, and some form of the verb *winndude* (to write) is the main marker for written discourse, it is good to be alert to other discourse markers, such as:

> *fodanaade* (to promise something to someone); e.g. *o fodanii ...* (he promised ...)
> *hunaade* (to swear); e.g. *o hunii ...* (he swore that ...)
> *miilaade* (to think); e.g. *imo miiloo ...* (he though that ...)
> *nanude* (to hear); e.g. *mi nani ...* (I hear that ...)
> *wi'undurde* (to say to each other); e.g. *iɓe mbi'undura ....* (they were saying to each other ...)
> *yamude* (to ask) e.g. *o yami ...* (she asked ...)

If the action is positive and complete, the General Complete verb FORM is used. If it is positive and incomplete the Subjunctive verb FORM is used. If the action is negative and complete the Negative Complete is used, and if it is negative and incomplete the Negative Incomplete is used. These are the verb FORMs used even when the discourse (direct or indirect) occurs as part of a narration. The discourse markers are marked in bold in the following examples:

*O **wi'ii** ɓiyiiko sotta na'i mum faa laaɓa.*
He **told** his son to sell all his cows (until not one was left).

*Matta 11:18 "Yaayaa warii, nyaamataa buuru, yarataa ndiyam inaboojam lamminaaɗam de yimɓe **mbi'ii** imo wondi e nginnaaw."*
Matthew 11:18 "John came neither eating nor drinking and they **said** 'he has a demon.' "

*Golleeji Nulaaɓe 28:4 Nde yimɓe ɓeen nji'unoo mbooddi ina fiilii e junngo Pol fu, ɓe **mbi'unduri** hakkunde maɓɓe, "Eɗen tennyori gorko o wo ittoowo yonkiiji. Fay si o daɗi ley maayo ngo du, sariya accataa o o wuura."*
Acts 28:4 When the people saw the snake wrap about Paul's hand they **said to one another**, "Certainly this fellow is a murderer. Even though he survived the sea, justice will not permit him to live."

*Mi **nanii** o tayowa huɗo faa o howa suudu deekiiko.*
I **heard** he went to cut grass so that he can build a hut for his wife.

*Mi **nanii** o wujjii na'i faa heewi.*
I **heard** that he has stolen many cows.

*Ɓe **mbi'ii** ɓe nj'ii banndii gooto ley ferro.*
They **said** that they saw one bandit in the bush.

*Laamɗo **fodanii** Ibrahiima o heɓa ɓinngel mawuuri.*
God **promised** Abraham he would have a child the following year.

*Matta 14:6-7 Nde nyannde rimeede Hirudus wartunoo fu, ɓii Hirudiya debbo wami yeeso jooɗiiɓe ɗoon ɓeen faa ɗum weli Hirudus sanne de Hirudus **hunii** hokkan surbaajo oon ko yidi fuu.*
Matthew 14:6-7 When Herod's birthday had come, Hirodias' daughter danced before the guests and pleased Herod so much that he **swore** to give her whatever she wanted.

*Roma'en 3:4b . . . hono no **winndiraa**: "A laamnete e haalaaji maa. A daɗan sariya."*
Romans 3:4 b ... as **it is written**, "you will be justified in your words, and will prevail when you are judged."

*Roma'en 15:3 En ngaɗan noon **sabo** fay Almasiihu welnanaay hoore muuɗum, ammaa na **winndiraa**: "Ko yimɓe mbonkii ma ɗum ina woni e he'am."*
Romans 15:3 We will do this because even Christ did not please himself, but **as it is written**, "The reproaches of those who reproached you fell upon me."

*Matta 9:14b ...[ɓe] **y̌ami** ɗum: "Ko waɗi minen e Farisa en midon cuumoo de taalibaaɓe maa ɓe cuumataako?"*
Matthew 9:14b ... [they] **asked** him, "why do we and the Pharisees fast, but you and your disciples do not fast?"

*O yehii luumo Dori sabo imo **miiloo** o tawan na'i makko bujjaaɗi toon.*
He went to the Dori market because he **thought** he would find his stolen cows there.

32. QUESTIONS

There are four ways to formulate a question in Fulfulde:

A. **Interrogative Pronouns:**
Interrogative pronouns are described in Section 13.C (pages 88-91) on the Relative verb FORM. Two reminder examples are:

Toy njahataa?
Where are you going?

Ndey ngartuɗaa wuro Boussouma?
When did you return to Boussouma?

B. **Use of *naa*:**
Questions can be formed by adding the particle *naa* to the end of almost any sentence, and by slightly raising the pitch of the voice on the *naa*. This is used for questions that require a yes or no answer. As noted under C below, the *naa* can be dropped, and often is, in favor of simple voice intonation. Examples:

A yahan luumo hannden naa?
Will you go to the market today?

Koreeji Burayma eggan Nadiabondi naa?
Will Burayma's family migrate from Nadiabondi?

Na heyi naa?
Is that enough?

Aɗa waawi moyy̌intinande kam torkooru am naa?
Can you repair my donkey cart for me?

A yeggitaay waddude ko kaalanmaami nyannden ɗum naa?
Did you remember to bring what I asked you for the other day?

C. Voice Intonation:

This is done in virtually exactly the same way as in English. The voice is allowed to rise in pitch near the end of the sentence. Listen to an informant for the exact nuance. This too is largely used for questions that require a yes or no answer. For example, take any example under B, remove the *naa*, add voice intonation, and you will have a correct question in Fulfulde.

D. Use of *kori*:

The particle *kori* (hopefully) is used in greeting sequences, but can also be attached to almost any sentiment a speaker wishes to express. The General Complete verb FORM is used after this particle.[219] Examples:

Kori a waalii e jam?
I hope you passed the night in peace?

Kori a weetii e jam?
I hope you passed/are passing the morning in peace?

Kori a nyallii e jam?
I hope you passed/are passing the afternoon in peace?

Kori a hiirii e jam?
I hope you passed/are passing the evening in peace?

Kori a warii e jam?
I hope you came in peace?

Kori suudu maa wulaay?
I hope your hut didn't burn down?

Kori a yiitii ngeelooba maa?
I hope you found your camel?

Kori a yi'aay baasi?
I hope you didn't run into any trouble?

Kori baaba samtanaama?
I hope your father is feeling better?

Kori a tawii gineeji ɗi fuu mbonaay?
I hope you found that nothing was ruined?

Kori jam?
Hey, what-a-ya-mean? or Hey, come on now! or Hey, whatch-ya-drivin-at?
(Said with intonation dropping not rising on the *jam*.)
Literally translated as "I hope peace?" but intended meaning translated as "I hope you are saying that with peaceful [teasing] intentions."

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[219] The use of the General Complete with *kori* is also briefly mentioned in Section 11.A.5, p. 73.

GLOSSARY

ASPECT[220] – In the following discussion about verbs the term ASPECT refers to whether or not the verbal action is <u>complete</u> or <u>incomplete</u>. This means that the verbs are not conjugated in strict relationship to time; time is secondary. Rather the verbs are conjugated according to whether an action has been completed or remains incomplete, is finished or not finished. In actual practice the complete will most often correspond to what we think of as a past tense, and the incomplete to a future tense. However, due to cultural differences, there are quite a number of cases where *Fulɓe* use a complete form, but we would rather use an incomplete form. Until one begins to understand the logic of the Fulfulde language, it is best to note and memorize any such cases. One common example is "*Mi hootii*," which is said when you decide you will go home, often before you even get up to go, and literally means "I went home."

COMPLEMENT - A word, phrase, or clause added to the verb of a sentence to complete the predicate, esp. to a verb of incomplete predication.[221] Also, a restrictive relative clause identifying or defining the noun (in English often introduced by *that*, as in *the fact that*).

COMPLEX SENTENCE – A COMPLEX SENTENCE is one made up of an INDEPENDENT CLAUSE and one or more dependant or SUBORDINATE CLAUSEs joined by a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION, a subordinating adverb, or a relative pronoun.[222] See discussion on SUBORDINATE CLAUSES and TRIGGER WORDS below.

COMPOUND SENTENCE - A compound sentence is one made up of two INDEPENDENT CLAUSES joined by a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION; i.e. "and" {*de*}, "but" {*ammaa, de, kaa*}, "or" and "nor" {*maa, naa*}.

CONDITIONAL CLAUSE – A CONDITIONAL CLAUSE is a type of SUBORDINATE CLAUSE which introduces a condition into the sentence. The SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION which is used to introduce a CONDITIONAL CLAUSE is *si*.[223]

CONJUGATION – In English grammar this refers to the orderly arrangement by *person* and *number* of all the forms of a verb in a given TENSE. Seeing as we are not using the term TENSE (see TENSE below for the reason why) we will apply this term to the orderly arrangement of the forms of a verb in a given FORM. Actually there are only two FORMs which require one to actually CONJUGATE for PERSON and NUMBER – the Relative (both Complete and Incomplete) and the Subjunctive. Additionally the Imperative FORM of the verb requires one

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[220] "A group of forms of a verb, expressing inception, duration, completion, repetition, etc.; the quality of a verb by which it represents such features." *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, "aspect," CD-ROM Both Fagerberg-Diallo and Vanderaa use the term "aspect" in relation to completeness or incompleteness.
[221] Remember, one can split a sentence into two parts: the subject portion, which includes any pronouns, articles or adjectives relating to the subject and the predicate portion, which include any adverbs relating to the verb or direct objects occurring after the verb.
[222] Examples of SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS: because, since {*ngam, sabo*}; although, though {*fay*}; if {*si*}, that {*ke, ko, de*}; so that, in order that {*de*}; until {*faa*}). Examples of subordinating adverbs: where {*to*}, when or whenever {*nde*}, how {*no*}, how much {*no foti*}). See Table 13.5, p. 91 *ff.* for a listing of relative pronouns.
[223] Varations of *si* include *ammaa si, fay si, sabo si* and *si wanaa*.

to CONJUGATE for NUMBER alone (i.e. singular and plural). The other FORM's endings are invariable regardless of PERSON and NUMBER .

CONJUNCTIONS – A CONJUNCTION is a word used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. There are two types:
1. **COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS**: these connect words, phrases or clauses of equal rank (i.e. two INDEPENDENT CLAUSES). Examples of COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS in English {and Fulfulde} would be: and {*de*, *e*}; but, however {*ammaa*, *de*, *kaa*, *kay*}; or, nor {*maa*, *naa*}.
2. **SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS**: these CONJUNCTIONS introduce clauses which are subordinate to the rest of the sentence.   Examples of SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS in English {and Fulfulde} would be: although, though {*fay ko*}; because, since {*ngam*, *sabo*}; if {*si*}; that {*ke*, *ko*}; whether {*yalla*, *salla*}; nevertheless, notwithstanding {*fay si*}; however {*de*}.[224] In English there are a number of compound CONJUNCTIONS which are also used as SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS. For example: even if, in spite of, granting that, even supposing {*fay si*}, even as, even when {*fay nde*}, even then {*fay ndeen*}, even that {*fay ko*} and yet, in fact, but still {*de*}.[225]

DECLARATIVE – When used in reference to a verb FORM it means a FORM which makes a statement about something. The General Complete & Incomplete, the Relative Complete & Incomplete, the Negative Complete & Incomplete, the Stative, the Progressive, the Emphatic, the Participial and the Subjunctive are all DECLARATIVE verb FORMs.

FOCUS – The FOCUS deals with the main thought being expressed by the verb. Each verb FORM falls into one of four FOCUS groups. The first group of verbal FORMs (i.e. General) is *ASPECT FOCUSed*. In other words, it focuses on whether the action is complete or incomplete. In the second group of verbal FORMs (i.e. Negative, Relative and Participial) the FOCUS is on something beside *ASPECT*, *plus aspect*. For example, with Negative verbal constructions the main part of the FOCUS is on being negative, but there is still some attention to whether or not this is in reference to something not completed or something not to be. The same can be said about the complicated Relative FORMs. The main FOCUS is on something besides being complete or incomplete, but the notion of complete or incomplete is not totally absent from the verbal construction. With the third group of verbal FORMs (i.e. Emphatic, Stative, Progressive, and Subjunctive) the FOCUS is on something *other* than ASPECT. So completeness or incompleteness is not even being addressed by this FORM of the verb. Rather a state of being, a habit, an ongoing progression of activity, a desire, or a hope are the FOCUS. The fourth group of verbal FORMs (i.e. Infinitive, Imperative, and Desiderative) are regarded as *non-FOCUSed* verbal FORMs. It is worth noting that a sentence with an *ASPECT FOCUSed* verb keeps the basic word order of

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[224] While *ammaa* or *kaa* or *de* can mean "however," they are not SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS when used by themselves. It is not unusual to see *ammaa* teamed up with *si*, *nde*, or *ko*. All cases of *ammaa si* (but if) are conditional and subordinating. *Ammaa nde* (but when) and *ammaa ko* (but that) form relative clauses which are usually subordinating.

[225] In English "even" can function as an adverb or as an intensive or emphatic particle. We would usually translated "even" with *fay*. In both English and Fulfulde "even" {*fay*} is often used in compound CONJUNCTIONS: even if, even supposing {*fay si*}; even that, although, thought {*fay ko*}; even as, even when {*fay nde*}; even then {*fay ndeen*}. In most cases *de* is used as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION meaning "and," "but" or "however." Occasionally it is also used as a subordinating adverb meaning "so that" or "in order that."

subject-verb-object, while the *other FOCUSed* verbs tend to change the word order to object-verb-subject or verb-object-subject. For example:

ASPECT FOCUSed: *Mi   yehii   luumo.* (I went to the market)
                                subject verb   object

Other FOCUSed: *Luumo   njaa- mi.* (It is to the market I went.)
                             object   verb subject

Another feature to note with *other FOCUSed* FORMs is they generally lengthen the verbal suffix. Also notice that the lengthening tends to be shifted towards the end of the verb. This can be observed in the relative incomplete and in cases where the subject and verb are inverted as in *joododaa* (second person singular, middle voice, Subjunctive FORM) where the lengthening is displaced onto the subject pronoun *-daa*. Examples of *other FOCUSing* are not given here since there are many examples in the sections dealing with the Relative, Stative, Progressive, Negative, and Subjunctive verb FORMs.

FORM – Various FORMs of the verb are constructed by adding specific SUFFIXes to the verb's ROOT. Each FORM carries an explicit FOCUS. Most verb FORMs have different SUFFIXes for different VOICEs. A few also have different SUFFIXes for different CONJUGATIONs of PERSON and NUMBER as well. See the discussion above on FOCUS regarding the four FOCUSes these verbal FORMs have, and which FORMs have which FOCUS. The 13 FORMs covered in this grammar include: General, Negative, Relative, Participial, Emphatic, Stative, Negative Stative, Progressive, Subjunctive, first Infinitive, second Infinitive, Imperative, and Desiderative.

INDEPENDENT CLAUSES – An INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is a clause that contains a subject and a verb, and which could stand by itself as a complete sentence.

INFIX – These are ROOT extensions that are attached between the verb's ROOT and the SUFFIX; e.g. *-an-* (for) added to the ROOT *wadd-* (to bring) with the SUFFIX *–ii* (General Complete FORM) yields *wadd·an·ii* (to bring for). These INFIXes have quite an impact on the meaning of the verb.[226]

NUMBER – This term refers to whether the subject of the verb is one person or thing or a plurality of persons or things.

PERSON – There are three possibilities; first PERSON, second PERSON, and third PERSON. Generally when discussing PERSON it is likewise necessary to discuss NUMBER.

ROOT – The verbal ROOT is the basic word without any SUFFIXes or INFIXes. In the dictionary verbs are listed with the lexeme in bold type. The lexeme, in the case of the verbs, would be the first Infinitive FORM of the verb. The second Infinitive FORM would then be listed immediately behind it in italics; e.g. **accude** *accugol*. After removing the various infinitive SUFFIXes (e.g. **–ude** *-ugol*) one is left with the verb's ROOT: i.e. √**acc-**. The various FORMs of the verb are formed on this verbal ROOT. Actually not only are the various FORMs of a verb formed from the ROOT, but often various nouns are built from the verbal ROOT in Fulfulde. For example, from the infinitive *janng-ude* one can build the following nouns: *janng-udo* (one who has studied), *janng-oowo* (one who is reading or studying), *janng-in-*

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[226] See Section 24, p. 140 *ff.* for the details on these INFIXes.

oowo (a teacher), *janng-ir-de* (a school), and *jan-(n)de* (a lesson).[227]
Since many words in Fulfulde, including most adjectives and many nouns,
are built on the ROOT of some verb, knowing the ROOT of the verbs is
essential to deciphering the meaning of many words. For instance, in the
above example, if one encounters the word "*jannginoowo,*" one can very
quickly understand its meaning by dissecting the word into its morphemes:
-oowo is a SUFFIX indicating it is a person, *-in-* is an INFIX which adds the
meaning "to cause to," and the root √*janng-* means "to learn," in other words
"one who causes to learn" or "a teacher." The symbol √ indicates this is a
root; e.g. √*acc-*, √*janng-.*

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES – First of all, let's discuss what a clause is. A clause is
composed of a subject and a verb. It may make up part of a complete
sentence, or it may stand alone as a sentence. The following sentence
contains two clauses: *We will eat* <u>when the soup is done cooking</u>.
"*We will eat*" is referred to as the *principle* or *INDEPENDENT CLAUSE*.
A *principle* or *INDEPENDENT CLAUSE* is the main clause of the sentence and
can stand alone and make sense by itself: *We will eat*. The second clause is a
SUBORDINATE or *dependant CLAUSE*: <u>when the soup is done cooking</u>.
A *SUBORDINATE* or *dependant CLAUSE* cannot stand by itself as a complete
sentence. You will note that what keeps the second clause from being
complete is the first word of the clause: "when." In English, SUBORDINATE
CLAUSES are generally introduced by either a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION
(e.g. although, because, if, since, that, though, whether) or an adverb
(e.g. where, whenever, when, how) or by a relative pronoun (e.g. who,
whose, to whom, whom, which). If the "when" of the second clause is
removed, the second clause would stand alone as a second independent
sentence: *The soup is done cooking*. It is the "when" which permits us to
join the two clauses into one longer, more COMPLEX SENTENCE, but at the
same time it subordinates the second clause to accomplish that mission.
In Fulfulde a similar situation exists. There are a variety of words which
will act as subordinators. You will spot discussions of the use of various
verb FORMs with various SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS, adverbs and
relative pronouns in the verb section. Also see the discussion of COMPLEX
SENTENCE and COMPOUND SENTENCE above and TRIGGER WORDS below.

SUFFIX – These are endings which are attached to the verb's root in order to arrive at
various FORMs of the verb. Each FORM has it own endings.
For example, for the first Infinitive FORM, the active voice SUFFIX is
–ude, the middle voice SUFFIX is *–aade,* and the passive voice SUFFIX is
–eede. For the second Infinitive FORM the active voice SUFFIX is *–ugol,*
the middle voice SUFFIX is *–agol*, and the passive voice SUFFIX is *-egol*

TENSE – Both Fagerberg-Diallo and Vanderaa eschewed the use of this term.
Technically they are correct, as for the most part the *Fulɓe* are not
communicating much about time with their verbs. However, for your
average non-grammarian Anglophone, what we call FORMs above sounds
more or less like what we think about TENSEs. When we hear "complete
ASPECT" we think "past" and when we hear "incomplete ASPECT" we think
either "future" or "present." Actually the only verbal construction in
Fulfulde that speaks of time is the Preterite, which is very much like what

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[227] *Jaangudo, jaangoowo*, and *jaanginoowo* are actually participles. See Section 14, p. 98 *ff.* for a discussion of
participles.

we think of as "past TENSE."[228] What we call a "present" TENSE might be conveyed by the Progressive, when used of an action in progress. The *Fulɓe* are not very future minded, as they think the future is very unsure, thus many future things are addressed by verbs in the Subjunctive FORM.

TRIGGER WORDS – TRIGGER WORDS are words which "trigger" a certain grammatical construction. They would include SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS and adverbs as well as relative pronouns. They also include a set of auxiliary verbs or adverbs meaning "must," "must not," "it is necessary," and "should."[229] Obviously SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS and adverbs trigger a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE. One subset of SUBORDINATE CLAUSES is the CONDITIONAL CLAUSE. These are introduced by either the CONJUNCTIONS *si* (if) and *sabo* (because, since) or the adverb *de* (so that).[230] The CONJUNCTION *ammaa* is sometimes teamed up with *si* to trigger a *CONDITIONAL CLAUSE* – *ammaa si* (but if). The various relative pronouns signal the formation of a *relative clause*, which usually subordinate. The CONJUNCTION *ammaa* is sometimes teamed up with the relative pronouns *ko* or *nde* to form *relative clauses*; e.g. *ammaa ko* (but that), *ammaa nde* (but when). It is important to be cognizant of these TRIGGER WORDS when speaking or writing in Fulfulde. An effort has been made throughout this edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde Grammar* to point out what happens in different situations when these TRIGGER WORDS are used. TRIGGER WORDS often elicit certain verbal FORMS as well. If one knows the answers to the following three questions one can determine what verb FORM is required by a given TRIGGER WORD: *Is the statement positive or negative? Is the action of the verb complete or incomplete? What part of the sentence is emphasized or focused on*? One caveat to bear in mind with these TRIGGER WORDS: if a Stative or Progressive FORM is called for in a positively stated sentence it will "trump" the "default" FORM called for by the TRIGGER WORD. Remember too that if the idea being expressed is negative the Negative verb FORM is called for. This consideration will "trump" all others. The Negative verb FORM (Complete & Incomplete) replaces the General, Relative, Emphatic, and Progressive verb FORMs. The Stative, Subjunctive (polite imperative), Imperative, and Desiderative all have their own unique negative FORMs which are used with these four FORMs when a negation is called for. Here is a listing of the TRIGGER WORDS with the grammatical constructions and verbal FORMs they trigger in different situations:

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[228] See Section 23, p. 130 *ff.* for the full discussion of the Preterite.

[229] This would include *si wanaa* (should, it is necessary, must) and its contracted form, *sanaa,* as well as the various cognates of that word: *say, sey, kanaa.* It would also include the more forceful *tilay* and *karahan* (must, it is absolutely necessary). This is one place where it is hard to compare our English equivalents to the Fulfulde grammatically. "Should" and "must" are auxiliary verbs. "Necessary" is an adjective. It is probably best to think of the Fulfulde equivalents as auxiliary verbs.

[230] In the vast majority of cases *de* is serving as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION meaning "and," "and then," "but," or "however." While "however" in English can be a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION, it does not appear that *de* in Fulfulde functions as a subordinator when meaning "however." Occasionally *de* can be translated as "so that" or "in order that" serving as a subordinating adverb or "that" serving as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION.

Subordinating Trigger Words

ammaa si – "but if" – serves as a SUBORDINATING (CONDITIONAL) CONJUNCTION – if positive it triggers the General Complete; if negative it triggers a negative verb FORM (usually the Negative Complete, but possibly the Negative Stative)[231]

ammaa ko – "but that" – introduces a relative clause which may or may not be subordinate – if positive it triggers either the Relative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT of the clause); if negative it triggers the Negative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT of the clause)

ammaa nde – "but when" – introduces a relative clause which may or may not be subordinate – if positive it triggers either the Relative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT of the clause); if negative it triggers the Negative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT of the clause)

de – "and yet, but still, that, that even; so that, in order that" – serves as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION or adverb – if positive and complete, and part of a narration, it triggers the Relative; if not part of a narration (it is often used in direct or indirect speech), it triggers a General Complete FORM; if not part of a narration and incomplete it may trigger either the Subjunctive or General Incomplete; if negative it usually triggers the Negative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT of the clause), or the negative Stative[232]

faa – "so that, until" – serves as SUBORDINATING adverb or CONJUNCTION – if positive and complete it triggers the General Complete or Relative Complete, depending on the FOCUS; if positive and incomplete it usually triggers the Subjunctive[233]

fay ko – "even that" – an emphatic adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which may or may not be subordinate – if positive it triggers the Relative FORM; if negative it triggers the Negative FORM

fay nde – "even when" – an emphatic adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which generally subordinates – if positive it triggers the Relative FORM; if negative it triggers the Negative FORM

fay ndeen – "even then" – an emphatic adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which generally subordinates – if positive it triggers the Relative FORM; if negative it triggers the Negative FORM

fay si – "even if" – serves as an emphatic SUBORDINATING (CONDITIONAL) CONJUNCTION denoting futility – if positive it triggers the Relative Complete; if negative it triggers the Negative Complete

ko – "that" – an adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which generally subordinates – if positive it triggers a Relative verb FORM; if negative it a Negative verb FORM is used

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[231] *Ammaa* by itself means "but" or "however" and serves as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION. While *ammaa* by itself does not "trigger" any particular verb FORM, it tends to be used before negative verb FORMs.

[232] *De* is one of the most difficult of the trigger words to understand. Unfortunately it occurs frequently. *De* usually functions as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION, meaning "and," "but," or "however." When used as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION it does not "trigger" any particular verb FORM, however, often *de* is used in narrations to link one event to the next, and so often it is associated with Relative verb FORMs. When the force of what is being expressed includes the thought "yet" (e.g. and yet) or "still" (e.g. but still) a Relative FORM is called for, as these words are intensifiers. Occasionally *de* is used as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION meaning "that." Sometimes an intensifier such as "even" (e.g. that even) is teamed up with it, again triggering a Relative FORM (unless "trumped" by a Negative, Stative or Progressive FORM, as in the following example); e.g. "O wo moy **de fay** keni e ndiyam fuu ina njaɓana ɗum?" {Who is he that even the wind and waves obey him?}.

[233] *Faa* can also mean just "and," serving as a COORDINATING CONJUNCTION. It also can serve as a preposition meaning: "until, up to, as far as."

nde – "when" – an adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which generally subordinates – if positive it triggers a Relative verb FORM; if negative a Negative verb FORM is used

no – "how" – an adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which generally subordinates – if positive it triggers a Relative verb FORM; if negative it a Negative verb FORM is used

no foti – "how much" – an adverb which functions as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause which generally subordinates – if positive it triggers a Relative verb FORM; if negative it a Negative verb FORM is used

sabo – "because, since" – serves as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION – if the FOCUS is positive, and on the ASPECT, then this word triggers a General Complete FORM; if the FOCUS is positive, and mainly on something besides the ASPECT, the Relative Complete is used; if the statement is negative then the Negative Complete is triggered

sabo si – "because if" – serves as a SUBORDINATING (CONDITIONAL) CONJUNCTION – if positive it triggers the General Complete or Participial Complete; if negative it triggers the Negative Complete[234]

salla – "whether, whether or not" – serves as a SUBORDINATING CONJUCTION – if positive, and the ASPECT is <u>complete</u>, it triggers either the General Complete or the Stative; if positive, and the ASPECT is <u>incomplete</u>, it triggers either the General Incomplete or the Progressive; if negative it triggers the Negative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT)

si – "if" – serves as a SUBORDINATING (CONDITIONAL) CONJUNCTION – if positive it usually triggers the General Complete or Participial Complete; if negative it triggers the Negative Complete[235]

si wanaa – "if not, except, unless" – serves as a SUBORDINATING (CONDITIONAL) CONJUNCTION – invariably uses the Stative negative of *wonude*, it introduces a subordinate clause of exception into the sentence[236]

relative pronouns – see Table 13.5, p. 91 for a listing of these – if positive they trigger a Relative verb FORM; if negative they trigger a Negative verb FORM

taa – "so to not" – serves as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION – always negative, only functions as a SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION when used with either the Negative Polite Imperative or the Negative Desiderative, it does not subordinate when used with the Negative Imperative

to – "where" – serves as a subordinating adverb – if positive it triggers a Relative verb FORM; if negative it a Negative verb FORM is used

yalla – "whether, whether or not" – serves as a SUBORDINATING CONJUCTION – if positive, and the ASPECT is complete, it triggers the Stative; if positive, and the ASPECT is incomplete, it triggers the Progressive; if negative it triggers the Negative Complete or Incomplete (depending on the ASPECT)

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[234] The compound conditional CONJUNCTION *sabo si* (because if, since if) combines the two elements of the separate CONJUNCTIONS, with the *si* element controlling the verbal structure of the sentence. That is in a positively stated sentence (barring the need to use either the Stative or Progressive FORMS) the General Complete or Participial Complete FORMS will be called for.

[235] Any of the compound CONJUNCTIONS containing the word *si* (if) will be conditional (e.g. *fay si, si wanaa, sabo si*). While *si* by itself triggers the General Complete or Participial Complete (unless "trumped by a Negative, Stative or Progressive FORM"), the addition of auxiliary words often either intensify the thought of the clause, as in the case of *fay si* (even if), or introduce an exception, as in the case of *si wanaa* (if not, except, unless). The use of *fay si* triggers the Relative Complete as the FOCUS of the clause is now on the intensification of the thought rather than on the ASPECT (completeness). The introduction of *si* + *wonude* invariably triggers the Negative Stative → *wanaa*. However, the compound CONJUNCTION *sabo si* (but if) is just a simple conditional CONJUNCTION triggering either the General Complete or Participial Complete.

[236] Be careful with this compound CONJUNCTION. It has two distinct meanings. As noted above, it can mean "if not," "unless," and "except." It can also mean "must" or "it is necessary." One often sees the contracted form of this second meaning: *sanaa*, or one of its cognates: *kanaa, say, sey*. The verb used to introduce an exception to the main thought is always *wonude* (to be) and the verb always takes the Stative Negative FORM. It literally means "if it is not." Besides the triggering of the of Stative Negative FORM, it might be noted that often the main thought of the sentence being qualified by the exception clause uses Negative verb FORMS.

ɗu(u)m waɗi de/ɗu(u)m saaɓi de/saabe ɗu(u)m de – "this is why that, for that reason" – a relative phrase which begins a relative clause, which may or may not be subordinate – if stated positively it triggers a Relative FORM; if stated negatively it triggers a Negative FORM

sanaa – "must, should" – When the auxilary verb *sanaa*, or one of its synonyms, is used in a phrase with completed action the Relative Complete is called for, and when it is used in a phrase with incompleted action the Subjunctive is called for.

tilay – "must, should" – When the auxilary verb *tilay* is used in a phrase the Subjunctive is called for.

VOICE – VOICE refers to whom or what the verb is acting on. There are three VOICEs; *active*, *middle*, and *passive*. With the *active VOICE* the subject is accomplishing the effect of the verb on someone or something else. Generally an object of the verbal effect is stated. With the *middle VOICE* the subject is either accomplishing the effect of the verb on him/her/itself or is at least somehow impacted by the effect of the verb. Many *middle VOICE* verbs are purely reflexive verbs. In other words the actor and the beneficiary of the action are the same. For example: *lootaade* (to wash oneself), *joodaade* (to sit down – lit. to sit oneself down), *laɓaade* (to shave oneself). There are other *middle VOICE* verbs where there is an actor but the beneficiary appears to be someone else. However, in *Fulɓe* culture reciprocity is a strongly held value; I do something for you today, some other day you can return the favor. If the value of reciprocity is kept in mind, one can see how the following *middle VOICE* verbs actually have two beneficiaries; another person, but also ultimately oneself; e.g. *du'aade* (to bless, give a blessing, to pray), *jambaade* (to betray), *sahaade* (to be kind, nice, well brought up), *yurmaade* (to have pity on), *laamaade* (to rule, govern), *nyamlaade* (to borrow something). By giving blessing, someday that person may bless you; negatively, betray someone today and someday that person may betray you! With the *passive VOICE* the subject is acted on by the verb. The *passive VOICE* is generally created by attaching *passive* endings to other verbs. There are not many verbs in Fulfulde that are found only in the *passive VOICE* or that are fundamentally passive. Some examples of passives would be: *haajeede* (to have need), *rafeede* (to be hungry), *hilleede* (to be interested in something). To understand the *passive* in Fulfulde one must realize that in the *Fulɓe's* mind one is usually overcome by various needs, feelings, sins, etc. A person is responsible for his actions, but at the same time there is a strong sense of submitting to an outside power or fate.

Appendix A
Nouns Whose Initial Consonants Do Not Conform To Table 5.1 (page 31)

<u>Borrowed Words (92)</u>[†]

birgi (ki)/**b**irgiiji (ɗi) – Moré – manure
buyakkaahi (ki)/**b**uyakkaaje (ɗe) – Moré - a guava tree
fajiri (o)/**f**ajiriiji (ɗi) – Arabic - morning
fannu (o)/**f**annuuji (ɗi) – Arabic – a commentary
fariila (o)/**f**arilaaji (ɗi) – Arabic – 5 pillars of Islam, that which is required
fayda (o)/no plural – Arabic – a blessing
feraare (nde)/**f**eraaje (ɗe) – Gourmanche – squash or pumpkin
fidaa'u (o)/no plural given – Arabic – animal given to imam when he prays for dead person
fikkaawo (ngo)/**f**ikkaaje (ɗe) – Moré – hand held fan
fitilla (nga/ka/o)/**f**itillaaji (ɗi) – Arabic – lamp
fulunfuudo (o)/**f**ulunfuudooji (ɗi) – Moré – a pair of lungs
gotuy (ki)/gotuuji (ɗi) – Gourmache - *Baissea multiflora*
goyaagaahi (ki)/goyaagaaje (ɗe) – French – a guava tree
haabu (ko)/**h**aabuuji (ɗi) – Songhai – cotton
haaju/e (o)/haajuuji (ɗi) – Arabic – a need
haamili (o)/haamili'en (ɓe) – Arabic – a pregnant woman
habaru (o)/**h**abaruuji (ɗi) – Arabic – news » kabaaru (o)/kabaaruuji (ɗi)
haciika (o)/no plural form – Arabic – certainty
hajju (o)/no plural form – Arabic – pilgrimage to Mecca
hakiika (o)/no plural form – Arabic – certainty
hakke (o)/hakkeeji (ɗi) – Arabic – sin
halal (ngal)/**h**alalaaji (ɗi) – Arabic - one's possession
hammadiijo (o)/hammadiiɓe (ɓe) – Arabic – first born son
hasaabu (o)/no plural – Arabic – the total
hawdaɣɣe (ɗe) – Songhai – mumps
haɣiiɣa (o)/no plural – Arabic – certainty
haɣɣe (o)/**h**aɣɣeeji (ɗi) – Arabic – sin
hiila (o)/**h**iilaaji (ɗi) – Arabic – deceit
hiisa (o)/no plural – Arabic – counting
hijju (o)/no plural – Arabic – pilgrimage
himme (o)/no plural – Arabic – greed
huduhudu (o)/**h**uduhuduuji (ɗi) – Arabic – a hoopoe
hukum (o)/hukumuu/aaji (ɗi) – Tamasheq – a leather tent
jofolooru (ngu)/jofolooji (ɗi) – Gourmanche from jofoleede – foreskin of penis
ndakowandiire (o)/no plural – Gourmanche – yeast
rabilla (o)/no plural – Moré – yeast
ri'aaku (ngu)/no plural – Arabic – boasting
riba or **r**iiba (o)/**r**ibaaji (ɗi) – Arabic - dishonest profit
riiku (ngu)/**r**iikuuji (ɗi) – Arabic – a blessing
rikke (o)/no plural – Arabic – spite
roogo (ngo)/**r**oogooji (ɗi) – Hausa – manioc
ruubu (o) – Arabic – faint sound of people talking
ruuhu (o)/**r**uuhuuji (ɗi) – Arabic – spirit
saa'a (o) – Hausa – good luck
saate (o)/**s**aateeji (ɗi) – Hausa – time
saawto (o)/no plural – Arabic – a faint noise
saaɣo (ngo/o)/**s**aaɣooji (ɗi) – Arabic – a soft noise
sabaabu (o)/**s**abaabuuji (ɗi) – Arabic – the reason
sadaka (o)/**s**adakaaji (ɗi) – Arabic – gifts, alms
safoko (o)/no plural – Arabic - evening
samsa (o)/**s**amsaaje (ɗe) – Moré – fried bean cake

[†]*Note: throughout this appendix the non-conforming initial consonants are highlighted in bold type.*

sarɗi (o) – Arabic – deadline
saretti (o)/sarettiiji (ɗi) – French – a cart
sariya (o)/sariyaaji (ɗi) – Arabic – judgment
satalla (o)/satallaaji (ɗi) – Songhai – teapot used for ablutions
sawtu (o)/no plural – Arabic – a faint noise
seedaaku (ngu)/no plural – Arabic from seedaade - testimony
seedee (o)/seedeeɓe (ɓe) – Arabic from seedaade – a witness
seega (o)/seegaaji (ɗi) – Moré - back
seretti (o)/serettiiji (ɗi) – French – a cart
sifa (o)/sifaaji (ɗi) – Arabic – plan, image
sikke (o)/no plural – Arabic from sikkude- an opinion, suspicion
sikkisakka (o)/no plural – Arabic from sikkude – doubt
sikkoro (o)/no plural – Arabic - sugar
sirri (o)/sirriiji (ɗi) – Arabic – a secret
sitoroohi (ki)/sitorooje (ɗe) – French – a lime or lemon tree
sitoroore (nde)/sitorooje (ɗe) – French – a lime or lemon
sitti (o)/no plural – Arabic - sulfer
somay (o)/samayji/samayeeji)ɗi) – Bambara – sauce ingredients
soortewol (ngol)/soorteeji (ɗi) – Arabic – a lesson or chapter
sooru (ndu)/sooji (ɗi) – French – a pail
sordaasi (o)/sordaasiiɓe (ɓe) – French – a soldier
subaka (o)/no plural – Arabic – morning, tomorrow
sukkara (o)/no plural – Arabic – sugar
sunkaaru (ndu)/sunkaaji (ɗi) – Moré – a peanut
sunna (o)/no plural – Arabic – religious duties
suttuguure (nde)/suttuguuje (ɗe) – Moré – a ladle or scoop
suumayeere (nde)/suumayeeje (ɗe) – Arabic from suumaade – a fast
suura (o)/suuraaji (ɗi) – Arabic – a chapter
wakkati (o)/wakkatiiji (ɗi) – Arabic - time
wawtu (o)/wawtuuji (ɗi) – Arabic – time
wiirdi (o)/wiirdiiji (ɗi) – Arabic – the repetion of a rosary
woroni (o)/woroniiji (ɗi) – Bambara – baboon
woybaagaaru (ndu)/woybaagaaji (ɗi) – Moré – jackal
woyya (o)/woyyaaji (ɗi) – Hausa – a trap
wudawuda (o)/wudawudaaji (ɗi) – Arabic - a hoopoe
yakkaajo (o)/yakkaaɓe (ɓe) – Moré – a neighbor
yappuriire (nde)/yappuriije (ɗe) – Gourmanche – a hoe head
yeebiiwu (ngu)/yeebiiji (ɗi) – Gourmanche – a termite
yirgaajo (o)/yirgaaɓe (ɓe) – Moré from yirgude – scatterbrained
yoobiiwu (ngu)/yoobiiji (ɗi) – Gourmanche – a termite
yorbaal (ngal)/yorbaaje (ɗe) – Yorba – a measure

no plural: 22
ɓe: 8
ɗe: 16
ɗi: 49
o (non-personal): 41 (43% of words in this group)
o (personal): 8

bita* (ka)/**b**itaaji (ɗi) – gruel
basi (ki)/**b**asiiji (ɗi) – herbal medicine
boogu (ngu)/**b**ooguuji (ɗi) – hoeing bee
burgu* (ngu)/**b**urguuji (ɗi) – *Echinochloa stagnina* – water weed
dammuhol* (kol)/**d**ammuuli (ɗi) – a sheep or a goat
dunna (ka)/no plural – overcast
durma (ka)/**d**urmaaji (ɗi) – a cold
falfaahi (ki)/**f**alfaaje (ɗe) - *Lannea microcarpa* – a tree
fate (o)/**f**ateeji (ɗi) – leather or plastic bucket for drawing well water
feeya (o)/**f**eeyooji (ɗi) – glade
fiifo (o)/**f**iifooji (ɗi) - a genet
fiiliwol (ngol)/**f**iiliiji (ɗi) – a fishing net
filaawo (o)/**f**ilaawooje (ɗe) – *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* – tree
fina (ka)/**f**inaaji (ɗi) – mascara
forba (o)/no plural – that which is common to all
forgo (o)/**f**orgooji (ɗi) – shirt
forkiya (ka/o)/**f**orkiyaaji (ɗi) – robe
furfata (o)/**f**urfataaje (ɗe) – aluminum or tin
futte (o)/**f**utteeji (ɗi) – a dowry
futuro (o)/no plural – sundown
fuufa (o)/no plural – aluminum or tin
gafakka (ka)/**g**afakkaaji (ɗi) – knapsack, satchel
gu (ngu)/**g**uuji or **g**uwuuji (ɗi) – a stallion
haahaa (o)/no plural – gluttony
haayndeehi (ki)/**h**aayndeeje (ɗe) – *Boswellia dalzielii* – a tree
hinti (o)/no plural – strength
haytalla (o)/**h**aytallaaji (ɗi) – a moment
helafittaahi (ki)/**h**elafittaaje (ɗe) – *Feretia apodanthera* – a tree
hiinko (o)/**h**iinkooji (ɗi) – first cultivation
hinney (o)/no plural – grace
jiiba (ka)/**j**iibaaji (ɗi) – a pocket
mbeeyu (o)/no plural – an empty space
mbudu (o)/**mb**uduuji (ɗi) – aluminum or tin
ngaŋ (o)/**ng**aŋuuji (ɗi) – wisdom teeth
ngommbiire (nde)/**ng**ommbiije (ɗe) – seeds of water lily
ngooƴaare (nde)/**ng**ooƴaaje (ɗe) – owl
nguurey (o)/no plural – bounty
roojoroojowal (ngal)/**r**oojoroojooje (ɗe) – scorpion horse
rosa (nga)/**r**osaaji (ɗi) – second cultivation
saadewol (ngol)/**s**aadeeji (ɗi) – a sideburn
saaya (ka)/**s**aayaaji (ɗi) – a robe
saɓɓitoroohi (ki)/**s**aɓɓitorooje (ɗe) – *Leptadenia hastata* – a creeping plant

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[237] Why do I suspect these words of being borrowed from other languages? To start with 43% (41/95) of these are in the *o* noun class, and do not refer to a person. All 95 of these words have an initial consonant with does not conform with the rules set forth in Table 5.1. 73 of these nouns have plural forms and none of them undergo any initial consonant change when being pluralized. Granted 9 of the plural forms fall correctly by happenstance (i.e. those beginning with b, d, g, and j). However the other 64 plurals have the same "non-conforming" form as the singular. Of these 73 plurals 55 are found in the *ɗi* noun class, which is where a majority of borrowed nouns are placed (see details in Appendix B). Admittedly, it is surprising to find some of these words on this list (I have marked these with an asterisk), but I am not sure at this point how else to account for their form. It is possible that some of them just comprise exceptions to the rules and are not borrowed words at all. Then again there may be some other good explication for their form which has yet to occur to me.

saɓu (ngu)/saɓuuji (ɗi) – vulva, vagina
sadaajo (o)/sadaaɓe (ɓe) – fortune teller
safa (o)/no plural – foot & mouth disease
safi (o)/safi'en (ɓe) – a fool
safiyaaku (ngu)/no plural – foolishness
sa'iiri (ndi)/no plural – barley
sakala (ka)/sakalaaje (ɗe) – blanket
sakiike* (o)/sakiraaɓe (ɓe) – sibling
salanga (nga)/salangaaji (ɗi) – toilet
sallifana (o)/no plural – afternoon
sarra (ka)/sarraaji (ɗi) – pants
sattuma (o)/sattumaaji (ɗi) – a religious holiday
sawaara (o)/no plural – hepatitis
seera (o)/seeraaji (ɗi) – ulcer on bottom of foot
seewu (ngu)/seewuuji (ɗi) – sever fright
sekkeejo (o)/seekeeɓe (ɓe) – caste of woodworkers
semmbe* (o)/semmbeeji (ɗi) – power
sera (o)/seraaji (ɗi) – a place
seremme (o)/no plural – *Dirigitaria exilis* – a grass
sibiihi (ki)/siibiije (ɗe) – *Lannea acida* – a tree
sigini (o)/siginiiji (ɗi) – *Indigofera tinctoria* – a plant
sigiwol (ngol)/sigiiji (ɗi) – a leather halter
sii (o)/siyiiji (ɗi) – kinds
siiliiri (ndi)/no plural – *Sesamum indicum*
siini (o)/siiniiji (ɗi) – *Indigofera tinctoria* – a plant
silaalayel (ngel)/silaalaaji (ɗi) – a swift
sira (ka)/siraaji (ɗi) – snuff
soɓɓotoroy (ki)/soɓɓotorooje (ɗe) – *Leptadenia hastata* – creeping plant
sokottu (o)/sokottuuji (ɗi) – an imperfection
sollewol (ngol)/solleeji (ɗi) – a bolt of material
sooro (o)/soorooji (ɗi) – a tower
sooso (o)/no plural – a light rain
sorowal (ngal)/sorooje (ɗe) – a gutter, downspout
sukunya (o)/sukunyaaɓe (ɓe) – a sorcerer
sulunguwal (ngal)/sulunguuje (ɗe) – tool for digging
sumalle (o)/cumali or sumalleeji (ɗi) – leather water bag
sunndu (o)/sunnduuji (ɗi) – *Maerua crassifolia* – a shrub
surbaajo* (o)/surbaaɓe (ɓe) – a young woman
susureewa (nga)/susureeji (ɗi) – the core of an abscess
sutureewa (nga)/sutureeji (ɗi) – the core of an abscess
suusuu (o)/no plural – light rain
walka* (ka)/walkaaji (ɗi) – a watering trough
wujo (o)/wuji (ɗi) – a clam
wune (o)/no plural – luck
yaaya* (o)/yaayiiɓe (ɓe) – mother
yemmbal (ngal)/yemmbaaje (ɗe) – firewall
yiingaaku (ngu)/no plural – boasting
yigoo* (o)/yigiraaɓe (ɓe) – a friend
yogumburaaku (ngu)/no plural – carelessness
yommbo (o)/yommbooji (ɗi) – black hair dye
yonki (ki)/yonkiiji (ɗi) – soul
yooli (o)/yooliije (ɗe) – ski mask
yoyiiri (ndi)/no plural – millet

fakuho (ko)/**f**akuuje (ɗe) – *Corchorus sp*

fayko (ko)/**f**aykooji (ɗi) – genital hair

feenaare (nde)/**f**eenaaje (ɗe) – firewall

fitiiru (ndu)/**f**itiiji (ɗi) – hen house

fiyaare (nde)/**f**iyaaje (ɗe) – ring

haagu (ko)/**h**aaguuji (ɗi) – herbal medicine

haako (ko)/**h**aakooji (ɗi) – a leaf

haaynde (nde)/**h**aayndeeji (ɗi) – a miracle

hayƴillo (ngo)/**h**ayƴillooji (ɗi) – intelligence

hello (ngo)/**h**ellooji (ɗi) – a page, one side of a wall

hiiro (ngo)/**h**iirooji (ɗi) – a recreational evening

holgo (ngo)/**h**olgooji (ɗi) – hoof

hoolo (ngo)/**h**oolooji (ɗi) – an echo

hooreere (nde)/**h**ooreere (ɗe) – incissor

hoy (ko)/**h**oyiiji (ɗi) – sauce, baobab leaf (from which sauce is made)

hufo (ko)/**h**ufooji (ɗi) – seed coat

hulgo (ngo)/**h**ulgooji (ɗi) – sheath

saayogooru (ndu)/**s**aayogooji (ɗi) – Gambian rat

sagargaawo (ngo)/**s**argargaaje (ɗe) – bed or mattress made of woven millet stalks

samandiire (nde)/**s**amandiije (ɗe) – pillar

sanndu (ndu)/**s**annduuji (ɗi) – vulva, vagina

santingaaru (ndu)/**s**antingaaji (ɗi) – long-tailed dove

seeniiru (ndu)/**s**eeniiji (ɗi) – Senegal parrot

seeraare (nde)/**s**eeraaje (ɗe) – a router

seeseeru (ndu)/**s**eeseeji (ɗi) – a wooden flute

selluru (ndu)/**s**elluuji or **s**elluruuji (ɗi) – earlobe

semmbere (nde)/**s**emmbereeji (ɗi) – tuft of grass

sengo (ngo)/**s**engooji (ɗi) – a place

seyre (nde)/**s**eyreeji (ɗi) – swell of cow's jaw

siidiiho (ko)/**s**iidiije (ɗe) – *Eragrostis pilosa*

siiwko (ko)/**s**iiwkooji (ɗi) – *Cardiospermum halicacabum*

silgaare (nde)/**s**ilgaaje (ɗe) – black kite

soɗorko (ko)/**s**oɗorkooji (ɗi) – *Vetiveria nigritana*

soliiru (ndu)/**s**oliiji (ɗi) – a rat

sonnyo (ngo)/**s**onnyooji (ɗi) – a rustling

suddaareewe (nge)/**s**uddaareeji (ɗi) – a cow given as a wedding present

sumanndiire (nde)/**s**umanndiije (ɗe) – an ear ring

sumsumko (ko)/**s**umsumkooji (ɗi) – moustache

wajaalo (ko)/**wa**jaalooji (ɗi) – grass

wanyaare (nde)/**w**aynyaaje (ɗe) – volcanic rock

waywayko (ko)/**w**aywaykooji (ɗi) – eyebrow

wecco (ngo)/**w**eccooji (ɗi) – a page, one side of a wall

weelo (ngo)/**w**eelooji (ɗi) – famine

weltaare (nde)/**w**eltaaji (ɗe) – celebration

wersawersaandu (ndu)/**w**ersawersaaɗi (ɗi) – long-tailed dove

wewbaagaaru (ndu)/**w**ewbaagaaji (ɗi) – a fennec fox

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[238] What do I mean by a lost plural? If one examines this list one can see that many of the items in the list are not things that *Fulɓe* habitually speak of in a plural sense. As I speak with young people I find many have forgotten what rarely used plurals are for words for which I have a record of the true plural in the dictionary. I have the sense that bit by bit these rarely used plurals are being forgotten and are being replaced with plurals that are not strictly speaking gramatically correct. That is why I suspect that some of these words may have at one time had a plural which conformed with the regulations demonstrated in Table 5.1. On the other hand, some of these words may have never had well thought out proper plural forms. While it seems perfectly normal to me as an Anglophone to ask a *Pullo* what is the plural of "earlobe" or "eyebrow," often I find such inquiries invoke a mystified look on the face of my informant. I gather that for certain things they are not used to speaking of them in the plural and so when pressed for a plural they make up something which generally proves to not conform to the rules of Table 5.1. In each of these cases there should have been some initial consonat change because the plurals fall in Group II (ɗe or ɗi).

wolfo (ngo)/**w**olfooji (ɗi) – a grand bubu
wutteere (nde)/**w**utteeje (ɗe) – a serving
yaasoore (nde)/**y**aasooje (ɗe) – nickname
yafaare (nde)/**y**afaaje (ɗe) – morning rain
yalaare (nde)/**y**alaaje (ɗe) – a cockroach
yamnde (nde)/**y**amndeeji (ɗi) – an hour
yantaare (nde)/**y**antaaje (ɗe) – *Andropogon ascinodis* – grass
yeende (nde)/**y**eendeeji (ɗi) – actinomycosis or actinobacillosis
yelaango (ngo)/**y**elaaji (ɗi) – a wish
yerganaaru (ndu)/**y**erganaaji (ɗi) – a snail
yogooru (ndu)/**y**ogooji (ɗi) – a squash or pumpkin

Derived From Another Word (79)

dambugaawo (ngo)/**d**ambugaaji (ɗi) – from dammbugal – a mat
denɗiraagu (ngu)/no plural – from dendiiwo – cousinhood
faamu (ngu)/no plural – from faamude – understanding
fijo (o)/**f**ijooji (ɗi) – from fijude – a party
fillawol (ngol)/**f**illaaji (ɗi) – from fillaade - a story
funeereejo (o)/funeereeɓe (ɓe) – from funude - twin
goongalaaku (ngu)/no plural – from goonga - truthfulness
gosu/a (ngu)/**g**osuuji (ɗi) – from gosude – an accusation
haala (ka)/**h**aalaaji (ɗi) – from haalude - a word, speech
haamu (ngu)/no plural form – from hamude - humidity
haasidaaku (ngu)/no plural form – from haasidaade - selfishness
hakkilantaaku (ngu) – word derived from haɣɣillo (ngo) - intelligence
hakkillowol (ngol)/**h**akkillooji (ɗi) – word derived from haɣɣillo (ngo) – temple
hakkundeeru (ndu)/**h**akkundeeji (ɗi) – word derived from hakkunde (nde) – middle finger
hakkundeeye (nge)/**h**akkundeeji (ɗi) – ditto – middle sized cow
hawju (o)/no plural – from hawjaade – maintenance
haɣɣillowol (ngol)/**h**aɣɣillooji (ɗi) – from haɣɣillo – temple
hennduure (nde)/**h**ennduuje (ɗe) – lost plural? – an unfertilized egg
higoo (o)/higiraaɓe (ɓe) – from yigoo – friend
hiiri (o)/no plural – from hiirude – evening
hiite (nge)/**h**iiteeji (ɗi) – from yiite – fire
hooreejo (o)/hooreeɓe (ɓe) – from hoore – a leader
howruujo (o)/howruuɓe (ɓe) – from howru – a sevant of the king
hoyaara (o)/no plural – from hoyude – something which is treated lightly
huɗooru (o)/**h**uɗooji (ɗi) – from huɗo – a grass house
humparawol (ngol)/**h**umparaaji (ɗi) – from parawol - a rope halter
hunayeere (nde)/**h**unayeeji (ɗi) – from hunaade – an oath
hunndukoojo (o)/hunndukooɓe (ɓe) – from hunnduku – a gossip
husuba (ka)/**h**usubaaji (ɗi) – from husinbinde – an aggravation
jamba (ka)/no plural – from jambaade - treachery
jikku (ngu)/no plural – from jikkude - hospitality
jofolaaku (ngu)/no plural – from jofoleede – uncircumcision
mballa (o)/**mb**allaaji (ɗi) – from wallude - aid
mbatta (o)/no plural – from wattande - trade
mbecca (o)/no plural – from weccude – change
ndaarngal (ngal)/no plural – from ndaarnude – divination
ndaaroowo (o)/**nd**aarooɓe (ɓe) – from ndaarnude - a fortune teller
ndanndorgal (ngal)/**nd**anndorɗe (ɗe) – from ndaarnude – a mirror
njaatiraaɗo (o)/**nj**aatiraaɓe (ɓe) – from yaadude – great grandparent
njobbaajo (o)/**nj**obbaaɓe (ɓe) – from Njobbo – the sixth son
njobdi (ndi)/**nj**obdiiji (ɗi) – from yobude - pay
rafi (ki)/no plural – from rafeede – a lack or failure
rafo (ngo)/no plural – from rafeede – famine
rawaandaaku (ngu)/no plural – from rawaandu – rudeness
regitaango (ngo)/degitaali (ɗi) – from regaade – a descent, slope

riggaango (ngo)/diggaali (ɗi) – from riggaade – thunder
rigisi (ɗi)/no plural – from rigisaade – intimidation
saaɓannde (nde)/**saaɓan**ɗe (ɗe) – from saaɓaade – a step
saaraa (o)/saaraaɓe (ɓe) – from saare - parent
saɗɗa (o)/**saɗɗa**aji (ɗi) – from saɗɗinde [saƴƴinde] – aggravation
sakiraagu (ngu)/no plural – from sakiike – siblinghood
sammbaajo (o)/**sammba**aɓe (ɓe) – from Sammbo – second son
saƴƴa (ka/o)/**saƴƴa**aji (ɗi) – from saƴƴinde – an aggravation
seeboojo (o)/**see**booɓe (ɓe) – from Seebo – the seventh daughter
sonnoori (ndi)/sonnooje (ɗe) – from sonnude - millet
soorowal (ngal)/soorooje (ɗe) – from sorude – a shelter for weaving mats
sootu (ngu)/**soot**uuji (ɗi) – from cootu - a firefly
soppanataaru (ndu)/soppanataaji (ɗi) – lost plural? from soppude – a woodpecker
subdindinngol (ngol)/no plural – from suɓaade – a lot
suka (o)/sukaaɓe (ɓe) – from sukkaade - child
sukunyaaku (ngu)/no plural – from sukunya – sorcery
suno (o)/no plural – from sunaade – depression
waaju (ngu)/**waaj**uuji (ɗi) – from waajaade - preaching
waannde (nde)/**waannde**eji (ɗi) – from waanndude – worry
wanyandereejo (o)/**wanyandere**eɓe (ɓe) – from wanyande – a hateful person
woykuuraaku (ngu)/no plural – from woykaade – prostitution
woykuuru (ndu)/**woyku**uji (ɗi) – from woykaade – a prostitute
wuroojo (o)/wurooɓe (ɓe) - from wuro – a town dweller
woyɗuɗo (o)/woyɓe (ɓe) – from boyɗo – a lame person
yaaɓoro (o)/**yaaɓor**ooji (ɗi) – from yaaɓude - the bottom of a foot
yaage (o)/no plural – from yaagaade - modesty
yarnirgal (ngal)/jarnirɗe (ɗi) – from yarnude – a watering trough
yarramuye (o)/no plural – from yarraade - joyful acceptance
yaynam (ɗam)/no plural – from yaynude – light
yeraajo (o)/yeraaɓe (ɓe) – from Yero – the third son
yewto (ngo)/**yew**tooji (ɗi) – from yewtude – a discussion
yigiraaku (ngu)/no plural – from yigoo – friendship
yoora'ko'aaku (ngu)/no plural – from yoorude? – bad luck/stuborness?
yooro (ngo)/**y**oorooji (ɗi) – from yoorude – a drought 38

Diminished Words (4)

soodi maammum laasi (ngel)/coodukoy maammum'en laasi (koy) – diminutive – a whydah
soonni innum jaɓi laasi (ngel)/**s**oonni innum'en jaɓi laasihoy (koy) – diminutive – a whydah
sotti gogom soodi laccol (ngel)/**s**otti gogom'en soodi laccoy (koy) – diminutive – a whydah
yaaɓata-boolooli (ngel)/**y**aaɓata-booloolihoy (koy) – diminutive from boololol – a lily-trotter

Gurmaare tends to drop the nasal consonant at the beginning of nouns found in the third group (ɗam, ka, ki, ndi, nga, ngu). To a lesser extent Yaagaare and sometimes Moosiire also does this.

Occurance of Dropped Nasals by Dialect

	ɗam	ka	ki	ndi	nga	ngu	Total
Gurmaare	6	5	23	1	1		36
Yaagaare			4	2	1	1	8
Moosiire			2	2		1	5

Tabulation of Research on Non-conforming Nouns[239]

	B	D	F	G	H	J	Mb	Nd	Ng	Nj	R	S	W	Y	Total
Total Nouns	281	213	110	144	187	144	81	48	67	53	43	222	112	111	1,816
Non-conforming Nouns	6	5	32	6	60	5	5	4	4	3	16	119	27	35	327
% of total	2%	2%	29%	4%	35%	3%	6%	8%	6%	6%	37%	54%	24%	31%	18%
Borrowed Words	2		9	2	20	1		1				8	36	7	6	92
Borrowed Words?	4	3	14	2	7	1	2		4		2	44	3	9	95
Lost Plural?			5		12							21	10	9	57
Derived From Another Word		2	4	2	21	3	3	3		3	6	15	7	10	79
Diminished												3		1	4

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[239] The number of total nouns dealt with in this table excludes nouns which have no singular form, proper names for places, people, titles of people, and groups of people, as well as nouns which have been denasalized in *Gurmaare*. Here are the stats for words removed from consideration: B/10 names/28 denasalized/61 w/o singular form; D/11 names/5 denasalized/21 w/o singular form; F/19 names/2 w/o singular form; G/15 names/21 denasalized/44 w/o singular form; H/9 names/7 w/o singular form; J/12 names/2 denasalized/33 w/o singular form; R/5 names/7 w/o singular form; S/20 names; W/7 names/11 w/o singular form; Y/16 names/4 w/o singular form.

APPENDIX B

This appendix contains information regarding the various combinations of singular/plural suffixes used with noun roots when pluralizing nouns into the *ɗe*, *ɗi* and *koy* plural noun classes from one of the singular noun classes. This data was drawn from the second edition of the *Burkina Faso Fulfulde-English/English-Fulfulde Dictionary*. I prepared this appendix as an aid in discussing the use of suffixes in the pluralization of nouns. For most people this material is superfluous. The main point to take from this research is there is a variety of both singular and plural suffixes used with nouns. Unless you are curious about such matters I would not read any further. The grammar in Section 6, page 36 *ff.* hits the highlights of the data contained in this appendix and contains more than enough detail for most people.

It is best to think of nouns as having a root or a stem and a suffix. There are both singular suffixes and plural suffixes. In an effort to categorize the data I have referred to the suffix endings as falling into "families." The "families" are descriptive of what the suffixes look like. The "families" I list in this appendix are: A, E, I, O, U and Simple. For the five "families" named after a vowel, that vowel is dominate in the formation of both the singular and plural forms of the suffix. For example, a noun in the "A family" would use the letter "a" both in forming the singular suffix as well as to replace "v" in the following formula: -vvxe or -vvxi where "v" stands for a vowel and "x" stands for a consonant.

<p style="text-align:center">*Aljum-**a** → Aljum-**aaje***</p>

So for the Family A suffixes used with the plural noun class *ɗe* we have: *-aaje*, *-aaɗe*, *-aale*. Likewise for the Family A suffixes used with the plural noun class *ɗi* we have: *-aaji*, *-aaɗi*, *-aali*, *-aami*. Typically nouns pluralizing into either the *ɗe* or the *ɗi* plural noun classes, and which fall into the "families" A, E, I, O, or U, use the above described four letter formula to form their plural suffixes: -vvxv, where the final vowel would be "e" with the noun class *ɗe* and "i" with the noun class *ɗi*. The first two vowels in the formula would be the vowel represented in the family's name: i.e. A, E, I, O, U. However, there are quiet a few nouns which use a simpler pattern to form both the singular and plural suffix. I refer to these as the Simple "family." Suffixes in the Simple family are generally composed of one or two letters. For example:

<p style="text-align:center">*koo-ba → koo-bi* (the Roan antelope)</p>

I have grouped various singular suffixes under the plural suffix used by each of those various singular suffixes. So, for example, in the first plural suffix listed below (*-aaje*) there are twelve different singular paradigms that use that one plural paradigm. As mentioned above, I have further grouped the various plural suffixes by "family." The various plural suffixes are enumerated sequentially. For example there are 20 different plural suffixes used to pluralize nouns into the *ɗe* noun class and 23 different plural suffixes used to pluralize nouns into the *ɗi* noun class.[240] The number of nouns using each singular pattern is listed in parentheses behind that pattern.[241] In the first example below the first singular pattern is *-a*. There are seven words which end with *-a* and pluralize with the suffix *-aaje*. The totals are also listed behind each of the enumerated plural paradigms. In the first example below there are 137 words in the dictionary which pluralize with the ending *-aaje*. The most significant patterns are shown in bold type. Behind each paradigm I give at least one example using the singular and plural forms of a noun in that paradigm.

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[240] Note that for some of these suffixes I had no examples of words using those suffixes in the dictionary. That doesn't necessary mean that there are no nouns in Fulfulde which might use that suffix, but one needs to consider that possibility

[241] In preparing this appendix in 2006 I decided to exclude the denasalized *Gurmaare* versions of these words. It is the numbers generated from Appendix B which are reported in relation to the percentage of nouns using either *ɗe* and *ɗi* as their plurals and also using the plural suffix formula –vvxv on pages 28 and 29. However, in preparing Table 4.1 on page 30 I did include these denasalized nouns in the total word count for each noun class. Hence the noun totals given on pages 28 and 29 are not the same as those in Table 4.1.

Singular/Plural Suffix Combinations Used With The Ɗe Noun Class

Family A

1. *-aaje* (137)[242]
    -a/-aaje (7)   *Aljum-a* (Friday) *o* → *Aljum-aaje ɗe*
    -aa/-aaje (2)   *caac-aa* (an abyssinian roller) *ŋgal* → *caac-aaje ɗe*
    -aal/-aaje (6)   *adak-aal* (a case) *ŋgal* → *adak-aaje ɗe*
    -al/-aaje (3)   *akal-al* (trough or boat) *ŋgal* → *akal-aaje ɗe*
    -awal/-aaje (13)   *balaal-awal* (a glossy-backed drongo) *ŋgal* → *balaal-aaje ɗe*
    -ay/-aaje (3)   *buruug-ay* (*Feretia apodanthera* - tree) *ki* → *buruug-aaje ɗe*
    -aahi/-aaje (17)   *badull-aahi* (*Euphorbia balsamifera* - shrub) *ki* → *badul-aaje ɗe*
    -aare/-aaje (79)   *aay-aare* (a verse) *nde* → *aay-aaje ɗe*
    -aari/-aaje (2)   *goowl-aari* (a cobra) *ndi* → *goowl-aaje ɗe*
    -aaru/-aaje (2)   *bat-aaru* (a box) *ŋgu* → *bat-aaje ɗe*
    -aawo/-aaje (3)   *cak-aawo* (millet mat) *ŋgo* → *cak-aaje ɗe*
    -i/-aaje (1)   *bood-i* (jacket) *o* → *bood-aaje*

2. *-aaɗe* (10)
    -aade/-aaɗe (1)   *waw-aade* (shield) *nde* → *baw-aaɗe ɗe*
    -aadi/-aaɗe (1)   *bad-aadi* (*Crossopteryx febrifuga* - shrub) *(n)di ki* → *bad-aaɗe ɗe*
    -aande/-aaɗe (5) *naan-aande* (beam of light) *nde* → *naan-aaɗe ɗe*
    -aaki/-aaɗe (1)   *ŋgon-aaki* (Acacia raddiana - tree) *ki* → *gon-aaɗe ɗe*
    -angal/-aaɗe (2) *koll-angal* (hardpan) *ŋgal* → *koll-aaɗe ɗe*

3. *-aale* (8)
    -alde/-aale (3)   *hiiny-alde* (gizzard) *nde* → *kiiny-aale ɗe*
    -aali/-aale (2)   *diiŋ-aali* (Gardenia erubescens - shrub) *ki* → *diiŋ-aale ɗe*
    -aande/-aale (2) *nyam-aande* (credit, loan) *nde* → *nyam-aale ɗe*
    -(a)angal/-aale (1) *jah-aangal* (a trip) *ŋgal* → *jah-aale ɗe*
                     as-angal (hip, thigh) *ŋgal* → *as-aale ɗe*

Family E

4. *-eeje* (74)
    -ø/-eeje (1)   *Asay* (Saturday) *o* → *Asaweeje ɗe*
    -e/-eeje (3)   *Ase* (Saturday) *o* → *Asaweeje ɗe*
    -i/-eeje (1)   *jawd-i* (riches) *ndi* → *jawl-eeje ɗe*
    -eehi/-eeje (17)   *anak-eehi* (*Boswellia dalzielii* - tree) *ki* → *anak-eeje ɗe*
    -eere/-eeje (38)   *Asaw-eere* (Saturday) *nde* → *Asaw-eeje ɗe*
                      tepp-ere or *tepp-eere* (heel) *nde* → <u>*tepp-eeje ɗe*</u>
    -eeri/-eeje (1)   *mbay-eeri* (sorghum) *ndi* → *bay-eeje ɗe*
    -ere/-eeje (3)   *duund-ere* (an island) *nde* → *duund-eeje ɗe*
    -ewal/-eeje (2)   *geŋer-ewal* (forked log) *ŋgal* → *geŋer-eeje ɗe*
    -ey/-eeje (4)   *barker-ey* (*Piliostigma sp.* - shrub) *ki* → *barker-eeje ɗe*
    -eyal/-eeje (3)   *git-eyal* (forked log) *ŋgal* → *git-eeje ɗe*
    -u/-uuje (1)   *harf-u* (syllable) *o* → *karf-eeje ɗe*

5. *-eeɗe* (3)
    -eeki/-eeɗe (1)   *poppet-eeki* (*Walltheria indica* - plant) *ki* → *poppetee-ɗe ɗe*
    -eende/-eeɗe (1) *teel-eende* (bald spot) *nde* → *teel-eeɗe ɗe*
    -eenga/-eeɗe (1) *koppet-eenga* (*Walltheria indica* -plant) *ŋga* → *koppet-eeɗe ɗe*

6. *-eele* (3)
    -am/-eele (2)   *ndiy-am* (water) *ɗam* → *diy-eele ɗe*
                      nebb-am (oil) *ɗam* → *nebb-eele ɗe*
    -eengo/-eele (1) *wipp-eengo* (a wing) *ŋgo* → *bipp-eele ɗe*

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[242] The number (137) refers to the 137 words in the dictionary which have this ending. Likewise the specific number of words found in each singular/plural suffix pattern is listed behind that pattern in parentheses.

Family I

7. *-iije* (52)

-i/-iije (2)	*gooj-i* (*Azadirachta indica* –neem tree) *ki* → *gooj-iije ɗe*
-iihi/-iije (6)	*karant-iihi* (machete) *ki* → *karant-iije ɗe*
-iiho/-iije (1)	*siid-iiho* (*Eragrostis pilosa* - grass) *ko* → *siid-iije ɗe*
***-iire/-iije* (32)**	*ciid-iire* (*Eragrostis pilosa* - grass) *nde* → *ciid-iije ɗe*
-iiru/-iije (1)	*jumbal-iiru* (a village weaver) *ndu* → *jumbal-iije ɗe*
-iwal/-iije (2)	*ciliil-iwal* (white-faced duck) *ngal* → *ciliil-iije ɗe*
-iya/-iije (1)	*ɣommbaariya* (millet mat) *(n)ga* → *ɣommbaariije ɗe*
-(i)yal/-iije (6)	*dabidab-iyal* (butterfly or moth) *ngal* → *dabidab-iije ɗe*
-ohi/-oyiije (1)	*gandah-ohi* (*Ceratotheca sesamoides* - plant) *ki* → *gandah-oyiije ɗe*

8. *-iiɗe* (0)

9. *-iile* (0)

Family O

10. *-ooje* (69)

-o/-ooje (3)	*goor-o* or *gor-o* (kola nut) *ngo* → *goor-ooje ɗe*
-oohi/-ooje (9)	*filaaw-oohi* (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis* -tree) *ki* → *filaaw-ooje ɗe*
-oonde/-ooje (2)	*hirɓihirɓ-oonde* (hip) *nde* → *kirɓikirɓ-ooje ɗe*
***-oore/-ooje* (36)**	*biibin-oore* (an assassin bug) *nde* → *biibin-ooje ɗe*
-oori/-oore (5)	*ndon-toori* (rooster) *ndi* → *dont-oore ɗe*
-oowo/-ooje (1)	*booɣ-oowo* (grass mat) *ngo* → *booɣ-ooje ɗe*
-owal/-ooje (10)	*cancanɣ-owal* (spider) *ngal* → *cancanɣ-ooje ɗe*
-oy/-ooje (3)	*gurs-oy* (*Grewia villosa* -shrub) *ki* → *gurs-ooje ɗe*

11. *-ooɗe* (20)

-ogal/-ooɗe (3)	*cum-ogal* (a brand) *ngal* → *cum-ooɗe ɗe*
-ongal/-ooɗe (1)	*booroboor-ongal* (a blister beetle) *ngal* → *booroboor-ooɗe ɗe*
-oode/-ooɗe (9)	*feɗ-oode* (button, snap) *nde* → *peɗ-ooɗe ɗe*
-ooki/-ooɗe (3)	*ngel-ooki* (*Guiera senegalensis* - shrub) *ki* → *gel-ooɗe ɗe*
-oonde/-ooɗe (4)	*ɓocc-oonde* (an egg) *nde* → *ɓocc-ooɗe ɗe*

12. *-oole* (8)

-olde/-oole (1)	*tonɣ-olde* (a hillock) *nde* → *tonɣoole ɗe*
-ongal/-oole (2)	*ciiɓociiɓ-ongal* (rainbow) *ngal* → *ciiɓociiɓ-oole ɗe*
-oode/-oole (2)	*yook-oode* (a goiter) *nde* → *jook-oole ɗe*
-oonde/-oole (2)	*ɓuus-oonde* (hip) *nde* → *ɓuus-oole ɗe*
-oore/-oole (1)	*ɣug-oore* (a hump) *nde* → *ɣug-oole ɗe*

Family U

13. *-uuje* (51)

-uho/-uuje (1)	*fak-uho* (*Corchorus sp.* - plant) *ko* → *fak-uuje ɗe*
-uwa/-uuje (1)	*kaciig-uwa* (a tawny eagle) *nga* → *kaceeg-uuje ɗe*
***-uwal/-uuje* (26)**	*all-uwal* (slate) *ngal* → *all-uuje ɗe*
-uuhi/-uuje (6)	*leembur-uuhi* (a citrus tree) *ki* → *leembu-ruuje ɗe*
***-uure/-uuje* (17)**	*biw-uure* (a slingshot) *nde* → *biw-uuje ɗe*

14. *-uuɗe* (11)//(2)

-ugal/-uuɗe (1)	*nyaamr-ugal* (bowl) *ngal* → *nyamr-uuɗe ɗe*
-uugal/-uuɗe (1)	*bur-uugal* (stirring stick) *ngal* → *bur-uuɗe ɗe*

15. *-uule* (0)

Simple Family

16. *-ɓe** (12)

-al/-ɓe (2)	*ceɓ-al* (tree bark) *ngal → ceɓ-ɓe ɗe*
-ɗu/-ɓe (1)	*nge-ɗu* (a share) *ngu → ge-ɓe ɗe*
*-mnde/-ɓe** (1)	*ha-mnde* (a fight) *nde → ka-ɓe ɗe*
*-mooore/-ɓe** (1)	*wuu-moore* (*Acacia ataxacantha* - tree) *nde → guu-ɓe ɗe*
*-m/wre/-ɓe** (5)	*fi-mre/fi-wre* (a knot) *nde → pi-ɓe ɗe*
	ha-mre/ha-wre (a fight, war) *nde → ka-ɓe ɗe*
	se-mre (tree bark) *nde → ce-ɓe ɗe*
	ye-mre (a part) *nde → ge-ɓe or je-ɓe ɗe*
*-mere/-ɓe** (2)	*yeta-mere* (fruit of the tamarind tree) *nde → jeta-ɓe ɗe*
	ƴul-mere (a coal) *nde → ƴul-ɓe ɗe*

*There are a number of words that end with the suffix *-ɓe* which do not belong to the plural noun class *ɓe*, but rather to the *ɗe* noun class. Those *-ɓe* suffixed words listed above form a separate group of distinct endings in the Simple suffix family of the *ɗe* noun class. Those listed below actually belong to other paradigms within the Simple suffix family, however these words nonetheless end with *-ɓe*, which may also cause some confusion with words from the *ɓe* class. They are listed for reference only:

see *-i/-e* pardigm below (6)	*ɓulɓ-i* (*Acacia seyal* - shrub) *ki → ɓulɓ-e ɗe*
	laɓ-i (a knife) *ki → laɓ-e ɗe*
	nelɓ-i (*Diospyros mespiliformis* -tree) *ki → nelɓ-e ɗe*
	ngulunnjaaɓ-i (a shrub) *ki → gulunnjaaɓ-e ɗe*
	njaaɓ-i (*Ziziphus mauritiana* - shrub) *ki → jaaɓ-e ɗe*
	njet-aɓ-i (a tamarind tree) *ki → jet-aɓ-e ɓe*

see *-ere/-e* paradigm below (7)	*haɓɓ-ere* (a bundle) *nde → kaɓɓ-e ɗe*
	nyilɓ-ere (snot) *nde → nyilɓ-e ɗe*
nyakkaɓ-ere (a weed) *nde → nyakkaɓ-e ɗe*	
	silɓ-ere (a sprain) *nde → cilɓ-e ɗe*
	taɓɓ-ere (water lily bulb) *nde → taɓɓ-e ɗe*
	toɓɓ-ere (a speck) *nde → toɓɓ-e ɗe*
	yaaɓ-ere (a step) *nde → yaaɓ-e ɗe*

see *–al/-e* paradigm below (3)	*nyiɓ-al* (forked log) *ngal → nyiɓ-e ɗe*
	kaɓɓ-al (an engagement) *ngal → kaɓɓ-e ɗe*
	kooɓ-al (Actinobacilosis) *ngal → kooɓ-e ɗe*

17. *-ɗe* (173)

-de/-ɗe **(58)**	*bambir-de* (cloth) *nde → bambir-ɗe ɗe*
	durdu-de (omasum) *nde → duru-ɗe ɗe*
-di/-ɗe (2)	*jaaɓir-di* (bottom of foot) *ndi → jaaɓir-ɗe ɗe*
-ngere/-ɗe (1)	*lon-ngere* (a lump of food) *nde → lon-ɗe ɗe*
-gal/-ɗe (71)	*bedor-gal* (a trap) *ngal → bedor-ɗe ɗe*
	dammbu-gal (a doorway) *ngal → dammbu-ɗe ɗe*
-gol/-ɗe (1)	*layɓir-gol* (a dishrag) *ngol → layɓir-ɗe*
-ka/-ɗe (1)	*ngay-ka* (a hole) *ka → gay-ɗe ɗe*
-ki/-ɗe (10)	*naw-ki* (arm pit) *ki → naw-ɗe ɗe*
	cillu-ki (*Acacia sieberiana* - tree) *ki → cillu-ɗe ɗe*
-ko/-ɗe (1)	*hunnd-uko* (mouth) *ko → kunnd-uɗe ɗe*
-nde/-ɗe (18)	*ɓoortan-nde* (a shed snake skin) *nde → ɓoortan-ɗe ɗe*
-ndere/-ɗe (1)	*wulsu-ndere* (a lung) *nde → bulsu-ɗe ɗe*
-ndi/-ɗe (3)	*njam-ndi* (metal) *ndi → jam-ɗe ɗe*
-ngal/-ɗe (4)	*basir-gal* (digging tool) *ngal → basir-ɗe ɗe*
-ngo/-ɗe (1)	*jun-ngo* (hand or arm) *ngo → juu-ɗe ɗe*
-ol/ɗe (1)	*ƴam-ol* (question) *ngol → ƴam-ɗe ɗe*
-re/-ɗe (1)	*toy-re* (middle of upper lip) *nde → toy-ɗe* also *toy-e ɗe*

18. *-e* (251)

-a/-e (3)	*ŋges-a* (a field) *ŋga → ges-e ɗe*
-al/-e **(74)**	*annd-al* (knowledge) *ŋgal → annd-e ɗe*
-am/-e (1)	*kosam* (milk) *ɗam → kose ɗe*
-de/-e (7)	*ɗaal-de* (a welt) *nde → ɗaal-e ɗe*
-dere/-e (2)	*duul-dere* (a cloud) *nde → duul-e ɗe*
-ere/-e **(87)**	*ayb-ere* (shameful action) *nde → ayb-e ɗe*
-gol/-e (2)	*lonn-gol* (laundry) *ŋgol → lonn-e ɗe*
-i/-e (24)	*boɓol-i* (Sterculia setigera - tree) *ki → boɓol-e ɗe*
-iri/-e (1)	*mbos-iri* (rock python) *ndi → bos-e ɗe*
-nde/-e (1)	*haatan-nde* (kitchen) *nde → kaatan-e ɗe*
-ngel/-e (1)	*kankan-ngel* (gall bladder) *ngel → kaankaan-e ɗe*
-o/-e (16)	*ɓaaw-o* (back) *ŋgo → ɓaaw-e ɗe*
-ol/-e (1)	*coll-ol* (necklace) *ŋgol → col-e ɗe*
-re/-e (29)	*yoy-re* (judgment) *nde → yoy-e ɗe*
-u/-e (2)	*ɲamm-u* (vulva, vagina) *ŋgu → ɲamm-e ɗe*

19. *-je* (2)

-re/-je (2)	*asay-re* (7 day rotation) *nde → asay-je ɗe*

20. *-le* (40)

-al/-le (8)	*lang-al* (a handle) *ŋgal → lang-le ɗe*
-de/-le (4)	*honndol-de* (ant hill) *nde → konndol-le ɗe*
-gal/-le (12)	*caw-gal* (bucket) *ŋgal → caw-le ɗe*
-nde/-le (5)	*huu-nde* (a thing) *nde → kul-le ɗe* or *ɗe*
-ndere/-le (1)	*holɓu-ndere* (ankle bone) *nde → kolɓu-le ɗe*
-ndi/-le (2)	*ng/jen-ndi* (a town) *ndi → g/jel-le ɗe* or *gen-ɗe*
-ngal/-le (8)	*ɗem-ngal* (a tongue) *ŋgal → ɗem-le ɗe*
	ɗen-ngal (a tongue) *ŋgal → ɗel-le ɗe*

Singular/Plural Suffix Combinations Used With The Ɗi Noun Class

Family A

1. *-aaji* (173)

-a(a)/-aaji (124)	*arkill-a* (net) *ka → arkill-aaji ɗi*
-aari/-aaji (4)	*coottit-aari* (ransom) *ndi → coottit-aaji ɗi*
-aaru/-aaji (26)	*baanyaaru* (herdsman) *ndu → baanyaaji ɗi*
-aawa/-aaji (4)	*ar-aawa* (donkey) *ŋga → ar-aaji ɗi*
-aawo/-aaji (3)	*dambug-aawo* (ravine) *ŋgo → dambug-aaji ɗi*
-aawu/-aaji (6)	*ar-aawu* (a point) *ŋgu → ar-aaji ɗi*
-ayel/-aaji (1)	*silaalayel* (a swift) *ngel → silaalaaji ɗi*
-o/-aaji (1)	*ariim-o* (a point) *o → ariim-aaji ɗi*
-ol/-aaji (1)	*pannjam-ol* (proverb) *ŋgol → pannjam-aaji ɗi*
-ø/-aaji (3)	*beŋ* (strike) *o → beŋaaji ɗi*

2. *-aaɗi* (7)

-aange/-aaɗi (3)	*soyy-aange* (cow) *nge → soyy-aaɗi ɗi*
-aandu/-aaɗi (4)	*raw-aandu* (lion) *ndu → daw-aaɗi ɗi*

3. *-aali* (14)

-aangol/-aali (1)	*buuw-aangol* (road) *ŋgol → buuw-aali ɗi*
-aango/-aali (14)	*foof-aango* (breath) *ŋgo → foof-aali ɗi*

4. *-aami* (1)

-awol/-aami (1)	*daamar-awol* (lily) *ŋgol → daamar-aami ɗi*

Family E

5. *-eeji* (76)
  -a/-eeji (4)   *ɓe'-a* (goat) *(n)ga → ɓe'-eeji ɗi*
  -e/-eeji (41)   *arzuk-e* (blessing) *o → arzuk-eeji ɗi*[243]
  -eeru/-eeji (13)   *ɓold-eeru* (club) *ndu → ɓold-eeji ɗi*
  -el/-eeji (1)   *peɲel-el* (pin) *o → peɲel-eeji ɗi*
  -ew/-eeji (2)   *nyapileg-ew* (tapeworm) *ngu → nyapileg-eeji ɗi*
  -eewa/-eeji (4)   *susureewa* (abscess core) *nga → susureeji ɗi*
  -ewal/-eeji (1)   *deesewal* (flag) *ngal → deeseeji ɗi*
  -eewo/-eeji (2)   *deɲeleewo* (mat) *ngo → deɲeleeji ɗi*
  -ewol/-eeji (5)   *ɗerewol* (paper) *ngol → ɗereeji ɗi*
  -eewu/-eeji (3)   *tefeewu* (mare) *ngu → tefeeji ɗi*

6. *-eeɗi* (1)
  -eengu/-eeɗi (1)   *peeɗ-eengu* (cicada) *ngu → peeɗ-eeɗi ɗi*

7. *-eeli* (4)
  -e/-eeli (1)   *yiit-e* (fire) *nge → giit-eeli ɗi*
  -eendu/-eeli (3)   *ser-eendu* (flute) *ndu → cer-eeli ɗi*

Family I

8. *-iiji* (80)
  -i/-iiji (61)   *baas-i* (problem) *o → baas-i ɗi* [244]
  -iiri/-iiji (1)   *aawd-iiri* (seed) *ndi → aawd-iiji ɗi*
  -iiru/-iiji (4)   *fitiiru* (coop) *ndu → fitiiji ɗi*
  -iiwu/-iiji (4)   *yeebiiwu* (termite) *ngu → yeebiiji ɗi*
  -iwol/-iiji (5)   *barb-iwol* (hemp) *ngol → barb-iiji ɗi*
  -ø/-iiji (5)   *antibiyotik* (antibiotic) *o → antibiyotik-iiji ɗi*

9. *-iiɗi* (2)
  -iingol/-iiɗi (2)   *dartii-ngol* (road) *ngol → dartii-ɗi ɗi*

10. *-iili* (0)

Family O

11. *-ooji* (102)
  -o/-ooji (67)   *cappal-o* (beer) *o → cappal-ooji ɗi*
  -ooha/-ooji (1)   *piir-ooha* (airplane) *ka → piir-ooji ɗi*
  -ooru/-ooji (27)   *barg-ooru* (barrel) *ngu → barg-ooji ɗi*
  -(o)owol/-ooji (7)   *dew-oowol* (route) *ngo → dew-ooji ɗi*
             pog-owol (stream) *ngol → pog-ooji ɗi*

12. *-ooɗi* (6)
  -oodu/-ooɗi (2)   *lonnj-oodu (interior corner) ndu → lonnj-ooɗi ɗi*
  -ooba/-ooɗi (3)   *ngeel-ooba* (camel) *nga → geel-ooɗi ɗi*
  -ongol/-ooɗi (1)   *kuul-ongol* (diaphragm) *ngol → kuul-ooɗi ɗi*

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[243] Fourteen words ending with "*nde*" have been included in this group of suffixes to help streamline the number
  of endings; e.g. *dabbund-e* (winter) *nde → dabbund-eeji ɗi*

[244] Four of these words end with "*ndi*" and five end with "*ki*", but I have included them in this suffix combination
  group to streamline the data a bit. E.g. *connd-i* (flour) *→ cond-iiji ɗi*; *cuurki* (steam) *ki → cuurkiiji ɗi*

13. *-ooli* (14)

    -o/-ooli (4)   *hool-o* (echo) *ngo → kool-ooli ɗi*

    -ogol/-ooli (2)   *boof-ogol* (brisket) *ngol → boof-ooli ɗi*

    -olol/-ooli (2)   *bool-olol* (lily) *ngol → boolooli ɗi*

    -oolu/-ooli (1)   *ɗaal-oolu* (ant) *ngu → ɗaal-ooli ɗi*

    -oodu/-ooli (1)   *hunk-oodu* (loin) *ngu → kunk-ooli ɗi*

    -oola/-ooli (1)   *njool-oola* (worm) *nga → jool-ooli ɗi*

    -oondu/-ooli (3)   *woyɓ-oondu* (weaver) *ndu → boyɓ-ooli ɗi*

14. *-ooɓi* (3)

    -ooba/-ooɓi (3)   *jeelooba* (camel) *nga → jeelooɓi ɗi*

Family U

15. *-uuji* (109)

    -u/-uuji (66)   *adad-u* (total) *ndu → adad-uuji ɗi*

    -uuri/-uuji (2)   *cuk-uuri* (buck) *ndi → cuk-uuji ɗi*

    -uuru/-uuji (21)   *baw-uuru* (civet) *ndu → baw-uuji ɗi*

    -uwal/-uuji (1)   *barg-uwal* (horn) *ngal → barg-uuji ɗi*

    -uwol/-uuji (12)   *bayt-uwol* (poem) *ngol → bayt-uuji ɗi*

    -uy/-uuji (1)   *got-uy* (plant) *ki → gotuuji ɗi*

    -ø/-uuji (6)   *dodow* (cultivation) *o → dodow-uuji* or *dodow-ji ɗi*

                      gu (stallion) *ngu → gu-uji* or *guw-uuji ɗi*

16. *–uuɗi* (0)

17. *–uuli* (6)

    -u/-uuli (2)   *kamm-u* (sky) *ngu → kamm-uuli ɗi*

    -uudu/-uuli (1)   *mbuub-uudu* (wasp) *ngu → buub-uuli ɗi*

    -uhol/-uul/ri (1)   *damm-uhol* (sheep) kol *→ damm-uuli* or *damm-uuri ɗi*

    -uulu/-uuli (1)   *mbuul-uulu* (bee) *ngu → buul-uuli ɗi*

    -uwol/-uuli (1)   *damm-uwol* (sheep) kol *→ damm-uuli ɗi*

Simple Family

18. *-bi* or *–ɓi* (15)

    -ba/-bi (1)   *koo-ba* (roan antelope) *nga → koo-bi ɗi*

    -e/-bi (2)   *nyal-e* (heifer) *nge → nyal-bi ɗi*

    -m(b)uru/-bi -ɓi (3) *faa-mburu* (frog) *ndu → paa-ɓi ɗi*

    -nge/-bi (1)   *haa-nge* (cow) *nge → kaa-bi ɗi*

    -ohol/bi (1)   *nyal-ohol* (heifer) *kol → nyal-bi ɗi*

    -wa/-bi (1)   *nyii-wa* (elephant) *nga → nyii-bi ɗi*

    -wra/-bi (1)   *noo-wra* (crocodile) *nga → noo-bi ɗi*

    -wru/-ɓi (5)   *wo-wru* (mortar) *ndu → bo-ɓi ɗi*[245]

19. *-ɗi* (46)

    -ngol/-ɗi (4)   *bala-ngol* (road) *ngol → bala-ɗi ɗi*

    -du/-ɗi (12)   *bawlirdu* (bladder) *ndu → bawlirɗi ɗi*

    -gal/-ɗi (2)   *biwru-gal* (fan) *ngal → biwru-ɗi ɗi*

    -gel/-ɗi (1)   *ɓiirorgel* (pimple) *ngel → ɓiirorɗi ɗi*

    -gol/-ɗi (12)   *ɓilir-gol* (clothesline) *ngol → ɓilir-ɗi ɗi*

    -ndu/-ɗi (6)   *en-ndu* (teat) *ndu → en-ɗi ɗi*

    -ngol/-ɗi (3)   *bala-ngol* (road) *ngol → bala-ɗi ɗi*

    -ngu/-ɗi (5)   *ɓow-ngu* (mosquito) *ngu → ɓow-ɗi ɗi*

    -ge/-ɗi (1)   *hoowru-ge* (cow) *nge → koowru-ɗi ɗi*

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[245]This is a particular paradigm. Four of the five words in this group transform the singular suffix *-wru* to either *-bbi* or *-ppi*: *fo-wru* (hyena) *ndu → po-bbi ɗi*; *ho-wru* (knee) *ndu → ko-ppi ɗi*; *no-wru* (ear) *ndu → no-ppi ɗi*; *sa-wru* (staff) *ndu → ca-bbi ɗi*

20. *-i* (161)

-a/-i (9)	*ɓot-a* (femal kid) *nga* →	*ɓot-i ɗi*
-annde/-i (1)	*woofannde* (mistake) *nde* →	*boofi ɗi*
-du/-i (7)	*jol-du* (squirrel) *ndu* →	*jol-i ɗi*[246]
-e/-i (3)	*haang-e* (cow) *nge* →	*kaang-i ɗi*
-iri/-i (4)	*ɓuj-iri* (steer) *ndi* →	*ɓuj-i ɗi*
-ndu/-i (3)	*hen-ndu* (wind) *ndu* →	*ken-i ɗi*
-o/-i (5)	*durw-o* (wrestling match) *ngo* →	*durw-i ɗi*
-ol/-i (89)	*baaj-ol* (bark) *ngol* →	*baaj-i ɗi*
-u/-i (30)	*ɓaar-u* (bow/quiver) *ndu* →	*ɓaar-i ɗi*[247]
-uru/-i (11)	*doomb-uru* (mouse) *ndu* →	*doomb-i ɗi*[248]

21. *-ji* (1)

ø/-ji (1)	*daa* (custom) *o* →	*daaji ɗi*

22. *-li* (31)

-du/-li (3)	*hoyɣu-du* (back of head) *ndu* →	*koyɣu-li ɗi*
-gol/-li (1)	*tuu-gol* (trap) *ngol* →	*tuu-li* or *tuu-gi ɗi*
-lu/-li (15)	*ɓellel-lu* (engorged tick) *ngu* →	*ɓellel-li ɗi*
-ndu/-li (6)	*faa-ndu* (gourd) *ndu* →	*paa-li ɗi*
-ngol/-li (4)	*cettu-ngol* (cream) *ngol* →	*cettu-li ɗi*
-ngu/-li (1)	*ɣom-ngu* (panther) *ndu* →	*ɣom-li ɗi*
-ru/-li (1)	*holnyu-ru* (hoof) *ndu* →	*kolnyu-li ɗi*

23. *-yi* (7)

-gu/-yi (1)	*bingu* (nit) *ngu* →	*bin-yi ɗi*
-ngu/-yi (3)	*ngil-ngu* (maggot) *ngu* →	*gil-yi ɗi*
-nyu/-yi (1)	*nyuu-nyu* (ant) *ngu* →	*nyuu-yi ɗi*
-ɣam/-yi (1)	*gee-ɣam* (seed) *ɗam* →	*gee-yi ɗi*
-yu/-yi (1)	*mbin-yu* (nit) *ngu* →	*bin-yi ɗi*

Singular/Plural Suffix Combinations Used With The Koy Noun Class

Words in the singular noun classes *ngel* and *ngu*, when referring to small things, usually use the plural noun class *koy*. There appear to be two singular "diminutive" endings used with noun roots that end with a vowel. The most common suffix used in roots ending with a vowel seems to be *-yel*. This ending becomes *-hoy* when pluralized. For example:

> *aanyee-re* (grave) *nde* → *aany**e-yel** ngel* → *aany**e-hoy** koy*
> *aadi* (covenant) *ndi* → *aad**i-yel** ngel* → *aad**i-hoy** koy*

The other ending used with a vowel is *-ngel*. This ending pluralizes as *-koy*. For example:

> *kaaɗ**u-ngel*** (gall bladder) *ngel* → *kaaɗu-koy koy*
> *morr**u-ngel*** (Adam's apple) *ngel* → *morru-koy koy*

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[246] This also is an interesting paradigm. Four of seven words transform the "nn" of their roots to "ll" in their plural forms: *ɓa**nn**-du* (body) *ndu* → *ɓa**ll**-i ɗi*; *ɓu**nn**-du* (well) *ndu* → *ɓu**ll**-i ɗi*; *ho**nn**-du* (finger) *ndu* → *ko**ll**-i ɗi*; *wo**nn**-du* (abdomen) *ndu* → *bo**ll**-i ɗi*. The remaining two words are: *daamihoonyol-du* (snail) *ndu* → *daamikoonyol-i ɗi*; *elelel-du* (lizard) *ndu* → *elelel-i ɗi*.

[247] Two words in this group are similar to the paradigm mentioned above in footnote [244], however here the "dd" of their root is transformed to "ll" in their plural forms: *hodd-u* (guitar) *ndu* → *koll-i ɗi*; *wudd-u* (navel) *ndu* → *bull-i ɗi*.

[248] See the alternate spelling for *famburu* (frog) *ndu* → *faaɓuru* in the dictionary

Roots ending with the nasals "m" and "n" use the singular suffix *-ngel* and pluralize with *-koy*. For example:

> *da**m**-**ngel*** (a male kid) *ngel* → n-da**m**-**koy** koy
> *nyaa**n**-**ngel*** (carpet viper) ngel → nyaa**n**-**koy** koy
> *pall**a**-**ngel*** danki (gecko) *ngel* → *pall**a**-**koy*** koy

Roots ending with "r" uses the singular suffix *-gel* and also pluralizes with *-koy*.

> *ɓiiro**r**-**gel*** (pimple) *ngel* → *ɓiiror-koy koy*
> *nyitto**r**-**gel*** (handkerchief) *ngel* → *nyittor-koy koy*
> *poofi**r**-**gel*** (comma) *ngel*→ *poofir-koy koy*
> *ɣami**r**-**gel*** (question mark) *ngel* → *ɣamir-koy koy*

The rest of the consonants use the singular ending *-el* as the diminutive ending.[249]
These become *-oy* when pluralized.

> *buu**b**-**el*** (small fly) *ngel* → *m-buu**b**-**oy*** koy
> *ceɓ**-**el** le**ɓ**-**el*** (tip of tree) *ngel* → *ceɓ**-**oy** le**ɓ**-**oy*** koy
> *co**f**-**el*** (chick) *ngel* → *co**f**-**oy*** koy
> *cuka**l**-**el*** (child) *ngel* → *cuka**l**-**oy*** koy
> *pe**t**-**el*** (small pond) *ngel* → *pe**t**-**oy*** koy

The form of these endings seems to be driven by phonetic considerations – remember how the *Fulɓe* like their nouns, pronouns and noun class markers to rhyme.

a   *haala-yel* (small word) *ngel* → *haala-hoy koy*
      pureega-yel durooɓe (omasum) *ngel* → *pureega-hoy durooɓe koy*

b   *alb-el* (wallet) *ngel* → *alb-oy koy*
      buub-el (small fly) *ngel* → *m-buub-oy koy*
      mob-el (truck) *ngel* → *mob-oy koy*

ɓ   *ceɓ-el leɓ-el* (tip of tree) *ngel* → *ceɓ-oy leɓ-oy koy*

c   *albacc-el* (garlic) *ngel* → *albacc-oy koy*

d

ɗ   *mbeɗ-u* (trivet) *ngu* → *beɗ-el ngel* → *mbeɗ-oy koy*
      baɗɗ-o (rider) *o* → *baɗɗ-el ngel* → *baɗɗ-oy koy*

e   *aanyee-re* (grave) *nde* → *aanye-yel ngel* → *aanye-hoy koy*

f   *muf-ol* (hairdo) *ngol* → *muf-el ngel* → *muf-oy koy*
      cof-el (chick) *ngel* → *cof-oy koy*

g   *legg-el* (small piece of wood) *ngel* → *lekk-oy koy*
      peng-el (a pin) *ngel* → *peng-oy koy*
      tiirig-el (finch) *ngel* → tiirig-oy koy

h

i   *aadi* (covenant) *ndi* → *aadi-yel ngel* → *aadi-hoy koy*
      boɗi-yel (red bird) *ngel* → *m-boɗi-hoy koy*
      gawri-yel (water lily seed) *ngel* → *n-gawri-hoy koy*
      kaaweesi-yel (an exclamation mark) *ngel* → *kaaweesi-hoy koy*

j

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[249] The only two exceptions to this I found were *leg-gel ngel* pluralizing as *lek-koy* and *jaw-gel ngel* pluralizing as *n-jaw-koy koy*. See also *ɓin-ngel ngel* → *ɓik-koy koy* for another example of the morphing of the final consonant to "k" before the ending *-koy*

k   jurk-el (stringed instument) ngel → n-jurk-oy koy
             keek-el (bike) ngel → keek-oy koy
             lok-el (dove) ngel → lok-oy koy
             m-belk-oy (sweet potato) koy

l   *m-boɓol-i (tree) ki → boɓol-el ngel → m-boɓol-oy koy*
             biigamiimol-el (wood owl) ngel → biigamiimol-oy koy
             col-el (genet) ngel → col-oy koy
             cukal-el (child) ngel → cukal-oy koy
             paal-el (small gourd) ngel → paal-oy koy

m   *dam-ngel (male kid) ngel → n-dam-koy koy*

n   *ɓin-ngel (child) ngel → ɓik-koy koy*
             dan-ngel (male kid) ngel → n-dan-koy koy
             kankan-ngel (gall bladder) ngel → kankan-koy koy
             nyaan-ngel (carpet viper) ngel → nyaan-koy koy

ŋ

o   *boygo-yel (kid) ngel → m-boygo-hoy koy*
             ɗoytoro-yel (dragonfly) ngel → ɗoytoro-hoy koy
             nduuyoo-hoy (measles) koy

p

r   *ɓiiror-gel (pimple on eye lid) ngel → ɓiiror-koy koy*
             buutor-gel (pimple on eye lid) ngel → m-buutor-koy koy
             cappor-gel (index, pointer) ngel → cappor-koy koy
             moontor-gel (pimple) ngel → moontorkoy
             nannginirgal (clasp) ngal → nannginir-gel ngel → nannginir-koy koy
             nyittor-gel (handkerchief) ngel → nyittor-koy koy
             poofir-gel (coma) ngel → poofir-koy koy

s

t   *batt-al (needle, dragonfly) ngal → batt-el ngel → m-batt-oy koy*
             bort-el/ɓot-el (female lamb) ngel → m-bort-oy/ɓot-oy koy
             ciɓit-el (little finger) ngel → ciɓit-oy koy
             bort-el (femal lamb) ngel → m-bort-oy koy
             pallabiit-el (gecko) ngel → pallabiit-oy koy
             pet-el (small pond) ngel → pet-oy koy

u   *adadu (total) o → adadu-yel ngel → adadu-hoy koy*
             kaaɗu-ngel (gall bladder) ngel → kaaɗu-koy
             kuu-ngel (bug) ngel → kuu-koy koy
             morru-ngel (Adam's apple) ngel → morru-koy koy

w   *ɓaaw-o (back) ngo → ɓaaw-el ngel → ɓaaw-oy koy*
             ciiw-el (small bird) ngel → ciiw-oy koy
             jaw-el (peanut ring) ngel → n-jaw-oy koy
             jaw-gel (male lamb) ngel → n-jaw-koy koy from *jawdiri ndi*

y

APPENDIX C

Relative Occurrence of Nouns by Noun Class in Fulfulde

Noun Class	Number of nouns in class[250]	approximate % of total
ɗam	53	1.5%
ɗum	4	0.001%
ka	58	1.6%
kal	1	0.0003%
ki	165	4.6%
ko$_1$	39	1.1%
kol	7	0.002%
nde	750	21%
ndi	158	4.4%
ndu	213	5.9%
nga	87	2.4%
ngal	363	10%
nge	15	0.004%
ngel	88	2.4%
ngi	8	0.002%
ngo	114	3.2%
ngol	193	5.3%
ngu	241	6.7%
o	1,052	29%
Totals[251]	3,609	99.112%

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[250] This refers to all the singular nouns listed in the second edition of the Burkina Faso Fulfulde/English-English/Fulfulde Dictionary, including those denasalized in *Gurmaare*. It is worth noting that some nouns do not have a plural form, and so are not counted in Table 4.1 on page 30, hence the difference in the totals on page 30 and in this appendix.

[251] The total represents nouns which have at least a singular form. Actually there are 3,790 listing in the dictionary for nouns. Some of these would be plurals which have no singular form. Some plurals, those beginning with the letters c, k, nd, ng, nj, mb, and p, have a separate simple listing in the dictionary as the first letter of the plural form is different than the first letter of the singular noun.

Appendix D

Contracted Possessive Forms (see also Table 8.6, p. 55)

Person	baaba	yaaya	inniiwo/inniyo†	kaawu	goggo	banndiiwo/banndiyo	mawnoo	minyo
1s	baab·am	yaay·am	inn·am	kaaw·am	NA	bannd·am	mawn·am	miny·am
2s	baam·maa	yaay·maa	inn·a	kaaw·a	NA	bannd·a	mawn·a	miny·a
3s-makko	baab·iiko	yaay·iiko	inn·iiko	kaaw·iiko	gogg·iiko	bannd·iiko	mawn·iiko	miny·iiko
3s-muuɗum	baam·mum	yaay·em	inn·um	kaaw·um	goggo·m	bannd·um	mawn·um	miny·um
1p-ex	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1p-in	baab·ii(’/ɗ)en*	yaay·amen	inn·ii(’/ɗ)en	kaaw·ii(’/ɗ)en	gogg·ii(’/ɗ)en	bannd·ii(’/ɗ)en	mawn·ii(’/ɗ)en	miny·ii(’/ɗ)en
2p	baab·ii(’/ɗ)on*	yaay·(a)mon	inn·ii(’/ɗ)on	kaaw·ii(’/ɗ)on	gogg·ii(’/ɗ)on	bannd·ii(’/ɗ)on	mawn·ii(’/ɗ)on	miny·ii(’/ɗ)on
3p-maɓɓe	baab·iiɓe	yaay·iiɓe	inn·iiɓe	kaaw·iiɓe	gogg·iiɓe	bannd·iiɓe	mawn·iiɓe	miny·iiɓe
3p-muɓɓen	baam·muɓɓe	NA	inn·umen	kaaw·umen	NA	bannd·umen	mawn·umen	miny·umen

*All four dialect areas might use *baabii'en*, but the *Yaagaare* and *Gurmaare* speakers would tend to say *baabiiɗen*, this is true for most of the first person inclusive and second person forms in this chart.
†For a paternal aunt (*iiniiwo debbo*) they would add *debbo* to each of the above contracted possessive forms.
NA – Not Applicable

For *bappaanjo* they only use one contracted form: 3s-*muuɗum* → *bappaanjom* or *bappaanyom*
For *sakiike* they only use one contracted form: 3s-*muuɗum* → *sakiikem*

Person	goroo	dee§	ɓii
1s	gor·am	deek·am	ɓiy·am
2s	gor·a	deek·a	ɓiy·a
3s-makko	gor·iiko	deek·iiko	ɓiy·iiko
3s-muuɗum	gor·um	deek·um	ɓiy·um
1p-ex	NA	NA	NA
1p-in	gor·ii(’/ɗ)en*	deek·ii(’/ɗ)en	ɓiy·ii’en
2p	gor·ii(’/ɗ)on*	deek·ii(’/ɗ)on	ɓiy·ii’on
3p-maɓɓe	gor·iiɓe	deek·iiɓe	ɓiy·iiɓe
3p-muɓɓen	gor·umen	NA	ɓii·muɓɓen

*All four dialect areas might use *gorii'en*, but the *Yaagaare* and *Gurmaare* speakers would tend to say *goriiɗen*. This is true for most of the first person inclusive and second person forms in this chart.
§The plural forms for this word are figurative.
NA – Not Applicable

Appendix E
Words employing the suffixes -inde or -idde[252]

1. Words ending with the infix *-in-* plus the contracted active voice suffix *-de.*[253]

annd-**in**-de (prg. na annd**in**-a[254]) cog: anndude – to inform, to let know, to tell, to teach; *lit. to cause to know, to learn*

arzink-**in**-de (prg. na arzink**in**-a) - to bless; *lit. to cause to be blessed*

ayb-**in**-de (prg. na ayb**in**-a) cog: aybude - 1. to humiliate someone; *lit. to cause humilation* 2. to injure someone, harm, hurt, wound; *lit. to cause harm*

aym-**in**-de (prg. na aym**in**-a) - to grill meat; *lit. to cause meat to cook*

ɓal-**in**-de (st/prg. na ɓal**in**-i/ɓal**in**-a) cog: ɓawlude - when the clouds blacken before it rains, to darken; *lit. to cause to be dark*

ɓang-**in**-de (prg. na ɓang**in**-a) cog: ɓangude - 1. to speak loudly so as to make yourself heard, shout; *lit. to cause to hear* 2. to explain to someone something that they didn't know; *lit. to cause to know*

ɓaŋ-**in**-de (prg. na ɓaŋ**in**-a) cog: ɓaŋude - to marry your son to a girl; *lit to cause your son to marry*

bark-**in**-de (st/prg. na bar**in**-i/bark**in**-a) cog: bark-it-aade - 1. to bless; *lit. to cause to be blessed* 2. to praise; *lit to cause to be praised*

barm-**in**-de (prg. na barm**in**-a) cog: barmude, barm-it-aade) - to wound or cut; *lit. to cause harm*

ɓawl-**in**-de (prg. na ɓawl**in**-a) cog: ɓawlude - to dye black with mud, to make black; *lit. to cause to be black*

ɓern-**in**-de (st/prg. na ɓern**in**-i/ɓern**in**-a) ɓernude » ɓernande) - to do something to make someone angry; *lit. to cause someone to be angry*

boɓɓ-**in**-de (prg. na boɓɓ**in**-a) cog: boɓɓaade) - to knock someone or something down from a standing position; to fell a tree; to throw something down; *lit. to cause to fall down*

boɗ-**in**-de (prg. na boɗ**in**-a) – to forbid

*ɓolḏ-**in**-de[255] (prg na ɓolḏ**in**-a) to take a woman's jewelry away from her, to empty: lit. to cause to be jewelryless, empty

ɓolm-**in**-de (prg. na ɓolm**in**-a) cog: ɓolmiḏidde - to make something smooth; *lit to cause to be smooth*

ɓoom-**in**-de (prg. na ɓoom**in**-a) cog: ɓoomude - to cause to be smooth, to smoothen; *lit to cause to be smooth*

daɗ-**in**-de (prg. na daɗ**in**-a) cog: daɗude - 1. to cure or heal someone; *lit. to cause to be well* 2. to save someone; *lit. to cause to be safe*

ɗagg-**in**-de (prg. na ɗagg**in**-a) - to throw something onto something or into something so it does not fall off of or out of where you have thrown it; *lit. to cause something to rest where you threw it*

ɗakk-**in**-de (prg. na ɗakk**in**-a) cog: ɗakkaade - to be near to, close, next to; *lit. to cause to be near*

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[252] At times my Fulfulde informants from Sebba and Mahadaga have indicated they prefer the *-idde* suffix to the *-inde* suffix. This is especially true for verb roots that end in "t" or if the *-it-* infix is used in the word. Some also use this suffix with the *-id-* infix and occasional with the *-id-* infix, while others do not. If one sees (or hears) the *-idde* suffix one can be certain that this is just a suffix and the root likely has an infix attached to it. This in contrast to the *-inde* ending, as about half the time this is a suffix and half the time it is the infix *-in-* with the contracted active voice suffix *-de.* There are several infixes which either contract or elongate the normal active voice suffix *-ude.* In the case of the "causative" infix the suffix is contracted.

[253] There are 204 words in the dictionary which use the "causative" *-in-* infix followed by the contracted active voice suffix *-de.*

[254] One of the reasons I have conjugated all of these verbs for either stative and/or progressive is that this is an excellent way to find out what the *Fulɓe* consider to be the verb root, what is considered the infix, and what is considered the suffix. This also gives one a sense of how they prefer to sequence the infixes. Generally speaking if they want to add the "causative" infix *-in-* and either the "stative" infix (*-id-*, *-d-* or occasionally *-din-*), the "associative" infix (*-id-* or *-d-*), or the "reversive/repetitive/intensive" infix (*-it-*, *-t-* or occasionally *-tin-*) they will place the "causative" infix to the left of the others. The exception to this seems to be when either *-d-*, *-d-*, or *-t-* have been absorbed into the verb root, then the "causative" infix will fall to the right of the others. Examples of this exception have been marked with an asterisk in this appendix.

[255] There are some verbs which seem to have absorbed either the "stative" marker "-d-" or the "repetitive" marker "-t-" so that it is regarded as part of the root. This is demonstrated when conjugating the verb (see footnote 254 above). I have marked these "annealed" infixes by underlining the letter that have been absorbed into the root and I have marked the word with an asterisk. In the case of *ɓolḏinde* the "stative" marker "ḏ" has been joined to the root √ɓol- indicating the state of nothingness or emptiness. Then the "causative" infix *-in-* is added showing that this state was provoked by someone else – in this case it might have been the woman's husband or a robber.

ɗanng-**in**-de (prg. na ɗanngin-a) - to throw something onto something or into something so it does not fall off of or out of where you have thrown it; *lit. to cause something to rest where you threw it*

*ɗaan<u>d</u>-in-de[256] (prg. na ɗaandin-a) cog: ɗaanaade- to cause to sleep, to prepare yogurt; *lit. to cause milk to sleep*

ɗaan-**in**-de (prg. na ɗaannin-a) cog: ɗaanaade - *lit. to cause to sleep*

dart-**in**-de (prg. na dartin-a) - to correct, to straighten, to make right; *lit. to cause to be straight*

demp-**in**-de (st/prg. na dempin-i/dempin-a) cog: dempin-irde - to cook with steam; *lit. to cause to cook with steam*

deyƴ-**in**-de (prg. na deyƴin-a) - to quiet someone, to comfort or console; *lit. to cause to be comforted or quiet*

diis-**in**-de (prg. na diisin-a) - to move something or someone from one place to another; *lit to cause to move*

dis-**in**-de (prg. na disin-a) - to move something or someone from one place to another; *lit to cause to move*

dogg-**in**-de (prg. na doggin-a) - to make something run, such as a horse or even a truck; *lit. to cause to run*

et-**in**-de (prg. na etin-a) – to measure grain; *lit. to cause to be measured*

*faa<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na faaɗ**in**-a) faaɗ-ude - to make smaller or narrower, to reduce the width; *lit. to cause to be narrower*

faam-**in**-de (prg. na faamin-a) cog: faamude - to cause to understand, to explain clearly so that the listener understands; *lit. to cause to understand*

*faa<u>tt</u>-**in**-de[257] (prg. na faattin-a) cog: faaɗude - to make smaller or narrower, to reduce the width; *lit. to reverse wideness*

*faaw<u>t</u>-**in**-de (prg. na faawtin-a) cog: faawtaade - to cause something to run hard, such as a horse or even a truck; *lit. to cause to run hard*

faɗɗ-**in**-de (prg na faɗɗ**in**-a/paɗɗ**in**ɗo) faɗɗ-ude - to either run over or bump into something while driving a vehicle or riding on a bike or motorcycle; *lit. to cause to be thrown to the ground*

*fal<u>t</u>-**in**-de (prg. na faltin-a) cog; falaade/faltaade, faltude - 1. to overdo something, exaggerate 2. to go too far when taking something or someone somewhere 3. to look for trouble with someone by doing bad things to him; *lit do too much*

*fam<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na famɗ**in**-a) faamdude - to diminish, reduce, make smaller; *lit. to cause to be smaller*

*fan<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na fanɗ**in**-a) cog: faandude - to diminish, reduce, make smaller; *lit. to cause to be smaller*

fart-**in**-de (prg. na fartin-a) - to startle or frighten something or someone which causes it to run away; *lit. to cause fright & fleeing*

fay-**in**-de (prg. na fayin-a) - to fatten up; *lit. to cause to be fat*

femmb-**in**-de (prg. na femmbin-a) - to run over or trample someone, either with a horse, vehicle, or with your own feet; *lit. to cause to be thrown to the ground*

*fin<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na findin-a) cog: finude - to wake someone up; *lit. to cause to awaken*

*fin<u>t</u>-**in**-de (prg. na fintin-a) cog: fintude/finude - to resuscitate, revive someone; *lit. to cause death to reverse*

fomp-**in**-de (prg. na fompin-a) - to either run over or bump into something while driving a vehicle or riding on a bike or motorcycle; *lit. to cause to be thrown to the ground*

foot-**in**-de (prg. na footin-a) - to move something; *lit to cause to move*

fott-**in**-de (prg. na fottin-a) cog: foɗitaade → foɗtaade → fottaade - to move something

fukk-**in**-de (prg. na fukkin-a) cog: fukkaade 1. to lay, put, place, or set something down that does not have a base 2. to cause to lie down 3. to deposit money in a bank, to put a deposit down towards a purchase

garb-**in**-de (prg. na garbin-a) - to beg; *lit. to be caused to beg*

gong-**in**-de (prg. na gongin-a) cog: goonga - to exhort, to speak forcefully telling people what they need to do; *lit to cause people to hear the truth*

gurɓ-**in**-de (st/prg. na gurɓin-i/gurɓin-a) - to be nearly ripe

haamn-**in**-de   (prg. na haamnin-a) cog: haamnaade - to aggravate, annoy, bother, irritate, upset, or vex; *lit. to caused to be vexed*

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[256] The *Fulɓe* seemed to have "annealed" the "associative" infix (-ɗ-) to the root √ɗaan- (to sleep) to indicate the process of adding yogurt to milk in order to turn it into yogurt.

[257] I suspect that first "t" used to be "ɗ," while the second "t" can be either emphatic "t" or repeative t."

*haan<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na haand**in**-a) cog: haandude - to daydream about something you would like; *lit. to be caused to day dream*

*haan<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na haand**ì**n-a) - to drive someone crazy; *lit to cause to go crazy*

haɓ-**in**-de (prg. na haɓ**in**-a) - to stir up people or animals so that they fight with each other, to provoke others to fight; *lit. to cause to fight*

hacink-**in**-de (st./prg. na hacink**in**-i/hacink**in**-a) - to be sure, to be certain; *lit. to be made certain*

hadd-**in**-de   (prg. na hadd**in**-a) - to stir up people or animals so that they fight with each other, to provoke others to fight; *lit. to cause to fight*

hakind-**in**-de (prg. na hakind**in**-a) - to reduce to an apropriate levels or amount; *lit. to cause to be reduced*

hakink-**in**-de (prg. na hakink**in**-a) - to be sure; *lit. to be made certain*

half-**in**-de (prg. na half**in**-a) - to entrust yourself or something of yours to someone or to God; *lit. cause self to trust*

harm-**in**-de – (st/prg. na harm**in**-i/harm**in**-a) - 1. to forbid as wrong, bad or sinful 2. to reject; *lit. to cause to shun*

hating-**in**-de (st. na hating**in**-i) - to need, to want; *lit. to be caused to need or want*

haẙiny̆-**in**-de (st./prg. na haẙiny̆**in**-i/haẙiny̆**in**-a) - to be sure, to be certain; *lit. to be made certain*

hayy̆-**in**-de (prg. na hayy̆**in**-a) - to cause to crack, generally refers to cracking your knuckles

hebb-**in**-de   (st/prg. na hebb**in**-i/hebb**in**-a) - 1. to have a lot 2. to do or say in excess of what you should do or say; exceed or overdo, to exaggerate 3. to fill

heng-**in**-de (prg. na heng**in**-a) - to tighten a rope; *lit to cause to be tight*

heny-**in**-de (prg. na heny**in**-a) - for the sky to blacken just before it starts to rain; *lit. to cause to be black*

hers-**in**-de (prg. na hers**in**-a) - to shame or embarrass someone, to humiliate; *lit. to cause embarrassment*

hett-**in**-de (prg. na hett**in**-a) - 1. to put, place something or someone somewhere 2. to transfer or move someone or something somewhere; lit. to cause to move

*hew<u>t</u>-**in**-de[258] (prg. na hew<u>t</u>**in**-a) cog: hewtude - 1. to invite or welcome a guest into the house   2. to take someone or something somewhere; *lit. to cause to arrive*

hid-**in**-de (st/prg. na hid**in**-i/hid**in**-a) - 1. for the sky to blacken just before it starts to rain 2. for someone to be on the verge of tears; *lit. to cause to blacken (cry)*

hirɓ-**in**-de/hurɓ-**in**-de – (prg. na hirɓ**in**-a) - to strangle or choke someone by the throat so that they make a choking sound; *lit. to cause to choke*

hirny-**in**-de (prg. na hirny**in**-a) to do something that makes someone angry for a moment; *lit. to cause to be angry momentarily*

his-**in**-de   (prg. na his**in**-a) - to save, to cause to escape from danger; *lit. to cause to be safe*

holt-**in**-de (prg. na holt**in**-a) cog: koltal, holtude - to give a gift of cloth or clothes, to dress or clothe in a *f*ig. sense by providing clothing; *lit. to cause to be clothed*

horg-**in**-de (prg. na horg**in**-a) - to sit someone behind you on a bike, horse, etc.; *lit. to cause to sit behind*

hors-**in**-de (st/prg. na hors**in**-i/hors**in**-a) - to cherish or regard as precious; *lit. to cause to be precious*

hoyf-**in**-de/huyf-**in**-de (prg. na hoyf**in**-a) - to ignore someone, to not honor someone, to disdain; *lit. to make light of*

hukk-**in**-de (prg. na hukk**in**-a) - to burn food while cooking it; *lit. to cause to burn*

hulɓ-**in**-de (prg na hulɓ**in**-a) - to frighten, scare; *lit. to cause to be frightened*

hun-**in**-de (prg. na hun**in**-a) - to cause to swear, to adjure somone; *lit. to cause to swear*

husinb-**in**-de   (prg. na husinb**in**-a) - to aggravate, annoy, bother, irritate, upselt, vex, to persecute, to torment; *lit to cause to be vexed*

huuɓ-**in**-de (prg. na huuɓ**in**-a) - to finish something; *lit to cause to be done*

iirt-**in**-de (prg. na iirt**in**-a) - to resurrect from the dead, to resuscitate someone who has passed out; *lit. to cause to live again*

il-**in**-de (prg. na il**in**-a) - to uvulate - a cry of joy made by vibrating the uvula during celebrations; *lit. to cause to vibrate*

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[258] I suspect that the "t" in the root √*hew<u>t</u>*- was an intensifier that was "annealed" to the root.

*jal<u>t</u>-**in**-de[259] – (prg. na jal<u>t</u>**in**-a) cog: jalude - to laugh at someone, to make fun of some one, to mock; *lit to cause one to be laughed at*

janj-**in**-de (prg. na janj**in**-a) - 1.to advise, to try and convince, this can take either a positive or a negative track; *lit. to cause to decide* 2. to party, to celebrate

janng-**in**-de (prg. na janng**in**-a) cog: janngude - to teach; *lit. to cause to study*

jil-**in**-de (st/prg. na jil**in**-i/jil**in**-a) - to carry by hand with your hand hanging beside you, such as a sack or a pail; *lit. to cause to hang beside you*

jipp-**in**-de (prg. na jipp**in**-a) - 1. to bring down 2. to let an arm down; *lit. to cause to come down*

joob-**in**-de (prg. na joob**in**-a) - to have weeds overrun your field - the focus here is the lack of activity of the field's owner in cultivating the field -it is this lack of work that is causing the field to be overrun by weeds; lit. to cause (permit) to overrun

joyƴ-**in**-de (prg. na joyƴ**in**-a) - to put, place or set something with a base down; e.g. a glass, a lamp, a person; *lit. cause to be set down*

laaɓ-**in**-de (prg. na laaɓ**in**-a) - to clean, cleanse, wash; *lit. to cause to be clean*

lag-**in**-de (prg. na lag**in**-a) - to throw something onto something (e.g. the desk or the house) or into something (e.g. a tree) so it does not fall off of or out of where you have thrown it; *lit. to cause something to land where it won't fall*

lall-**in**-de (prg. na lall**in**-a) - to cause someone to become lost; *lit. to cause to be lost*

leeƴ-**in**-de (prg. na leeƴ**in**-a) to humble someone; *lit. to cause to be humble*

lepp-**in**-de (prg. na lepp**in**-a) - to wet or dampen; *lit. to cause to be wet*

leyƴ-**in**-de (prg. na leyƴ**in**-a) - to humble someone; *lit. to cause to be humble*

likkiƴ-**in**-de (prg. na likkiƴ**in**-a) - to hiccup; *lit. to be caused to hiccup*

lugg-**in**-de (prg. na lugg**in**-a) - to make deeper, to dig out; *lit. to make deeper*

lutt-**in**-de (prg. na lutt**in**-a) - to cause someone else to disobey; *lit to cause to disobey*

*maan<u>d</u>-**in**-de (prg. na maan<u>d</u>**in**-a) cog: maande) - to explain something to someone; *lit. cause to understand*

mals-**in**-de (prg. na mals**in**-a) - 1. to make something nice or pleasant, other than food 2. to flatter; *lit. to make nice*

mans-**in**-de (prg. na mans**in**-a) - 1. to make something nice or pleasant, other than food 2. to flatter; lit. to make nice

masimb-**in**-de (prg. na masimb**in**-a) - to severely injure someone or something else; *lit to cause injury*

mawn-**in**-de (st/prg na mawn**in**-i/mawn**in**-a) cog: mawn-ude) - 1. to exalt oneself 2. to exalt someone else 3. to be arrogant 4. to feed someone or something so that it grows or fattens; *lit to cause to be exalted or fat*

mayb-**in**-de (prg. na mayb**in**-a) cog: maybude - to severely injure someone or something else; *lit. to cause injury*

mays-**in**-de (prg. na mays**in**-a) - 1. to make something nice or pleasant, other than food 2. to flatter; *lit. to make nice*

*met<u>t</u>-**in**-de (prg. na met<u>t</u>**in**-a) cog: mettude) - 1. to do irritating or upsetting things to someone; *lit. to cause vexation* 2. to buy salt for your animals; *lit. to cause to lick salt*

micc-**in**-de (prg. na micc**in**-a) -1. to remind someone of something they were supposed to remember 2. to resemble, something/someone that reminds you of something/someone; *lit. to cause to remember*

moyƴ-**in**-de (prg. na moyƴ**in**-a) cog: moyƴude - to repair or fix, to prepare; *lit. to cause to be right again*

mus-**in**-de (prg. na mus**in**-a) - to suck milk from a teat; *lit. to cause the milk to flow (by sucking)*

mut-**in**-de (prg. na mut**in**-a) - 1. to dunk someone or something under water 2. to baptize; *lit. to cause someone to be submerged in water*

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[259] It is likely that the "t" in the root √jal<u>t</u>- was an intensifier that was absorbed into the root.

*muyn-**in**-de[260] (prg. na muyni**n**-a) cog: muynude, muytude also see musinde - to give a child or animal a breast or teat to suck; nurse, suckle; *lit. to cause to suckle*

nam-**in**-de (prg. na nam**in**-a) - to grind or mill in a mill; lit. to cause to be ground

*nand-**in**-de[261] (prg. na nand**in**-a) cog: nanude - to give or bring news of someone or something; *lit. to cause others to hear*

nannd-**in**-de (prg. na nannd**in**-a) cog: nanndude - 1. to compare; 2. to make something like or comparable; *lit. to cause to be like*

nanng-**in**-de (prg. na nanng**in**-a) cog: nanngude - to catch something or someone in a trap, to hook a fish; *lit. to cause to be caught*

*ŋard-**in**-de (prg. na nard**in**-a) cog: ŋardude - to make yourself or someone else attractive, beautify - to beautify; *lit. to cause to be beautiful*

neem-**in**-de (prg. na neem**in**-a) - to feed - used of people and animals; *lit to cause to eat*

ŋeet-**in**-de (prg. na ŋeet**in**-a) - 1. to tie up something or someone tightly, to tighten, can be used *fig.* as when one insists something is the case 2. to tighten something, such as a screw or a nut; *lit. to cause to tighten*

ŋery-**in**-de (prg. na ŋery**in**-a) - to cause food to be dirty by dropping it or kicking dirt on it, to soil someone; *lit. to cause to be dirty*

ngokk-**in**-de (st/prg. na ngokk**in**-i/ngokk**in**-a) - to hope; *lit. to be in a state of hoping or to habitually hope*

niɓɓ-**in**-de (prg. na niɓɓ**in**-a) - to darken, obscure; *lit to make dark or obscure*

nik-**in**-de (prg. na nik**in**-a) - to grind or mill in machine; *lit. to cause to be ground*

ŋof-**in**-de (prg. na ŋof**in**-a) – *lit. to cause a dog to bark*

nyall-**in**-de (prg. na nyall**in**-a) - to greet in the afternoon; *lit. to cause to be greeting in the afternoon*

nyery-**in**-de (prg. na nyery**in**-a) - to cause food to be dirty by dropping it or kicking dirt on it, to soil someone; lit. *to cause to be dirty*

olw-**in**-de (st/prg. na olw**in**-i/olw**in**-a) - to sweat, perspire; *lit. to be in a state of sweating or to continously/habitually sweat*

*oold-**in**-de (prg. na oold**in**-a) cog: ooldude - to dye something yellow; *lit. to cause to be yellow*

rawn-**in**-de (prg. na rawn-**in**-a) cog: rawnude - to dye white; *lit. to cause to be white*

reent-**in**-de (prg. na reent**in**-a) - 1. to gather, collect 2. rally, round up; *lit. to cause to be collected, gathered*

rinnd-**in**-de (prg. na rinnd**in**-a) - to load - could be a bike, a cart or a truck; *lit. to cause to be loaded*

ronk-**in**-de (prg. na ronk**in**-a) - 1. to tire out 2. to wear out 3. to make something difficult for someone

saam-**in**-de (prg. na saam**in**-a) - 1. to drop something, to throw something down 2. to knock something down that is standing; *lit. to cause something to fall down*

saawt-**in**-de (prg. na saawt**in**-a) - to make a faint noise; *lit. to cause a noise*

*sadd-**in**-de (st/prg na sadd**in**-i/sadd**in**-a)- 1. to aggravate, annoy, bother, irritate, upset, vex 2. to persecute 3. to torment; *lit. to be in a state of being vexing or to vex habitually*

sagg-**in**-de (prg. na sagg**in**-a) - to prepare tea

salm-**in**-de (prg. na salm**in**-a) - 1. to greet when arriving by saying (*As*)*salaamu aleykum* 2. to knock; *to cause to be welcome*

samm-**in**-de (prg. na saam**in**-a) cog: sammude - 1. to drop something, to throw something down
    2. to knock something down that is standing; *lit. to cause to fall down*

sawr-**in**-de (prg. na sawr**in**-a) cog: sawrude - to reconcile or make peace, to intervene or break up a fight; *lit to cause to be well*

sawt-**in**-de (prg. na sawt**in**-a) cog: sawtu - to make a faint noise; *lit. to cause a little noise*

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[260] I suspect that the "n" of the root √*muyn*- was originally a "causative" infix which was "annealed" to the root. The cognate *muynude* means to suck milk, which corresponds to *musinde*. I think what they were thinking was that the child (offspring) in sucking caused the milk of the mother to flow. I suspect the original root meaning to suck was √*muy*-. Note how with *muytude* (to suck something like candy) the causative "n" is replaced by intensifying "t." So *muyninde* means to cause a child to suck which will in turn cause the milk to flow!

[261] I suspect this "d" was originally the "associative" infix which was absorbed into the root √*nan*-. Because there must be more than one party if news is to be exchanged the presence of the "d" makes sense.

sayɣ-**in**-de (st/prg. na sayɣ**in**-i/sayɣ**in**-a) - 1. to aggravate, annoy, bother, irritate, upset, vex 2. to persecute 3. to torment; *lit. be vexing or to cause vexation*

se6-**in**-de (prg. na se6**in**-a) - to bring near to or next to, to draw close to; *lit. to cause to be close to*

segil-**in**-de (prg. na segil**in**-a) cog: segilaade – *lit. to cause someone to be prepared, ready*

sek-**in**-de (prg. na sek**in**-a) - *lit. to cause someone to pay a community or group fee*

selb-**in**-de (prg. na selb**in**-a) cog: selbude - to dilute; *lit. to cause to be dilute*

sell-**in**-de (prg. na sell**in**-a) cog: sellude - to heal; *lit. to cause to be well*

semmb-**in**-de (prg. na semmb**in**-a) cog: semmbe - to strengthen or encourage; *lit. to cause to be strong*

semt-**in**-de (prg. na semt**in**-a) cog: semtude - to shame or embarrass someone, to humiliate; *lit. to cause someone to be shamed*

sent-**in**-de (prg. na sent**in**-a) cog: sentude - to shame or embarrass someone, to humiliate; *lit. to cause someone to be shamed*

sepp-**in**-de (st. na sepp**in**-a) cog: ceppam - to have leprosy; *lit. to be made to have leprosy*

sikk-**in**-de (prg. na sikk**in**-a) cog: sikkude – *lit. to cause someone to doubt or suspect*

silm-**in**-de (prg. na silm**in**-a) - to welcome or greet a guest by saying *bisimilla*; *lit. to cause to be welcome*

simt-**in**-de (prg. na simt**in**-a) cog: simtude - to cause a liquid to drip, such as filtering water through a filter; *lit. to cause to drip*

sint-**in**-de (prg. na sint**in**-a) cog: sintude - to cause a liquid to drip, such as filtering water through a filter; *lit. to cause to drip*

*siwt̲-**in**-de (prg. na siwt̲**in**-a) cog: siwtorde - to remind someone of something; *lit. to cause to remember*

som-**in**-de (prg. na som**in**-a) cog: somude - 1. to tire out 2. to wear out 3. to make something difficult for someone; *lit. to cause to be tired, worn*

sonk-**in**-de (prg. na sonk**in**-a) cog: sonkude - for a group to either cry or otherwise make noise so that it all becomes one sound; *lit. to cause loud cry – this probably was originally a wail of anguish, see sonkude*

*sott̲-**in**-de (prg. na sott̲**in**-a) cog: sottinere - 1. to move something living, such as an animal; *lit.to cause to move* 2. to make a written copy of something, this could include making photocopies; *lit. to copy again (in this case the infix would be -tin-)* 3. to steal something; *lit. to cause to be sold* There seem to be several different roots converging here. For def. 1 the base was *sottude* (to move). For def. 2 the base was likely the root √*sot-* with the *-tin-* infix added on. For def. 3 the base in Mahadaga and Tenkodogo is *sottude* (to sell) – this would be *soottinde* in Djibo and Sebba.

*sowt̲-**in**-de (prg. na sowt̲**in**-a) cog: sowtude - to remind someone of something; *lit. to cause to remember (unfold)*

soɣɣ-**in**-de (prg. na soɣɣ**in**-a) - to send something back to where it came from, to return something; *lit. to cause to return*

summb-**in**-de (prg. na summb**in**-a) cog: summbude - to have weeds overrun your field - the focus is on the lack of work by the owner of the field - he has caused the field to be weedy by his lack of work; *lit. to cause weeds to overrun*

sun-**in**-de (prg. na sun**in**-a) cog: sunaade - to discourage, depress others; *lit. to cause to be discouraged*

suurt-**in**-de (prg. na suurt**in**-a) - to steam or smoke something; *lit. to cause to be steamed or smoked*

suus-**in**-de (prg. na suus**in**-a) cog: suusude; *lit. to cause to be brave*

tamp-**in**-de (prg. na tamp**in**-a) cog: tampude - 1. to tire out 2. to wear out 3. to make things difficult for someone; *lit. to cause to be weary, tired, difficult*

tedd-**in**-de (prg. na tedd**in**-a) cog: teddude - to honor or glorify someone else or yourself; *lit. to cause to be heavy*

teeŋ-**in**-de (prg. na teeŋ**in**-a) cog: teeŋude - to tighten, to fasten something or someone tightly; *lit. to cause to be tight*

tikk-**in**-de (prg. na tikk**in**-a) cog: tikkude - to do something to make someone angry; *lit. to cause anger*

tils-**in**-de (st/prg. na tils**in**-i/tils**in**-a) cog: tilsude - to obligate, to force; *lit. to cause to do by force*

timm-**in**-de (prg. na timm**in**-a) cog: timmude - to finish; *lit to cause to be finished*

tind-**in**-de (prg: na tind**in**-a) - to clearly explain something to someone so that they understand, to clarify, to warn; *lit. to cause to understand*

tiŋŋ-**in**-de (st/prg. na tiŋŋ**in**-i/tiŋŋ**in**-a) - to curl up, as a finger or scorpions tail; *lit. to cause to curl*

tonny-**in**-de (prg. na tonny**in**-a) - 1. when you put some eggs that do not belong to a chicken in the chicken's nest so that she hatches them 2. when a hen pecks a hole in the egg to help the chick escape; *lit. to cause to hatch*

tott-**in**-de (st/prg. na tott**in**-i/tott**in**-a) cog: tottitaade - 1. to turn something away   2. to recite - this comes from the practice of Koranic students turning their slates around and giving them to their teacher to look at while they recite their lesson

tuuf-**in**-de (prg. na tuuf**in**-a) cog: tuufude - to catch someone or something in a trap

umm-**in**-de (prg. na umm**in**-a) cog: ummaade - *lit. to cause to get up, can also refer to anything which causes you to go somewhere*

unnd-**in**-de (prg. na unnd**in**-a) - 1. to cause to incubate, often people put guinea - fowl eggs under chickens so that the chickens will hatch them 2. to take a girl that you wish to marry and hide her away until you can marry her (with her consent); *lit. to cause to incubate or to stay in the house*

waajinb-**in**-de (prg. na wajinb**in**-a) cog: waajibinaade - to obligate, to force; *lit. to cause to do by force*

waɗ-**in**-de (prg. na waɗ**in**-a) cog: waɗude - to cause someone or something to do something

wall-**in**-de (prg. na wall**in**-a) - to lay, put, place, or set something down that does not have a base, to lay an egg; *lit. to cause to be layed down*

wang-**in**-de (prg. na wang**in**-a) cog: wangude – 1. to convict, to point out someone's error 2. to speak loudly so as to make yourself heard, shout 3. to explain to someone something that they didn't know, to reveal; *lit. to cause to be known*

wils-**in**-de (prg. na wils**in**-a) - to give a little of something; *lit. to cause to have a little*

wilt-**in**-de (prg. na wilt**in**-a) - to do or say too much, exceed, overdo, exaggerate; *lit. to cause to be too much*

wirg**in**de (prg. na wirg**in**-a) - to fertilize with manure; *lit cause to be fertilized*

witt-**in**-de (prg. na witt**in**-a) - 1. [J,Y,G,M] to look for trouble with someone by doing bad things to him 2. to drive animals past somewhere 3. to do or say too much, exceed, overdo, exaggerate; *lit. to cause to be too much*

wof-**in**-de (prg. na wof**in**-a) – *lit. to cause a dog to bark*

wojj-**in**-de (prg. na wojj**in**-a) - to dye red; *lit. to cause to be red*

woof-**in**-de (prg. na woof**in**-a) – *lit. to cause to incubate*

wuf-**in**-de (st/prg na wuf**in**-i/wuf**in**-a) - 1. to be stout, solid or fat - child or young animal; *lit. to cause to be in a state of fatness* 2. to cause a dog to bark; *lit. to cause to bark*

wul-**in**-de (st/prg na wul**in**-a/wul**in**-a) cog: wulude - 1. to sweat, perspire; *lit. to cause to sweat* 2. to be hot; *lit. to cause to be in a state of being hot*

wurj-**in**-de (prg. na wurj**in**-a) cog: wurjude - to break, ruin, destroy; *lit. to cause to be ruined*

*wurt̲-**in**-de (prg. na wurt̲**in**-a) cog: wurtaade - to remove somthing from something else; *lit. to cause to be removed*

yaaf-**in**-de (prg. na yaaf**in**-a) cog: yaafude - to make easy, to ease the way; *lit. to cause to be easy*

yaaj-**in**-de (prg. na yaaj**in**-a) cog: yaajude - to enlarge, widen; *lit. to cause to be wide*

ƴakk-**in**-de (prg. na ƴakk**in**-a) cog: ƴakkude - 1. to cause animals to eat, feed; *lit. to cause to chew* 2. to dye black with a certain mud; *lit. to cause to be black*

yalt-**in**-de (prg. na yalt**in**-a) cog: yaltude - to remove something from something else; *lit. to cause to be removed from something*

yawt-**in**-de (prg. na yawt**in**-a) cog: yawtude - 1. to look for trouble with someone by doing bad things to him 2. to do or say too much, exceed, overdo; *lit. to cause trouble or to be too much*

yecc-**in**-de (prg. na yecc**in**-a) cog: yeccude - to send something back to where it came from, to return; *lit. to cause to return*

*yeewt̲-**in**-de (prg. na yeewt̲**in**-a) cog: yeewtude - to bring encouragement to someone by talking with them; *lit. to cause to be encouraged, the "t" is likely and intensifier*

yolb-**in**-de (prg. na yolb**in**-a) cog: yolbude - to loosen something that is tied too tight; *lit. to cause to be loose*

yoof-**in**-de (prg. na yoof**in**-a) cog: yoofude - 1. to interrupt something that is happening 2. to cause someone to release something or someone; *lit. to cause to be interrupted or released*

yopp-**in**-de (prg. na yopp**in**-a) cog: yoppude - 1. to interrupt something that is happening 2. to cause someone to release something or someone 3. to cause to chase off, send away, divorce 4. to cause someone to break a bad habit; *lit. to cause to be interrupted, released, divorced, set free from bad habit*

yott-**in**-de (prg. na yott**in**-a) - 1. to take someone or something, including a message, somewhere 2. to finish doing something; *lit to cause to be finished*

*yawd̶-**in**-de (prg. na yawd̶**in**-a) cog: yawd̶aade - *lit. to cause someone or something to hurry*

2. Words ending with the -*in*- and -*d̃in*- infixes with the contracted active voice suffix -de.[262]

ɓoos-**in**-*d̃in*-de (st/prg. na ɓoos**in***d̃in*-i/ɓoos**in***d̃in*-a) - to make something smooth; *lit. to cause to be in a state of smoothness*

ɓot-**in**-*d̃in*-de (st/prg. na ɓot**in***d̃in*-i/ɓot**in***d̃in*-a/ɓotind̃ind̃o) - to make something smooth, to smoothen; *lit. to cause to be in a state of smoothness*

ɓutt-**in**-*d̃in*-de (st/prg. na ɓutt**in***d̃in*-i/ɓutt**in***d̃in*-a) - to cause to be big, to fatten; *lit. to cause to be in a state of fatness*

d̶epp-**in**-*d̃in*-de (prg na d̶epp**in***d̃in*-a) - to make something flat; *lit. to make to be in a state of flatness*

raɓɓ-**in**-*d̃in*-de (prg. na raɓɓ**in***d̃in*-a) - to shorten something, including being terse in one's verbal remarks; *lit. to cause to be short*

3. Words ending with an -*in*- and -*tin*- infixes with the contracted active voice suffix -*de*.[263]

annd-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na annd**in***tin*-a) cog: anndude - to help someone rememberwhat has already been learned previously, to remind, to review; *lit. to cause to know again*

ek-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na ek**in***tin*-a) cog: ekitaade - to teach, to train, to show how to do something; *lit. to cause to learn by doing over and over*

*famd̶-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na famd̶**in***tin*-a) cog: faamd̶ude - to make yet smaller in size, to reduce again; *lit. to cause to be smaller again*

*fand̶-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na fand̶**in***tin*-a) faand̶ude - to make yet smaller in size, to reduce again; *lit. to cause to be smaller again*

hoyf-**in**-*tin*-de/huyf-it-inde (prg. hoyf**in***tin*-a) - to lighten something by removing what is weighing it down; *lit to cause to be light*

hucc-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na hucc**in***tin*-a) - to face someone or something; a direction; *lit to cause someone to face a direction*

rewr-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na rewr**in***tin*-a) cog: rewrude - to reconcile, to make peace; *lit. to cause peace, the infix -tin- intensifies*

saɓɓ-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na saɓɓ**in***tin*-a) cog: saɓɓitaade - 1. to heavily dilute 2. to diminish the pleasure of something, to make boring

tab-**in**-*tin*-de (st/prg. na tab**in***tini*/tab**in***tin*a) - to choose or decide to do something so that it becomes a reality, to accomplish, to fulfill;*lit. to cause to happen, the -tin- infix is an intensifier.*

umm-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na umm**in***tin*-a) - 1. to resurrect someone 2. to resuscitate someone; *lit. to cause to live again*

wul-**in**-*tin*-de (prg. na wul**in***tin*-a) cog: wulude - to rewarm - generally applies to food; *lit. to cause to rewarm*

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[262] This small group of words only has five examples in the dictionary. These words all have the "causative" infix followed by a long form of the "stative" infix: -*d̃in*-. These words reflect someone causing a certain state to be achieved. The long form of the "stative" infix causes the normal active voice suffix -*ude* to contract to -*de*.

[263] In this group of words the meaning of the verb is modified with the use of the "causative" infix -*in*- and then the meaning of the verb is intensified by the addition of the infix -*tin*-. In some cases this intensification takes the form of doing something yet again – tying in the repetitive function sometimes seen with this infix as well as with the infixes "-t-" and "-it-." The "intensifying" -*tin*- infix causes the normal active voice suffix -*ude* to contract to -*de*. There are 11 words in the dictionary falling into this category.

4. Words ending with the infix *-id-*/*-d-* plus the lengthened active voice suffix *-inde*.[264]

bat-*id*-inde/bat-*id*-idde – (prg. na bat*id*-a) to meet in order to discuss, converse, talk over; *lit. to come together to discuss something*

dawr-*id*-inde (prg. na dawr*id*-a) – to discuss how to tackle a job or a problem, to talk a matter over; *lit. to discuss something with someone*

goll-*id*-inde (prg. na goll*id*-a) cog: gollude - to collaborate with, to work with; *lit to work together*

naat-*id*-inde/naat-*id*-idde (prg. na naat*id*-a e) cog: naatude - 1. to enter somewhere with someone; *lit. to enter with*

suj-*id*-inde (prg. na suj*id*-a) - to bow down with your head to the ground in order to honor someone - the typical form of Islamic prayer; *lit. to be bowed before*

teelt-*id*-inde (st/prg. na teelt*id*-i/teelt*id*-a) cog: teeltude - 1. to sort and then separate your things from those of others 2. to go apart with one or a few persons

toowt-*id*-inde (prg. na toowt*id*-a)   cog: toowtude – *lit. to go apart with someone or something*

yedd-*id*-inde (prg. na yedd*id*-a) - to divide something with someone else; *lit. to share with someone*

5. Words ending with the infix *-iɗ-*/*-ɗ-* plus the lengthened active voice suffix *-inde*.[265]

beeb-*iɗ*-inde (st. na beeb*iɗ*-i) - to be mute, deaf-mute; *lit. to be in a state of speechlessness*

ɓenk-*iɗ*-inde/ ɓenk-*iɗ*-idde (st. na ɓenk*iɗ*-i) cog: ɓenkinaade - to have a short, thick neck: *lit to be in a state of being short with a thick neck*

ɓolm-*iɗ*-idde (st. na ɓolm*iɗ*-i) – to be smooth

ɓoos-*iɗ*-inde (st/prg. na ɓoos*iɗ*-i/ɓoos*iɗ*-a) - to be smooth; *lit. to be in a state of smoothness*

ɓoro-*ɗ*-inde (st. na ɓoroo*ɗ*-i) – greedy; *lit. to be in a state of greedyness*

ɓutt-*iɗ*-inde/ɓutt-*iɗ*-idde (st/prg na ɓutt*iɗ*-i/ɓutt*iɗ*-a) - to gain weight; *lit to be in a state of fatness*

daak-*iɗ*-inde/daak-*iɗ*-idde (st. na daak*iɗ*-i) - to have a black band around the neck; *lit. to be in a state of having a black band around the neck*

darg-*iɗ*-inde/darg-*iɗ*-idde (st. na darg*iɗ*-i) - to be mottled, patched; *lit. to be in a state of mottledness or patchedness*

deerer-*ɗ*-inde (st. na deerer*ɗ*-i) - to be gluttonous; *lit. to be in a state of gluttony*

deer-**or**-*ɗ*-inde[266] (st. na deeror*ɗ*-i) - to be gluttonous; *lit. to be in a state of gluttony*

ɗicc-**or**-*ɗ*-inde (st. na ɗiccor*ɗ*-i) - to laugh at everything, even when it is inappropriate; *lit. to be in an inappropriate state by laughing*

dof-*iɗ*-inde (st. na dof*iɗ*-i) - to be cowardly; *lit. to be in a state of cowardliness*

ɗokk-*iɗ*-inde/ɗokk-*iɗ*-idde (st/prg. na ɗokk*iɗ*-i/ɗokk*iɗ*-a) - to have one blind eye; *lit. to be in a state of one eyedness*

fank-**or**-*ɗ*-inde (st. na fankor*ɗ*-i) - to be or do evil, to be bad; *lit to be in a state of evil*

geet-*iɗ*-inde (st. na geet*iɗ*-i) – to be perfect; *lit. to be in a state of perfection*

girr-*iɗ*-inde (st. na girr*iɗ*-i) - to have a long thin neck; to be well proportioned in all your parts, relates to the Fulɓe concept of beauty; *lit. to be in a state of being beautiful*

goos-*iɗ*-idde (st/prg na goos*iɗ*-i/goos*iɗ*-a) – to be nearly ripe; *lit. to be in a state of ripeness*

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[264] This group of words uses the "associative" infix *-id-*. There are eight examples of the "associative" infix occurring by itself found in the dictionary. Additionally some of the words in this appendix which have been marked with an asterisk have "annealed" the infix *-d-* to the root. The "associative" infix causes the normal active voice suffix *-ude* to lengthen to *-inde*.

[265] The "stative" infix *-iɗ-* or just *-ɗ-* tells us about the state of the subject the verb is acting on. This might be a physical trait or a personality trait. There are 55 examples of this infix in the dictionary. This infix causes the normal active voice suffix *-ude* to be lengthen to *-inde*. However, when conjugated this suffix complete drops away.

[266] There are a number of words in this group that use the "instrumental" infix *-or-* in conjunction with the "stative" infix *-ɗ-*. Most of these words have to with character traits. Apparently the *Fulɓe* use the "instrumental" infix in these words to express something about the manner of <u>how</u> one is.

gudd-*idˊ*-inde (st. na gudd*idˊ*-i) - 1. to be short because part of a limb or the tail has been cut off, amputated, to be sawed off   2. can refer to something or someone who is short; *lit to be in a state of being shorten*

guus-*idˊ*-inde   (st/prg. na guus*idˊ*-i/na guus*idˊ*-a) - to be nearly ripe; *lit. to be in a near ripe state*

hecc-*idˊ*-inde (st. na hecc*idˊ*-i) - to be fresh, new - refers to things that are alive; *lit. to be in a state of being new or fresh*

hecc-**or**-*dˊ*-inde (st. na hecc**or***dˊ*-i) - to be selfish or jealous; *lit. to be in a state of selfishness*

heed-**or**-*dˊ*-inde (st. na heed**or***dˊ*-i) - to be selfish or jealous, to neither give to others nor enjoy when others receive something; *lit. to be in a state of selfishness*

hell-*idˊ*-inde (st. na hell*idˊ*-i) - to be speckled - only applies to goats; *lit to be speckled*

hes-*idˊ*-inde (st. na hes*idˊ*-i) - new, can refer to something you just obtained or to a person who is new to a place; *lit. to be in a state of newness*

hugg-*idˊ*-inde (st/prg. na hugg*idˊ*-i/hugg*idˊ*-a) - to be humped - as a camel ("ngeelooba kugga") or a tree ("lekki kuggi"); a hunchbacked; *lit. to be in a humped state*

jamol-*dˊ*-inde (st. na jamol*dˊ*-i) - mottled, dappled, spots or patches of color on articles of clothing; *lit. to be in a state of being spotted*

lobb-*idˊ*-inde/lobbid̃idde (st – na lobb*idˊ*-i) - 1. to be beautiful in appearance; *lit. to be in a state of beauty* 2. to be good in behavior; *lit. to be in a state of goodness*

lokk-*idˊ*-inde (st. na lokk*idˊ*-i) - 1. [J,Y,G,M] to be weak or feeble, particularly of body, but can refer *f*ig. to personal power, this is generally not a temporary state as with "yoosude"; *lit. to be in a state of weakness* 2. [Y,G,M] to be short; *lit. to be in a state of shortness*

mall-*idˊ*-inde (st./prg na mall*idˊ*-i/mall*idˊ*-a) - to be spotted; *lit. to be in a state of spottedness*

momm-*idˊ*-inde/mommid̃idde (st. na momm*idˊ*-i) - 1. to be valuable 2. to work well 3. to be good, polite; *lit. to be in a state of goodness*

moof-*idˊ*-inde/moofid̃idde (st. na moof*idˊ*-i) - to be knock-kneed; *lit. to be in a state of knock-kneedness*

moyƴ-*idˊ*-inde (st. na moyƴ*idˊ*-i) cog: moyƴude - to be gracious; *lit. to be in a state of graciousness*

mudd-*idˊ*-inde/muddid̃idde (st na mudd*idˊ*-i) - to be blunt; *lit. to be in a state of bluntness*

mukk-*idˊ*-inde (st. na mukk*idˊ*-i) - to be toothless; *lit. to be in a state of toothlessness*

mulg-*idˊ*-inde/mulkid̃idde (st. na mulg*idˊ*-i) - to be toothless; *lit. to be in a state of toothlessness*

nanar-*dˊ*-inde/nan**or**d̃idde (st.prg. na nanar*dˊ*-i/nanar*dˊ*-a) - to be disrespectful, when a youth does not act respectfully towards his elders; *lit. to be in a state of disrespectfulness*

ŋapp-*idˊ*-inde (prg. na ŋapp*idˊ*-i) - to be missing teeth; *lit. to be in a state of missing some teeth*

neet-**or**-*dˊ*-inde (st. na neet**or***dˊ*-i) - to be disrespectful, when a youth does not act respectfully towards his elders; *lit. to be in a state of disrespect*

nyel-*idˊ*-inde/nyelid̃idde (st. na nyel*idˊ*-i) - to be missing teeth; *lit. to be in a state of missing teeth*

nyonnd-*idˊ*-inde/nyonndid̃idde (st. na nyonnd*idˊ*-i) - to speak with a nasal quality because of a nasal obstruction; *lit. to be in a state of speaking nasally*

puccar-*dˊ*-inde (st. na puccar*dˊ*-i) - to make others laugh; to be in a state of being funny

raɓɓ-*idˊ*-inde (st. na raɓɓ*idˊ*-i) - to be short in stature; *lit. to be in a state of shortness*

reeree-*dˊ*-inde - (st. na reeree*dˊ*-i) - to be gluttonous; lit to be in a state of gluttonousness

saf-*idˊ*-inde/safid̃idde (st. na saf*idˊ*-i) - to be hairy; *lit. to be in a state of being hairy*

sayt-**or**-*dˊ*-inde (st. imo sayt**or***dˊ*) cog. saytaade - to not show respect for those you meet on the road or who visit you, to dislike guests, to be inhospitable, to be rude, not to be nice; *lit. to be in a state of rudeness*

sunk-*idˊ*-inde (st. na sunk*idˊ*-i) - to have a short, thick neck; *lit. to be in the state of having a short, thick neck*

talk-*idˊ*-inde (st. na talk*idˊ*-i) - to be poor; *lit. to be in a state of poverty*

waag-*idˊ*-inde (st. na waag*idˊ*-i) - 1. a coat pattern of cows, sheep, goats, dogs and zebras where the animal is white with large bands of black or yellow 2. white clothing with a black band; *lit. to be in a state of being banded with color*

waaƴ-*idˊ*-inde (st. na waaƴ*idˊ*-i) - to be able to run very fast; *lit. to be in a state of being swift*

wagg-*id́*-inde (st./prg na wagg*id́*-i/wagg*id́*-a) - to be soft, tender, or flexible

werb-*id́*-inde (st. na werb*id́*-i) - to be wide, generally refers to bowls; *lit. to be wide mouthed*

woro-*d́*-inde (st. na woro*d́*-i) - to be stingy, to seldom or never give anything, to be miserly; *lit. to be in a state of stinginess*

wudd-*id́*-inde (st. na wudd*id́*-i) - to be amputated - can refer to a limb or a tail - the focus is on being short; *lit. to be in a state of shortness due to amputation*

yaawt-**or**-*d́*-inde (st na yaawt**or***d́*i) - to be rude and impatient, to be in a hurry in a negative sense;

yeeb-**or**-*d́*-inde (st. na yeeb**or***d́*-i) - to be careless; *lit. to be in a state of carelessness*

6. Words ending with the -*d́in*- infix with the contracted active voice suffix -*de*.[267]

goon-*d́in*-de (prg. na goon*d́in*-i/goon*d́in*-a) cog: goond́inal, goond́ude - to believe in someone or something

sal-*d́in*-de (st/prg – na sal*d́in*-i/sal*d́in*-a) - to branch out, to sprout new shoots; *this is seen as both a state as well as a habitual activity*

wooton-*d́in*-de (st/prg. na wooton*d́in*-i/wooton*d́in*-a) - to be all alone - this verb is generally only used of God, although it might be employed for Adam before Eve was created; *lit. to be in a state of aloneness*

7. Words ending with the infix -*it*-/-*t*- and the lengthened active voice suffix -*inde*.[268]

acc-**it**-inde/acc-it-idde (prg. na acc**it**-a) cog: accude) - to decide not do something you said you were going to do, to relent; *lit. to reverse a decision*

annd-**it**-inde/annd-it-idde (prg. na annd**it**-a) cog: anndude - to recognize, to know; *lit. to know again*

ɓawl-**it**-inde/bawl-it-idde (st/prg. na ɓawl**it**-i/ɓawl**it**-a) cog: ɓawlude - to be light black or dark gray: *lit. to be blackish - the -it- infix here is likely an intensifier*

bibb-**it**-idde – (prg. na bibb**it**-a) – to flap around when throat is cut

ɓill-**it**-inde/ɓill-it-idde (prg. na ɓill**it**-a) cog: ɓillude - 1. to remove pressure, to get out of a place where you are cramped or squeezed; to or resolve a problem for yourself or someone else, to help someone; *lit to reverse the pressure*

ɗaɓɓ-**it**-inde (prg. na ɗaaɓɓ**it**-a) - to visit a girl a second time to enquire about marrying her; *lit. to visit a girl again regarding marriage*

depp-**it**-inde (prg na depp**it**-a) - to grab a hold of the tail of an animal that is running and to knock it over; *lit. to cause a cow to fall on its rear end*

depp-**it**-inde (prg na depp**it**-a) - to grab a hold of the tail of an animal that is running and to knock it over; *lit. to cause a cow to fall on its rear end*

*ɗomɗ-**it**-inde (prg. na ɗomɗ**it**-a) cog: ɗomɗude - to drink in order to quench a thirst; *lit. to reverse thirst*

faay-t-inde (st/prg. na faayt-i/faayt-a) *does not seem to come from faayude!* - to resemble, to look like something or someone else, to be comparable; *lit. to look like again*

faɗɗ-**it**-inde/faɗɗ-it-idde (prg. na faɗɗ**it**-a) - 1. to postpone or delay 2. to turn a page, turn a cassette over 3. to cause something to return; *lit. to reverse (progress, page, cassette, leaving)*

fai't-inde (prg. na fai't-a) cog: fai'tude - to turn something or someone back, to turn away; *lit. to reverse direction*

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[267] This longer form of the "stative" infix (normally -*id́*- or -*d́*-) can be seen as being separate from the "causative" infix in group two's examples. Here in group six there are just three examples of this long form of the "stative" infix occurring by itself. It causes the normal active voice suffix -*ude* to contract to -*de*.

[268] The "repetitive" infix actually can mean several things. It can refer to repeating an action. However it can also refer to undoing something, hence it is also called the "reversive" infix. And sometimes it functions to intensify the meaning of the verb. There are 76 example of this infix in the dictionary. The -*it*- infixes causes the active voice suffix -*ude* to lengthens to -*inde*. However, when these verbs are conjugated the entire suffix drops off.

feyɲ-**it**-inde/feyɲ-it-idde (prg. na feyɲ**it**-a) - 1. to cross over water, a desert, a forest, a border 2. *fig.* to pass through a problem or difficult time, such as a famine; *lit. to reverse position or fortune*

fik-**it**-inde (prg. na fik**it**-a) cog: fikitaare, fikitaade - to create chaos or disorder for someone else, to disrupt one's work; *lit. to reverse order*

finc-**it**-inde/finc-it-idde (prg. na finc**it**-a) - 1. to leaf through a book looking for something 2. to search or rummage through things looking for something; *lit. to look again*

foɗ-(**i**)**t**-inde (prg. na foɗ(**i**)**t**-a) cog: foɗitaade - to move an inanimate object; *lit. to cause to move*

fonnd-**it**-inde (prg. na fonnd**it**-a) cog: fonnditaade, fonndude - to correct, to straighten; *lit. to make straight again*

foof-**it**-inde (prg. na foof**it**-a) cog: foofude - to pant; *lit to breathe again*

func-**it**-inde (prg. na func**it**-a) - to reveal or expose that which is hidden, generally orally, to convict; *lit. to unhide*

gubb-**it**-inde (prg. na gubb**it**-a) - to cut a tree down; *lit. to cause a tree to fall*

ha66-**it**-inde (prg. na ha66**it**-a) – *lit. to untie*

hakk-**it**-inde (prg. na hakk**it**-a) - to raise something up in order to strike something else; *perhaps infix is intensifier here?*

hawr-**it**-inde (prg. na hawr**it**-i/hawr**it**-a) cog: hawrude - to gather together with; *lit. to gather again*

heg-**it**-inde (prg. na heg**it**-a) cog: hegitaade – to straighten out; *lit to straighten again*

henng-**it**-inde/henng-it-idde (prg. na henng**it**-a) cog: hengitaade – to straighten out; *lit to make straight again*

hipp-**it**-inde/hipp-it-idde (prg. na hipp**it**-a) - 1. to turn something right side up or right side out (such as a shirt) 2. to remove a roof made of wood or metal in order to repair it; *lit. to cause to be reveversed*

ho6o-**it**-inde (prg. na ho66**it**-a) - to remove or pick off a scab or the bark on a tree; *lit. to pick off again*

hog-**it**-inde (prg. na hog**it**-a) - to uncover, remove; generally refers to when you shelter something with your hand, or a mat, and then remove your hand or the mat; *lit. to uncover*

hokk-**it**-inde (prg. na hokk**it**-a) - To give back something or someone that has been entrusted to you.

holl-**it**-inde (prg. na holl**it**-a) -1. to show something again - they use this of the practice of watering the cattle twice in a short time span 2. to find something someone has lost and give it back to them 3. to tell someone some news; *lit. to show again*

hork-**it**-inde (prg. na hork**it**-a) - 1. to clear your throat 2. to make a rattling or banging sound - as when one is looking through a drawer for something or rattling one's dishes around; *lit to rattle again*

hos-**it**-inde (prg. na hors**it**-a) - to remove a standing mat which is sheltering something; *lit. to remove*

hucc-**it**-inde (st/prg. na hucc**it**-i/hucc**it**-a) to face in a direction - one may or may not be moving in that direction

hummb-**it**-inde (prg. na hummb**it**-a) - to remove the roof made of wood or metal in order to repair it; *lit. to redo a roof*

hump-**it**-inde (prg. na hump**it**-a) cog: humpeede - to explain or tell, in particular this refers to bringing news; *lit. to tell again*

jar-t-inde (prg. na jarit-a) - to be happy, excited, to run and skip with joy; it is mainly children and animals who do this, to rejoice; *-it- infix is intensifier*

jill-**it**-inde (prg. na jill**it**-a) - to mix or stir; *lit. to keep stirring*

jirk-**it**-inde (prg. na jirk**it**-a) - to scatter

junn-**it**-inde (prg. na junn**it**-a) - 1. [J,Y,G,M] to tip something - generally in order to pour out what is in that thing 2. [J,Y] to turn something upside down that has a right side up - like a book 3. [J,Y] to change what has been said - this might mean something as simple as calling something by a different name or to alter what a person or group of persons said - this can be done deliberately or incidentally 4. to lower [G] a rope, or any thing which has [J,Y,G,M] a head (such as a person) into a well or into a hole - again the focus is on tipping something upside down; *lit. to reverse something*

kork-**it**-inde (prg. na kork**it**-a) - to make a rattling or banging sound - as when one is looking through a drawer for something or rattling one's dishes around; *lit to rattle again*

liyɲ-**it**-idde (prg. na liyɲ**it**-a) – to hiccup; *lit. to repeatedly hiccup*

lunnd-**it**-inde (st/prg. na lunnd**it**-i/lunnd**it**-a) - to turn a book right side up, to turn a shirt right side forward, to turn a person lying down so his head is at the head of the bed; *lit. to reverse direction*

mims-**it**-inde/mimsitidde (prg. na mims**it**-a) - to change ones mind, to regret; *lit. to decide or think again*

mumm-**it**-inde/munn-**it**-idde (prg. na mumm**it**-a) - 1. [J,Y,M] to open your eyes 2. [Y,M] to open your hand; *lit. to reverse closing of one's eyes or hand*

ŋapp-**it**-inde (prg. na ŋapp**it**-a) - to remove a piece; *lit. to take away a piece*

ŋepp-**it**-inde (prg. na ŋepp**it**-a) - to remove a small piece

nims-**it**-inde/nimsitidde (prg. na nims**it**-a) - to change one's mind, to regret; *lit to change one's thinking*

ŋucc-**it**-inde (prg. na ŋucc**it**-a) - to remove a small amount or a small peice of something

nyemmb-**it**-inde (prg. na nyemmb**it**-a) - to be caused to follow someone's example, to repeat something said, to copy something written, to do something in a certain way; *lit. to cause to copy*

*oolɗ-**it**-inde (st/prg. na oolɗ**it**-i/oolɗ**it**-a)   cog: oolɗude - to be pink or yellow-orange; *-it- infix seems to have an intensifying effect here*

rawn-**it**-inde (st/prg. na rawn**it**-i/rawn**it**-a) cog: rawnude - beige, khaki, tan

ruɗɗ-**it**-inde (prg. na ruɗɗ**it**-a) - to change what has been said or written - this would include theological heresy when applied to God's word; *lit to cause what is written to be changed*

sank-**it**-inde (prg. na sank**it**-a) cog: sankitaade - to scatter or disperse, to feed chickens; *-it- infix likely refers to the repeated motion of scattering something like feed to chickens*

*siiɗ-**it**-inde (st/prg. na siiɗ**it**i/siiɗ**it**a)   cog: siiɗude - to be a shade of mahogany brown; *lit. to be in a state of browness, often the -it- infix is used with words which refer to a shade of a color*

sint-**it**-inde (prg. na sint**it**-a) cog: sintitaade - to turn a book right side up, to turn a shirt right side forward, to turn a person lying down so his head is at the head of the bed; *lit. to turn right side up*

sukk-**it**-inde/sukkitidde (prg. na sukk**it**-a) - to unstop, to open, to unplug; *lit. to unplug*

suur-**it**-inde (prg. na suur**it**-a) cog: suurude - 1. to reveal someone's secret; *lit. to reverse keeping a secret* 2. to insult someone 3. to rip someone's clothes off, thus exposing them; *lit. to expose someone*

tab-**it**-inde (prg. na tab**it**-a) - to stay somewhere for a long time; *the infix -it- is seems to be an intensifier here*

tagg-**it**-inde/taggitidde (prg. na tagg**it**-a) - to roll a mat out; *lit. to unroll*

tammb-**it**-inde (prg. na tammb**it**-a) cog: tammbaade - to open your hand; *lit. to unclose your hand*

tigg-**it**-inde (prg. na tigg**it**-a) cog: tiggude- to clean out a well or pit toilet; *lit. to unclog*

udd-**it**-inde (prg. na udd**it**-a) - 1. to open 2. to expose or reveal that which is hidden, generally orally; *lit. to unclose, unhide*

wall-**it**-inde (prg. na wall**it**-a) cog: wallude – *lit. to help again or repeatly*

watt-**it**-inde (prg. na watt**it**-a) cog: wattude - to change something yourself; *lit. to change*

wayl-**it**-inde (prg. na wayl**it**-a) cog: waylitaade - 1. to change something 2. turn over something that does not have an obvious right side up, to reverse

weɗɗ-**it**-inde (prg. na weɗɗ**it**-a) - 1. to roll a mat out 2. to lay things out, display; *lit. to unroll*

weyy̌-**it**-inde (prg. na weyy̌**it**-a) - to roll a mat out; *lit. to unroll*

wil-**it**-inde (prg. na wil**it**-a) - 1. for a tree to be renewed with new leaves, to bud, leaf 2. to regain money or material possesions; *lit. to releaf*

wipp-**it**-inde (prg. na wipp**it**-a) cog: wippitaade - the action knocking or blowing something standing down, or tearing up something attached; *lit. to knock down*

wirf-**it**-inde (prg. na wirf**it**-a) – *lit. to cause someone or something to turn*

wojj-**it**-inde (st/prg. na wojj**it**-i/wojj**it**-a) - dark red, orange-red; *the -it- infix is often used with shades of a color*

wokk-**it**-inde (st/prg. na wokk**it**-i/wokk**it**-a) - to be homesick, to think about your home and family; *the -it- infix here is likely functioning to intensify the verb*

*wuunɗ-**it**-inde (st/prg. na wuunɗ**it**-i/wuunɗ**it**-a) - to be a shade resembling gray; light gray, blue gray, brown gray, medium brown; *lit. to be a shade of gray, the -it- infix is often used with colors that are a shade of another basic color*

yalt-**it**-inde (prg. na yalt**it**-a) cog: yaltude - to change one's mind, to renounce, abandon*; literally that which causes one to depart - in this case the departing is from a previous conviction, interest or commitment*

yegg-**it**-inde (prg. na yegg**it**-a) - to forget; *lit. to unremember*

yopp-**it**-inde (prg. na yopp**it**-a) cog: yoppude - to give a guest permission to leave, sometimes this involves giving a guest a gift to honor them, which also signals to them that they can go home now;

8. Words ending with the *-tin-* infix with the contracted active voice suffix *-de.*[269]

ɓat-*tin*-de (prg. na ɓat*tin*-a) cog: batude, ɓat̪aade - to bring someone or something close to someone or something

diw-*tin*-de (prg. na diw*tin*-a) cog: diwude - to exaggerate, to overdo

fut-*tin*-de – (prg. na fut*tin*-a) - to glare at someone; *lit to look intesively*

jaltijal*tin*-de (prg. na jaltijal*tin*-a) cog: jalude - to laugh at everything

nan-*tin*-de (prg. na nan*tin*-a) cog: nanude - 1. to translate, interpret 2. to speak loudly so as to make yourself heard; *lit. say again*

saat-*tin*-de (prg. na saat*tin*-a) cog: saate, saatude- to cut the throat of an animal that is about to die so that its meat will be clean; *the -tin- infix is acting as an intensifier*

sat-*tin*-de (prg. na sat*tin*-a) see *saattinde* - to cut the throat of an animal that is about to die so that its meat will be clean, to slaughter

taw-*tin*-de (prg. na taw*tin*-a) cog: tawude - to add to or to increase the number of what you have

welwel-*tin*-de (st/prg. na welwel*tin*-i/welwel*tin*-a) - 1. to tumble or spin while in the air 2. to be exceedingly joyful 3. to talk continuously - this is connected with being overwhelmed by joy

wum-*tin*-de (prg. na wum*tin*-a) cog: wumude - 1. to heal someone's eyes, to restore sight 2. *fig.* to enlighten someone

wun-*tin*-de (prg. na wun*tin*-a) - 1. to heal someone's eyes, to restore sight 2. *fig.* to enlighten someone

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[269] The *-tin-* infix intensifies the meaning of the verb. Here it is used without another infix. There are eleven examples of this infix used by itself in the dictionary. Occasionally the infix *-tind-* can found with middle voice verbs. It has the same intensifying effect on the verb (see Section 24.J, p. 144). There are five examples of *-tind-* + *-aade* verbs in the dictionary; *ɓoltindaade, laaltindaade, ndaartindaade, rewtindaade,* and *ƴamtindaade.*

APPENDIX F
Full Conjugations of Fulfulde Verbs[270]

Active	***Middle***	***Passive***

General Complete (*with Preterite*)
I hid/*I had hidden*

mi suuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**aama** (*no*)
a suuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**aama** (*no*)
o suuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**aama** (*no*)
min cuuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**aama** (*no*)
en cuuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**aama** (*no*)
on cuuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**aama** (*no*)
ɓe cuuɗ-**ii** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**eke** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**aama** (*no*)

General Incomplete (*with Preterite*)
I will hide/*I will have hidden*

mi suuɗ-**an** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**ete** (*no*)
a suuɗ-**an** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**ete** (*no*)
o suuɗ-**an** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**ete** (*no*)
min cuuɗ-**an** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**ete** (*no*)
en cuuɗ-**an** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**ete** (*no*)
on cuuɗ-**an** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**ete** (*no*)
ɓe cuuɗ-**an** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**oto** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**ete** (*no*)

Negative Complete (*with Preterite*)
I didn't hide/*I hadn't hidden*

mi suuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)
a suuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)
o suuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)
min cuuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)
en cuuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)
on cuuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)
ɓe cuuɗ-**aay** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**aaki** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**aaka** (*no*)

Negative Incomplete (*with Preterite*)
I will not hide/*I will not have hidden*

mi suuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	mi suuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)
a suuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	a suuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)
o suuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	o suuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)
min cuuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	min cuuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)
en cuuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	en cuuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)
on cuuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	on cuuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)
ɓe cuuɗ-**ataa** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**ataako** (*no*)	ɓe cuuɗ-**ataake** (*no*)

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[270] I used the verb root √*suuɗ*- because it does occur in all three voices and also undergoes initial consonant changes. I recognize that some of the conjugated forms in this appendix are not "kosher" as they would never be used. However, for illustrative purposes staying with the same verb through out the appendix is helpful. I personally often use this chart when writing in Fulfulde.

Emphatic
I hid

mi suuɗ-**u**	mi suuɗ-**i**	mi suuɗ-**a**
a suuɗ-**u**	a suuɗ-**i**	a suuɗ-**a**
o suuɗ-**u**	o suuɗ-**i**	o suuɗ-**a**
min cuuɗ-**u**	min cuuɗ-**i**	min cuuɗ-**a**
en cuuɗ-**u**	en cuuɗ-**i**	en cuuɗ-**a**
on cuuɗ-**u**	on cuuɗ-**i**	on cuuɗ-**a**
ɓe cuuɗ-**u**	ɓe cuuɗ-**i**	ɓe cuuɗ-**a**

Stative (*with Preterite*)
I am in hiding/*I was in hiding*

na mi suuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na mi suuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na mi suuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
na a suuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na a suuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na a suuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
na o suuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na o suuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na o suuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
na min cuuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na min cuuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na min cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
na en cuuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na en cuuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na en cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
na on cuuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na on cuuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na on cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
na ɓe cuuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	na ɓe cuuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	na ɓe cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)

Progressive (*with Preterite*)
I am hiding. or I hide habitually./*I was hiding. or I was hiding habitually.*

na mi suuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na mi suuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na mi suuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)
na a suuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na a suuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na a suuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)
na o suuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na o suuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na o suuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)
na min cuuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na min cuuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na min cuuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)
na en cuuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na en cuuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na en cuuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)
na on cuuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na on cuuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na on cuuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)
na ɓe cuuɗ-**a** (*nnoo*)	na ɓe cuuɗ-**oo**/(*onoo*)	na ɓe cuuɗ-**ee**/(*enoo*)

Relative Complete (with Preterite)
when I hide/*when I had hidden*

☞nde cuuɗ-**u**- (*noo*-) mi	nde cuuɗ-**ii**-/(*inoo*-) mi	nde cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*-) -mi
☛nde cuuɗ-**u**- (*no*-) ɗaa	nde cuuɗ-**i**- (*no*-) ɗaa	nde cuuɗ-**a**- (*no*-) ɗaa
nde o suuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	nde o suuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	nde o suuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
nde min cuuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	nde min cuuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	nde min cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)
☛nde cuuɗ-**u**- (*no*-) ɗen	nde cuuɗ-**i**- (*no*-) ɗen	nde cuuɗ-**a**- (*no*-) ɗen
☛nde cuuɗ-**u**- (*no*-) ɗon	nde cuuɗ-**i**- (*no*-) ɗon	nde cuuɗ-**a**- (*no*-) ɗon
nde ɓe cuuɗ-**i**/(*unoo*)	nde ɓe cuuɗ-**ii**/(*inoo*)	nde ɓe cuuɗ-**aa**/(*anoo*)

Relative Incomplete (*with Preterite*)
when I will hide/*when I will have hidden*

☞nde cuuɗ-**am**-/(-*an-noo*-) mi	nde cuuɗ-**otoo**-/(-*oto-noo*-) mi	nde cuuɗ-**etee**-/(-*ete-noo*-) mi
☛nde cuuɗ-**at**- aa/(*an-no-ɗaa*)	nde cuuɗ-**oto**- (*no*-) ɗaa	nde cuuɗ-**ete**- (*no*-) ɗaa
nde o suuɗ-**ata**/(*an-noo*)	nde o suuɗ-**otoo**/(*oto-noo*)	nde o suuɗ-**etee**/(*ete-noo*)
nde min cuuɗ-**ata**/(*an-noo*)	nde min cuuɗ-**otoo**/(*oto-noo*)	nde min cuuɗ-**etee**/(*ete-noo*)
☛nde cuuɗ-**at**-en/(*an-no-ɗen*)	nde cuuɗ-**oto**- (*no*-) ɗen	nde cuuɗ-**ete**- (*no*-) ɗen
☛nde cuuɗ-**at**-on/(*an-no-ɗon*)	nde cuuɗ-**oto**- (*no*-) ɗon	nde cuuɗ-**ete**- (*no*-) ɗon
nde ɓe cuuɗ-**ata**/(*an-noo*)	nde ɓe cuuɗ-**otoo**/(*oto-noo*)	nde ɓe cuuɗ-**etee**/(*ete-noo*)

Subjunctive
I should hide

mi suuɗ-**a**	mi suuɗ-**oo**	mi suuɗ-**ee**
cuuɗ-**a**·a	cuuɗ-**o**-ɗaa	cuuɗ-**e**-ɗaa
o suuɗ-**a**	o suuɗ-**oo**	o suuɗ-**ee**
min cuuɗ-**a**	min cuuɗ-**oo**	min cuuɗ-**ee**
cuuɗ-**en**	cuuɗ-**o**-ɗen	cuuɗ-**e**-ɗen
cuuɗ-**on**	cuuɗ-**o**-ɗon	cuuɗ-**e**-ɗon
ɓe cuuɗ-**a**	ɓe cuuɗ-**oo**	ɓe cuuɗ-**ee**

Participles Complete/Stative (*with Preterite*)
the hidden one/*the one who was hidden*

cuuɗ-**u**-ɗo/suuɗ-**u**-ɓe	cuuɗ-**ii**-ɗo/suuɗ-**ii**-ɓe	cuuɗ-**aa**-ɗo/suuɗ-**aa**-ɓe
cuuɗ-**u**- (*noo-*) ɗo/suuɗ-**u**- (*noo-*) ɓe	cuuɗ-**i**- (*noo-*) ɗo/suuɗ-**i**- (*noo-*) ɓe	cund-**a**- (*noo-*) ɗo/suuɗ-**a**- (*noo-)* ɓe

Particples Incomplete/Progressive (*with Preterite*)
He who is hiding. or He who hides habitually./*He who was hiding.* or *He who was hiding habitualy.*

cuuɗ-**oo**-wo/suuɗ-**oo**-ɓe	cuuɗ-**otoo**-ɗo/suuɗ-**otoo**-ɓe	cuuɗ-**etee**-ɗo/suuɗ-**etee**-ɓe
cuuɗ-**oo**-wo (-*no*)/suuɗ-**oo**-ɓe (-*no*)	cuuɗ-**oto**- (*noo-*) ɗo/suuɗ-**oto**- (*noo-*) ɓe	cuuɗ-**ete**- (*noo*-) ɗo/suuɗ-**ete**- *(noo-)* ɓe

Imperative
hide!

suuɗ-**u**	suuɗ-**a**	suuɗ-**e**
cuuɗ-**ee**	cuuɗ-**ee**	cuuɗ-**ee**