FIRDU–FULA GRAMMAR (GAMBIAN DIALECT)

BY

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SAN FRANCISCO

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INTRODUCTION

In January 1958 I prepared a Firdu Fula Grammar, based on the dialects of Fula spoken in The Gambia, West Africa. This was issued through the Research Department of the Colonial Office, London, in mimeographed form, and resulted from work which was financed jointly by Colonial Development and Welfare Funds and the Government of The Gambia.

In the introduction to the 1958 grammar I indicated that it was based primarily on the dialect spoken by the Firdu Fulbe, but contained some words and sentences from other Gambian dialects, which were generally marked as such. In 1974 Linda K. Salmon, a student in the Department of Anthropology at San Francisco State University, who was carrying out research in The Gambia, went through the text with Mary Umah Baldeh, a Fula from Saare Mansajang near Basse in the Upper River Division, who was then living in Banjul. Mary Baldeh set out to correct errors that had remained undetected, to eliminate words and phrases that were not typical of her own dialect, and to suggest alternatives, while Linda Salmon was concerned with clarifying and understanding the complicated rules of grammar in order to acquire a working knowledge of the language. When the corrections and alterations had been made, Linda Salmon had Mary Baldeh record the revised version on a set of cassettes. For the present revision she provided her copy of the original grammar marked with notes and corrections, a set of cassettes, as well as other tapes which included a conversation between Mary Baldeh and a friend, and a recital of Fula verb conjugations.

In the summer of 1975 Mary Baldeh, who had come to study in the United States, paid a visit to San Francisco, and while here began to work with me on the production of a Fula-English dictionary. In the course of this she made a number of general tapes to help me build up vocabulary, and later provided a number of tapes of Fula stories,
which proved useful in furnishing additional material.

At first it was hoped that the old grammar as revised and recorded by Mary Baldeh could be retained with few changes, but so much new material was added that we had virtually a new work, though the organization of the grammar and certain sections were retained with few changes.

In the 1981 revision the orthography was modernized to conform to that of the new Fula dictionary, and elements not in the dialect of Saare Mansajang, Kundam, and related villages were eliminated.

The complications of Fula can be frightening to a beginner. A study such as D. W. Arnott's *The Nominal and Verbal Systems of Fula*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970, which deals with a Nigerian dialect provides much information that can be applied to other areas, but is hard for a beginner to absorb. In the new grammar I hope that the language patterns can be followed by those who are not linguists but I have assumed that the grammar would be used in conjunction with a native Fula teacher or informant. One should remember that however formidable it may seem, small Fula children have no difficulty in learning to speak the language!

By the time the typing had been completed, Mary Baldeh had left the United States and has not had a chance to check the final version, so I must take responsibility for any errors that remain. But I would like to pay tribute to the thoroughness with which she and Linda Salmon worked through the original material, and the substantial contributions they made. The new version is no longer the work of one individual, but that of all three of us.

David P. Gamble  
Department of Anthropology,  
San Francisco State University.
A set of readings is available as a collection of folk-tales (Gambian Studies No. 13).

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The draft manuscript was prepared in August 1981.
The final typing and production was not completed until August 1982.

In July 1984 John Baldeh of Saare Mansajang, a teacher who had taught Fula to various Roman Catholic missionaries, and was the head-teacher at the local school - the father of Mary Umah Baldeh, and Etta Baldeh, her sister, read through the Grammar and made a number of corrections. Etta Baldeh also recorded the Fula text of the Grammar on tape, and her version was used as the basis for a number of changes.

Later a series of changes were suggested by Mary Umah Baldeh herself, and most of these have been made.

Sometimes there were differences between us which involved the English translation - the phrasing of past tenses "I had gone" as distinct from "I went", in the use of demonstratives "this" and "that". Fula uses different terms for objects that are near and those that are far, whereas my own speech will use 'that' for an object that is close, and not necessarily one that is far off!

Though the term Firdu-Fula has been used it differs from the dialect spoken in Firdu. The Fulbe of Fulladu East and Kantora have long been established in The Gambia, and probably came originally from Masina.
ORTHOGRAPHY

Sounds special to the Fula language are:

ɓ  the implosive  b
ɗ  the implosive  d
ɗy  the implosive  j

ŋ  = the sound of  ng in sing
    (This sound can occur at the beginning of words in Fula)

ɲy  = the sound of  ni in onion  =  ŋ

c  = the sound of  ch in child

ˀ  = a glottal stop

e  as in English  net

ee  "  "  "  bait

a  "  "  "  cap

aa  "  "  "  far

i  "  "  "  neat

ii  "  "  "  bead

o  "  "  "  note

oo  "  "  "  road

u  "  "  "  foot

uu  "  "  "  shoe
INITIAL CONSONANT VARIATION

One of the characteristics of the Fula language is that certain of the initial consonants of nouns and verbs are changed in the plural, and that the personal nouns and non-personal nouns have opposite forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>hinere</th>
<th>nose</th>
<th>kaangaafo</th>
<th>madman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kine</td>
<td>noses</td>
<td></td>
<td>haangaaɓe</td>
<td>madmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kellu</td>
<td>clap</td>
<td>de di kell</td>
<td>they are clapping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where a noun is derived from a verbal root, a similar consonant change is involved, but both the singular and plural of the derived noun have the same initial consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>fittu</th>
<th>brush</th>
<th>pittirgal</th>
<th>a brush</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pittirdi</td>
<td>brushes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The contrast between non-personal and personal nouns is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-personal nouns</th>
<th>Personal nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allaadu</td>
<td>gainako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gallaadi</td>
<td>(ainaaße)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ainakoʊoʃe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilde</td>
<td>(a) pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gile</td>
<td>peppers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waandu</td>
<td>bodəejo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baadi</td>
<td>wodeeʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>red person *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>red people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferlo</td>
<td>Pullo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peɾle</td>
<td>Fulće</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a Fula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fula (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinəɾe</td>
<td>kaɑŋɡaaɗo **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kine</td>
<td>haɑŋɡaaɗe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reedu</td>
<td>dəbbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deedi</td>
<td>reuʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saare</td>
<td>cɛɗdə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca'e</td>
<td>sɛɗdə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a Mandinka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandinka (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wudəɾe</td>
<td>gorko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gude</td>
<td>worɓe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yitəɾe</td>
<td>y/g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gite</td>
<td>y/g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeeso</td>
<td>jomɓajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeese</td>
<td>yombaɑɗe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaalu</td>
<td>sheep (s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baali</td>
<td>sheep (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndiyam</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di'e</td>
<td>waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaari</td>
<td>bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'i</td>
<td>bulls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njamdi</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jamde</td>
<td>irons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** MB suggests kaɑŋɡaaɗe **

* applied to 'White people'.
& d, dy, b, l, n, ny, t, m (as distinct from mb) and n (as distinct from nd) make no such differentiation between personal and non-personal nouns, and between singular and plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ññrnde</th>
<th>heart</th>
<th>ññlko</th>
<th>child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ññrde</td>
<td>hearts</td>
<td>ññlkoë</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>догал</td>
<td>post</td>
<td>докко</td>
<td>one eyed person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>догде</td>
<td>posts</td>
<td>доккіле</td>
<td>one eyed people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>дин'ал</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>дин'ал</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>дин'е</td>
<td>bones</td>
<td>дин'ал</td>
<td>bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бантани</td>
<td>silk cotton tree</td>
<td>бааба</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бантане</td>
<td>silk cotton trees</td>
<td>баабааї</td>
<td>fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лэгаал</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>лаамдо</td>
<td>ruler, king,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лэдде</td>
<td>trees</td>
<td>лаамё</td>
<td>rulers, kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>мисииде</td>
<td>mosque</td>
<td>мусумо</td>
<td>dumb person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>мисииде</td>
<td>mosques</td>
<td>мусумо</td>
<td>dumb persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>няаире</td>
<td>bead</td>
<td>няаиро</td>
<td>eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>няаадье</td>
<td>beads</td>
<td>няаиро</td>
<td>eaters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>талкуру</td>
<td>charm</td>
<td>туубако</td>
<td>European *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>талкі</td>
<td>charms</td>
<td>туубакооє</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>навукі</td>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>навукі</td>
<td>old person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>навуде</td>
<td>armpits</td>
<td>навукі</td>
<td>old people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Also used for a 'westernized person.'
## Nouns and Articles

### Singular Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o (personal)</td>
<td>gorko o</td>
<td>the man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o (borrowed words)</td>
<td>booli o</td>
<td>the tin basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nde</td>
<td>haaire nde</td>
<td>the stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndi</td>
<td>leidi ndi</td>
<td>the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndu</td>
<td>rawaandu ndu</td>
<td>the dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nge</td>
<td>nagge nge</td>
<td>the cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>yeeso ngo</td>
<td>the face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi (intensive)</td>
<td>kënnii ngi</td>
<td>the big wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngu</td>
<td>mbaalu ngu</td>
<td>the sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngal</td>
<td>gërtogal ngal</td>
<td>the hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngël (diminutive)</td>
<td>cukayël ngël</td>
<td>the little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngol (long objects)</td>
<td>laawol ngol</td>
<td>the road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ngaika ka</td>
<td>the hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>lëkki ki</td>
<td>the medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>hudo ko</td>
<td>the grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam (liquids)</td>
<td>ndiyam dam</td>
<td>the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mba</td>
<td>mbabba mba</td>
<td>the donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal (small quantity of)</td>
<td>lamkal kal</td>
<td>the small amount of salt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ëé (personal)</td>
<td>yimëë ëé</td>
<td>the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëë</td>
<td>gërtë de</td>
<td>the groundnuts (peanuts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>baali di</td>
<td>the sheep (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kony (diminutive)</td>
<td>cukalony kony</td>
<td>the little children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. There is no indefinite article - a.

addu kaleera. bring a cooking pot.
horde solde. an empty calabash.
hai naggel. not even a little cow.
dyeeni he llegal. he climbed up a tree.
wonaa mi dëbbbo, I am not a woman,
ko mi gorko. I am a man.

2. The definite article follows the noun.

ngaari ndi ari. The bull came.
naange nge di wuli. The sun is hot.
kosam dam huuši. The sour milk is finished.
addu korel nžel. Bring the little calabash.

3. If the article is put in front of the noun, it becomes a demonstrative article (this, or that - the object being near at hand.)

When the article ends in a vowel this is lengthened. = distant
= near

dam ndiyam. That water. This water. That = diya

dii baali ! Those sheep! These sheep. Those

okk'am nžol kaitol. Give me that paper. That nžola

okk'am oo wutte. Give me that dress. That oya

4. If the object referred to is remote, or the furthest away of several items -ya is added.

lampu oya. The lamp over there (farthest away).
yoa lampu. - that lamp.
pooti oya. The tin over there, that tin.
oya pooti. The cow over there, that cow.
ŋgeya naggge.

holl am nŋoya. Show me that one (of hand).
(of jungo n ngo)
5. The articles of non-personal nouns and diminutives can be used as pronouns.

ŋol nyifii. It has gone out. (of fire - jaŋgol ŋol)
reo no ndu. Beware of it. (of dog - rawaandu ndu)
reo ngal. Beware of it. (of hen - ɡɛrtogal ngal)
a yii'i ngol. Do you see it? (of path - bolol ngol)¹
jippin ñgel. Put it down. (of child - cukayɛl ñgel)

6. In indicating remote time, etc. the demonstrative is nasalised.

on tuma. At that time.
on jɛmma. That night.
on nyan. That day.

¹ laawol is preferable to bolol.
1. Nouns relating to people generally end in o (sing.), ço (pl.).
   the definite articles also being o and ço.

(a) The ending -owo corresponds to -er in English, maker, farmer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>def</td>
<td>cook: (vb.)</td>
<td>ndef-owo</td>
<td>ndef-oowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rem</td>
<td>farm</td>
<td>ndem-owo</td>
<td>ndem-oowe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The ending -jo corresponds to -man (person) in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mbode</th>
<th>reddish</th>
<th>bodjejo</th>
<th>wodeeše</th>
<th>reddish person/people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>salee</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>saleejo</td>
<td>saleeše</td>
<td>black person/people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naye</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>nayejo</td>
<td>nayeše</td>
<td>old person/people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The ending -iraowo indicates a relationship (kinship/marriage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>εsiraowo</th>
<th>εsiraše</th>
<th>in law/ in laws</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minyiraowo</td>
<td>minyiraše</td>
<td>younger sibling(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taaniraowo</td>
<td>taaniraše</td>
<td>grandchild(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maamiraowo</td>
<td>maamiraše</td>
<td>grandparent(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) The ending -do is used with nouns formed from verbal roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maa</th>
<th>die</th>
<th>maaido</th>
<th>maaife</th>
<th>dead person/persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bon</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>(m)bondo</td>
<td>bonše</td>
<td>bad person/ persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuui</td>
<td>useless</td>
<td>puuido</td>
<td>fuuiše</td>
<td>useless person(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juul</td>
<td>pray</td>
<td>njuuldo</td>
<td>njuluše</td>
<td>Muslim(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laam</td>
<td>reign,</td>
<td>laamdo</td>
<td>laamše</td>
<td>King(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rule</td>
<td>laamiido</td>
<td>laamiše</td>
<td>ruler(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) A few nouns end in -ko.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gorko</td>
<td>worće</td>
<td>man/men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuubaako</td>
<td>tuubaakooće</td>
<td>European(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gainaako</td>
<td>(ainaăće</td>
<td>herdsman/herdsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ainaăkooće</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) Nouns which refer to people but which do not end in o, though they take the articles o and ěe include:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sagata</td>
<td>sagataaće</td>
<td>youth(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kambaane</td>
<td>hambaneće*</td>
<td>youth(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suka</td>
<td>sukaće</td>
<td>child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and kinship terms

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ba</td>
<td>baaji</td>
<td>father/fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baaba</td>
<td>baabaaji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorgol</td>
<td></td>
<td>father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inna</td>
<td>innaaji</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaau</td>
<td></td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yumpheny</td>
<td></td>
<td>mother's brother's wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also l(c) for kinship terms.

(g) The ending -ŋkooće refers to the people of a district.

Fuutaŋkooće  people of Fuuta

(h) The ending -ėn is used to refer to a person's place, or to a vague group.

Kadi-ėn  Kadi's place, people

njëhen to Dëmba-ėn  let us go to Demba's place.
Mairam-ėn  Mairam's people.

* A word borrowed from Mandinka (DPG).
2. Words derived from other languages generally have the article o (sing.) di (pl.).

If the word ends in a vowel, the plural is generally formed by lengthening it, and adding -ji or je.

Personal nouns form their plurals with Ọe.

If the borrowed word ends in a nasal sound (n, ng, etc.), the ji or je may be added directly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>from</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kafu</td>
<td>kafuuji</td>
<td>Mandinka</td>
<td>crowd(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>booto</td>
<td>bootooji</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>bag(s), sack(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adduna</td>
<td>addunaají</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>world(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljuma</td>
<td>aljumaají</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Friday(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caabi</td>
<td>caabiiže</td>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>key(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbajju</td>
<td>mbajjuuje</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>blanket(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere</td>
<td>bereeeji</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>beret(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitik</td>
<td>bitikaají</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>shop(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beltu</td>
<td>beltuuje</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>belt(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buku</td>
<td>bukuuji</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>book(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ọe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faada</td>
<td>faadaají</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Father(s), priest(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doktor</td>
<td>doktorœe</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>doctor(s), dispenser(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An occasional word which would seem to have been borrowed is treated as if it were a Fula word, and has the consonant change in the plural:

| faro       | paraají    | Mandinka      | rice swamp(s), rice field(s) |
|            |            | (faroo)       |                               |

Words borrowed from French often seem to have come via Wolof, and words from English via Mandinka.
3. Nouns with the article nde, (sing.), plural de.

(1) -ande (plural: aade) are nouns which indicate the result of some action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fɛs</td>
<td>fɛsande</td>
<td>vaccinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɛr</td>
<td>fɛrænde</td>
<td>vaccination mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɛr</td>
<td>fɛrænde</td>
<td>place excised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) -rde (plural:-rde) are places where an action takes place:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>huðuð-</td>
<td>huðuðrde</td>
<td>to light (fire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loot-</td>
<td>lootorde</td>
<td>washing place (for washing oneself)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) -ere (plural: re) some abstract and semi-abstract nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tampin-</td>
<td>tampere</td>
<td>make tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dillu-</td>
<td>dillere</td>
<td>make a slight sound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Nouns which refer to things not normally seen in a singular form end in e (article de), the singular ere, (article nde), being rare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baanye de</td>
<td>waanyere nde</td>
<td>clouds a single cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koode</td>
<td>hoodere</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidýye</td>
<td>widýyre</td>
<td>cotton seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gɛrte</td>
<td>ɛrtere</td>
<td>groundnut (peanut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyɛbbe</td>
<td>nyɛbbere</td>
<td>bean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baade</td>
<td>waadere</td>
<td>drop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same form is found with most parts of the body with dual form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gite</th>
<th>de</th>
<th>eyes</th>
<th>yitere</th>
<th>nde</th>
<th>eye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cêkke</td>
<td>cheeks</td>
<td>sekker</td>
<td>rotter</td>
<td>backside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotte</td>
<td>backsides</td>
<td>rotter</td>
<td>botter</td>
<td>testicle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òtte</td>
<td>testicles</td>
<td>òttore</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>têppe</td>
<td>feet</td>
<td>têpper</td>
<td>neure</td>
<td>palm (of hand)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newe</td>
<td>palms</td>
<td>neure</td>
<td>palm (of hand)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(of hands)

(5). For collective nouns ending in e (or another vowel in the case of borrowed words),

the - ë ending is equivalent to "a bit of".

nete | locust bean
flour

netere | a pinch of locust bean flour

(6) Bodily excretions also commonly have the plural form ending in e.

nyiloe | (dried) nasal mucus

dice | urine

tuure | vomit

tuute | spittle

bolce | vomited milk

gadde | (dry) animal droppings

(Faeces = doodi )
4. Nouns with the article ndi, plural di.

Nouns ending in:

(a) -di & -ri

Include large male animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaari</td>
<td>ga'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaandi</td>
<td>kaŋle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñujjiri</td>
<td>ñujji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) -ri

Grains, food made from grain, honey. (Plural not normally used)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gauri</td>
<td>millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lacciri</td>
<td>steamed millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakkiri</td>
<td>steamed millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumri</td>
<td>fresh roasted millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njumri</td>
<td>honey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) -ndi

Powdery substances (No plural used.)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conndi</td>
<td>powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndoondi</td>
<td>ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leidi</td>
<td>earth, country; soil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Other nouns commonly found include:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbomri</td>
<td>boomi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbalndi</td>
<td>balde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>girl/ girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bed/beds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Nouns with article **ndu**, plural **di**.
   Include many circular objects.

(a) **Many parts of the body** (round or cylindrical).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reedu</td>
<td>deedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōanndu</td>
<td>ōalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soōūundu</td>
<td>coōūuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fē̥daandu</td>
<td>pē̥daali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonndu</td>
<td>toni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukundu</td>
<td>cukuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honndu</td>
<td>kolli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houru</td>
<td>koppi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouru</td>
<td>noppi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēndu</td>
<td>ēndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>belly/bellies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>body/bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elbow/elbows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>finger nail/finger nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lip/lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hair/hairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>finger/fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knee/knees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ear/ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>breast-breasts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Circular natural features.**

| ōuunndu | ōuulli | shallow well/wells |
| woindu  | boilli | deep well/wells    |
| weendu  | beeli  | lake/lakes         |

(c) **Houses, etc. (Circular).**

| suuudu | cuudi | house/houses       |
| dē̥fē̥rdu | dē̥fē̥rdi | kitchen/kitchens |

(d) **Many animals.**

| waandu | baadi | monkey/monkeys     |
| faabru | paabi | frog/frogs         |
| rawaandu | dawaadi | dog/dogs |
| ulluunndu | ulluudi | cat/cats |
| fowru  | pobbi | hyaena/hyenas      |
6. Nouns with article **nge**.

There are only a few nouns with this article:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naange <strong>nge</strong></td>
<td>the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagge <strong>nge</strong></td>
<td>na'i di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heege <strong>nge</strong></td>
<td>the famine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various adjectives derived from verbs and which refer to cows take this suffix.

- **Nagge tummbunge** **nge**
  - the pregnant cow

7. Nouns with the article **ngo**.

Common nouns are:

- maayo  | maaje  | river/rivers
- yeeso  | jeese  | face/faces
- walbo  | balbe  | shoulder/shoulders
- junjo  | juude  | hand/hands
- wuro   | gure   | place where herd is tied
- fêrlo  | pêrle  | hill/hills

Sounds:

- luukanò  | luukaali  | cry, shouts
- dirango  | diraali   | thunder, crashes
8. Nouns with article ngii.
This is used with the augmentative ending ii.

- hɛndu ndu  *the wind*  kɛnnii ngii *the big wind*
- suudu ndu  *the house*  cuurii ngii *the big house*
- nɛddo o  *the person*  nɛddii ngii *the big person*

9. Nouns with the article ngu plural: di.
Two main groups:

(1) *Insects*

- nyaaku  nyaaki  *bee/ bees*
- ngilngu  gildi  *grub/ grubs*

(2) *Animals*

- mbaalu  baali  *sheep/ sheep*
- puccu  pucci  *horse/horses*
- liŋngu  liddi  *fish(s)/ fish (pl.)*

---

1 See also page 94.
10. Nouns with the article *ngal*, plural *de*.

(a) Many *birds* - generally large birds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biigal</td>
<td>biige</td>
<td><em>young hen(s)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duteal</td>
<td>dute</td>
<td><em>vulture(s)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gërlel</td>
<td>gërle</td>
<td><em>bush fowl(s)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koral</td>
<td>kore</td>
<td><em>wild duck(s)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaurgal</td>
<td>jaule</td>
<td><em>guinea fowl(s)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Objects made of *wood*.

i) Natural objects: *-al*.

| gaudyal   | gaudye      | *millet stalk(s)*        |
| liigal    | liige       | *cotton plant(s)*        |
| peccal    | pecce       | *split piece(s) of stick*|
| kobjal    | kobje       | *shell(s), husk(s)*      |
| gi'al     | gi'e        | *thorn(s)*               |

ii) Manufactured from wood: *'al, gal*.

| la'al     | le'e        | *wooden bowl(s)*         |
| doigal    | doide       | *post(s)*                |
| paagal    | paade       | *stake(s)*               |
| unugal    | unude       | *pestle(s)*              |

iii) Instruments - the names being derived from verbal roots - *i-r-gal* from active voice verbs, *o-r-gal* from middle voice verbs. (See p.68-9)

| fittu     | sweep       | pittirgal   pittirde   | *brush(es), broom(s)* |
| soktu     | unlock      | coktirgal   coktirde   | *key(s)*               |
| iirtu     | stir        | ngiirtirgal  ngiirtirde | *stirrer(s)*           |
| joodo     | sit         | joodorgal   joodorde    | *seat(s)*              |
| scoco     | rub         | coccorgal   coccorde    | *tooth-cleaner(s)*     |
|           | *teeth*     |             | = *chewing stick(s)*   |
(c) Long parts of the body also end in -al, plural e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu'al</td>
<td>bu'e</td>
<td>thigh(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daŋalal</td>
<td>daŋale</td>
<td>thigh(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyi'al</td>
<td>dyi'e</td>
<td>bone(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korlal</td>
<td>korle</td>
<td>shin(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Borrowed words included in this class, if ending in a vowel, add w in the singular, j in the plural, before the -al

e.g. Mandinka

root
kaca gajawal gajaaje weaver bird(s)
buru buruwal buruuje duck(s)
wutu* wutuwal wutuuje thigh(s)
dese dẹsewal dẹseeje calf/calves (of leg)

(e) Abstract nouns:

e.g. verbal root
ləmdəo ask ləmdəl question
fəmbəu shave pəmbəugal naming ceremony*
munny be munnyal patience

* The term wutu was here clearly borrowed from Mandinka.

There is a Fula term wutulde pl. butuli which indicates the soft part of the side below the rib cage

* At which baby's head is shaved.
11. Nouns ending in -εl, article ngεl are diminutives. 1
The plural ending is -ony, article kony.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>normal form</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suka</td>
<td>youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaba</td>
<td>bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horde</td>
<td>calabash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonndu</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulluunndu</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaalu</td>
<td>sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suudu</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaari</td>
<td>bull</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| cofεl       | chicken        |
|            |                |
| cofony kony | the chickens   |

(The system of initial consonant changes operates in the formation of diminutives. Kaba, which does not change, is a word borrowed from Mandinka.)

1 See also page 94.
12. -ol is the ending characteristic of long objects.
The article is ngol, plural i, article di.  

(a) | sing.  | plural  |
---|---|---|
6oggol | 6ogi | rope(s) |
ciifol | ciifi | stripe(s) |
diidol | diidi | line(s), brand(s), mark(s) |
daasol | daasi | track (of snake, of something dragged along) |
laawol | laabi | road(s) |
lefol | leppi | strip(s) of local cloth |
gewol | gewi | crack |

(b) long in time

root | sing.  |
yim | jimol | song |
taal | taalol | tale, story |
tinndu | tinndol | riddle |

(c) Verbal nouns (mainly actions) have the ending -gol

root
windu write mbindugol writing (action)  
hubbu dress kubbugol hair dressing  
doddyu cough doddyugol coughing
13  Article: ka.

There are very few words with the article ka. The commonest are:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haal</td>
<td>haala</td>
<td>haalaaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as, ai</td>
<td>ngaika</td>
<td>gaide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laana</td>
<td>laade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

speech, language
hole(s)
boat(s), ship(s)

14  Article: ko.

This is a category almost exclusively of leaves, grass etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hudo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haako</td>
<td>kaake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya66o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

grass
leafage
rice
leaves of the ja66e tree.

There is a plural form:

kaakaali    leaves of different sorts (leaves)
maaraali    different kinds of rice (rices)
15. Article: ki, plural ðe.

(a) Primarily trees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kewi</td>
<td>kewe bamboo tree(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaööi</td>
<td>jaööe tamarind tree(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaaöi</td>
<td>jaaöe Zizyphus jujuba tree(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumi</td>
<td>bume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bani</td>
<td>bane Pterocarpus erinaceus tree(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of names borrowed from other languages, -i is added to the root, the plural becoming -je:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fo lei</td>
<td>poleeje rubber tree(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tæŋji</td>
<td>tæŋje oil palm tree(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fruit of trees also has the plural form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tæŋje</td>
<td>palm fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaaöe</td>
<td>fruit of Zizyphus jujuba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The word for medicine - lëkki ki, comes from the same root as the word for tree - lëggal.
(cf. Wolof: garab for both tree and medicine.)

(c) A tree name may also be formed from a verbal root to which the -ki ending is added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lammu sour lammuki</td>
<td>Landolphia senegalensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A tree with a sour fruit.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Other common words with the ki article are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cuurki ki</td>
<td>the smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndomaaki ki</td>
<td>the soot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naauki ki - naauðe ðe</td>
<td>armpit - armpits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laöi ki - laöe</td>
<td>knife - knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woŋki ki</td>
<td>the soul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Words ending in -am, article dam, are liquids.
The plural in -e, article de, is rare.

ndiyam dam the water
nëbbam dam the oil
kosam dam the sour milk
dyiddam dam the blood
lamdam dam the salt
Siraadam dam the fresh milk

(lamdam dam is really derived from a verbal root
= (ndiyam) lamdam — salt (water))

Most, but not all liquids, have this form.
Exceptions are the bodily excretions (which end in e)

and such words as:

cloowere sweat
sawawere dew
këttungol cream
17. Nouns ending in -a, article mba, plural article di.

(a) This group includes a number of large animals.

A large proportion of the words have close parallels in Wolof and Serer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbabba</td>
<td>babbi</td>
<td>donkey(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kooba</td>
<td>koobi</td>
<td>an antelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeeloba</td>
<td>geeloobi</td>
<td>camel(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyiiwa</td>
<td>nyiibi</td>
<td>elephant(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeewa</td>
<td>bee’i</td>
<td>goat(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njamala</td>
<td>jamali</td>
<td>giraffe(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Other common words are:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuuba</td>
<td>tuubaaji</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngësa</td>
<td>geëse</td>
<td>farm(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Nouns ending in -kal, article kal, indicate "small amounts of", e.g.

lamkal kal (from lamdam ) the small amount of salt.
THE FORMATION OF THE PLURALS OF NOUNS

(a) The usual polarity changes are made (See page 5)

(b) All personal nouns ending in o, do, jo, wo, etc. change to be. See examples on pages 10-11.

(c) Animals (but not reptiles) irrespective of the final vowel of the singular, have plurals in i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plurals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbabba</td>
<td>babbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagge</td>
<td>na'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaari</td>
<td>ga'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñuccu</td>
<td>ñucci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>donkey(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cow(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bull(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>horse(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No animals have o as an ending.

(d) Diminutives change from - el to -ony.

cofель  cofony  chicken(s)

(e) The essential rules for other nouns are:

i  Terminal vowel  a e i o u

changes to  e e e e i

am, al  change to e

re, ere,  change to e (also de after r, n, & l.)

ol  changes to i  e.g. sol-de  col-e  penis

ri  change to i  hor-de  kor-e  calabash(es)

iri

ru  change to i  hooton-de  kooton-e  ring(s)

uru  change to i
ii Consonant changes in the suffixes:

\[ g, \, ng, \, d, \, nd, \, n, \, k \quad \text{change to} \quad \sigma \]
\[ f \quad \text{changes to} \quad p \]
\[ w \quad \text{changes to} \quad b \]
\[ w + r \quad \text{changes to} \quad bb \]
\[ y \quad \text{changes to} \quad dy \]

iii \[ n + nd \quad \text{change to} \quad ll \]

\[ y + nd \quad " \quad l \]
\[ y + ng \quad " \quad l \]

iv \[ w + d \quad " \quad ul \]

\[ w + g \quad " \quad ul \]
\[ w + ng \quad " \quad ul \]

---

Examples:

i Terminal vowel change + initial consonant change (if applicable).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>mbabb-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)-l</td>
<td>ngɛsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hoore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bum-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wur-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пuccu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)- i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pecc-al</td>
<td>pecc-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'-al</td>
<td>gi'-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoo-re</td>
<td>koo'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saa-re</td>
<td>ca'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piece(s) of stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thorn(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>head(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>village(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diid-ol</td>
<td>diid-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mark(s), line(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daas-ol</td>
<td>daas-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>track(s) of something dragged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaa-ri</td>
<td>ga'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bull(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faab-ru</td>
<td>paaś-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>frog(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>att-uru</td>
<td>gatt-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tress(es) of hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa-g-al</td>
<td>paa-d-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stake(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suu-d-u</td>
<td>cuu-d-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>house(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rawaa-nd-u</td>
<td>dawaa-d-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laa-n-a</td>
<td>laa-d-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ship(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunu-k-o</td>
<td>kunu-d-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mouth(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naau-k-i</td>
<td>naau-d-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>armpit(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-ŋg-ol</td>
<td>gon-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tear(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gond-ol ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɛf-ol</td>
<td>lɛpp-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strip(s) of local cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laa-w-ol</td>
<td>laa-b-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>road(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fow-ru</td>
<td>po-bb-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hyaena(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lew-ru</td>
<td>ɛ-bb-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moon(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haay-re</td>
<td>kaa-dy-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stone(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nyii-nde</td>
<td>nyii-dy-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nyii-re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth/teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son-ndu</td>
<td>co-lli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɓan-ndu</td>
<td>ɓa-lli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooy-ndu</td>
<td>bool-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jai-ŋgal</td>
<td>jai-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(saau-du</td>
<td>caau-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(saaw-du</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cau-g-al</td>
<td>cau-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(caw-g-al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jau-ŋgal</td>
<td>jau-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(f). In the case of borrowed words-

If the word is given a Fula class ending, the letters j & w may be inserted for euphony.

sing. plural
allu-w-al alluu-j-e Ar (wooden) writing board(s)
dese-w-al desee-j-e M calf of leg(s)
buru-w-al buruu-j-e M duck(s)

Where a word is borrowed without the addition of a Fula class ending, the terminal vowel is lengthened and -ji is added to form the plural. or je

If the word ends in a consonant -aa ji may be added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taransu</td>
<td>taransuuji M</td>
<td>shilling(s) (old coinage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caabi</td>
<td>caabiije W</td>
<td>key(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bere</td>
<td>bereejji Fr</td>
<td>beret (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskul</td>
<td>(iskulji</td>
<td>(iskulaajji E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masiŋ</td>
<td>masiŋaajji E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal nouns add: (long consonant) + je

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doktor</td>
<td>doktoraa je E</td>
<td>doctor(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faada</td>
<td>faadaaje E</td>
<td>Father(s), priest(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ar Arabic
Fr French
E English
M Mandinka
W Wolof
inna am he ba am.
adduna he laakara.
hakkunde Alla o he leidi ndi.
na'i di he ainakooše muɛn.
ndiyam rowani he ndiyam rowandeya.
yahi, kany he ba o.
yotti ma, kany he pucu mun.
accu min njada he muuɗum.
wondiri he fën roon
he nge naange.
hono mbaɗat mi he nge heege?
yani he koide muuɗum.
kauroyi he laawol.
muti he leidi he.
sarki he ladde.
debbo naati he saare ma.
yahi ha woɗdi he ladde.
min he ɓiɓée am.
kaen tan ngonti no he galle.
ngoni don ni, kaen tan
he galle muɛn he ladde.
(mi aranaani he hare
(mi ardaani

My mother and my father.
The world and the next world.
Between God (the sky) and the earth.
The cows and their herdsmen.
Last year's water and the water of
the year before that.
He She went off, she and the father.
He arrived, he and his horse.
Let us go with him.
She stayed with them like that.
In this sun..
What will I do in this famine?
It fell at his feet.
They went and met on the road.
He sank into the earth.
It crashed into the forest.
A woman has entered your town.
She went off far into the bush (forest).
I and my children.
They were alone in the compound.
They were there thus, they only
in their compound in the bush.
I have not come with war.

See also: p.98.
### PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple form</th>
<th>Emphatic form</th>
<th>Objective (direct &amp; indirect)</th>
<th>Continuous action</th>
<th>Possessive forms *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>am (^1)</td>
<td>mido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>mbo</td>
<td>kany</td>
<td>mbo(^5)</td>
<td>mbo di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>dum</td>
<td>dum</td>
<td>dum</td>
<td>dum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>(\text{en})</td>
<td>(\text{en})(\text{en})</td>
<td>(\text{en})(^2)</td>
<td>(\text{en})(\text{en})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inclusive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>mid(\text{en})(^6)</td>
<td>am(\text{en})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(exclusive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>odo(^7)</td>
<td>mon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>(\text{se})</td>
<td>m(\text{o})(\text{se})</td>
<td>(\text{se})</td>
<td>(\text{se}) di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k(\text{a})(\text{n})</td>
<td>(\text{en}) di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>d(\text{u})(\text{men})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Also used as an objective form after prepositions.

  e.g. gooto be \(\text{mu}\)\(\text{en}\) one of them
  hakkunde am\(\text{en}\) between us
  yahi to \(\text{mu}\)\(\text{en}\) she) went back to their place

** Rare in this dialect. \(\text{dum}\) being commoner.

For the form when the pronoun follows a verb see page 42.
1. **am** is used after a consonant; **kam** is used after a vowel.
   
   - **fad am**. wait for me.
   - **a wari kam**! you have killed me!
   - **mbo yidi kam**. she loves me / he loves me.
   - **yo6 am**. pay me.

2. **en**, etc. includes the person addressed, as in "May God preserve us."
   
   - **o lawo funnti en**. the tattooer deceived us.
   - **si en ngarti han, a en kauri do de!** a when we come back, we should meet here.
   - or **en kaurat do min**, etc. excludes the person spoken to:
   
   - **okku min goro**. give us kola.
   - **minen buri ma**. we are better than you.

3. **mun**, **mum**, **muudum**, **muen**
   
   generally refer to a preceeding noun or pronoun in the same sentence.
   
   - **debbo he gorko mun**. a wife and her husband.
   - **fowrual di fiia tamayel muudum to naale**. Hyaena was beating his little drum at the dancing place.
   - **...looti bi6e muudum**. (she) washed her children.

Some dialects have the terms **makko (s)** & **ma6e (pl.)** used to refer to some other person not mentioned in the same sentence.

- **a yii'i suudu makko?** Have you seen his house?
- **ko makko.** It is her/ him.

- **a do fof den hauri** is better.
- **do de** is regarded as 'Guinea Fula'.

4. dum (s.), dumën (pl.)

dum = it, things in general; him/her.
dumën = them

a yii no dum? Did you see it?
a yii'i dum? Have you seen him/her?
hombo wafi dum? Who has done it?
hombo wao no dum? Who did it?
wota yakku dum. Don't spoil it!

dum as a personal pronoun.

fowru nañgi maamayel, Hyaena seized Little Grandmother,
iiri dum to loope, and buried her in the mud.

laamdo ṣani teme le jowi, The King took five hundred (people)
okki dumën puci (and) gave them horses.

..wi dumën: "njotte." He) said to them: "Approach."
wi dum: "awa." He) said to him: "Very well."
okki dumën goro. He) gave them kola nuts.
mbo  (1) he, she  (2) which (in relative clauses), who.

Though sometimes used as a third person pronoun in this dialect, e.g.

si mbo tewi ma do tan,  As soon as he finds you here,
a maayi.  you are dead.

wi yo: nangoyi mbo.  She) said: She/he has gone to catch him/her.

mbo is generally found in relative clauses.

alaa mbo waawata kam  There is no one who can cure it.
dum ittande.

alaa mbo waawi dum hee.  There was no one who was able to get it.

lii kala, wiis mbo lei o.  Each time he threw (one)down, he would say
min, mbo mi laamdo leidi.. to the one on the ground.

art, ronndi nedd mbo  I, who am the king of the country...
war no, o fukkoyi.

o ne mbo ndadnu da mi..  He came back, carried the person he

on debbo siddo mbo jihini,  had killed, and threw him down.
ko on saabi buwaysa he
adduna.

kol kal mbo ngandu da  The body which you have caused to escape me.
=tinnti

* An English word = colour.

That woman -the child she had given birth to, that was the one who started witchcraft in the world.

Every color which you know (=Every color you can think of.)
Basic forms of pronouns

mi anndaa.  
I don't know.
mi arii.  
I have come.
hono mbadat mi ?  
What will I do ?
a hooti ?  
Are you going home ?
a nani ?  
Do you hear ?
si a leçi tan, a maayat !  
If you tell, you will die !
si a yahi....  
If (When) you go...
mbo artanni.  
He is about to come.
mbo semtataa.  
She will not be shamed.
mbo arii.  
He has come.
mbo huli ma.  
He/She is afraid of you.

min ngarii.  
We have come.  (Exclusive)
min kooti.  
We are going home.

gila ontuma ha han,  
Since that time until now,  
ën ke oaani na'i.  
we have not had cattle.  (Inclusive)
si en ngarti han,  
When we come back, then
ën kaurat do de !  
we should meet here.
en padat ha ara.  
We will wait until he comes.
si en peeujanaani..  
If we do not make plans for...

on njaraama.  
You (pl.) are to be praised.
on keçi gauri.  
You (pl.) have millet.
on kumnii ?  
Have you (pl.) finished ?

öe fou mbia tyo...  
They all would say...
öe fiu kauriti.  
They all met.
öe nani kuulli rgi di yima.  
They heard the monster singing.
öe njahi.  
They went off.
Emphatic Forms

wonaa min.
min de.
min tan.
min, ko mi gorko.
min de, mi yiaani nɛddo.

ho  an, a alaa hunuko ?
an tan .
ko an.

an, ɛan nanal.
min, mi ɛana nyaamal.

ko  kany watta....
ko kany udditi dum.
ko kany tan joo min padi.

dum tan:
minɛn noon, min njisani.
ko minɛn ndeeni no da.
en
ko dum wadi ɛenɛ ngaala na'i.
enɛn, hai allaadu en ngala.

onon mbi no dɛbbo naataaa ɛe saare mon.
wia dumɛn: wonaa onon de!
" "  " wonaa no onon de !
onon noon, on potaani nyaam de !

reũse laamdo kaɛn he cukale muɛn.
awa ni, kaɛn fou njɛntii.
kaɛn fiu caakii.

It was not I.
As for me...
Only me.
As for me, I am a man
As for me, I did not see anyone.

You, haven't you got a mouth ?
You alone, Only you.
It is you.

You, take the left,
I, I will take the right.

It was she who used to do (it).
It was she who opened it.
It is she alone we are waiting for now.

Only that.
As for us, we have not seen (any).
It is us you drove away. (Exclusive)
That is why we have no cows. (Inclusive)
As for us, we have not even a horn.

You (pl.) said a woman does not enter your town.
(pl.)
She would say to them: "It is not you."
" "  " "  " "  "It was not you."
As for you, you (pl.) should not eat !

The king's wives, they and their children
Well then, they all listened.
They all scattered.
fad'am.
haalan am.
dyɛŋfɔni kam to dou lèggal
hoḍum ngakkata kam?
a holli̧ kam..
a holli no kam
mi lumbina ma de!
mi warat ma.
mi wi no ma yo..
še mbia ḏum..
fowrual fada ḏum.
maamayɛl wi ḏum.

mi wi no mbo
ngacce (pl.) mbo

o lawo funnti en.
no Alla dandu en.

fad'am ha mi addana en.
ho jom pucu sanaani en do?
mi ṣetti ɛe.

Wait for me.
Tell me.
He/she made me climb up a tree.
What will you give me?
You have shown me.
You showed me.
I will take you across.
I will kill you.
I told you that..
They would tell him..
Hyaena would wait for him.
Little Grandmother said to him.
I told him.
Let her alone. Let her go.
The tattooer deceived us. (inclusive)
May God preserve us!

Wait (for me) until I bring (it) for you(pl)
Did a horseman/pass by you (pl.) here?
I greet them.
Continuous tense forms

mifo anndi.
I know.
mifo wuye no bette.
I am very bushy (=My hair is very bushy.

an, ado tiidi reedu.
As for you, you are very brave. (Lit. strong-stomach).
ado mopti ndamdi burndi.
You are keeping back the fattest
faynde ndi.
ram.
ado anndi.
You know.

fowru di tami boggol muudum.
The hyaena was holding his rope.
mbo di yaha.
He was going along.
mbo di nyaggi
He is very fierce.

miden padi.
We are waiting.
miden do boggal liige.
We have been picking cotton here.

de di njoodi, di padi.
They are sitting, waiting.

baaba am de ma salmina.
My father is greeting you.
worse de di ndaara dum.
The men were looking at him.
hocce am de di njoodi, di
My guests are sitting, (and) waiting.
padi.

inna am dewti no, di fadi.
My mother has finished cooking, (and)
yahi to kallu to, di fija.
is waiting.
He has gone to the road, and is

playing.
inna am.
galle am.
to ñaawo am.
reedu ma.
fittu gite maada.
dëbbo maada.
ba maada tam no na'i.
hoore ma
dëbbo he gorko mun
inna muufum.
kany he batulaaše muudum.
reuše muufum üe nanaani
ba amen.
saare amen.
galle amen.
kaggu meden
saare mon
kosam modon.
leidi mon.
pucci muën

to dow diure muën to
reuše laamdo kaën he cukale muën.

my mother.
my compound.
on my back.
your stomach.
wipe your eyes.
your wife.
your father used to have cattle.
your head = yourself
a woman and her husband
her mother. his mother
he and his attendants.
his wives did not hear (them).
our father. (exclusive form)
our town, village.
our compound.
our milking platform (inclusive form)
your town.
your sour milk.
your country.
their horses.
high up on their platform.
The king's wives, they and their children.
Inverted forms

Pronouns of the first and second persons are placed after
the verb (a) in questions
(b) in explanations
(c) in relative clauses
(d) certain expressions such as : mbii mi  - I say

no pin da ?  How have you wakened ? (a morning
greeting)
no mbad da ?  How are you ?
hoto nja no da ?  Where did you go ?

hoto nja ta ?  Where are you going ?
hoto nja ton ?  Where are you going (pl.) ?
ton ceed mi.  (It was) there I spent the dry season.
ko dum mbii mi.  That was what I said.
dyoog mi, ndef mi lacciри.  I drew water, I cooked 'lacciри.'
(In reply to "What did you do
today ?")

no nyallu $en :  How have you spent the day (pl.)
hono mbiэете da ?  What is your name ? (Lit. how are
you called (sing.) )
ndeeni da dum.  You drove her away.
mbi da dum.  You said to her.

In the 2nd person singular da is used with past tense forms
ta with present tense forms

2nd person da sing ta sing
den plural ton plural
*His*  
Her mother asked her.

*min*  
We can't wait for that.

*nuun, mi nanaani*  
As for me, I did not hear what you said!

*fo de*  
She said: As for me, I can make you into a woman.

*mbo*  
I did not see him.

*nu li*  
He is afraid of you.

*nondan*  
Call him for me.

*mbo*  
Lend me it.

*lu*  
As for me, I did not get (any).

*nu mulu*  
As for you, you are not good!

*naa*  
Do you know his compound?

*fo*  
We two.

*nu tuu*  
You Europeans!

*mbo tawi*  
If ever he finds you here, you are dead!

*a maayi*  
I entrust to you my Hamadi. *(man's name)*

*fo*  
As for me, I did not see anyone.

*naa*  
Father *(term of respect)*, what has brought you here?
The possessive pronoun comes between the noun and its article, the definite article commonly being used with the pronoun. *

luṣ am lampu ma o. Lend me your flashlight (torch).
ittu koingal ma ngal. Move your leg away.
gertogal ma ngal, Your fowl.
saabunnde ma nde. Your soap.
sukundu ma ndu. Your hair.
okk am nyaadye ma de. Give me your beads.

The indirect object precedes the direct object.
mido halfina mbo mbalu am I am entrusting my sheep to him
mi halfini mbo mbalu am have
okku minen nyëta nyataa. I entrusted my sheep to him.
give us threepence (old coinage)
luo am dum. Give us threepence (old coinage)
okku pucu am ngu gauri. Lend me it.
okku ngu gauri. Give my horse millet.
okku ngu ndi. Give it millet.

The pronoun object precedes a noun object.
okku ndi pucu am. Give it to my horse.

The objective pronoun precedes the verb in
(1) the progressive tense (See p. 59 )
mido ma holla. I am showing you.

(2) before a dependent infinitive.
mi waari ma yiide. It is long since I saw you.
mi ari ma jërtansaade I have come to inform you.

* nyëta is the Wolof form
* I am not sure why the article is used in some cases and not in others.

Perhaps it produces a more emphatic form. "Give me those beads of yours."

(DPG)
Indeinite pronouns

nɛddo --- yimbe = person ..people

do
yimbe ɛe di nganndi mbo gai. The people know him here.
wota tampin nɛddo. Don't trouble a person.
ɛe njiaani hai nɛddo to yaai. They did not see anyone outside.

goddo = another
lamdo goddo. Ask someone else.

si a yahi, goddo arat ? If you go, will another come ?
goddi di ndari, Some were standing,
goddi di mbaali. others were lying down.
nii = thus
wad nii. Do (it) thus.

noon = so
ko noon ? Is it so ?
ko noon tiggi. It is exactly so.
ko noon tan wietee. It is only thus it is called.

dum = this, that (in a vague or general sense)
dum ne ? What about this ?
dum ko puccu. That is a horse.
wota haal dum. Don't say that.

kala = each, everyone
nɛddo kala no ar. Everyone is to come.
mbokala dogi. Each ran off.

hodum kala = what else
mi annaa hodum kala. I don't know what else.
kala continued.
kala saare nde njotti, fowrual leuntu.

saare nde njotti kala, yaha to banta.

kala ko wonaa haaju muudum, ko dum watta haaju muudum.

kala njautata don wia dum yo :
si diinyi horde muudum kala, tawa horde nde di nin leesi pos.

kala ko njida da he aduna.

kala = also

inna, ho min kala mi yaha ?

Mother, can I go too ?

kaari so and so

kaari hesi biddo debbo.
ma woni kaari han...

andu noon, kaari ko wi'i, ko goonga de !

So and so has got a daughter.
Even /If it is so and so..

Know, that what so and so said, is the truth !

janano = someone else's
biskalét janano

someone else's bicycle.
# THE VERB

## SUMMARY OF MAIN TENSES

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<th>a fii-e-t-aak-e you will not be beaten</th>
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Sometimes indicates intensity
THE VERB

The Fula verb has three voices: Active, Middle, and Passive.

**e.g. Active**
- ar-de: to come
- loot-de: to wash (something)
- addu-de: to bring

**Middle**
- lootaa-de: to wash (oneself)
- daraa-de: to stand

**Passive**
- lootee-de: to be washed
- heegee-de: to be starving, famished

---------------

A "Adjectival verbs" are conjugated only in the active voice.

- maunu-de: to be big
- feeu-de: to be straight
- mo'dyu-de: to be good
- daat-de: to be fat, soft
- faad-de: to be narrow / to be deaf
- foody-de: to be thin
- juut-de: to be tall
- laas-de: to be clean

Various natural sounds and cries - verbs used only in active voice.

- huun-de: to moo, to low (of cows)
- dillu-de: to stir, rustle
- diir-de: to thunder
- han-de: to bray
- hij-de: to neigh
Verbs used in the Middle Voice.

These include:

1 Personal activities

a Actions done to oneself (reflexive)

fεmmbaa-de to shave (oneself)
sεmmbaa-de to wash one's feet
ōoornaa-de to put on (a dress etc.)
finaa-de to put on kohl
fifaa-de to blow the nose

b Bodily actions and positions

i With parts of the body-

haaktaa-de to clear the throat
sappinaa-de to point
naatbaa-de to yawn
fεggaa-de to stub the toe
woraa-de to wrap (thread) round the big toe (prior to rolling cord)

ii With the whole body -

wuulaa-de to swim
waalaa-de to lie down
tukkaa-de to kneel
ajjaa-de to lie on the back
daraa-de to stand
joodaa-de to sit
immaa-de to rise

aan, immo do. you, get up from there (lit. here).
kon joo do. please sit here.
iii Movements - especially in relation to some other person or thing -

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ikkaa-de</th>
<th>to go aside, keep away from</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yotta-de</td>
<td>to reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñatta-de</td>
<td>to come near</td>
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<tr>
<td>abbaa-de</td>
<td>to follow</td>
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<tr>
<td>idaa-de</td>
<td>to arrive first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jailaa-de</td>
<td>to hurry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jailo, jailo, jailo  hurry, hurry, hurry!

iv. Words indicating mental attitudes and activities-

<table>
<thead>
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<th>jentaa-de</th>
<th>to pay attention, listen</th>
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<tr>
<td>lamdaa-de</td>
<td>to ask</td>
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<td>hoolaa-de</td>
<td>to believe</td>
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<td>salaa-de</td>
<td>to refuse</td>
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<td>noota-de</td>
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<td>toraa-de</td>
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<td>ekkitsaa-de</td>
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<td>weltsa-de</td>
<td>to be pleased</td>
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<tr>
<td>janta-de</td>
<td>to state a case, explain.</td>
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B. 2 Words indicating changes - especially those caused by accident.

- eesaa-de: to get broken
- fënndaa-de: to become coagulated
- iiraa-de: to be stuck in the mud, earth, etc.
- monyaa-de: to be broken up, rotted down, crumbled away
- saraa-de: to be dispersed
- wêcc-aa-de: to be spilled (of liquid)
- wêd̡aa-de: to be carried off by the wind, to flap (in the wind)
- yuurtaa-de: to leak out (of grain, sugar, flour etc. not liquid)
- fuutaa-de: to slip from the hand, escape

- or by processing.

- suppita-a-de: to come to the top (of oil, butter, etc.)
- baca-a-de: to thresh (groundnuts)
- mumaa-a-de: to remove grains of maize from the cob (by hand)

C. 3 One group includes both personal activities and accidents.

- borsaa-de: to get bruised
- dēedaa-de: to get a cut
- dēfīdaa-de: to get something caught in the throat
- naafaa-de: to get scratched
- sonndaa-de: to cough, splutter (when food or drink is caught in the throat)
- sarfaa-de: to have a splinter
D. In addition to the usual passive meanings.

e.g. the clothes were washed,

the men were killed.

the milk was brought.

a group of verbs involving suffering and strong emotions uses the passive form:-

domdee-de to be thirsty
nyalee-de to be very hungry
faawee-de to be sick
haakee-de to have a cold
jaangee-de to suffer cold, to feel cold
faalee-de to want
yurme--de to be sorry for
heegee-de to be starving
haangee-de to be crazy
THE IMPERATIVE

The root alone is used - if ending in a single consonant (active voice)

laar .
yar kosam.
ar gaai.
wad do.
fad bottaari.

look .
drink (sour) milk .
come here .
put (it) there .
wait for lunch .

Otherwise -u is added to the roots of active voice verbs
-o is added to the roots of middle voice verbs

Active voice

acqu.
addu goro.
yautu gaai.
addu ndiyam.
winndu dum.
huöbu lampu o.

leave (it) alone .
bring kola .
pass here .
bring water .
write it .
light the lamp .

Middle voice

joodo .
joodo do .
joodo to .
nooto .
salo .
jento .

sit down .
sit here .
sit there .
answer .
refuse .
listen .

The word kon (please) may also be added.

kon joodo do .
kon fad am .

please sit here .
please wait for me .
The plural imperative is formed by making an initial consonant change where required, and adding e to the root.

ndoge. (you, pl.) run.
njoođe. " sit.
kelle. clap.
njente. listen.
ngadde. bring (it).

Let us ..... polarity change where required + root + en .

kiirën. let us spend the evening.
njëhën. let us go.
njëeuten, or kaccen. let us chat.
njæhën to banta nyalloyn. let us go to the banta*to spend the day

When the imperative is followed by am = me, the root alone is used:

ook am. give me.
ook am ndiyam. give me water.
ook am lekki. give me medicine.
luö am. lend me.
luö am taŋka. lend me sixpence**.
holl am. show me.
fad am. wait for me.
wall am. help me.

But: okku minën. give us.
okku òe. give them.
okku dum. give him.

* banta – the platform under a shady tree on which people sit.
** old currency.
When two imperatives are joined no 'and' is inserted.

ar laar.  come (and) see.
ar nyaam.  Come (and) eat.
ar joodo.  Come (and) sit down.
ar wall am.  Come (and) help me.
ar nyaam’en.  Come, let us eat.
jippo, ar laar Samba.  Come down, come (and) look at Samba.

The negative of the imperative is formed by adding wota (do not)

wota hul de!  Don't be afraid.
wota wullu.  Don't cry.
wota 6ooy de!  Don't be long.
wota 6ooy ton.  Don't be long there.
wota hoot.  Don't go home.
wota ya.  Don't go.
wota me’m.  Don't touch.
wota yakku dum.  Don't spoil it.
wota haalan mbo.  Don't tell him/her.
wota winndu.  Don't write.
wota daro do.  Don't stand there (sing.).
wota mpije do.  Don't play there (pl.).
wota ndare don.  Don't stand there (pl.).
joodo do, wota yautu.  Stay here, don't pass (go on). lit. 'Sit'.
LET  .......

This can be shown in various ways:

With *fad* (wait)

fad' am haa mi naata tawo.
fad' am haa mi joodo tawo.
fad' am mi meedna ma.

Wait until I come in first (Let me come.
Wait until I sit down first. (Let me sit
Wait for me to give you a taste.
(Let me give you a taste.)

*or* accu (allow, let go.)

accu min njada he muudum.
accu mi wona njaatigi ma.
accu mi nanga dum.

Let us go with her.
Let me be your host.
Let me catch him. (*her, it*).

No = should (in indirect commands).

*laamdo* wi *Penda* yo
no addu kosam muudum.
yah mbia Penda no yah
to ladde.
yah mbia Samba yo:
jaando bimmbi no ar.

The king told Penda
that she should bring his sour milk.
Go and tell Penda that she should go
the bush.
Go and tell Samba that
tomorrow morning he should come.

--------

Where a wish is expressed using the term *Alla* (God) the
basic form of the verb is used.

*Alla* dandu! 
*God forbid!*
THE INFINITIVE

The infinitive is used as in English with such words as to be able (waaw-), to refuse, to agree (jaɛ-), etc.
and with the words to prevent from (haɛ-), to be the first to (idaa-de), to be the last to, to be a long time (wairu-de),
to be superior to (ɛur- ) etc.

a arii jaŋŋu-de Pulle ?
maaro ari ŋɛɛndu-de.
mi faala yaa-de.
ado faala nyaam-de ?
a jašaani okku-de dum ?
" " okkir-de "
a jašaani un-de ?
ado waawi un-de :
" " ngunu
min mbaawataa dum fad de !
Penda waawataa heɛde ɓiɓoɓe.
mi andaa ho a waawat dum dyakku-de.
maamayɛl hori anndu-de
no watta.
mbo idiima ar-de.
hodum hadi ma ar-de ?
mi wairi ma yii-de.
min bairi yaa-de to ladde.
a wairi yaa-de to bolon ?

You have come to learn Fula ?
The rice was on the point of ripening.
I want to go.
Do you want to eat ?
You refuse to give him/her.? " " " " it away ?
You refuse to do the pounding ?
You are able to pound ! (= You are goo at pounding)
We cannot wait for that !
Penda could not have children.
I don't know if you can chew it.
Granny was troubled to know what to do.
He/she is: the first to come.
What prevented you from coming ?
It is a long time since I saw you.
It is a long time since we went to the bush.
Is it long since you went up-river ?
The bird began to sing.

Until his town was on the point of finishing (becoming empty).

Until in the end Hated One could not bear it.

The hawk refused to give her back her clothes.

I ought not to tell that!
PRESENT TENSE / CONTINUOUS TENSE

Indicating continuous action, descriptions of what is taking place, etc.

mido ara joo. I am coming now.
mido aina na'i. I am herding cattle.
mido asa ngaika. I am digging a hole.
mido ɓeida ndiyam. I am adding water.
mido defa hiiraande. I am cooking supper.
mido setta paagal. I am sharpening a stake.
mido wutta ceerel. I am blowing a whistle.
mido ma laara de! I am watching you!

ado winnda tan! You are writing only = you are writing all the time.
mbo di una. She is pounding.
mbo di ara. He/she is coming.
mbo di hoşa nete. He/she is shelling locust bean pods.
mbo di ɓoɓa gerte. He/she is shelling groundnuts (peanuts).
Samba di laara. Samba is watching.

midën ngara. We are coming.

doň ngama. You (pl.) are dancing.

ɓe di ngama. They are dancing.


-------

The same pronoun forms mio, ado are also used with past tense endings ...ii, ii no, etc. to indicate I was .....ing, you were .......ing, etc.
tawi fowrual di fiia tamayel muudum.
nani dana o di nin yima.
ho lægal di nin to laawol to?
nani na'i di di kuune.
cukalony muen di ndiiwa coll.

**Past tense**
dawaadi di dyakki ha kaari.

She) found Hyaena beating his drum.
They) heard the hunter singing.
Is there a tree on the road?
He) heard the cows lowing.
Their children were driving off the birds.

The dogs chewed until they were full.
SUBJUNCTIVE FORM

When an action is to take place in the future -a is added to the verbal root.

mi adda ?           Am I to bring (it) ? Shall I bring (it) ?
mi ṣa naï ?          Am I to take (it) ? Shall I take (it) ?
mi ara ?             Am I to come ?
mi woppa ?           Am I to throw (it) away ?
mi sooda nebbam ?    Am I to buy oil ?

addu mi laara.       Bring (it) for me to see.
addu mi wattta.       Bring (it) for me to put back.
okk am mi yara.       Give me to drink.
okk am ndiyam mi yara. Give me water to drink.
immo, mi fëmmba ma.   Get up, so that I may shave you.
kèlle, ha mi ama.     Clap (pl.) so that I may dance.
ha leuru ndufunta.    Until the moon comes out..
mbo wi yo, mi deuta lau, mi yaha. He says, I am to finish cooking early, and go.
FUTURE TENSES

(a) A definite future ...(he will go ) is formed by the suffix -at.

This form is also used in conditional sentences:-
 If you .... then you will......

ho mbo arat garo ? Will he come next year ?
mbo arat joo. He will come just now.
immor, diure nde he lat. Get up, the platform will break.
a yanat ! You will fall !
an, a yahat Banjul ? You, will you go to Banjul ?

also the forms ar-oy-at, heloyat, yanoyat, yahoyat can be used.

The -at form can also indicate intensity.

a rimat ! You are telling a lie !
a siidat ! You are joking !

(b) An immediate future is formed by the suffix -annni.

a hootanni joo ? You are about to go home now ?
a yahanni ? You are about to go ?
mi arannji joo. I am about to come now.
mi winndanni. I am about to write.
mb o wullanni. She is about to cry.
a nyaam-ooy-anni ? You are about to go and eat ?
The suffix **ii** indicates an acquired state, or a finished action, e.g. he has come.

**i** is found in narration, in telling of past events, e.g. he came.

The negative form is: **-aani**

Faatu arii.  
Fatu has come.

Faatu ar-aani tawo.  
Fatu has not yet come.

mi addii lêdde.  
I have brought (fire) wood.

a addaani goro ?  
Have you not brought kola?

mi hëdi ñire.  
I have obtained snuff.

a hëdi jaiŋgol ?  
Did you get fire?

mëddo maayii.  
A person has died.

mi ndaamii.  
I have eaten.

a ndaamaani ?  
Haven't you eaten?

a haarii ?  
Are you full? (satisfied).

mi haarii.  
I am full.

mi ñoodii.  
I am tired.

This form is also used where English uses don't, or won't.

a yiaani ?  
Don't you see?

a nanaani ?  
Don't you hear?

mi yahaani !  
I won't go. (I am not going).
The particle **no** indicates that the action is over and done with.

(It corresponds to the Mandinka **nung** (formerly), the Wolof **-on** and "did " in English.)

- **a yahii no Basse ?** Did you go to Basse ?
- **a winndii no ɗum.** You have written it already.
- **mbo salii no.** She refused (formerly).
- **a arii no gai rowani ?** Did you come here last year ?
- **mbo yahii no gada maayoo.** He went across the river.
  (In reply to "Where did he go ")
- **mbo dyoog-oy-ii no.** She has been to draw water (& has come back).
- **haŋki a yah no to Kundam ?]** Did you go to Kundam yesterday ?
- **a yah no to Kundam haŋki ?)** My mother has finished cooking, and is waiting..

**No** may be added to the root (without the -ii) when recent time is specified, or when explaining the reason for something.

- **haŋki a ar no ?** Did you come yesterday ?
- **mi ar no to suudu ma haŋki.** I came to your house yesterday.
- **hoto njah no da haŋki ?** Where did you go yesterday ?
- **mi yah no to suna .** I had gone to the suna (early millet) field.

- **si mi anndu no han,** If I had only known before, 
  **mi watta no,** I would not have done 
  **ko mbad mi ko.** what I did.

- **ngon no don....** Once upon a time there was...
THE NEGATIVE IN -aa.

(1) This is used in the first place with the verbs to be (won) to be able (waaw), to know (annd-), to want (like)(-yid-).

(a) hombo wonii?  
    wonaa min.  
    wonaa noon?  
    wonaa dum.  
    wonaa goonga.  
    wonaa min wadi ton hootonde.

(b) mido anndii.
    mi andaa dum.  
    mi andaa.  
    a andaa kam?  
    mi andaa no.

(c) mido waawii.
    mi waawaa.  
    or mi waawataaa.

(d) mido yidii.
    hombo yidi dum?  
    a yidaa kam?  
    a yidaa dum?

Who is it?  
It was not me.  
Isn't it so?  
That is not it.  
It's not true.  
It was not me who put a ring there.  
I know.  
I do not know that/ him/her.  
I do not know.  
You do not know me?  
I did not know.  
I can.  
I cannot.  
I cannot. I will not be able.  
I want, I like.  
Who wants it? Who would like it?  
You do not love me?  
Do you not like it?
-aa is also added to the definite future tense to form the negative.

a waalat-aa ?
a nyaamat-aa ?
a yeeutas-aa ?
janngo mi unat-aa,
mi warat-aa ma '
mba naangat-aa ma,
a soodataa gertogal ?
on naatataa ?
a waawataa,’
mi deafataa,
mi unataa,
mi saggintaa,
mi teen-o-y-taa,*
mi dyoog-o-y-taa.*

Will you not spend the night ?
Will you not eat ?
Won't you chat ?
Tomorrow I will not pound.
I will not kill you.
He will not catch you.
Won't you buy a fowl ?
Won't you enter ?
You will not be able = you cannot.
I will not cook,
I will not pound,
I will not start cooking,
I will not go for firewood,
I will not go for water.

* (The -oy- infix indicates to 'go to (do something)' .
See page 72 .)
This has the suffix -taa

mi yahat-aa. I will not go. 1
mi yaha-taa. I do not go.

mbo yaha-taa. She does not go.
a hërsa-taa. You have no shame.
mbo defa-taa. She does not cook.
mbo haaltaa goonga. He does not tell the truth.
mbo un-taa. She does not pound.
mbo nan'taa. She does not hear (listen).
joo a ara-taa ga. You don't come here now.

1 Linda Salmon's notes indicate that Mary Balde felt there was no difference. D.P. Gamble considers that there is, based on listening to the speech of the Dorobe (Lorobo). M.B. was adamant, and she is the Fula speaker. !
THE MIDDLE VOICE

Past tense  (acquired state & finished action)  -iima
(narrative)  -ii
(negative)  -aaki

Present  (process)  mido .... oo
Past  (continuous state)  mido .... ii
Definite future
Habitual
Future negative  -otoo

The particles ni and no can be used as in the active voice. no comes between the ii and the ma = iinoma

mi fukkiima.  I have fallen down (dropped myself).
mi fukkiino.  I fell down.
mbo hëddiima he maayo.  He has perished in the river.
diirto ! mi diirtiima.  Move. I have moved.
She
mbo dariima.  He has stood up.
a hodoyaaki tawo.  You have not yet gone on a visit.
min kiirtaaki tawo.  We have not yet had supper.
min mbottaaki tawo.  We have not yet had lunch.
a joodaaki ?  Won't you sit down ?
a nootaaki ?  You're not answering ?
mi immaaki.  I'm not getting up.

mido haaktoo.  I am clearing my throat.
ado yiiloo tan ?  You are just wandering about !
a hiirti-no-ma ?  Have you had supper ?
a wotti-no-ma ?  Have you had lunch ?
a wodditoo etc. preferred.
janggo mbo yottoto Banjul.  Tomorrow he will reach Banjul.

hodum njurnotoo da ?  What are you peeping at ?
ko miijotoo da ?  What are you thinking of ?

a joodotaako ?  Won't you sit down ?
a immotaako ?  Won't you get up ?
dum ittotaako.  It will not come loose.
THE PASSIVE VOICE

<table>
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<th>Example</th>
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<tr>
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<td>- etaake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ho nagge waraama han ?  | Has a cow been killed today ?.  
dɛfaama.                 | It has been cooked.  
winndaama.               | It has been written down.  
ho nagge waraa no han ?  | Was a cow killed today.  
suudu ndu uddaaka.       | The house has not been shut.  

mi lippete.               | I will beat you (a warning).  
or mi lippat ma           | Tomorrow a cow will be killed.  
janŋgo nagge warete.     |

hono ba ma wietee ?       | How is your father called ? (What is your father's name ?)  
ado anndii ɗum no wietee ?| Do you know how this is called ?  
ɗum wonaa ko yaretee.    | This is not for drinking.  

tonso nyaametaake.       | A bat is not to be eaten.  
si di modyi han, soodete, | If it is good, it will be bought,  
si modyaani han, soodetaake. | if it is not good, it will not be bought.  |
VERBAL NOUNS

(a) Verbal nouns are formed by adding -gol to the root, and making an initial consonant change if required.

am dance ng-am-gol dancing
suncu stack c-uncu-gol stacking
dyakku chew dyakku-gol chewing
joodaa 1 sit  njooda-gol sitting
winndu write b-inndu-gol writing

accu dyakkugol goro. leave off chewing kola.
mi ƞoodii njoodagol. I am tired (of) sitting.
hombo ortex waawde ngunugol? who is the best at pounding?
waktu mbaautugol kore. The time for cutting (cleaning out) calabashes.

(b) Nouns can also be formed with the ending -ru indicating a result.

winndu write
mbinnduru writing (noun), script
mbinndugol writing = act of writing
debbbo waawaa A woman is not able (to do)
looturu pucu to the washing of a horse in
maayoo. a river.

1 The root is given from the infinite form with the -de omitted. Many Fulbe prefer to see the form joodoo which is an imperative form.
2 Some prefer ngungol. or
hombo ortex waawde ngunu = who is the best at pounding?
VERBAL INFIXES

Additional meaning can be given to a verbal root by the addition of one or more infixes, which come between the root, and the tense ending.

1. -an for (someone)
   wecc-an am.             Change it for me.
   sood-an am tikka.      Buy a head tie for me.
   hocc-an am.            Pick it up for me.
   add-an am ndiyam.      Bring water for me,
   haal-an am.            Tell me.
   nodd-an am mbo.        Call him for me,
   mbo def-an-aani ma han ? She did not cook for you today ?
   a hāl-an-aani Samba?    Did you not tell Samba ?
   mi yah-an-a dum ?      Am I to come for it ?
   reen-an am ger-toode de.  Drive the fowls away for me.
   or reena-nom

2. -oy go to (do something)
   mido loot-oy-a.        I am going to do the washing.
   mido dyoog-oy-a.       I am going to draw water.
   mido teen-oy-a.        I am going to fetch firewood.
   mbo di def-oy-a.       She is going to cook.
   mido ain-oy-a.         I am to go herding.
   mido sood-oy-a maaro.  I am going to buy rice.
   mbo hod-oy-ii.....     He has gone on a visit (still there) to...
   mbo loot-oy-ii.        She has gone to do the washing.
   mbo ain-oy-ii.         He has gone herding.
   mbo 6ogg-oy-ii dutaaje. She has gone to pick mangoes.
   mbo dyoog-oy-ii no.    She has been to draw water
a hod-oy-i no? Did you go on a visit?
mi dɛf-oy-aani. I'm not going to cook.
mi dɛf-oy-anni. I am about to go and cook.

3. -d with, together with.

fad am, njaad-en. Wait for me, let us go together.
be nja-d-ii. They went together.
mi lem-d-aani ma. I am not talking to you.
mi leeθan-aano ma. I was not talking to you.

4. - ondir indicates reciprocity.

miθen cɛŋondiri. We are clinging together.
miθen kuufondiri. We are embracing one another.
miθen looθondiri. We are on bad terms.
min cɛŋondiri. We embraced one another.

5. - intin, tinton indicates pretence, false claim.

mbo di wull-int-i no. She is pretending to cry.
mbo di daan-tinton-ii. She is pretending to be asleep.
mbo majj-intin-i. He pretended he was lost.
saltintini. He pretended to refuse.
6. -t
   (a) reversive sense (un-; back; again)
       (b) intensity, completeness.

   (a) fiil
       fiiltu to twist around
       to untwist
   suku to block
   sukkit to unblock
   hippu to turn over
   hippit to turn right side up
   uddu to close
   uddit to open
   omdu to cover
   omdit to uncover

   a artii ? you've come back ?
   wattu. put (it) back.
   mi yeeun-it-i Hawa. I long to see Hawa again. I miss Hawa.
   tott'am. Give (it) back to me.

   (b) def
       deutu to cook
       to finish cooking
   hel to break
   heltu break off (completely)
   dal leave
   dalu let go

7. -r- with (an instrument, etc.)

   okk am o pen, give me this pen
   mi winnd-ir-a. to write with.

   mbo tady-ir-i dum laši. he cut it with a knife.
8. The infix **-or** covers various meanings.
   e.g. okk-or am. Give me a bit.
   sur-or-i. It is better (of sickness).
   It is improving.
   mi ṭεdoraani. I have no time. I am busy.

9. The infix **-id-** is found with unfavorable personal characteristics.
   rašōid-de To be short
   ṭappid-de To be flat (of nose)

10. The infix **-n-** is a causative infix.
    
    **-nu** **-in**
    
    (I have not been able to determine the rule for the differentiation between the **-nu** and the **-in** forms. DPG) *
    
    The verbs have been given in the infinitive form with the **-de** omitted.
    
    wel- be sweet lammu- sour
    wēlnu- make sweet lammin- make sour
    daraa- stand waalaa- lie down
    darnu- make stand wallin- lay down
    nyol- dirty laaō- clean
    nyolnu- make dirty lašōin- make clean
    am- dance naat- enter
    amnu- make dance nattin- make enter
    yar- drink témmbaa- even
    yārn- make drink témmbin- make even
    wul- hot jippaa- come down
    wulnu- make hot jippin- take down

11. Infixes follow a definite order:
    **ir** precedes **oy**, which precedes **or**, which precedes **an**.

---

* Perhaps **nu** follows a CVC form in a CVCC & CVVC form. (DPG).
Though not verbal infixes certain consonant patterns are frequently associated with definite types of actions.

dy. = jerky actions.
   lady       to limp
   yedy       to shake a child on the back (to quieten it)
   doddyu     to cough
   himdyu     to wink
   liddyu     to hiccups

rs = frequent scraping motions
   bersu      to grind (e.g. groundnuts - peanuts, with a rolling pin)
   harsu      to clear ground with long handled hoe
   horsu      to bail (water out of canoe, pot etc.)

rl = circular motions
   hurulu     to fence round
   harlu      to twist (thread, rope, etc.)
   weelu      to spin something round
   moorlu     to roll up in the hand
   firlo      to revolve

The root form is shown. The infinitive adds the suffix -de. The verbal noun (limping, grinding etc.) adds the suffix -gol.
THE TRANSLATION OF THE WORD "TO HAVE."

The English "to have" can be translated in various ways.

(1) In the negative aspect with alaa.

mi alaa tąŋka.  \hspace{1cm} I haven't sixpence.*

(2) With the verb hęści - used in the sense of getting or obtaining.

mi hęści sire.  \hspace{1cm} I have obtained snuff.

on kęści lidsi?  \hspace{1cm} Did you (pl.) get fish?

Hämadi hęści dębbo. \hspace{1cm} Hamadi has obtained a wife.

(3) Possession is also indicated by the words:

jogaa-de  \hspace{1cm} to possess

wood-de  \hspace{1cm} to possess.

tam-de  \hspace{1cm} to have (lit. hold in the hand).

jiy-de  \hspace{1cm} = jey in the speech of Puta Jalon.

ado jogii rawaandu?  \hspace{1cm} Have you got a dog?

ko min mi woodi ndii leidi.  \hspace{1cm} It is I who possess that land.

o di tami na'i.  \hspace{1cm} He has cows. or She has cows

wonaa minɛn njiy.  \hspace{1cm} It is not us (who) own (it).

on kala tami ciddo gorko.  \hspace{1cm} She too had a son.

alaa mbo tami on siifa pucu.  \hspace{1cm} There was no one who had such a horse.

kambaane di tami hotoonde. \hspace{1cm} The youth has a ring.

* Old currency.
THE WORD "ALAA"

(1) Used as "No." - the negative reply to an affirmative question
   

(2) As the negative of the verb 'to be.' (No other form of the verb used.)
   
   alaa don. He is not there.
   " " " here
   mbo alaa do. He is not here.
   Òe ngalaa ton. They are not there.

(3) Used as the negative of the verb 'to have.'
   
   a alaa dëbbo ? You haven't a wife?
   mi alaa sire han. I have no snuff today.
   mi alaa gërte hikka. I have no groundnuts this year.

(4) Used in various idioms:
   
   alaa mbo won ton. There is no one there.
   alaa ko ... There is nothing that...
   alaa mbo waawi dum heë.
   laambo Òe fou, alaa mbo tami on siifa pucu. Of all the kings, there was no one who had such a horse.

* However the word *hani* (from Mandinka) is more commonly used by the Fula of Fulladu East & Kantora.

1 or *fof.*
THE WORD 'KO'.

(1) = it is.

ko kany.  
ko goona.  
ko min.  
ko hannya ndu.  
ko noon?  
ko noon tiggi.  
minen ko min Laube.  
han ko alër.  
janggo ko tener.  
oo ko bidjo lamdo.  
kaen fou ko gootum.  
dum ko nete.  
ko mi kodo.

It is he/she.  
It is the truth.  
It is me.  
It is the wind.  
Is it so?  
It is exactly so.  
We are Laube.  
Today is Sunday.  
Tomorrow is Monday.  
He is the king's son.  
She " " " daughter.  
They are all one.  
This is locust bean powder.  
I am a stranger.

(2) = that which.

sood ko heewi.  
ko woni he jiiba ma?  
a nani ko Mabel wi'i?  
mì nansani ko mbi da.  
haalan am ko mbi da.  
mì andaa ko mbadat mi.  
asdo andii ko woni...?

Buy plenty (what is plenty).  
What is in your pocket?  
Do you hear what Mabel said?  
I did not hear what you said.  
tell me what you say.  
I don't know what I am to do.  
Do you know what...is?

(3) = whatever

ko welan-i ma kala.  

Whatever you like. (lit. whatever is sweet for you.)
di = it is, there it is, here it is.

di nin

Here
/ They are selling their water pots.

Here is
/ The ship is tied up (lit. standing at the wharf.

Here is
The bride is sitting on a mat.

O di nin eira.

He is milking.

Sonndu ndu di nin yima.

The bird is singing.
(The bird continued singing).

Sonndu ndu tai di nin yima.

The bird was still singing.

Di na

Di na.

There it is.

Di na ara.

There he/she is coming.

Di

Di uura basalle.

It smells of onions.

Hoore am di muusa.

My head is paining.

Redu am di muusa.

My stomach is painful.

Di 6ornii manna.

He has put on a hat.

Di fiili tikka.

She is wearing a head tie.

Di juuti lupuut.

It is very long.

Di ton.

It is there.

Di weli.

It is sweet!

Di moddi yi no bete.

It is very good!
INTERROGATIVES

(1) May be indicated by intonation, the voice rising at the end of the sentence.

\begin{align*}
a \text{ hebi } & \text{ gertogal} \quad \text{Did you get a fowl?} \\
on & \text{ kebaani } \text{ liddi} \quad \text{Did you (pl.) not get fish?} \\
a & \text{ hooti} \quad \text{Are you going home?} \\
a & \text{ artataa} \quad \text{Aren't you coming back?}
\end{align*}

(2) In the speech of the Fulbe of Kantora and Fulladu East, ho is generally added at the beginning of the sentence.

In some dialects the particle na is added at the end.

\begin{align*}
\text{ho a nyaami} & \quad \text{Have you eaten?} \\
\text{ho jom pucu saa} & \text{aani on do?} \quad \text{Did a horseman not pass you by here?}
\text{ho aan, a alaa} & \quad \text{You, haven't you got a mouth?} \\
\text{hunuko} & \quad \text{Woman, don't you want to go back to the village?} \\
\text{debo, ho a faalaaka} & \\
\text{hoott-de to saare?} & \\
\text{a nyaamaani na?} & \quad \text{Haven't you eaten then?}
\end{align*}

(3) hombo = who?

\begin{align*}
\text{hombo woni o?} & \quad \text{Who is this?} \\
\text{hombo njii da ton?} & \quad \text{Who did you see there?} \\
\text{hombo won nin?} & \quad \text{Who is it?} \\
\text{hombo lappi mbo?} & \quad \text{Who struck him/her.?} \\
\text{hombo darii do?} & \quad \text{Who is standing here?} \\
\text{hombo ? min?} & \quad \text{Who? Me?} \\
\text{hombo ronndata kam?} & \quad \text{Who will raise my load for me?}
\end{align*}
(4) hono, no = how?

hono saare mon wietee?
how is your village called?
 (= what is the name of your village?)
hono mbietee da?
how are you called? (what is your name?)
hono mbo wietee?
how is he called? (what is his/her name?)
hono pin da?
how have you wakened? (= good morning)
mi yejiti hono o wietee.
he/she
hono mbadat mi?
I have forgotten what I as called.
no mba£ da?
what will I do?

(5) hoto = where?

hoto woni ng£sa ma?
where is your farm?
hoto mbo yahii?
where has he gone?
hoto njaa no da?
where did you go?
hoto njaa ta?
where are you going?
hoto ke£at mi ndiyam?
where will I get water?
hoto ke£ da nde hootonde?
where did you get this ring?
mi anndaa hoto woni.
i don't know where it is.
hoto moptu da dum?
where are you keeping it?

(6) hodum, ko = what?

(hodum da££oy no da?
what did you go to look for?
(ko da££oy no da?
what did you do today?
hodum mba£ da han?
what is it?
kno hodum?
what has happened?
kko war£?
what did you say?
kko mbi da?
what are you doing?

hodum mbatt£a?
what did you get?
hodum an ke£ da.
what is it?
hodum woni?
what is this?
" wonin ?
(7) tuma = when?
tuma ngar da? When did you come?
tuma mbo ari? When did he come?
she

(8) njɛlu = how many, how much?
lɛbbi njɛlu? How many months?

(9) ne = what about?
dum ne? What about this?
min ne? What about me?

(10) why?
hodum wadi? Why?
dum wadi That is why.

(11) ho + article = which?
ho-ndu suudu? Which house?
cf. suudu hombo? Whose house?
ho-ŋgal gɛrtogal? Which fowl?
ho-ŋge nagge? Which cow?
REPLIES TO QUESTIONS

Yes : eeyi
     ha (Also in Mandinka)
     yoo

No:    hani (Also in Mandinka)
       a-a.
       (Other dialects use alaa.)

In negative questions the reply ha agrees, and hani, disagrees with the total sentence.

Didn't you bring any milk? Yes (i.e. I did not bring any milk. whereas standard English expects the answer "No".

    Sometimes the verb is repeated in the reply.

          (hai)
      a addaani/leddie?                        Didn't you bring (any)wood?
      mi addi.                                I have brought (some).
(1) \textbf{si} = \textit{if, when} \\

Subordinate clause in present tense, or past. 
Primary clause - emphatic future.

\begin{align*}
\text{si mi heöii taransu} & \quad \text{If I have 1/6d. (old currency)} \\
\text{he tanka} & \quad \text{I will buy a fowl.} \\
\text{mi soodat } & \\
\text{gartogal.} & \\
\text{si a laari mbo,} & \quad \text{If you look at him,} \\
\text{a annndat.} & \quad \text{you will know.} \\
\text{si mi öurorii,} & \quad \text{If (When) I am better,} \\
\text{mi yahat.} & \quad \text{I will go.} \\
\text{si a yahii,} & \quad \text{If you go (When you have gone)} \\
\text{goddo arat?} & \quad \text{will another come?}
\end{align*}

(2) \textbf{si......han} \quad \text{The particle } \textbf{han} \text{ indicates an element of doubt.}

\begin{align*}
\text{si a yani han!} & \quad \text{If you were to fall!} \\
\text{si ndiyam simti han,} & \quad \text{If the rain stops, (When the rain has} \\
\text{mi yahat.} & \quad \text{I will go.} \\
\text{si a warat kam han,} & \quad \text{If you are (going to) kill me,} \\
\text{wad am to jaingol to.} & \quad \text{put me in the fire.}
\end{align*}

(3) \textbf{si......tan} \quad \text{= as soon as.....then.}

\begin{align*}
\text{si mi nysami tan,} & \quad \text{As soon as I have eaten,} \\
\text{mi ara ?} & \quad \text{I am to come?} \\
\text{si mi nysami tan,} & \quad \text{As soon as I have eaten,} \\
\text{mi arat.} & \quad \text{I will come.} \\
\text{si mbo funnti tan,} & \quad \text{As soon as she went out,} \\
\text{leulewal wadi,} & \quad \text{it became moonlight,} \\
\text{hakke ko mbo weidi.} & \quad \text{because she was so beautiful.} \\
\text{si mbo tawi ma do tan,} & \quad \text{As soon as he finds you here,} \\
\text{a maayii.} & \quad \text{you are dead.} \\
\text{si a leöi tan, a maayat.} & \quad \text{If you tell, you will die.} \\
\text{si a watti tan,} & \quad \text{(As soon as you tell...)} \\
\text{mi warat ma.} & \quad \text{If you do it again,} \\
& \quad \text{I will kill you.}
\end{align*}
(4) *tan* at the end of a clause also indicates 'as soon as'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Debebo o yii'i dum tan,} & \quad \text{As soon as the woman saw him,} \\
\text{wulli.} & \quad \text{she burst into tears.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Weeti tan, baŋi basel.} & \quad \text{As soon as it was morning, he took a} \\
\text{That one, as soon as she heard him, /it,} & \quad \text{little mat.} \\
\text{she cried.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Oga o nani dum tan,} & \quad \text{As soon as he reached (it), he kicked} \\
\text{wulli.} & \quad \text{the baobab tree.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yotti tan, dampi öohi ki.} & \quad \text{When people had had dinner, she set off..} \\
\text{Yimöe kiriti tan, yahi.} & \quad \text{As soon as I come back, I will eat you.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Si mi arti tan, mi nyaama ma.}
\end{align*}
\]

Otherwise *tan* = only

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jam tan.} & \quad \text{Peace only!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ar tan!} & \quad \text{Come only! = Just come.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ko min tan heddí.} & \quad \text{I am the only one left.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Min tan won do.} & \quad \text{I am the only one here.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dum tan?} & \quad \text{Is that all? (Only this?)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dum tan njii mi do.} & \quad \text{That is all I see there.}
\end{align*}
\]

(5) **Han** if, when.. can also be used without the preceding *si*..

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mbo yii-oy ma han,} & \quad \text{If ever he sees you, (If he were to see..)} \\
\text{Mbo warat ma.} & \quad \text{he will kill you.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Awa, arti han,} & \quad \text{Well, when she came back,} \\
\text{Loota ha laa défini.} & \quad \text{she washed (him) clean.}
\end{align*}
\]

**M.B** provides the following variants

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Arti tan, lootay ha laa défini.} & \quad \text{As soon as she came back, she was} \\
\text{washed clean.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Arti han, lootay ha laa défini.} & \quad \text{When she comes (came) back, she washes} \\
\text{(washed) herself clean.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Arti han, lootay ha laa défini.} & \quad \text{When she comes back she is washed clean.}
\end{align*}
\]
COMPARISONS

Comparisons are expressed by using ūr (to be superior) followed by an infinitive.

Busumbala ūrī mæunu-de Mandinaba. Busumbala is bigger than Mandinaba.
Mandinaba ūrī famḍu-de Birikama. Mandinaba is smaller than Birikama.
laści am ūrī laści ma wɛlde.) My knife is sharper than yours.
laści am ūrī wɛlde laści ma.)

"To be the best at" is expressed by ūrī waawde (best at being able)

hombo ūrī waaw-de ngunu ? Who is the best at pounding ?
waawu-de ngungol ?
VARIABLE SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS

(1) ho.......ho = whether.......or

mi anna ho toaat,
ho toataa.

I don't know whether it will rain
or not.

(2) kono = but

kono dum heewi !

But it is full !

mbo araani tawo,
kono mbo arat.

He has not yet come,
but he will come.

kono mi accirima Mairam,
saabu a holli kam,
njikki maada buri njikki
am.

But I have left Mairam for you,
because you have shown me,
that your love is greater than
mine.

(3) saabu

see above.

(4) sairi. Sairo = when

sairo kauriti,
baudi pii'a.

When they had gathered,
the drums were beaten.

sairi nargi waaji bojel,
wi dum yo:...

When (hyaena) caught Little Hare,
he said:...

(5) tai = it happened

si tai di wuuri.

If she happens to be living.

tai di don wulla.

It happened she was crying there..

tai on di daani.

It happened he was sleeping..

(6) tuma = by the time

By the time she had finished speaking,
it happened that a cotton tree sprang up.

and

It happened by the time they reached,
. he had told the slaves.

tawa mbaroyi ngaari.

to have gone and killed a bull.
(7) **wi-de** (lit. to say) = to be about to.

*ngiis immi, wi di dum wara.*

The (big monster) rose up, and was about to kill him.

*mbi mi mifo yaha to ngëla Suùllël.*

I was about to go to the other little pool.

*wi di funnta.*

He was about to go out.

*fowrual wi di ninhirsa kaandi tan.*

Hyæna was about to cut the throat of lion.

*coppi dum ha di wi yanat.*

They cut it, until it was about to fall.

*laamdo o hërsi, wi di nin lattito waandu tan,*

The king was ashamed, just as he was about to turn into a monkey,

*cukayël gorel ngël nañgi dum.*

the little boy caught him.
PARTICIPLES

(a) From an active verb: root + do (personal nouns) root + class ending (non-personal) root + u+ class ending (if root ends in two consonants)

maai- die maaido dead person
maaide dead people

jiif- die (of animals) nagge jiif-nge a cow which has died (a natural death)

yolbu be slack, too large. wutte njolbu-do a too-big garment.
tummbi be pregnant (of animals) nagge tummbunge a pregnant cow.

(b) From a middle voice verb. ii + do etc.

darroo stand oo ndariido do that man standing here.

(c) From a passive voice verb. aa + do etc.

nel send nelaaado person sent (=messenger)

def cook gerete ndefaade cooked groundnuts
judo- roast gerete njudaade roasted groundnuts

(d) Participles are also formed from the habitual tenses.

def cook ndefowo cook (occupation)
jokku sew njokkowo tailor
nantin interpret nantinowo interpreter

(e) Names of powerful animals are often derived from the verb. "The killer," rather than using another name.

war kill mbar-oo-di killer = lion
Adjectives are normally formed from verbal roots to which the appropriate noun class ending is added. The article follows the adjective. (No article follows the word for one.)

 nødó mau-do o the big person
booli mau-do o the big basin
ndiyam mau-dam dam the big water
haaire mau-nde nde the big stone
ngaari mau-ndi ndi the big bull
rawaandu mau-ndu ndu the big dog
nagge mau-ngi ngi the big cow
yeeso mān-ngi ngi the big face
mbalu mān-ngu ngu the big sheep
gērtogal mān-ngal ngal the big fowl
cukayel ---------- ----------
laawol mān-ngol ngol the big road
ngaika mau-ka ka the big hole
lēkki mau-ki ki the big medicine
hudo mau-ko ko the big grass
mbabba mau-mba mba the big donkey
yimē mao-đe ē the big people
gērte mau-đe de the big peanuts
baali maođi di the big sheep (pl.)

kenni ngi the big wind*
kenni mān-ngi ngi the great big wind

nødø gooto the same person
booli gooto one basin
ndiyam gootam one water
haaire wootɛ one stone
ngaari wootiri one bull
rawaandu wooturu one dog
nagge wootɛ one cow
yeeso wooto one face
mbalu wootu one sheep
gērtogal gootal one hen
cukayel gootɛ one child
laawol gootol one road
ngaika woota one hole
lēkki wooti one medicine
hudo wooto one grass
mbabba woota one donkey

yimē wootudɛ ** the same people

* ii = the augmentative noun ending.

** not a common usage.
An adjective cannot be used predicatively in Fula, except in phrases with the word ko. Normally an adjectival verb is used. e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ndiyam keudam dem} & \quad \text{plenty of water} \\
\text{ndiyam/di heewi} & \quad \text{the water is plentiful.} \\
\text{sudu maundu ndu} & \quad \text{the big house} \\
\text{suudu ndu di mauni} & \quad \text{the house is big.}
\end{align*}
\]

But one can say

\[
\text{suudu ma ndu ko maundu !} \quad \text{how big your house is!}
\]

-----

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{neddo bondo} & \quad \text{a bad person} \\
\text{maudo debbo} & \quad \text{an old woman} \\
\text{leuru wooturu} & \quad \text{one month } \text{(one moon)} \\
\text{ndiyam nyoldam} & \quad \text{dirty water} \\
\text{cukayel tokosel} & \quad \text{a small child} \\
\text{maaro heso} & \quad \text{new rice} \\
\text{liddi njoordi} & \quad \text{dried fish} \\
\text{leede ndefirtaye} & \quad \text{wood to cook with} \\
\text{gude muudum cuuwaade} & \quad \text{his dyed clothes}
\end{align*}
\]

her
When a noun is used adjectivally it follows the word it describes.

woundu Manekunda
ndiyam woundu
Soggol woundu
nguru nagge
aaudi maaro
kewal sire:

Manekunda well
well water
well rope
cow skin
rice seed
snuff container

To express the term female the root _rew_ is used.

debo - reuše
ullunndu reu-ru
pucu ndewu
nduulaldi ndeu-ri

woman - women
a female cat
a mare
a female lizard

The word _jarl_ is also used for certain animals.

ngeelooba njarla
pucu njarlu

a female camel
a mare
DIMINUTIVE AND AUGMENTATIVE FORMS

Diminutives  -ɛl  (pl. = ony)

cə'ɛl mbeidungɛl  (from saare)  A pretty little village.
cukayɛl deyɛŋɛl.  A little girl.
cukayɛl gorɛl  A little boy.
amaayɛl gootɛl.  A certain little old woman (granny).
kala kullɛl ngononɡɛl to  Each little thing that lived
nder maayo  (from huunde)  in the river.

Augmentatives  -ii

nyama ha deeringii heewa.  He) would eat until his big belly was full.
(from reedu)
kennii molanteengi Alla arí.  A wonderfully strong wind came.
(from hɛnndu)
don leggiisiri-ɡarayi fudi.  There a large shady tree sprang up.
(from leggal)
ɛn mboppi mangii ñgi.  They left the large one.
macullii molanaadí  Wonderfully big slaves.
cf. maccuɓe molanasɓe
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>go, gooto</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>sappo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>didi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>noogai, noogas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tati</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>cappande tati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>joowi</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>jeegoo</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>jeedidi</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>jeetati</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>jeenai</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sappo he goo</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>noogai he goo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>sappo he didi etc.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>noogai he didi etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>teemedere</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>wuluure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>teemelle didi</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>guluuje didi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>teemelle tati etc.</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>guluuje tati etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a) For personal nouns, an o is substituted for the final i of the numeral.

The plural form is also o, not ñe.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{yimẽe dido} & \quad \text{two people} \\
\text{nẽdẽ do gooto} & \quad \text{one person}
\end{align*}\]

b) For diminutives - ñl and -ony are added.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{gootẽl} & \quad \text{a little one} \\
\text{cukalony tatony} & \quad \text{three children}
\end{align*}\]

c) Goo is used in counting.

Gooto is used as an adjective. It changes its suffix and initial consonant in accordance with the noun class system. (See p. 91).

d) Numerals follow the noun, and come last when there is another adjective.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{jowiiji didi} & \quad \text{two fives} \\
\text{minẽn dido} & \quad \text{we two} \\
\text{mauẽ reuẽ dido} & \quad \text{two old women} \\
\text{* buuďi sappo he jowi} & \quad \text{fifteen dollars}
\end{align*}\]

e) 'Times' are expressed by the word laawol - laabi.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{laabi didi} & \quad \text{twice} \\
\text{laabi tati} & \quad \text{three times}
\end{align*}\]

* mbẽdi = 4 shillings (old currency) = 1 dollar (dalasi)
WORDS INDICATING PLACE AND DIRECTION

to = to (indicating direction away from the speaker)

mbo yahii to wuro. He has gone to the herd.
Kadi di to wouindu. Kadi is at the well.
njëën to suudu ma. Let us go to your house.
ado yaha to marse ? Are you going to the market ?
to suudu ma. To your house.
njëën to suudu to. Let us go to the house.
mbo yahi to ngësa. He went to the farm.
Sat too to seeđa. Move over a little.
a yii'i Faatu to marse ? Did you see Faatu at the market ?
joọd to joọdorgal to. Sit on the seat over there.
yah beeqoy to. Go and scrape (the fish) over there.
Hamadi wadi dum to jëba. Hamadi put it in his pocket.
mbo yahi to ladde. He went to the 'bush'.

ton = there (when distance is far)
a yah-aani ton tawo ? Didn't you go there yet ?
follëre alaa ton. There is no sorrel there.
a booyi ton ! You were a long time away there !

do = here, there (when distance is not far)
alaal do. He is not here.
mi tawaani ma do. I did not find you here.
immo do, yah to. Get up from here, go away.
wad do. Put it here.
aan, immo do. You, get up from here.
ga, gai = here (close), indicating movement towards the speaker.
ar gai.
a wairi gai!

Come here.
You were long away from here!

he = and, with, on, in (no motion involved) (See also: p.32)
inna am he ba am.
reuche am he čićeče am.
gooto he muçu.

My mother and my father.
My wives and my children.
One of them.

wota jodo he leidi.
yah he jam.
mbo hëddiima he maayo.
ko woni he jiiba ma?

Don't sit on the ground.
Go in peace.
He has perished in the river. (lit. remaine

What is in your pocket?

kanyhe = along with

debb o yahi to Banjul.
kany he čidjo muñ.
on nyan Mairam kany he
fulçeče muuđum be fiuü...

The woman went to Banjul,
along with her child.
On that day Mairam along with
all of her age-mates...

nder = inside
nder suudu to.
Mairam yahii to nder suudu.
mbo di to nder suudu.
nder hunuko muuđum.

Inside the house there.
Mairam has gone into the house.
She is there in the house.
In his mouth.
her

1 Other dialects use gai more than the people of Mansajang etc.
who prefer do .
yaai (yaas in other dialects) = outside

(De) njiaani hai neddo
to yaai.
naab to yaai.
di to yaai.

They did not see anyone outside.
Take (it) outside.
It is outside.

jimba = beside
mbo di darii he jimba'm.
mbo di he jimba saare.

He/she is standing beside me.
He/She is beside the village.

yeeso = in front of (lit. face)
aad joodi to yeeso am.
yautu(to)yeeso.

You are sitting in front of me.
Pass on ahead.

baawo = behind (lit. back)
mbo di to baawo suudu to.
acci dawaadi muudum di
to baawo.

He/she is behind the house.
He left his dogs behind.

sengo = side, direction
to
mbo yahii ngo /sengo.
to
ko ngoo/sengo woni.

He/She went that way.
It is in that direction.

heede = direction
mbo di to heede ton.
di darii heede panye goro
muudum.

He/she is in that direction.
He is standing beside his basket of kola nuts.

dou = up, on top
laar to dou )
hoino to dou )
booli o, di to dou.
...dyeenga to dou leggal.

Look up.
The basin is up there.
He) would climb up a tree.
lei (legs in other dialects) = under, on the ground.
di to lei mbalndi to. It is under the bed.
hipp'am do lei kaggu do. Cover me up under the milk platform.

leriinde = in the middle of
to leriinde ladde. In the middle of the bush.
to leriinde maayo to. In the middle of the river.

hakkunde = between
hakkunde am he Alla. Between me and God (an oath).
hakkunde amen. Between us.

gite (+ pronoun) = in (your) presence, (lit. in your sight).
ko he gite ma wafi. It happened in your presence.

gila...... ha(a)...... = from...... to ....
gila Basse haa Kundam. From Basse to Kundam.

gada = on the other side of, on the other bank.
gada maayo. On the other bank of the river.
WORDS INDICATING TIME

tawo  =  yet

mbo araani tawo,
  kono mbo arat.

a hootaani tawo ?

joo (jooni in other dialects) = now, immediately.

mi noodii joo.
a arata do joo.

haa  =  until

haa jarngo.

haa kiikiide.

haa joo.

haa booyi.

mi dogi haa mi duppi.

haa duntun jogga.

accu haa weeta.

waali haa leriinde jëmma.

gila  =  since

  do

gila hanki a araani gaai.

  gila ontuma ha joo...

  gila njibina mi..

  gila on nyan fulaneëe
  muudum cokkoyi, ha joo mbo
  leëaani.

1 or tampi (to be exhausted).

also  ndog mi haa nduppu mi

I ran until I was out of breath

He has not yet come, but he will come.

You have not gone home yet?

I am tired now.

You do not come here now.

Until tomorrow.

Until evening.

Until now, still.

For a long time.

I have run until I am out of breath

Until the cock crows.

Wait until it is morning.

They) lay down until the middle of the night.

Since yesterday you did not come here.

Since that time until now.

Since I was born..

Since the day her companions went for tattooing, until now she has not spoken.
lau, law = early

bimmbi lau. In the early morning.
janngo bimmbi lau. Tomorrow morning early.

han (hanned in other dialects): today

hanki yesterday
hec hanki the day before yesterday
janngo tomorrow
fase janngo the day after tomorrow

janngo bimmbi. Tomorrow morning.
hanki a ar no? Yesterday did you come?
or a ar no hanki?
janngo mbo yottoto Basse. Tomorrow he will reach Basse.

rowandeya

------ the year before last
rowani last year
hikka this year
nyaagaro next year

teret welani rowani. The trade season was not good last year.
mi alaa gerte hikka. I have no groundnuts this year.
mido ittindiri ndiyam I am separating last year's water rowani dam he hikka dam, from this year's, and from, he ndiyam rowandeya dam, the water of the year before last.
bimmbi = morning
nyannde nyan nyalaande = day
nyalooma = daytime (afternoon)
jëmma = night time

a yarataa nyalooma ?
da hulataa yaade jëmma ?
waali ha leeriinde jëmma.
jäŋgo bimmbi.
yo
bimmbi-o-bimmbi.
bimmbi lau.
wo
nyannde-o-nyannde, o dana yaha to nder ladde.
siko haa nde nyalaande artë.
gila on nyan ..
nyañde wootëre.

 долго = for a long time
дооъи ко нгар mi.
doоъи ko mbo yahi.
laari din na'i haa дооъи.
yalla дон haa дооъи.
doоъытэ.

siwaa = it is not yet time
ma siwaa naatu.

Don't you drink in the day-time ?
Aren't you afraid to go at night ?
He lay down until the middle of the night.
Tomorrow morning.
Every morning.
Early in the morning.
Every day the hunter would go into the bush.
But until that day comes round..
Since that day..
One day.

It is long since I came.
It is a long time since he went.
He looked at those cows for a long time.
He spent the day there for a long time.
It will not be long. Soon.

Before he had entered.
meed = ever, never (lit. to taste)

mi meeda yiide ñiööe
no òe ni. 

I have never seen children
like them.

gila njibina mi, he
ndi leiđi,
mi meeda yiide do saare
si wonaa han.

Since I was born, in this
country,
I have never seen a village here
except for today.

mi meeda hëłđe dëbbo.

I have never had a wife.

mi meedi ton yaade
laabi didi.

I went there twice. (In reply to
"Have you ever been there ?")

mi meeda yii do
gorko jibini.

I have never seen where
a man gave birth.

titi = again

naulirraaše mùudum
kërsi titi.

Her co-wives
were ashamed again.

Penda mëli Buubël titi,

Penda sent Little Fly again.

funntini dümén titi.

She took them out again.

hingal = finally, in the end

o
dëbbo/hingal yahi to
mamaare.

The woman finally went to
an old woman.

yah wi inna am yo:
hingal noon mi ñëmtat.

Go and tell my mother:
'Finally I will be shamed,'

doode = before

dana o, doode wakkade
giddi mùudum, wi dümén...

The hunter, before he shouldered
his gun, said to them....

hanti = now

wi düm: hanti njëhën to banta. He said 'Now let us go to the banta.'
### Words Indicating Quantity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bui</td>
<td>very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeda</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko heewi</td>
<td>plenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sood ko heewi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tady an am hen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosam jam heewsani, ko seeda tan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonaa seeda, ko bui.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Buy plenty.
- Cut me a bit.
- The milk is not plentiful, only a little.
- It is not a little, it is much.
- He almost died.
- He almost fell.
- Thank you very much. (Lit. you are to be greatly praised)

### Words Indicating Manner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seese</td>
<td>softly, gently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noi</td>
<td>softly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no feewi</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko meere</td>
<td>in vain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko yaawi</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- doi doi. very softly.
- wad ko yaawi. Do it quickly.
**DE** = (an emphatic word, used at the end of a sentence)

midén nguna de!

We are pounding!

a lippëtee de!

You will be beaten!

mi lippat on de!

I will beat you (pl.)!

wonnë min de!

It wasn't me!

min de, mi ñiaani nëffo.

As for me, I did not see anyone.

**KAI** (from Wolof)

mbo di annëi kai.

He/she knows!

mbo ari kai.

He did come.

**FOU** (f-statements in other dialects) = all

a huumni fou!

You've completely finished (it).

mi yeejëiti fou.

I completely forget!

**TIGGI**

ko noon tiggi!

That's exactly so.

**NO BETTE** = well

mbo annëi Jara no bette

He knows Jara well.

mbo di mooodëi no bette.

He is extremely kind.

**HAI** = even

hai gooto mi ñiaani.

I have not even one.

hai jëmma mbo yiiloto.

Even at night he is wandering around.

hai gooto waani mbo.

Not one told him.

hai huunde.

Not a thing (alaa do - implied)

hai tuus.

Not a thing

hai fen. (Mandinka)

"

hai dara. (Wolof)

"

hai nëffo heëddaaki.

Not a single person remained.
Fou = all, every

Siioe muudum se fou ko woroe.
tawi fou nyasmete to laawol.
saare nde fou lamdi dum.
  ko
maaro/fou di sennndii.
njahi, ka'en fou, ...
fulaneetse muudum se fou.
se'nd fou poobi juu'de.
yimmoe se fou ndaartindiri.

Her children all were male.
It happened everything was eaten on the way.
All the village asked her.
All the rice was ripe.
They went off, all of them...
All her age-mates...
They all clapped their hands.
All the people looked at one another.

Fiu, fiuu = all, the whole
reuo muudum se fiu.
saare nde fiuu hauriti to banta.
ka'en fiu caskii.

All his wives....
All the village met at the banta.
They all scattered.
wondema = clearly, definitely.

yeejiti wondema njumri
nakkoto ne'fo.

anndi wondema pellët..
o fëlliti pellët wondema.

Ho yimše ñe fou njiia
wondema kany reuše muddum
ñe ko reuše.

kollëñ aduna ñe fou,
wondema ñe ko ñiöö am.

waaji bojël noon kany yii
wondema wonaa mbaalu won
nin.

He forgot completely that honey
would stick to a person.

He) knew very clearly that..

He) realized clearly that..

So that all the people would see
clearly that his wives
were all women.

Let us: show the whole world
clearly that these are my children.

Friend Hare, however, had seen
clearly that it was not a sheep
there.
EMPHATIC WORDS

mbo anndi pɛɬɛɬɛt.  He knew for sure.
di šauli not.  It is very black.
di šuuri jɛm.  It is very cold.
di feewi bɛc.  It is completely straight.
di haadi rok.  It is very bitter.
di heewi tɛp.  It is completely full.
di juuti lupuut.  It is very long.
di laaʃi pos.  It is very clean.
di lɛppi putuk.  It is very wet (of an object)
di lammi tau.  It is very sour.
di luuğa duus.  It is smelling strongly.
di maayi pak.  It is completely dead.
di nyoli tof.  It is completely rotten.
di raʃdidi ndotok.  It is very short.
di rauni tal.  It is very white.
di weidi wesɛɛt.  It is very beautiful.
di wɛli cilom.  It is very sweet.
di wojji coi.  It is very red.
di wuli cau.  It is very hot.
di yoori koŋ.  It is very dry.

ngɛ
naange/di wuli cau.  The sun is very hot.
gude daneeje tal.  Very white clothes.
kiriʃi jum taraas.  He) cut his throat,
mi baari tɛp.  I am completely satisfied (full).

The emphatic word is found only with its associated verb.

Similar emphatic words are found in other languages such as
Mandinka or Wolof.

e.g. Mandinka:

- a bambanta kat  It is very strong.
- a boita pitim  He fell down completely.
- a faata tep  It is completely full
- a be foyaring bof  It is very soft
- a wuleta tau  It is very red etc.

Wolof:

- nyuul kukk  Very black
- suur na kell  He is completely full (satisfied)

There is very little overlap between the languages in the emphatic words, and in Mandinka, for instance, there is considerable variation from region to region.

The emphatic word can be repeated for emphasis:

naayejo hobor,   Very, very, old.
hobor, hobor.
Where English has a form such as "he tied him tight," "she washed him clean," etc., Fula uses **hha** (until) + the appropriate verb. E.g. "She washed him until (he was) clean."

Sentences frequently heard are:

yahi hha wɔddi.
asi ngai kaa haa luggi.
fitti dum haa laaçi.
yiggī dum haa laaçi.
ɓe kum i dum haa yoori.
bmo humi dum haa siinyi.
yyan maa haa saari.
mbaali haa weeti.
di nyarii haa di weidi.
dyooogo faka muɗum haa heewa.
dɛfi haa ᵇɛmpini
dɛfa hiiraande ha deeuta.

**He went until he was far.**
**He) dug a hole until it was deep.**
**She) swept it until it was clean.**
**She) washed him until he was clean.**
**They tied him until he was dry (=tight).**
**He) tied him until he bared his teeth.**
**He) ate until he was full (satisfied).**
**They) slept until morning.** (was)
**She) dressed up until she was beautiful**
**She) would fill the water pot until it was full.**
**She cooked until it was finished.**
**She would cook dinner until it was cooked (ready).**

It is so sweet it is dead = something that sweet cannot exist = it is very sweet.

That youth was spoiled completely (= so that it passed (all)).
di juurta curuut, curuut.
inna o wædi arde, fiwir, fawar.
filim, falam.
di soppa tan, cak, cak.
maamayël ngël di diwnata
kada, kada.
čëda fiu njolla mbañta puci di
pucum pacam, pucum pacam.
wædi arde perkete, perkete,
perkete.
kulli ngi...wædi pulum palam.
nayeyël...nyëkki cëk, cëk.
wædi 'fiif'.
wutti hinëtë nde 'fur'.

He poured it out, churut, churut.
The mother came, fiwir, fawar
filim, falam
(= slowly)
he was cutting, chak, chak ..
(sound of cutting tree with ax.)
The little grandmother was trembling,
kada, kada.
The others all would plunge their horses
into the river, puchum, pacham.
(The antelope) came along, perkete,
perkete, perkete.
(The monster..)went pulum, palam.
The little old woman..came tripping
along, chek, chek.
He went 'fiif' (of nose blowing)
He) blew his nose 'fur'.

GREETINGS

jam waali
jam weeti
jam nyalli
jam hiiri

good morning! (Have you spent the night in peace)
good morning!
good day!
good evening!

The plural form adds on

jam weeti on!

hono pin ḏen?
hono nyallu ḏen?
(ho)no kiir ḏen?
(ho)no mbeet ḏen?
hono pin da?
hono ṣe cuudi?
hono ṣe saare mon?
hono ṣeengu ṣgu?
(ho)no musidangal fou?

Good morning! (pl.)
How have we wakened?
How have we spent the day?
How have we spent the evening?
How have we spent the morning?
How have you wakened?
How are the people at home?
How are the people of your village?
How are the family?
How are all the relatives?

The reply to these is "jam tan" Peace only.

When one is about to leave one says:

mi hooti. I am going home.

One's host then says:

mi yētti ṣe or I greet them.

mi salmini ṣe

One can then say:

Ṣe nanat. They will hear (it).
On leaving at night one says:

mbaalen jam. Let us spend the night in peace.

the standard reply being:

awa, mbaalen jam. Yes, (Well), let us spend the night in peace.

When people are about to eat they invite one by saying:

ar nyaam'en. Come and eat.

or kiirtod'en

nyaltod'en

mbottod'en

Let us have dinner together.
Let us have breakfast together.
Let us have lunch together.

If one does not wish to participate, one can either say:

bisimilai As God wishes.

or mi yoni.

I am satisfied.

mi haari.

I am full. (A less polite reply.)

If a person sneezes one should say 'wuur' (live),

to which the reply is:

mbuurd'en. May we live together.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Sound</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rawaandu</td>
<td>wofat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuilat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luudat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbabba</td>
<td>hanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaroodi</td>
<td>uʊʊʊʊat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulluunndu</td>
<td>nyeeewat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fowru</td>
<td>nuunyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbaalu</td>
<td>mee'at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeewa</td>
<td>mee'at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboddi</td>
<td>fuupat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duntun</td>
<td>njoggat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'i di</td>
<td>nuunyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pucu</td>
<td>hijat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- A dog **barks**
- A dog **whines**
- A dog **howls**
- A donkey **brays**
- A lion **roars**
- A cat **miaows**
- A hyaena **howls**
- A sheep **bleats**
- A goat **bleats**
- A snake **hisses**
- A cock **crows**
- The cows **low**
- A horse **neighs**

rawaandu ndu wadi
wow, wow, wow, wow.

pucu ndu wadii
hi, hi, hi, hi, hi.

The dog went
'wow, wow, wow, wow'

The horse went
'hi, hi, hi, hi, hi.' (Sound of neighing)
GIRLS' PLAY SONGS

matamburaaje, matamburaaje,
ma woni Meri,
matamburaaje,
yahi wuro janngo,
matamburaaje,
hombo tawoyna ton,
matamburaaje,
sina Uwa mun,
matamburaaje,
Širana dum kóddam,
matamburaaje,
kóddam njakkam no wéldi,
matamburaaje,
matamburaaje, matamburaaje.

---------------

leuru. leuru,
saakoddáa sumaye,
ma woni kaari han,
saakoddáa sumaye,
yahi wuro han,
saakoddáa sumaye,
no hakkilo siwe ŋge,
saakoddáa sumaye,
siwe no yuwalata,
saakoddáa sumaye.

Matamburaaje, matamburaaje,
If it is Mary,
Matamburaaje
If she goes to the herd tomorrow,
Matamburaaje.
Who will she meet there,
Matamburaaje,
If not her brother Uwa,
Matamburaaje,
who will milk fresh milk for her,
Matamburaaje,
fresh milk, how sweet it is,
Matamburaaje,
Matamburaaje, matamburaaje.

---------------

Moon, moon,
Sakoda sumaye,
If it is so and so,
Sakoda sumaye,
When she goes to the herd
Sakoda sumaye,
She should beware of the striped cow,
Sakoda sumaye,
The striped cow will pierce her
(with its horns)
Sakoda sumaye,

1 Sung by Mary Umah Baldeh, San Francisco, July 1975.
nja mi to, nja mi to, nja mi.  
I went, I went, I went,

nja mi to wukkur joye.  
I went where the joye trees were putting out buds,

taw mi tabaaje di laudyu.  
I found the taba trees cleaning,

laudyu mi, ngokku mi Sebo,  
I cleaned, and I gave to Sebo,

Sebo meedan maudo.  
Sebo our older brother,

fii'anta en baudi,  
beating the drum for us,

baudi sangalaaji.  
the drum from the porcupine skin,

ho baina, ho bah,  
Hush, (baby), hush,

ho baina, ho bah.  
Hush, (baby), hush.

Songs sung to small children in Fula, Mandinka and Wolof often have a series of "chain rhymes", the last word of one line forming the first word of the next line. The meaning of the sentences is unimportant, so long as the lullaby quietens the child!

---

1 Sung by Mary Umah Baldeh, San Francisco, July 1975.


RIDDLES

Riddles are asked by children rather than adults, though adults will sometimes join in riddling.

A riddle is introduced with the phrase tindi ko tindi ko.

1. Q. kore kipiti kore ?
   A. yaadu mbabba he pette.
   Calabashes overturned calabashes.
   Kore kipiti kore (a sound).

2. Q. di juuti, alaa mbeelu ?
   A. ɗafaal.
   A donkey walking over stones.
   It is long, but has no shadow.

3. Q. Sira daasa, lince caami.
   A. lëggal njoorngal.
   (si a daasi dum han
   kakaali di njanat.)
   Sira was dragged along, rags fell off.
   A dry branch.
   (If you drag it along, leaves will fall off.)

4. Q. camalle dou mbalndi ?
   A. korle nayeejo.
   Dry sticks on the bed.
   The shins of an old person.

5. Q. leulewal gada mbalndi ?
   A. boccoode.
   Moonlight behind the bed.
   Eggs. (Laid by hen under the bed.)

6. Q. ngaari lei faka ?
   A. faabbru.
   A bull beneath the water pot.
   A frog . (which croaks under the pot).

7. Q. mìdo tami lëggii biri-barayi, I have a big spreading tree, but
   kono
   a waawata sorde be doudi muudum.
   You can't get under its shade.
   Peanut plant (which spreads along the ground.)
   A. ɗertol.

8. Q. mìdo tami horde,
   mi laudya dum ha laaṣa,
   mi feero dum to dou,
   yanat, siko fusatas, eesotaako.
   I have a calabash,
   I wash it until it is clean,
   I throw it up (in the air),
   it will fall down, but will not break,
   it cannot be broken.
   A leaf.
   A. kaakaalol.
9. Q. tuuba mba sumi.
   duforgol ngol sumaani?
A. ladde sumi, laawol sumaani.
   The trousers burnt,
   The trouser cord did not burn.
10. Q. mi hod-oy-o dula,
    mi wertane basal,
    doode mi joodaade,
    cukayel idito kam.
A. buubel.
    I go on a visit,
    A mat is spread for me,
    Before I sit down,
    A little child beats me to it.
    A little fly.
11. Q. mido tami cukalong didony,
    yaha ha wodda,
    si mi dalti ngela ten,
    heutoyo dum.
A. gite.
    I have two little children,
    he goes far away,
    if I let the other go,
    he will ... catch up with him.
    The eyes.
12. Q. do beel'el,
    do dyeehanel.
A. do dodel,
    do kandyel.
    Here is a little lake,
    here is a little hill.
    Here is a little pile of excrement,
    Here is a little pool of urine.
13. Q. woroe tato,
    dufol gootol.
A. dukke tabaaje.
    Three men,
    one pair of trousers.
    A pod of taba fruit (with three kernels)
14. Q. pelmeles.
A. na'i si pegrima,
    njegyitaako
    Pelmeles.
    Cows, if they stumble,
    don't look back.

1-5, 7-12. Provided by Mary Umah Baldeh, from Saare Mansajang, San Francisco, 19
In July 1974 Linda Salmon made a recording of conversations between Tamba Balde (Kumba in the script) and Grace Kamara (Jainaba in the script). Tamba Balde comes from Saare Mansajang near Basse, Grace Kamara was brought up in Banjul, but her family comes from the same village.

(1)

K. tuubaako, hono mbiiete da ?
J. Jainaba, hono an mbiiete da ?
K. min ? Kumba Balde.
J. Kumba, duubi njëlu keë da ?
K. duuëi noogas he tati hikka.
J. Kumba, hombo woni ba ma ?
K. Mabel Balde.
J. inna ma ne ?
K. Hawa Balde.

hoto ngiuru da, Jainaba.
J. Banjul.
K. ee...hono 6e Banjul ?
J. jam tan.

K. no golle de ?
J. jam tan.
K. tana fo alaa ?
J. jam tan, hono mbad ën.
K. jam tan.
ho
J. /no yimëe ën ?
K. jam tan.
J. ee yoo.

Tubab, what is your name ?
Jainaba, what is your name ?
Me, Kumba Balde.
Kumba, how old are you ?
Twenty three years (old) this yea
Kumba, who is your father ?
Mabel Balde.
What about your mother ?
Hawa Balde.
Where are you from, Jainaba ?
Banjul.
eh...how are the people of Banjul ?
Peace only.
How is the work ?
Peace only.
There is not trouble at all ?
Peace only, how are we doing ?
Peace only .
How are our people ?
Peace only.
Good.

1. The original script had Linda as one of the speakers. Tuubaako means European, but can also be used facetiously to a 'westernized' person.
K. kori a tampaani no bette.  
I hope you are not too tired?
J. hani, wonaa no bette.  
No, not very much.
K. ho Banjul di wëli ?  
Is Banjul nice?
J. ba, di wëli uu.  
Yes, it is very nice.
K. Suri welde Basse.  
Nicer than Basse?
J. ferëm bom.  
Very much!
K. a-a, mi jaåaani.  
No, no. I do not agree.
Basse Suri welde Banjul
laabi teemedere.
J. hodum wadi mbii da noon.  
Basse is nicer than Banjul
one hundred times.
K. ngalaa na'i he kosam,  
Why do you say that?
motooji tan.
Koppi ma fiuu paada  
They have no cows and sour milk
diiraango motooji.  
(in Banjul)
J. eeyi, dum ko goonga,  
only cars,
kono Basse di wuli no bette.  
your ears are completely deaf
K. miinëm ga min mbcowti  
because of the noise of vehicles.
gullendi ndi.  
Yes, that is true,
m hooti, Jainaba,  
but Basse is very hot.
nyallen jam.  
We here are used to
J. awa, nyallen jam.  
the heat.
(2)
K. Jainaba, ho a yahannu maayo ?  
I'm going home, Jainaba.
J. eeyi, mifo yaha murse.  
May we spend a peaceful afternoon.
K. hodum coodoitaani ?  
All right, may be spend the day in peace.
J. ko maasfor' te.  
(2)
K. he, kori an ado waawi ndëfu ?  
K. Jainaba, are you going to the river
J. mifo waawi uu !  
(in Basse = down-town.)
I can indeed!

Yes, I am going to the market.
What are you going to buy?
Ingredients for cooking.
Hey, I hope you can cook!
What are you going to cook for lunch?
Rice and meat (stew).

Indeed
Hey, nobody can
touch you. (= you're good!)

You, what are you going to cook?
Me, very sour sorrel soup.
The market now cannot be touched.

Are you going to buy sorrel?
No, I have wild sorrel,
it is only peppers and onions
that I am going to buy.

You say the market is not nice?
= cheap.
Yes, for a little piece of onion
you are asked to pay 6 bututs.

What about the meat?
The meat, it is fighting that gets it
Ah well, today I have to try.
It is standing until your
sides ache, that is what is there.
I wonder if I can do that?
Eh, you will try.
I hope you will dish out a share
for me from your lunch?
When I have finished cooking
I will call you,
if you are not joking.
As soon as you call me, I will come.
Well, until lunch-time.
I greet those at home.
They will hear.

Welcome from the farm!
May you live long.
How have we spent the afternoon?
Peace only.
Come, let's have lunch.
I'm full (satisfied).
Please come, it is sorrel that's cooked.
Well, let me taste a little.
I hope it hasn't got too much pepper
No, it's just right.
Do eat, don't be shy.
This is your home.
Who am I shy of here, no one.
The sorrel is sour and tastes fine.
but I have had enough.
Do eat, my dear (lit. mother.)
God knows I've had enough.
All right, let me take away the calabash.
I too have had enough.
Bring me some water to drink.
All right. Wash your hands in the meantime.
J. maama, jam nyalli.
K. jam tan, hono nyallu dën?
J. jam tan.
    hono njey-ir ta maaro ko?
K. poti kopparaaje jowi.
J. maama, dum di seeri uu,
    uitu.
K. mi waawta uitu.
J. kon, mi eeltu ma.
K. hani, mi heëtoyta ko
cod mi dum ko.
J. awa, yeey am potiji na'i.
K. ado tami to mbada.
J. wad he tikka am he.
K. a jaaraama.
J. awa, maama, nyallën jam.

Grandmother, are you spending a peaceful day.
Peace only, how are you spending the day?
Peace only.
How are you selling the rice?
10 bututs for the cup.
Grandmother, that is very dear, reduce it.
I cannot reduce it.
Please, I am begging you.
No, I will not get back what I bought it for.
All right, sell me four cups.
Do you have a place to put it?
Put it in my head tie.
Thank you.
All right, grandmother, let us spend a peaceful afternoon.
J. on jaaraama.
K. ya wuur.
hono nyallu dën ?
J. jam tan.
hodum ngun ton nii.
K. gauri.
J. siif a gauri, maaja na,
   ma suna ?
K. maaja.
J. hodum dëfete ?
K. nyle.
J. ho nyle di mbëli ?
K. di mbëli ëwu.
J. Fulaë ko nyle nganndi !
K. nylele tan.
J. he laociri, sere maafe,
buko- lalë , he
   kosam he dakkiri fou.

Well done (pl.)
May you live long,
Are we spending a peaceful afternoon ?
Peace only.
What are you pounding ?
Millet.
What kind of millet, maaja (late)
or suna (early millet)
Maaja.
How is it going to be cooked ?
   With groundnut soup.
Is this dish nice ?
Very nice !
It is nyle that Fulas know.
Only nyle ?
And lacciri (steamed millet)
millet porridge, millet with
baobab leaves (laalo), sour milk
and steamed millet, all (of these.

1 i.e. it's their dish.
.... ndefu,
he dyoog-oy-gol,
he teenoy-gol, jomonsi
   fini bimmbi lau,
fitta suudu muudum ha laasa,
dyooga faka muudum ha heewa,
fitta deferdu muudum,
laudya kaleeraaji he
bolije muudum he kore
muudum fou.
ooga dumun ha laasa pos,
on tuma noon jonja kaleera
muudum,
fudo ndefu muudum,
defa ha hempina,
sa'ha, yimbe mbotto,
si yimbe mbottima,
baa kore muudum,
mooptoya.
awa, si di tami gerte,
bobba gerte muudum,
si mottat, motta.
ko woni kala, si tai
dyoog-oy-at to suunndu,
dyoog-oy-a to suunndu,
si woni teen-oy-at,
teen-oy-a.

.......... cooking,
and fetching water,
and going for firewood,
when she gets up early in the morn
she would sweep her house clean,
fill her water pot full
sweep her kitchen,
clean her pots
and bowls and her calabashes
all of them.
rub them until they are very clean
then put her pot on the fire

and begin her cooking.

(she would) cook until she is
finished,
divide up the food, people would
take lunch,
when people have had lunch,
she would take her calabashes,
and go to put them away.

Well then, if she has groundnuts,
she would shell her groundnuts,
if she has to spin, would spin.
whatever it is she has to do,
if it happens she has
to go to fetch water from the
spring,
she will go to the spring.

if she has to fetch firewood,
she will go for firewood.
awā, arti ban,
looto ha laaša,
jon̄ga kaleera muudum,
defa hiraande, na deeuta,
yim̄ē kirto,
si yim̄ē kirtīima,
awā, yim̄ē mbaawat joodaade
to diure, kaca,
ha jen̄ga seeda.
si jengi tān, mbaaloyoo

Well, when she comes back
she would bathe until clean,
she would put her pot on the fire,
and cook dinner, until it was read
People have dinner,
when they have eaten dinner,
well, people can sit
on the platform and chat.
until it is early night.
When it is night, then they will
go to bed.