

FIRDU-FULA GRAMMAR (GAMBIAN DIALECT)

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CONTENTS

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Introduction | 1- 2 |
| Orthography | 3 |
| Initial Consonant Variation | 4- 6 |
| Nouns and Articles | 7 |
| The Article | 8- 9 |
| The Noun Classes | 10- 26 |
| The Formation of the Plurals of Nouns | 27- 31 |
| The Word 'He' | 32 |
| Pronouns - General Table & Notes | 33- 36 |
| - Basic Forms of Pronouns | 37 |
| - Emphatic Forms | 38 |
| - Objective Forms | 39 |
| - Continuous Tense Forms | 40 |
| - Possessive Forms | 41 |
| - Inverted Forms | 42 |
| - Various Forms | 43- 44 |
| - Indefinite Pronouns | 45- 46 |
| The Verb - Summary of Main Tenses | 47 |
| - Active, Middle, and Passive Voices | 48- 52 |
| - The Imperative | 53- 55 |
| - The Optative | 56 |
| - The Infinitive | 57- 58 |
| - The Present Tense/Continuous Tense | 59- 60 |
| - Subjunctive Form | 61 |
| - Future Tenses | 62 |
| - Past Tenses | 63- 64 |
| - The Negative in -aa | 65- 66 |
| - Habitual Action | 67 |

| | |
|--|----------|
| -The Middle Voice | 68- 69 |
| -The Passive Voice | 70 |
| -Verbal nouns | 71 |
| -Verbal Infixes | 72- 76 |
| The Translation of the word "to have." | 77 |
| The word "alaa" | 78 |
| The word "ko" | 79 |
| The word "di" | 80 |
| Interrogatives | 81- 83 |
| Replies to Questions | 84 |
| Conditional Sentences | 85- 86 |
| Comparisons | 87 |
| Various Sentence Constructions | 88- 89 |
| Participles | 90 |
| Adjectives | 91- 93 |
| Diminutive and Augmentative Forms | 94 |
| Numerals | 95- 96 |
| Words Indicating Place and Direction | 97- 100 |
| Words Indicating Time | 101- 104 |
| Words Indicating Quantity | 105 |
| Words Indicating Manner | 105 |
| Emphatic Words and Phrases | 106- 108 |
| - Emphatic words | 109- 111 |
| Onomatopoeic Phrases | 112 |
| Greetings | 113- 114 |
| Sounds Made by Animals | 115 |
| Girls' Play Songs | 116 |
| A Lullaby | 117 |
| Riddles | 118- 119 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Fula Conversations (Linda Salmon) | 120- 125 |
| The Work of Women (Mary Umah Baldeh) | 127- 127 |

INTRODUCTION

1

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.¹ 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. Arnett'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.

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1 Gambian Studies No. 12

A set of readings is available as a collection of folk-tales
(Gambian Studies No. 13).

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.

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)

ny = the sound of ni in onion = ñ

c = the sound of ch in child

' = a glottal stop

ɛ as in English net

e " " " bait

ee " " " fail

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.

| | | | | |
|------|--------|-------|-------------|-------------------|
| e.g. | hinere | nose | kaangaado | madman |
| | kine | noses | haangaabe | madmen |
| | hellu | clap | de di kella | they are clapping |

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.

| | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-----------|---------|
| e.g. | fittu | brush | pittirgal | a brush |
| | | | pittirdi | brushes |

The contrast between non-personal and personal nouns is shown below:

| <u>Non-personal nouns</u> | | | <u>Personal nouns</u> | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| allaadu gallaadi | horn horns | stop/vowel/g | gainaako (ainaabe (ainakoooe | herdsman herdsmen |
| ilde gile | (a) pepper peppers | | | |
| waandu baadi | monkey monkeys | w/b | bodeejo wodeeoe | red person * red people |
| ferlo perle | hill hills | f/p | Pullo Fuloe | a Fula Fula (pl.) |
| hinere kine | nose noses | h/k | kaangaado ** haangaabe | madman madmen |
| reedu deedi | stomach stomachs | r/d | debbo reue | woman women |
| saare ca'e | village villages | s/c | ceddo seoe | a Mandinka Mandinka (pl.) |
| wudere gude | local cloth cloths | w/g | gorko woroe | man men |
| yitere gite | eye eyes | y/g | | |
| yeeso jeese | face faces | y/j | jombajo yombaaoe | bride brides |
| mbaalu baali | sheep (s.) sheep (pl.) | | | |
| ndiyam di'e | water waters | | | |
| ngaari ga'i | bull bulls | | | |
| njamdi jamde | iron irons | | | |

* applied to 'White people'.

** MB suggests kaangaabe

ɓ, 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.

| | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| ɓɛrnde | <i>heart</i> | ɓidɗo | <i>child</i> |
| ɓɛrde | <i>hearts</i> | ɓiɓɓe | <i>children</i> |
| doigal | <i>post</i> | dokko | <i>one eyed person</i> |
| doide | <i>posts</i> | dokkiibe | <i>one eyed people</i> |
| dyi'al | <i>bone</i> | | |
| dyi'e | <i>bones</i> | | |
| bantani | <i>silk cotton tree</i> | baaba | <i>father</i> |
| bantane | <i>silk cotton trees</i> | baabaaji | <i>fathers</i> |
| leggall | <i>tree</i> | laamɗo | <i>ruler, king,</i> |
| leɗɗe | <i>trees</i> | laamɓe | <i>rulers, kings</i> |
| misiide | <i>mosque</i> | muumo | <i>dumb person</i> |
| misiide | <i>mosques</i> | muumɓe | <i>dumb persons</i> |
| nyaaire | <i>bead</i> | nyaamowo | <i>eater</i> |
| nyaadye | <i>beads</i> | nyaamooɓe | <i>eaters</i> |
| talkuru | <i>charm</i> | tuubaako | <i>European *</i> |
| talki | <i>charms</i> | tuubaakooɓe | <i>Europeans</i> |
| naauki | <i>armpit</i> | nayeejo | <i>old person</i> |
| naauɗe | <i>armpits</i> | nayeeɓe | <i>old people</i> |

* Also used for a 'westernized person.'

NOUNS AND ARTICLES

Singular forms

| <u>Article</u> | <u>Noun</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| o (personal) | gorko o | <i>the man</i> |
| o (borrowed words) | booli o | <i>the tin basin</i> |
| nde | haaire nde | <i>the stone</i> |
| ndi | leidi ndi | <i>the country</i> |
| ndu | rawaandu ndu | <i>the dog</i> |
| nge | nagge nge | <i>the cow</i> |
| ngo | yeeso ngo | <i>the face</i> |
| ngi (intensive) | kennii ngi | <i>the big wind</i> |
| ngu | mbaalu ngu | <i>the sheep</i> |
| ngal | gertogal ngal | <i>the hen</i> |
| ngel (diminutive) | cukayel ngel | <i>the little child</i> |
| ngol (long objects) | laawol ngol | <i>the road</i> |
| ka | ngaika ka | <i>the hole</i> |
| ki | lekki ki | <i>the medicine</i> |
| ko | hudo ko | <i>the grass</i> |
| dam (liquids) | ndiyam dam | <i>the water</i> |
| mba | mbabba mba | <i>the donkey</i> |
| kal (small quantity of) | lamkal kal (from lamdam) | <i>the small amount of salt</i> |

Plural forms

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| se (personal) | yimse se | <i>the people</i> |
| de | gerte de | <i>the groundnuts (peanuts)</i> |
| di | baali di | <i>the sheep (pl.)</i> |
| kony (diminutive) | cukalony kony | <i>the little children</i> |

THE ARTICLE

1. There is no indefinite article - a .

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| addu kaleera. | bring <u>a</u> cooking pot. |
| horde 6olde. | <u>an</u> empty calabash. |
| hai naggel. | not even <u>a</u> little cow. |
| dyeeni he leggal. | he climbed up <u>a</u> tree . |
| wonaa mi debbo, | I am not <u>a</u> woman, |
| ko mi gorko. | I am <u>a</u> man . |

2. The definite article follows the noun.

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| ngaari ndi ari. | The bull came. |
| naange nge di wuli. | The sun is hot. |
| kosam dam huu6i. | The sour milk is finished. |
| addu korel ngel. | 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 = dama |
| dii baali ! | Those sheep ! These sheep. | Those diya |
| okk'am ngol kaitol. | <u>this</u> Give me that paper. | That ngola |
| okk'am oo wutte. | <u>this</u> 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). |
| oya lampu . | - that lamp. |
| pooti oya . | The tin over there, that tin. |
| oya pooti . | |
| ngeya nagge. | The cow over there, that cow. |
| holl am ngoya . | Show me that one (of hand). |
| (of jungo ngo) | |

5. The articles of non-personal nouns and diminutives can be used as pronouns.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| ngol nyifii . | <i>It has gone out. (of fire - jaingol ngol)</i> |
| reeno ndu . | <i>Beware of it. (of dog - rawaandu ndu)</i> |
| reeno ngal . | <i>Beware of it. (of hen - gertogal ngal)</i> |
| a yii'i ngol. | <i>Do you see it ? (of path - bolol ngol)¹</i> |
| jippin ngel . | <i>Put it down. (of child - cukayel ngel)</i> |

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

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| on tuma . | <i>At that time.</i> |
| on jemma. | <i>That night.</i> |
| on nyan . | <i>That day.</i> |

1 laawol is preferable to bolol.

THE NOUN CLASSES

1. Nouns relating to people generally end in o (sing.), 6e (pl.). the definite articles also being o and 6e.

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

| <u>root</u> | | <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| dɛf | <i>cook. (vb.)</i> | ndɛf-owo | ndɛf-oo6e | <i>cook/cooks</i> |
| rɛm | <i>farm</i> | ndɛm-owo | ndɛm-oo6e | <i>farmer/farmers</i> |

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

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------|---------|---------|------------------------------|
| mbode | <i>reddish</i> | bodeejo | wodee6e | <i>reddish person/people</i> |
| 6alee | <i>black</i> | 6aleejo | 6alee6e | <i>black person/people</i> |
| nayee | <i>old</i> | nayeejo | nayee6e | <i>old person/people</i> |

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

| | | |
|------------|------------|---------------------------|
| ɛsiraawo | ɛsiraawo | <i>in law/ in laws</i> |
| minyiraawo | minyiraawo | <i>younger sibling(s)</i> |
| taaniraawo | taaniraawo | <i>grandchild(ren)</i> |
| maamiraawo | maamiraawo | <i>grandparent(s)</i> |

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

| | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| maai | <i>die</i> | maaido | maai6e | <i>dead person/persons</i> |
| bon | <i>bad</i> | (m)bondo | bon6e | <i>bad person/ persons</i> |
| fuui | <i>useless</i> | puuido | fuuii6e | <i>useless person(s)</i> |
| juul | <i>pray</i> | njuuldo | njuul6e | <i>Muslim(s)</i> |
| laam | <i>reign, rule</i> | laamdo laamido | laam6e laamii6e | <i>King(s) ruler(s)</i> |

- (e) A few nouns end in -ko.

| e.g. | <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | <u>English</u> |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | gorko | worɔ̃ | man/men |
| | tuubaako | tuubaakoɔ̃ | European(s) |
| | gainaako | (ainaɔ̃ (ainaakoɔ̃ | herdsman/herdsmen |

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

| | | |
|----------|-------------|------------|
| sagata | sagataaɔ̃ | youth(s) |
| kambaane | hambaneeɔ̃* | youth(s) |
| suka | sukaɔ̃ | child(ren) |

and kinship terms

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|---|
| (ba (baaba | baaji baabaaji | father/fathers |
| gorgol | | father's sister |
| inna neene | innaaji | mother |
| kaau yumpany | | mother's brother mother's brother's wife |

See also 1(c) for kinship terms.

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

| | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| Fuutaŋkooɔ̃ | people of Fuuta |
|-------------|-----------------|

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

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Kadi-ɛn | Kadi's place, people |
| njɛhɛn to Demba-ɛn | let us go to Demba's place. |
| Mairam-ɛn | 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 be .

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

| <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | <u>from</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| kafu | kafuuji | Mandinka | <i>crowd(s)</i> |
| booto | bootooji | " | <i>bag(s), sack(s)</i> |
| adduna | addunaaji | Arabic | <i>world(s)</i> |
| aljuma | aljumaaji | " | <i>Friday(s)</i> |
| caabi | caabiije | Wolof | <i>key(s)</i> |
| mbajju | mbajjuuje | " | <i>blanket(s)</i> |
| bere | bereeji | French | <i>beret(s)</i> |
| bitik | bitikaaji | " | <i>shop(s)</i> |
| beltu | beltuuji | English | <i>belt(s)</i> |
| buku | bukuuji | " | <i>book(s)</i> |
| faada | faadaaji } be } | " | <i>Father(s) , priest(s)</i> |
| doktor | doktoraa ^{be} | " | <i>doctor(s), dispenser(s)</i> |

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 | paraaji | Mandinka (faroo) | <i>rice swamp(s), rice field(s)</i> |
|------|---------|---------------------|---|

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:

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------|------------------|
| fəs | vaccinate | fəsande | vaccination mark |
| fər | excise | fərande | place excised |

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

| | | | |
|--------|-----------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| huβdu- | to light (fire) | huβbirde | fireplace |
| loot- | wash | lootorde | washing place (for washing oneself) |

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

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---------|----------------|
| tampin- | make tired | tampere | tiredness |
| dillu- | make a slight sound | dillere | a slight sound |

- (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.

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| baanye de | clouds | waanyere nde | a single cloud |
| d ? | | | |
| koode | stars | hoodere | star |
| biddye | cotton seeds | widdyerere | cotton seed |
| gerte | groundnuts (peanuts) | ertere | groundnut (peanut) |
| nyebbe | beans | nyebbere | bean |
| baade | drops | waadere | drop |

The same form is found with most parts of the body with dual form.

| | | | | | |
|-------|----|---------------------|---------|-----|----------------|
| gite | de | eyes | yitere | nde | eye |
| cekke | | cheeks | sekkere | | cheek |
| dotte | | backsides | rottere | | backside |
| gotte | | testicles | gottere | | testicle |
| teppe | | feet | teppere | | foot |
| newe | | palms (of hands) | neure | | palm (of hand) |

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

the - re 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.

| | |
|--------|------------------------|
| nyilbe | (dried) nasal mucus |
| dicce | 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

| singular | plural | |
|----------|--------|--------------------------|
| ngaari | ga'i | <i>bull/bulls</i> |
| kaandi | kaŋle | <i>lion/ lions</i> |
| ɕujjiri | ɕujji | <i>bullock/ bullocks</i> |

(b) -ri

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

| | |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| gauri | <i>millet</i> |
| lacciri | <i>steamed millet</i> |
| dakkiri | <i>steamed millet</i> |
| mumri | <i>fresh roasted millet</i> |
| njumri | <i>honey</i> |

(c) -ndi

Powdery substances (No plural used.)

| | |
|---------|------------------------------|
| conndi | <i>powder</i> |
| ndoondi | <i>ashes</i> |
| leidi | <i>earth, country ; soil</i> |

(d) Other nouns commonly found include:

| | | |
|---------|----------------|--------------------|
| mbomri | boomi | <i>girl/ girls</i> |
| mbalndi | baldi balde | <i>bed/beds</i> |

5. Nouns with article ndu, plural di .

Include many circular objects.

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

| <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| reedu | deedi | <i>belly/bellies</i> |
| 6anndu | 6alli | <i>body/bodies</i> |
| sob6undu | cob6uli | <i>elbow/elbows</i> |
| fεdaandu | pεdaali | <i>finger nail/finger nails</i> |
| tonndu | toni | <i>lip/lips</i> |
| sukundu | cukuli | <i>hair/hairs</i> |
| honndu | kolli | <i>finger/fingers</i> |
| houru | koppi | <i>knee/knees</i> |
| nouru | noppi | <i>ear/ears</i> |
| endu | endi | <i>breast/breasts</i> |

(b) Circular natural features.

| | | |
|---------|--------|----------------------------|
| 6uunndu | 6uulli | <i>shallow well/ wells</i> |
| woindu | boili | <i>deep well/ wells</i> |
| weendu | beeli | <i>lake/lakes</i> |

(c) Houses, etc. (Circular).

| | | |
|---------|---------|--------------------------|
| suudu | cuufi | <i>house/ houses</i> |
| dεferdu | dεferdi | <i>kitchen/ kitchens</i> |
| | dεferi | |

(d) Many animals.

| | | |
|-----------|---------|-----------------------|
| waandu | baafi | <i>monkey/monkeys</i> |
| faabru | paabi | <i>frog/frogs</i> |
| rawaandu | dawaafi | <i>dog/dogs</i> |
| ulluunndu | ulluufi | <i>cat/cats</i> |
| fowru | pobbi | <i>hyaena/hyaenas</i> |

6. Nouns with article nge .

There are only a few nouns with this article:

| singular | plural | |
|------------|---------|--------------------------|
| naange nge | | <i>the sun</i> |
| nagge nge | na'i di | <i>the cow/ the cows</i> |
| heege nge | | <i>the famine</i> |

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

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| nagge tummbunge nge | <i>the pregnant cow</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|

7. Nouns with the article ngo .

Common nouns are:

| | | |
|-------|-------|---------------------------------|
| maayo | maaje | <i>river/rivers</i> |
| yeeso | jeese | <i>face/faces</i> |
| walbo | balbe | <i>shoulder/shoulders</i> |
| jungo | juude | <i>hand/hands</i> |
| wuro | gure | <i>place where herd is tied</i> |
| ferlo | perle | <i>hill/hills</i> |

Sounds:

| | | |
|----------|----------|-------------------------|
| luukango | luukaali | <i>cry, shouts</i> |
| dirango | diraali | <i>thunder, crashes</i> |

8. Nouns with article ngii .

This is used with the augmentative ending ii.¹

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|----------------|
| hɛnnɔdu ndu | the wind | kɛnnii ngii | the big wind |
| suudu ndu | the house | cuurii ngii | the big house |
| nɛɖɖo o | the person | nɛɖɖii ngii | the big person |

9. Nouns with the article ngu plural: ɖi .

Two main groups:

(1) Insects

| | | |
|---------|--------|-------------|
| nyaaku | nyaaki | bee/ bees |
| ngilngu | gildɖi | grub/ grubs |

(2) Animals

| | | |
|--------|-------|---------------------|
| mbaalu | baali | sheep/ sheep |
| puccu | pucci | horse/horses |
| liɲngu | liɖɖi | fish(s)/ fish (pl.) |

¹ See also page 94 .

10. Nouns with the article ngal , plural de .(a) Many birds - generally large birds.

| singular | plural | |
|----------|--------|-----------------------|
| biigal | biige | <i>young hen(s)</i> |
| dutal | dute | <i>vulture(s)</i> |
| gerlal | gerle | <i>bush fowl(s)</i> |
| koral | kore | <i>wild duck(s)</i> |
| jaungal | jaule | <i>guinea fowl(s)</i> |

(b) Objects made of wood.i Natural objects: -al.

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

ii Manufactured from wood: 'al, gal.

| | | |
|--------|-------|-----------------------|
| la'al | le'e | <i>wooden bowl(s)</i> |
| doigal | doide | <i>post(s)</i> |
| paagal | paade | <i>stake(s)</i> |
| unugal | unude | <i>pestle(s)</i> |

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 | <i>sweep</i> | pittirgal | pittirdi | <i>brush(es), broom(s)</i> |
| soktu | <i>unlock</i> | coktirgal | coktirde | <i>key(s)</i> |
| iirtu | <i>stir</i> | ngiirtirgal | ngiirtirde | <i>stirrer(s)</i> |
| joodo | <i>sit</i> | joodorgal | joodorde | <i>seat(s)</i> |
| socco | <i>rub (teeth)</i> | coccorgal | coccorde | <i>tooth-cleaner(s) = chewing stick(s)</i> |

- (c) Long parts of the body also end in -al, plural e.

| <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------|
| bu'al | bu'e | thigh(s) |
| daŋalal | daŋale | thigh(s) |
| ɗyi'al | ɗyi'e | bone(s) |
| korlal | korle | shin(s) |

- (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 | dɛsewal | dɛseeje | calf/calves (of leg) |

- (e) Abstract nouns:

e.g.

verbal root

| | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|------------------|
| lamdoo | ask | lamdal | question |
| fɛmmbu | shave | pɛmmbugal | naming ceremony* |
| munny | be | munnyal | patience |
| | patient | | |

* 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 -ɛl , article ngɛl are diminutives.¹

The plural ending is -ony , article kony.

| normal form | | diminutive | |
|-------------|----------|--------------|------------------------------|
| suka | youth | cukayɛl | little child |
| kaba | bottle | kabayɛl | little bottle |
| horde | calabash | korel | little calabash |
| sonndu | bird | collɛl | little bird |
| ulluunndu | cat | ullunngɛl | little cat/kitten |
| mbaalu | sheep | bʰalɛl | little sheep |
| suudu | house | cuurel | little house = storehouse |
| ngaari | bull | ga'ɛl | calf |
| cofɛl | | 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 .

| | <u>sing.</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|-----|--------------|---------------|---|
| (a) | 6oggol | 6oggi | 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

| <u>root</u> | <u>sing.</u> | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| yim | jimol | song |
| taal | taalol | tale, story |
| tinndu | tinndol | riddle |

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

| <u>root</u> | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|
| windu | write | mbindugol | writing (action) |
| hubbu | dress hair | kubbugol | hair dressing |
| doddyu | cough | doddyugol | coughing |

13 Article : ka.

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

| <u>root</u> | <u>sing.</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| haal | haala | haalaaji | <i>speech, language</i> |
| as, ai | ngaika | gaide | <i>hole(s)</i> |
| | laana | laade | <i>boat(s), ship(s)</i> |

14 Article : ko.

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

| <u>sing.</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| huɔ | | <i>grass</i> |
| haako | kaake | <i>leafage</i> |
| maaro | | <i>rice</i> |
| yaɕɕo | | <i>leaves of the jaɕɕe tree.</i> |

There is a plural form :

| | |
|----------|---|
| kaakaali | <i>leaves of different sorts (leaves)</i> |
| maaraali | <i>different kinds of rice (rices)</i> |

15. Article: ki, plural de .

(a) Primarily trees:

| singular | plural | |
|----------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| kewi | kewe | <i>bamboo tree(s)</i> |
| ja66i | ja66e | <i>tamarind tree(s)</i> |
| jaabi | jaabe | <i>Zizyphus jujuba tree(s)</i> |
| bumi | bume | |
| bani | bane | <i>Pterocarpus erinaceus tree(s)</i> |

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

| | | |
|-------|---------|-------------------------|
| folei | poleeje | <i>rubber tree(s)</i> |
| teŋji | teŋje | <i>oil palm tree(s)</i> |

The fruit of trees also has the plural form:

| | |
|-------|---------------------------------|
| teŋje | <i>palm fruits</i> |
| jaabe | <i>fruit of Zizyphus jujuba</i> |

(b) The word for medicine - lekki ki, comes from the same root as the word for tree - leggal.
(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.

| | | | |
|-------|------|---------|---|
| lammu | sour | lammuki | <i>Landolphia senegalensis</i> (A tree with a sour fruit.) |
|-------|------|---------|---|

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

| | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| cuurki | ki | <i>the smoke</i> |
| ndomaaki | ki | <i>the soot</i> |
| naauki | ki - naau ^{de} de | <i>armpit - armpits</i> |
| la6i | ki - la6e | <i>knife - knives</i> |
| wonki | ki | <i>the soul</i> |

16. Words ending in -am, article dam , are liquids.
The plural in -e, article de , is rare.

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| ndiyam dam | <i>the water</i> |
| nebbam dam | <i>the oil</i> |
| kosam dam | <i>the sour milk</i> |
| dyiidyam dam | <i>the blood</i> |
| lamdam dam | <i>the salt</i> |
| Siraadam dam | <i>the fresh milk</i> |

(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:

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| olowere | <i>sweat</i> |
| sawawere | <i>dew</i> |
| kettungol | <i>cream</i> |

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.

| <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | | <u>Wolof</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|
| mbabba | babbi | <i>donkey(s)</i> | mbam |
| kooba | koobi | <i>an antelope</i> | kooba |
| ngeeloba | geeloobi | <i>camel(s)</i> | gelem |
| nyiiwa | nyiibi | <i>elephant(s)</i> | neyi |
| mbeewa | bee'i | <i>goat(s)</i> | bey |
| njamala | jamali | <i>giraffe(s)</i> | jamala |

(b) Other common words are:

| | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----------------|-------|
| tuuba | tuubaaaji | <i>trousers</i> | tubei |
| ngesa | gese | <i>farm(s)</i> | |

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 de . See examples on pages 10-11 .
- (c) Animals (but not reptiles) irrespective of the final vowel of the singular, have plurals in i.

| <u>sing.</u> | <u>plurals.</u> | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------|
| mbabba | babbi | donkey(s) |
| nagge | na'i | cow(s) |
| ngaari | ga'i | bull(s) |
| puccu | pucci | horse(s) |

No animals have o as an ending.

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

| | | |
|-------|--------|------------|
| cofel | 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.) | -rde, -nde -lde |
| ol | changes to i | e.g. sol-de | col-e penis |
| ri | | hor-de | kor-e calabash(es) |
| iri | change to i | hooton-de | kooton-e ring(s) |
| ru | | | |
| uru | change to i | | |

ii Consonant changes in the suffixes.

| | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| g, ŋg, d, nd, n, k | change to | <u>d</u> |
| f | changes to | <u>p</u> |
| w | changes to | <u>b</u> |
| w + r | changes to | <u>bb</u> |
| y | changes to | <u>dy</u> |

| | | | |
|-----|--------|-----------|----|
| iii | n + nd | change to | ll |
| | y + nd | " " | l |
| | y + ŋg | " " | l |

| | | | |
|----|--------|-----|----|
| iv | w + d | " " | ul |
| | w + g | " " | ul |
| | w + ŋg | " " | ul |

Examples:

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

| | <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|-------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| (c) | mbabb-a | babb-i | <i>donkey(s)</i> |
| (e)-l | ngɛsa | gɛs-e | <i>farm(s)</i> |
| | hoore | koo'e | <i>head(s)</i> |
| | bum-i | bum-e | <i>a tree</i> |
| | wur-o | gur-e | <i>herd(s)</i> |
| | puccu | pucci | <i>horse(s)</i> |

| | <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|--------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| (e)- i | pecc-al | pecc-e | <i>piece(s) of stick</i> |
| | gi'-al | gi'-e | <i>thorn(s)</i> |
| | hoo-re | koo'e | <i>head(s)</i> |
| | saa-re | ca'e | <i>village(s)</i> |
| <hr/> | | | |
| | diid-ol | diid-i | <i>mark(s), line(s)</i> |
| | daas-ol | daas-i | <i>track(s) of something dragged</i> |
| | ngaa-ri | ga'i | <i>bull(s)</i> |
| | faab-ru | paaɕ-i | <i>frog(s)</i> |
| | att-uru | gatt-i | <i>tress(es) of hair</i> |
| - ii | paa-g-al | paa-ɖ-e | <i>stake(s)</i> |
| | suu-d-u | cuu-ɖ-i | <i>house(s)</i> |
| | rawaa-nd-u | dawaa-ɖ-i | <i>dog(s)</i> |
| | laa-n-a | laa-ɖ-e | <i>ship(s)</i> |
| | hunu-k-o | kunu-ɖ-e | <i>mouth(s)</i> |
| | naau-k-i | naau-ɖ-e | <i>armpit(s)</i> |
| | go-ŋg-ol | gon-ɖi | <i>tear(s)</i> |
| | gond-ol ? | | |
| | lɛf-ol | lɛpp-i | <i>strip(s) of local cloth</i> |
| | laa-w-ol | laa-b-i | <i>road(s)</i> |
| | fow-ru | po-bb-i | <i>hyaena(s)</i> |
| | lew-ru | lɛ-bb-i | <i>moon(s)</i> |
| | haay-re | kaa-ɖy-e | <i>stone(s)</i> |
| | (nyii-nde nyii-re | nyii-ɖy-e | <i>tooth/teeth</i> |

| | <u>singular</u> | <u>plural</u> | |
|------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| -iii | son-ndu | co-lli | <i>bird(s)</i> |
| | ḡan-ndu | ḡa-lli | <i>body/ bodies</i> |
| | wooy-ndu | booi-li | <i>well(s)</i> |
| | jai-ṛgol | jai-li | <i>fire(s)</i> |
| -iv | (saau-du (saaw-du | caau-li | <i>packet(s) , bundles</i> |
| | (cau-g-al (caw-g-al | cau-le | <i>well bucket(s)</i> |
| | (jau -ṛgal (jaw -ṛgal | jau -le | <i>guinea fowl(s)</i> |

(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 -aaji may be added.

| | | | |
|---------|------------|----|---------------------------|
| taransu | taransuuji | M | shilling(s) (old coinage) |
| caabi | caabiije | W | key(s) |
| bere | bereeji | Fr | beret (s) |
| | (iskulji | | |
| iskul | (iskulaaji | E | school(s) |
| masin | masinaaji | E | sewing machine(s) |

Personal nouns add: (long consonant) + 6e

| | | | |
|--------|------------|---|----------------------|
| doktor | doktoraabe | E | doctor(s) |
| faada | faadaabe | E | Father(s), priest(s) |

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 ainakooɓe muɛn.
 ndiyam rowani he ndiyam
 rowandeya,
 yahi, kany he ba o.
 yottima, kany he pucu mun.
 accu min njada he muudum.
 wondiri he ɓen roon

 he nge naange.
 hono mbaɗat mi he nge heege ?
 yani he koiɗe muudum.
 kauroyi he laawol.
 muti he leidi he.
 sarki he ladde.
 debbo naati he saare ma.
 yahi ha woɗɗi he ladde.
 min he ɓiɓɓe am.
 kaɛn tan ngonti no he galle.
 ngoni don ni, kaɛn 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 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.

| | Simple form | Emphatic form | Objective (direct & indirect) | Continuous action | Possessive forms * | |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| I | mi | min | am ¹ kam | mido | am | |
| you | a | an aan | ma | ado | ma | maada |
| he/she | mbo | kany | mbo** ⁵ | mbo di | mun | muudum ³ |
| it he/she | dum ⁴ | dum | dum | dum | | |
| we (inclusive) | en | enen | en ² | eden | men | meden |
| we (exclusive) | min | minen | min | miden | amen | |
| you (plural) | on | onon | on | odon | mon | moodon |
| they | de | mappe kaen | de | de di den di | muen | |
| they | dumen | | dumen | | | |

* Also used as an objective form after prepositions.

e.g. gooto he muen one of them
 hakkunde amen between us
 yahi to muen she) went back to their place

** Rare in this dialect. 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 . | <i>wait for me .</i> |
| a wari kam ! | <i>you have killed me !</i> |
| mbo yidi kam . | <i>she loves me / he loves me .</i> |
| yo6 am . | <i>pay me .</i> |

2. en, etc. includes the person addressed, as in "May God preserve us."

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| o lawo funnti en. | <i>the tattooer deceived us .</i> |
| si en ngarti han, | <i>when we come back,</i> |
| en kauri do de ! ^a | <i>we should meet here .</i> |
| <u>or</u> en kaurat do | |

min, etc. excludes the person spoken to:

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| okku min goro. | <i>give us kola.</i> |
| minen 6uri ma. | <i>we are better than you.</i> |

3. mun, mum, muudum, muen

generally refer to a preceeding noun or pronoun in the same sentence.

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| debbbo he gorko mun. | <i>a wife and her husband .</i> |
| fowrual di fiia tamayel | <i>Hyaena was beating his little drum</i> |
| muudum to naale. | <i>at the dancing place .</i> |
| ...looti 6i66e muudum . | <i>she) washed her children.</i> |

Some dialects have the terms makko (s) & ma66e (pl.) used to refer to some other person not mentioned in the same sentence.

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

a do fod den hauri is better.
do de is regarded as 'Guinea Fula '.

4. dum (s.), dumən (pl.)

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

dumən = them

a yii no dum ?

Did you see it ?

a yii'i dum ?

Have you seen him/her ?

hombo wadi dum ?
hombo wad no dum ?

Who has done it ?

Who did it ?

wota yakku dum.

Don't spoil it !

dum as a personal pronoun.

fowru nangi maamayɛl,
iiri dum to loope.

*Hyaena seized Little Grandmother,
and buried her in the mud.*

laamdo ɓaŋi temeele jowi,
okki dumən puci.

*The King took five hundred (people)
(and) gave them horses.*

..wi dumən: "njotte."

He) said to them : "Approach."

wi dum: "awa."

He) said to him: "Very well."

okki dumən goro.

He) gave them kola nuts.

9) 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 tawi ma do tan,
a maayi.

*As soon as he finds you here,
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
dum ittande.

There is no one who can cure it.

alaa mbo waawi dum he6.

There was no one who was able to get it.

li6i kala, wia mbo lei o..

*Each time he threw (one)down, he would say
to the one on the ground.*

min, mbo mi laamdo leidi..

I, who am the king of the country...

arti, ronndi ne6do mbo
war no, o fuk6oyi.

*He came back, carried the person he
had killed, and threw him down.*

o ne mbo ndadnu da mi..

The body which you have caused to escape me.

on d6bbo 6id6o mbo jibini,
ko on saabi buwaya he
adduna.

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

kola* kala mbo nganndu da
=tinnti

*Every color which you know (=Every color
you can think of.)*

* An English word = colour.

Basic forms of pronouns

| | |
|--|---|
| <u>mi</u> anndaa. | <i>I don't know.</i> |
| mi arii. | <i>I have come.</i> |
| hono mbadat mi ? | <i>What will I do ?</i> |
| <u>a</u> hooti ? | <i>Are you going home ?</i> |
| a nani ? | <i>Do you hear ?</i> |
| si a leŋi tan, a maayat ! | <i>If you tell, you will die !</i> |
| si a yahi.... | <i>If (When) you go...</i> |
| <u>mbo</u> artanni. | <i>He is about to come.</i> |
| mbo semtataa. | <i>She will not be shamed.</i> |
| mbo arii. | <i>He has come.</i> |
| mbo huli ma. | <i>He/She is afraid of you.</i> |
| <u>min</u> ngarii. | <i>We have come. (Exclusive)</i> |
| <u>min</u> kooti. | <i>We are going home.</i> |
| gila ontuma ha han, <u>en</u> keŋaani na'i. | <i>Since that time until now, we have not had cattle. (Inclusive)</i> |
| si en ngarti han, en kauratdo de ! | <i>When we come back, then we should meet here.</i> |
| en padat ha ara. | <i>We will wait until he comes.</i> |
| si en peeujanaani.. | <i>If we do not make plans for...</i> |
| <u>on</u> njaraama. | <i>You (pl.) are to be praised.</i> |
| on keŋi gauri. | <i>You (pl.) have millet.</i> |
| on kumnii ? | <i>Have you (pl.) finished ?</i> |
| <u>ŋe</u> fou mbiatyo... | <i>They all would say...</i> |
| ŋe fiu kauriti. | <i>They all met.</i> |
| ŋe nani kuulli ŋgi di yima. | <i>They heard the monster singing.</i> |
| ŋe njahi. | <i>They went off.</i> |

fad'am.

haalan am.

dyen/ini kam to dou leggal

hodum ngokkata kam ?

a hollif kam..

a hollu no kam

mi lummbina ma de !

mi warat ma.

mi wi no ma yo..

Se mbia dum..

fowrua1 fada dum.

maamayel wi dum.

mi wi no mbo

ngacce (pl.) mbo

o lawo funnti en.

no Alla dandu en.

fad'am ha mi addana on.

ho jom pucu sanaani on do ?

mi yetti Se.

Wait for me.

Tell me.

^{she}
He/ 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.

^{him} ^{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/^{not}pass by you (pl.) here ?

I greet them.

Continuous tense formsmifo 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 ɓurndi.
faynde ndi.*You are keeping back the fattest
ram.*

ado anndi.

You know.

fowru di tami ɓoggol muudum.

*The hyaena was holding his rope.*mbo di yaha.*He was going along.*

mbo di nyaggi

*He is very fierce.*midan padi.*We are waiting.*

midan do ɓogga liige.

*We have been picking cotton here.*ɓe di njoodi, di padi.*They are sitting, waiting.*

baaba am di ma salmina.

My father is greeting you.

worɓe ɓe di ndaara ɗum.

*The men were looking at him.*hoɓɓe am ɓe di njoodi, di
padi.*My guests are sitting, (and) waiting.*

inna am dewti no, di fadi.

*My mother has finished cooking, (and)
is waiting.*

yahi to kallu to, di fiija.

*He) has gone to the road, and is
playing.*

inna am.

galle am.

to baawo am.

reedu ma.

fittu gite maada.

debbbo maada.

ba maada tam no na'i.

hoore ma

debbbo he gorko mun

inna muudum.

kany he batulaaße muudum.

reuße muudum 6e nanaani

ba amen.

saare amen.

galle amen.

kaggu meden

saare mon

kosam modon.

leidi mon.

pucci muen

to dow diure muen to

reuße laamdo kaen he cukale muen.

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.

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 mbaɗ 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.

ɗyoog mi, nɗef mi lacciri.

*I drew water, I cooked 'lacciri.'
(In reply to "What did you do today ?")*

no nyallu ɗen ?

How have you spent the day (pl.)

hono mbieete 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 | da | sing | ta | sing |
| person | ɗen | plural | ton | plural |

His him
Her mother asked her.

We can't wait for that.

As for me, I did not hear
what you said !

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

I did not see him.

He is afraid of you.

Call him for me.

Lend me it.

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

As for you, you are not good !

Do you know his compound ?

We two.

You Europeans !

If ever he finds you here,
you are dead !

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

As for me, I did not see anyone.

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. *

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| lu6 am lampu ma o. | <i>Lend me your flashlight (torch).</i> |
| ittu koingal ma ngal. | <i>Move your leg away.</i> |
| gertogal ma ngal, | <i>Your fowl.</i> |
| saabunnde ma nde . | <i>Your soap.</i> |
| sukundu ma ndu . | <i>Your hair.</i> |
| okk am nyaadye ma de . | <i>Give me your beads.</i> |

The indirect object precedes the direct object.

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| mido halfina mbo mbalu am | <i>I am entrusting my sheep to him</i> |
| mi halfini mbo mbalu am. | <i>have</i> |
| okku minen nyeta. nyataa. | <i>I entrusted my sheep to him.</i> |
| okku minen nyeta. nyataa. | <i>Give us threepence (old coinage)</i> |
| lu6 am dum. | <i>Lend me it.</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| okku pucu am ngu gauri. | <i>Give my horse millet.</i> |
| okku ngu gauri. | <i>Give it millet.</i> |
| okku ngu ndi. | <i>Give it to it.</i> |

The pronoun object precedes a noun object.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| okku ndi pucu am. | <i>Give it to my horse.</i> |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|

The objective pronoun precedes the verb in

(1) the progressive tense (See p. 59)

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| mido ma holla . | <i>I am showing you.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------------|

(2) before a dependent infinitive.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| mi wairi ma yiide. | <i>It is long since I saw you.</i> |
| mi ari ma jartanaade | <i>I have come to inform you.</i> |

* nyeta 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)

nɛɖɖo --- yimbe = person ..people

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|---|
| | <u>do</u> | |
| yimbe be di nganndi mbo gai . | | <i>The people know him here.</i> |
| wota tampin nɛɖɖo . | | <i>Don't trouble a person.</i> |
| be njiiaani hai nɛɖɖo to yaai. | | <i>They did not see anyone outside.</i> |

goddo = another

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| lamdoo goddo . | <i>Ask someone else.</i> |
| si a yahi, goddo arat ? | <i>If you go, will another come ?</i> |
| goddi di ndari, | <i>Some were standing,</i> |
| goddi di mbaali. | <i>others were lying down.</i> |

nii = thus

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| wad nii . | <i>Do (it) thus.</i> |
|-----------|----------------------|

noon = so

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ko noon ? | <i>Is it so ?</i> |
| ko noon tiggi. | <i>It is exactly so.</i> |
| ko noon tan wietee . | <i>It is only thus it is called.</i> |

dum = this, that (in a vague or general sense)

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| dum ne ? | <i>What about this ?</i> |
| dum ko puccu . | <i>That is a horse.</i> |
| wota haal dum. | <i>Don't say that.</i> |

kala = each, everyone

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| nɛɖɖo kala no ar . | <i>Everyone is to come.</i> |
| mbokala dogi. | <i>Each ran off.</i> |

hodum kala = what else

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| mi anndaa hodum kala. | <i>I don't know what else.</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|

kala continued.

kala saare nde njotti,
fowrua leeuto.

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 laaŋi
pos.

kala ko njida da he aduna.

kala = also

inna, ho min kala mi yaha ?

*Each village that they reached,
Hyaena would slip away...*

*Each village that they reached,
he would go to the banta.*

*Everything that was not her business,
that is what she would make her business.*

*Each person that passed there,
he would say to him:*

*Each time she put down her calabash
she would find that the calabash was
completely clean.*

Whatever you want in the world.

Mother, can I go too ?

kaari so and so

kaari haŋi ɓidɗo deɓbo.

ma woni kaari han...

anndu 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

biskalet janano

someone else's bicycle.

THE VERBSUMMARY OF MAIN TENSES

| | Active | Middle | Passive | Voices |
|--|-----------|------------|------------|--------|
| Imperative | -u | -o | -ee | |
| " -negative | wota.... | wota...o | wota....ee | |
| Continuous | | | | |
| (I am....ing | mido....a | mido....o | mido....e | |
| (I was...ing | mido....i | mido... ii | | |
| Subjunctive (Unfulfilled action) (I am...to) | -a | -o | -e | |
| Achieved State Finished action | -ii | -iima | -aama | |
| Past Negative | -aani | -aaki | -aaka | |
| Past action (Narrative) | -i | -ii | -aa | |
| Future- definite | -at | -oto | -ete | |
| Future negative | -ataa | -otaako | -etaake | |
| Immediate future | -anni | -otoni | | |
| Habitual | -ata | -otoo | etee | |

| | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| Past indicator | <u>no</u> | a | fii-e-t-aak-e | you will not be beaten |
| | | you | root | future |
| | | | voice | negative voice |
| a | active voice | -aan |) | |
| | |) | | |
| o | middle voice | -aak |) | negative forms |
| | |) | | |
| e | passive voice | -aa |) | |
| -ma | = state | | | |
| t- | definite future (will) | | t- | sometimes indicates intensity |
| -t | habitual action | | | |

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 |
| moddyu-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 |
| laaḍ-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 |

B Verbs used in the Middle Voice.

These include:

1 Personal activities

a Actions done to oneself (reflexive)

| | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| fεmbaa-de | to shave (oneself) |
| sεmbaa-de | to wash one's feet |
| ḡoornaa-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 |
| ṇaabaa-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 ḡo. | you, get up from there (lit. here). |
| kon joodo ḡo. | please sit here. |

iii Movements - especially in relation to some other person or thing -

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| ikkaa-de | <i>to go aside, keep away from</i> |
| yottaa-de | <i>to reach</i> |
| ḡattaa-de | <i>to come near</i> |
| abbaa-de | <i>to follow</i> |
| idaa-de | <i>to arrive first</i> |
| jailaa-de | <i>to hurry</i> |

jailo, jailo, jailo *hurry, hurry, hurry !*

iv. Words indicating mental attitudes and activities-

| | |
|------------|----------------------------------|
| jəntaa-de | <i>to pay attention, listen</i> |
| lamdaa-de | <i>to ask</i> |
| hoolaa-de | <i>to believe</i> |
| salaa-de | <i>to refuse</i> |
| nootaa-de | <i>to reply</i> |
| toraa-de | <i>to beg</i> |
| ɛkkitaa-de | <i>to try</i> |
| wɛltaa-de | <i>to be pleased</i> |
| jaṇtaa-de | <i>to state a case, explain.</i> |

B. 2 Words indicating changes - especially those caused by accident.

| | |
|------------|--|
| eesaa-de | to get broken |
| fɛnndaa-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 |
| wɛcc-aa-de | to be spilled (of liquid) |
| wɛɖaa-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.

| | |
|-------------|---|
| suppitaa-de | to come to the top (of oil, butter, etc.) |
| baaa-de | to thresh (groundnuts) |
| mumaa-de | to remove grains of maize from the cob (by hand) |

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

| | |
|------------|--|
| ɓoraa-de | to get bruised |
| deɛɖaa-de | to get a cut |
| ɖɛɖɖaa-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 | <i>to be thirsty</i> |
| nyalee-de | <i>to be very hungry</i> |
| faawee-de | <i>to be sick</i> |
| haakee-de | <i>to have a cold</i> |
| jaangee-de | <i>to suffer cold , to feel cold</i> |
| faalee-de | <i>to want</i> |
| yurmee-de | <i>to be sorry for</i> |
| heegge-de | <i>to be starving</i> |
| haangee-de | <i>to be crazy</i> |

THE IMPERATIVE

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

| | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| laar . | look . |
| yar kosam. | drink (sour) milk . |
| ar gaai. | come here . |
| wad do . | put (it) there . |
| fad bottaari . | 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

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| accu. | leave (it) alone . |
| addu goro. | bring kola . |
| yautu gaai. | pass here . |
| addu ndiyam. | bring water . |
| winndu dum. | write it . |
| huṣṣu lampu o. | light the lamp . |

Middle voice

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| joodo . | sit down . |
| joodo do . | sit here . |
| joodo to . | sit there . |
| nooto . | answer . |
| salo . | refuse . |
| jento . | listen . |

The word kon (please) may also be added.

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| kon joodo do . | please sit here . |
| kon fad am . | 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. |
| njoode . | " sit. |
| kelle . | clap. |
| njente. | listen. |
| ngadde . | bring (it). |

Let us polarity change where required + root + en .

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| kiiren . | let us spend the evening . |
| njenen . | let us go . |
| njeeuten, <u>or</u> kaccen . | let us chat. |
| njahen to banta nyalloyen . | let us go to the banta*to spend the day |

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

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| okk am . | give me. |
| okk am ndiyam . | give me water. |
| okk am lekki . | give me medicine. |
| lu6 am . | lend me. |
| lu6 am tanka. | lend me sixpence**. |
| holl am. | show me. |
| fad am . | wait for me . |
| wall am . | help me . |
| But: okku minen . | give us . |
| okku 6e . | 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. | <i>come (and) see.</i> |
| ar nyaam. | <i>Come (and) eat.</i> |
| ar joodo. | <i>Come (and) sit down.</i> |
| ar wall am. | <i>Come (and) help me.</i> |
| ar nyaamen. | <i>Come, let us eat.</i> |
| jippo, ar laar Samba. | <i>Come down, come (and) look at Samba.</i> |

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

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

LET

This can be shown in various ways:

With fad (wait)

fad'am haa mi naata tawo.

Wait until I come in first (Let me come.

fad'am haa mi joodo tawo.

Wait until I sit down first. (Let me sit

fad 'am mi meedna ma.

*Wait for me to give you a taste.
(Let me give you a taste.)*

or accu (allow, let go.)

accu min njada he muudum.

Let us go with her.

accu mi wona njaatigi ma.

Let me be your host.

accu mi nanga dum.

Let me catch him. (her, it).

No = *should* (in indirect commands).

laamfo wi Penda yo
no addu kosam muudum.

*The king told Penda
that she should bring his sour milk.*

yah mbia Penda no yah
to ladde.

*Go and tell Penda that she should go
the bush.*

yah mbia Samba yo:
jango bimmbi no ar.

*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 (jaɓ-), etc. and with the words to prevent from (haɗ-), to be the first to (idaa-de), to be the last to, to be a long time (wairu-de), to be superior to (ɓur-) etc.

a arii janngu-de Pulle ?

You have come to learn Fula ?

maaro ari ɓennu-de.

The rice was on the point of ripening.

mi faala yaa-de.

I want to go.

ado faala nyaam-de ?

Do you want to eat ?

a jaɓaani okku-de dum ?

You refuse to give him/her.?

" " okkir-de "

" " " " it away ?

a jaɓaani un-de ?

You refuse to do the pounding ?

ado waawi un-de !

You are able to pound ! (= You are good at pounding)

" " ngunnu

We cannot wait for that !

min mbaawataa dum faɗ de !

Penda waawataa haɓde ɓiɓɓe.

Penda could not have children.

mi andaa ho a waawat dum
ɗyakku-de.

I don't know if you can chew it.

maamayɗ hori anndu-de
no watta.

*Granny was troubled to know
what to do.*

mbo idiima ar-de.

He/she is the first to come.

hodum haɗi ma ar-de ?

What prevented you from coming ?

mi wairi ma yii-de.

It is a long time since I saw you.

min bairi yaa-de to ladde.

*It is a long time since we went to
the bush.*

a wairi yaa-de to bolon ?

Is it long since you went up-river ?

... ..

was

... .. the master prepared

sonndu ndu fufi yim-de.

The bird began to sing.

ha saare muudum dɛsi huuɓ-de.

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

ha hingal Nganyangel waawani
dum muuny-de.

Until in the end Hated One could not bear it.

sontiŋ o sali dum okku-de
gude muudum de.

The hawk refused to give her back her clothes.

mi footāni dum hal-de de!

I ought not to tell that !

PRESENT TENSE / CONTINUOUS TENSE

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

| | |
|--|---|
| mido ara joo. | <i>I am coming now.</i> |
| mido aina na'i. | <i>I am herding cattle.</i> |
| mido asa ngaika. | <i>I am digging a hole.</i> |
| mido ɛeida ndiyam. | <i>I am adding water.</i> |
| mido deɛa hiiraande. | <i>I am cooking supper.</i> |
| mido setta paagal. | <i>I am sharpening a stake.</i> |
| mido wutta ceerɛl. | <i>I am blowing a whistle.</i> |
| mido ma laara de ! | <i>I am watching you !</i> |
| ado winnda tan ! | <i>You are writing only = you are writing all the time.</i> |
| mbo di una. | <i>She is pounding.</i> |
| mbo di ara. | <i>He/she is coming.</i> |
| mbo di hoɛa netɛ. | <i>He/she is shelling locust bean pods.</i> |
| mbo di ɛoɔɔa gerte. | <i>He/she is shelling groundnuts (peanuts).</i> |
| Samba di laara. | <i>Samba is watching.</i> |
| midɛn ngara. | <i>We are coming.</i> |
| odon ngama. | <i>You (pl.) are dancing.</i> |
| ɛe di ngama. | <i>They are dancing.</i> |
| Jolaaɛe di kaala haala muɛn - Jola. | <i>Jolas speak their own language- Jola.</i> |

The same pronoun forms mido, ado are also used with past tense endings ...ii, ii no, etc. to indicate I wasing, you wereing, etc.

tawi fowruwal di fiia tamayel
muudum.

She) found Hyaena beating his drum.

nani dana o di nin yima.

They) heard the hunter singing.

ho leggal di ninto laawol to ?

Is there a tree on the road ?

nani na'i di di kuuna.

He) heard the cows lowing.

cukalony muen di ndiiwa colli.

Their children were driving off the birds.

Past tense

dawaadi di dyakki ha kaari.

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 ? | <i>Am I to bring (it) ? Shall I bring (it) ?</i> |
| mi ɓaɗa ? | <i>Am I to take (it) ? Shall I take (it) ?</i> |
| mi ara ? | <i>Am I to come ?</i> |
| mi woppa ? | <i>Am I to throw (it) away ?</i> |
| mi sooda nebbam ? | <i>Am I to buy oil ?</i> |
| addu mi laara. | <i>Bring (it) for me to see.</i> |
| addu mi watta. | <i>Bring (it) for me to put back.</i> |
| okk am mi yara. | <i>Give me to drink.</i> |
| okk am ndiyam mi yara. | <i>Give me water to drink.</i> |
| immo, mi femmba ma. | <i>Get up, so that I may shave you.</i> |
| kelle, ha mi ama. | <i>Clap (pl.) so that I may dance.</i> |
| ha leuru ndu funta. | <i>Until the moon comes out..</i> |
| mbo wi yo, mi deuta lau, mi yaha. | <i>He says, I am to finish cooking early, and go.</i> |

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 ? | <i>Will he come next year ?</i> |
| mbo arat joo. | <i>He will come just now.</i> |
| immo, diure nde h e lat. | <i>Get up, the platform will break.</i> |
| a yanat ! | <i>You will fall !</i> |
| an, a yahat Banjul ? | <i>You, will you go to Banjul ?</i> |

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

The -at form can also indicate intensity.

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| a rimat ! | <i>You are telling a lie !</i> |
| a siidat ! | <i>You are joking !</i> |

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

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a hootanni joo ? | <i>You are about to go home now ?</i> |
| a yahanni ? | <i>You are about to go ?</i> |
| mi aranni joo. | <i>I am about to come now.</i> |
| mi winndanni. | <i>I am about to write.</i> |
| mbo wullanni. | <i>She is about to cry.</i> |
| a nyaam-oy-anni ? | <i>You are about to go and eat ?</i> |

PAST TENSES

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 lēdfe.

I have brought (fire) wood.

a addaani goro ?

Have you not brought kola ?

mi hēḡii sire.

I have obtained snuff.

a hēḡii jaingol ?

Did you get fire ?

nēdfo maayii.

A person has died.

mi nyaamii.

I have eaten.

a nyaamaani ?

Haven't you eaten ?

a haarii ?

Are you full ? (satisfied).

mi haarii.

I am full.

mi ṇoodii.

I am tired.

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

a yiiaani ?

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 ? | <i>Did you go to Basse ?</i> |
| a winndii no d'um . | <i>You have written it already .</i> |
| mbo salii no. | <i>She refused (formerly) .</i> |
| a arii no gai rowani ? | <i>Did you come here last year ?</i> |
| mbo yahii no gada maayo. | <i>He went across the river. (In reply to "Where did he go ?")</i> |
| mbo dyoog-oy-ii no. | <i>She has been to draw water (& has come back) .</i> |
| haŋki a yah no to Kundam ?) | <i>Did you go to Kundam yesterday ?</i> |
| a yah no to Kundam haŋki ?) | |
| inna am deuti no, di fadi. | <i>My mother has finished cooking, and is waiting..</i> |

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 ? | <i>Did you come yesterday ?</i> |
| mi ar no to suudu ma haŋki. | <i>I came to your house yesterday.</i> |
| hoto njah no da haŋki ? | <i>Where did you go yesterday ?</i> |
| mi yah no to suna . | <i>I had gone to the suna (early millet) field.</i> |
| si mi anndu no han, mi watta no, ko mbaɗ mi ko. | <i>If I had only known before, I would not have done what I did.</i> |
| ngon no don.... | <i>Once upon a time there was...</i> |

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 ? | <i>Who is it ?</i> |
| | wonaa min. | <i>It was not me.</i> |
| | wonaa noon ? | <i>Isn't it so ?</i> |
| | wonaa dum. | <i>That is not it.</i> |
| | wonaa goonga. | <i>It's not true.</i> |
| | wonaa min wadi ton hootonde. | <i>It was not me who put a ring there.</i> |
| (b) | mido anndii. | <i>I know.</i> |
| | mi andaa dum. | <i>I do not know that/ him/her.</i> |
| | mi andaa. | <i>I do not know.</i> |
| | a andaa kam ? | <i>You do not know me ?</i> |
| | mi andaa no . | <i>I did not know.</i> |
| (c) | mido waawii. | <i>I can .</i> |
| | mi waawaa. | <i>I cannot .</i> |
| | <u>or</u> mi waawataa. | <i>I cannot. I will not be able .</i> |
| (d) | mido yidii. | <i>I want, I like .</i> |
| | hombo yidi dum ? | <i>Who wants it ? Who would like it ?</i> |
| | a yidaa kam ? | <i>You do not love me ?</i> |
| | a yidaa dum ? | <i>Do you not like it ?</i> |

-aa is also added to the definite future tense to form the negative.

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| a waalat-aa ? | <i>Will you not spend the night ?</i> |
| a nyaamat-aa ? | <i>Will you not eat ?</i> |
| a yeeutat-aa ? | <i>Won't you chat ?</i> |
| jaꞑꞑgo mi unat-aa. | <i>Tomorrow I will not pound.</i> |
| mi warat-aa ma ! | <i>I will not kill you.</i> |
| mbo naꞑꞑgat-aa ma. | <i>He will not catch you.</i> |
| a soodataa gertogal ? | <i>Won't you buy a fowl ?</i> |
| on naatataa ? | <i>Won't you^(pl.) enter ?</i> |
| a waawataa. | <i>You will not be able = you cannot.</i> |
| mi defataa, | <i>I will not cook,</i> |
| mi unataa, | <i>I will not pound,</i> |
| mi saggintaa, | <i>I will not start cooking,</i> |
| mi teen-oy-taa, * | <i>I will not go for firewood,</i> |
| mi dyoog-oy-taa.* | <i>I will not go for water.</i> |

* (The -oy- infix indicates to 'go to (do something)' .
See page 72 .)

HABITUAL ACTION

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 heresa-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 | | -oto |
| Habitual | | -otoo |
| Future negative | | -otaako |

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 hēddiima he maayo. *He has perished in the river.*

diirto ! mi diirtiima.^a *Move. I have moved.*

mbo dariima. *She
He has stood up.*

a hoŋoyaaki 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 ?*

jaŋŋgo mbo yottoto Banjul *Tomorrow he will reach Banjul.*

hoɖum 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

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|----------|
| Past tense | (acquired state & finished action) | - aama |
| | (narration) | -aa |
| | (negative) | -aaka |
| Present | (process) | ... - e |
| Past | (continuous) | ... - aa |
| Definite future | | - ete |
| Habitual | | - etee |
| Future negative | | - etaake |

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

jaŋŋgo nagge warete.

Tomorrow a cow will be killed.

hono ba ma wietee ?

How is your father called ? (What is your father's name ?)

ado anndii ɖum no wietee ?

Do you know how this is called ?

ɖum wonaa ko yaretee.

This is not for drinking.

tonso nyaametaake.

A bat is not to be eaten.

si ɖi 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 noodii njoodagol . | I am tired (of) sitting. |
| hombo Suri waawde ngunugol ? ² | 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 |
| debbu waawaa | A woman is not able (to do) |
| looturu pucu to | the washing of a horse in |
| maayo. | 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 Suri 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 . | <i>Change it for me.</i> |
| sood-an am tikka . | <i>Buy a head tie for me.</i> |
| hocc-an am . | <i>Pick it up for me.</i> |
| add-an am ndiyam . | <i>Bring water for me,</i> |
| haal-an am . | <i>Tell me.</i> |
| nodd-an am mbo . | <i>Call him for me,</i> |
| mbo dɛf-an-aani ma han ? | <i>She did not cook for you today ?</i> |
| a hāl-an-aani Samba? | <i>Did you not tell Samba ?</i> |
| mi yah-an-a dum ? | <i>Am I to come for it ?</i> |
| reen-an am gɛrtoode dɛ . | <i>Drive the fowls away for me.</i> |
| or reena-nom | |

2. -oy go to (do something)

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| mido loot-oy-a. | <i>I am going to do the washing.</i> |
| mido dyoog-oy-a. | <i>I am going to draw water.</i> |
| mido teen-oy-a. | <i>I am going to fetch firewood.</i> |
| mbo di dɛf-oy-a. | <i>She is going to cook.</i> |
| mido ain-oy-a. | <i>I am to go herding.</i> |
| mido sood-oy-a maaro. | <i>I am going to buy rice.</i> |
| mbo hod-oy-ii..... | <i>He has gone on a visit (still there)to...</i> |
| mbo loot-oy-ii. | <i>She has gone to do the washing.</i> |
| mbo ain-oy-ii. | <i>He has gone herding.</i> |
| mbo ɓogg-oy-ii dutaaje . | <i>She has gone to pick mangoes.</i> |
| mbo dyoog-oy-ii no. | <i>She has been to draw water</i> |

a hod-oy-i no ?

Did you go on a visit ?

mi def-oy-aani.

I'm not going to cook.

mi def-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.

6e nja-d-ii.

They went together.

mi lem-d-aani ma.

I am not talking to you.

mi le66an-aano ma.

I was not talking to you.

4. - ondir indicates reciprocity.

miden ceɲondiri.

We are clinging together.

miden kuufondiri.

We are embracing one another.

miden loo6ondiri.

We are on bad terms.

min ceɲondiri.

We embraced one another.

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

mbo di wull-int-i no.

She is pretending to cry.

mbo di daan-tintin-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 | to twist around |
| | fiiltu | to untwist |
| | sukku | 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) | dɛf | to cook |
| | deutu | to finish cooking |
| | hɛl | to break |
| | heltu | break off (completely) |
| | dɛl | leave |
| | daltu | 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 laɕi. he cut it with a knife.

8. The infix -or covers various meanings.

| | | |
|------|---------------|---|
| e.g. | okk-or am. | Give me a bit. |
| | 6ur-or-i. | It is better (of sickness). It is improving. |
| | mi h66oraani. | I have no time. I am busy. |

9. The infix -id- is found with unfavorable personal characteristics.

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| ra66id-de | To be short |
| 6appid-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 |
| welnu- | make sweet | lammin- | make sour |
| daraa- | stand | waalaa- | lie down |
| darnu- | make stand | wallin- | lay down |
| nyol- | dirty | laa6- | clean |
| nyolnu- | make dirty | la66in- | make clean |
| am- | dance | naat- | enter |
| amnu- | make dance | nattin- | make enter |
| yar- | drink | t6mmbaa- | even |
| yarnu- | make drink | t6mmbin- | 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 |
| liddy | to hiccup |

rs = frequent scraping motions

| | |
|-------|---|
| 6ursu | 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

| | |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| hurly | to fence round |
| harly | to twist (thread, rope, etc.) |
| werly | to spin something round |
| moorly | to roll up in the hand |
| firly | 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 taŋka.

*I haven't sixpence.**

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

mi heɓii sire.

I have obtained snuff.

on keɓi liɗɗi?

Did you (pl.) get fish ?

Hamadi heɓi deɓbo.

Hamadi has obtained a wife.

- (3) Possession is also indicated by the words:

jogaa-de to possess

wood-de to possess.

tam-de to have (lit. hold in the hand).

jiy-de = jey in the speech of Futa Jalon.

ado jogii rawaandu ?

Have you got a dog ?

ko min mi woodi ndii
leidi.

*It is I who possess that
land.*

o di tami na'i.

He has cows. or She has cows

wonaa minen njiy.

It is not us (who) own (it).

on kala tami ɓiɗɗo
gorko.

She too had a son.

alaa mbo tami on
siifa pucu.

*There was no one who had
such a horse.*

kambaane di tami
hotoonde.

*The youth **has** a ring.*

* Old currency.

- (1) Used as "No." - the negative reply to an affirmative question
 a yii'i mbo ? *Did you see him ?* Alaa.* *No.*
- (2) As the negative of the verb 'to be.' (No other form of the verb used.)
 alaa ^{do}don. *He is not there.*
 " " " *here*
 mbo alaa do. *He is not here.*
 ðe ngalaa ton. *They are not there.*
- (3) Used as the negative of the verb 'to have.'
 a alaa dεbbo ? *You haven't a wife ?*
 mi alaa sire han. *I have no snuff today.*
 mi alaa gerte 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 hεð. *There was no one who could get it.*
 laamðe ðe fou,¹ alaa mbo *Of all the kings, there was no one*
 tami on siifa pucu. *who had such a horse.*

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

¹ or fof.

THE WORD 'KO'.

(1) = it is.

ko kany.

It is he./she.

ko goonnga.

It is the truth.

ko min.

It is me.

ko henndu ndu.

It is the wind.

ko noon ?

Is it so ?

ko noon tiggi.

It is exactly so.

minen ko min Laube.

We are Laube.

han ko alet.

Today is Sunday.

janngo ko tenen.

Tomorrow is Monday.

oo ko bidfo laamfo.

He is the king's son.

kaen fou ko gootum.

She " " " daughter.

They are all one.

dum ko nete.

This is locust bean powder.

ko mi kodo.

I am a stranger.

(2) = that which.

sood ko heewi.

Buy plenty (what is plenty).

ko woni he jiiba ma ?

What is in your pocket ?

a nani ko Mabel wi'i ?

Do you hear what Mabel said ?

mi nanaani ko mbi da.

I did not hear what you said.

haalan am ko mbi da.

Tell me what you say.

mi andaa ko mbaɗɗ mi.

I don't know what I am to do.

ado anndii ko woni... ?

Do you know what....is ?

(3) = whatever

ko welan-i ma kala.

Whatever you like . (lit. whatever is sweet for you.)

di nin

di nin/njeeya fakaaje muen.

laana ka di nin darii do
waaf do.

jombajo o, di nin joodii he basal.

o di nin bira.

sonndu ndu di nin yima.

sonndu ndu tai di nin yima.

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.

He is milking.

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

The bird was still singing.

di na

di na.

di na ara.

There it is.

There he/she is coming.

di

di ura basalle.

hoore am di muusa.

reedu am di muusa.

di bournii manna.

di fiili tikka.

di juuti lupuut.

di ton.

di weli.

di moddyi no bete.

It smells of onions.

My head is paining.

My stomach is painful.

He has put on a hat.

She is wearing a head tie.

It is very long.

It is there.

It is sweet !

It is very good !

INTERROGATIVES

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

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a hɛɖi ɣɛrtogal ? | <i>Did you get a fowl ?</i> |
| on kɛɖaani liddi ? | <i>Did you (pl.) not get fish ?</i> |
| a hooti ? | <i>Are you going home ?</i> |
| a artataa ? | <i>Aren't you coming back ?</i> |

- (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.

| | |
|--|--|
| ho a nyaami ? | <i>Have you eaten ?</i> |
| ho jom pucu sɔɲaani on do ? | <i>Did a horseman not pass you by here ?</i> |
| ho aan, a alaa hunuko ? | <i>You, haven't you got a mouth ?</i> |
| dɛbbɔ, ho a faalaaka hoot-de to saare ? | <i>Woman, don't you want to go back to the village.?</i> |
| a nyamaani na ? | <i>Haven't you eaten then ?</i> |

- (3) hombo = who ?

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| hombo woni o ? | <i>Who is this ?</i> |
| hombo njii ɗa ton ? | <i>Who did you see there ?</i> |
| hombo won nin ? | <i>Who is it ?</i> |
| hombo lappi mbo ? | <i>Who struck him/her.?</i> |
| hombo darii do ? | <i>Who is standing here ?</i> |
| hombo ? min ? | <i>Who ? Me ?</i> |
| hombo ronndata kam ? | <i>Who will raise my load for me ?</i> |

(4) hono, no = how ?

hono saare mon wietee ?

How is your village called ?

hono mbietee da ?

*(= What is the name of your village ?)**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)
he/she*

mi yejiti hono o wietee.

I have forgotten what he/she is called.

hono mbadat mi ?

What will I do ?

no mbađ da ?

How are you ?(5) hoto = where ?

hoto woni ngesa 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 kebat mi ndiyam ?

Where will I get water ?

hoto keđ 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 dađboy no da ?

What did you go to look for ?

(ko dađboy no da ?

hodum mbađ da han ?

What did you do today ?

ko hodum ?

What is it ?

ko wafi ?

What has happened ?

ko mbi da ?

What did you say ?

hodum mbatta ?

What are you doing ?

hodum an keđ da.

What did you get ?

hodum woni ?

What is it ?

" wonin ?

What is this ?

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/ lɛdɛ ?

mi addi.

Didn't you bring (any) wood ?

I have brought (some).

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

- (1)
- si
- = if, when

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

si mi he6ii taransu
 he taŋka,
 mi soodat gertogal.

If I have 1/6d. (old currency)

I will buy a fowl.

si a laari mbo,
 a anndat.

*If you look at him,
 you will know.*

si mi ɔurorii,
 mi yahat.

*If (When) I am better,
 I will go.*

si a yahii,
 godɔo arat ?

*If you go (When you have gone)
 will another come ?*

- (2)
- si.....han
- The particle
- han
- indicates an element of doubt.

si a yani han !

If you were to fall !

si ndiyam simti han,
 mi yahat.

*If the rain stops, (When the rain has
 I will go.*

si a waratkam han,
 wad am to jaingol to.

*If you are (going to) kill me,
 put me in the fire.*

- (3)
- si.....tan
- = as soon as.....then.

si mi nyaami tan,
 mi ara ?

*As soon as I have eaten,
 I am to come ?*

si mi nyaami tan,
 mi arat.

*As soon as I have eaten,
 I will come.*

si mbo funnti tan,
 leulewal wadi,
 hakke ko mbo weidi.

*As soon as she went out,
 it became moonlight,
 because she was so beautiful.*

si mbo tawi ma do tan,
 a maayii.

*As soon as he finds you here,
 you are dead.*

si a le6i tan, a maayat.

*If you tell, you will die.
 (As soon as you tell..)*

si a watti tan,
 mi warat ma.

*If you do it again,
 I will kill you.*

- (4) tan at the end of a clause also indicates 'as soon as'.

debb'o o yii'i dum tan,
wulli.

As soon as the woman saw him,
she burst into tears.

weeti tan, bani basel..

As soon as it was morning, he took a little mat.

oda, o nani dum tan,
wulli.

That one, as soon as she heard him, /it,
she cried.

yotti tan, dampi 6ohi ki.

As soon as he reached (it), he kicked the baobab tree.

yimbe kiirti tan. yahi..

When people had had dinner, she set off..

si mi arti tan. mi nyaama ma.

As soon as I come back, I will eat you.

Otherwise $\tan = \text{only}$

jam tan.

Peace only !

ar tan !

Come only ! = Just come.

ko min tan hɛddi.

I am the only one left.

min tan won do.

I am the only one here.

dum tan ?

Is that all ? (Only this ?)

dum tan njii mi do.

That is all I see there.

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

mbo yii-oy ma han,
mbo warat ma.

If ever he sees you, (If he were to see..) he will kill you.

awa, arti han,
loota ha laa6i.

Well, when she came back,
she washed (him) clean.

M.B provides the following variants

arti tan. lootā ha laabi

As soon as she came back, she was washed clean.

arti han, lootu ha laaba

When she comes (came) back, she washes (washed) herself clean.

arti han, lootay ha laaba

When she comes back she is washed clean.

COMPARISONS

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

Busumbala ɔ̃uri maunu-de Mandinaba. *Busumbala is bigger than Mandinaba.*

Mandinaba ɔ̃uri famɔ̃u-de Birikama. *Mandinaba is smaller than Birikama.*

laɔ̃i am ɔ̃uri laɔ̃i ma wɛlde.) *My knife is sharper than yours.*
laɔ̃i am ɔ̃uri wɛlde laɔ̃i ma.)

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

hombo ɔ̃uri waaw-de ngunu . ? *Who is the best at pounding ?*
waau-de ngungol ?

(7) wi-de (lit. to say) = to be about to.

ngiia immi, wi di dum wara.

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

mbi mi mido yaha to ngela
Suùllel.

I was about to go to the other little pool.

wi di funnta..

He) was about to go out..

fowruel wi di ninhirsas kaandi
tan...

*Hyaena 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 hersi, wi di nin
lattito waandu tan,
cukayel gorel ngel' nangi dum.

*The king was ashamed, just as he was about
to turn into a monkey,
the little boy caught him.*

- 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.)

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| neddo mau-do o | the big person | neddo gooto | one person the same person |
| booli mau-do o | the big basin | booli gooto | one basin |
| ndiyam mau-dam dam | the big water | ndiyam gootam | one water |
| haaire mau-nde nde | the big stone | haaire wootere | one stone |
| ngaari mau-ndi ndi | the big bull | ngaari wootiri | one bull |
| rawaandu mau-ndu ndu | the big dog | rawaandu wooturu | one dog |
| nagge mau-nge nge | the big cow | nagge woote | one cow |
| yeeso man-ngo ngo | the big face | yeeso wooto | one face |
| mbaalu man-ngu ngu | the big sheep | mbaalu wootu | one sheep |
| gertogal man-ngal ngal | the big fowl | gertogal gootal | one hen |
| cukayel ----- | ----- | cukayel gootel | one child |
| laawol man-ngol ngol | the big road | laawol gootol | one road |
| ngaika mau-ka ka | the big hole | ngaika woota | one hole |
| lekki mau-ki ki | the big medicine | lekki wooti | one medicine |
| hudo mau-ko ko | the big grass | hudo wooto | one grass |
| mbabba mau-mba mba | the big donkey | mbabba woota | one donkey |
| yimbe mau-be be | the big people | yimbe wootube ** | the same people |
| gerte mau-de de | the big peanuts | gerte goote | the same peanuts |
| baali maudi di | the big sheep (pl.) | baali gooti | the same sheep (pl.) |
| kennii ngi | the big wind* | | |
| kennii man-ngi ngi | the great big wind | kennii gooti | one big wind |

* 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.

ndiyam keudam
dam
ndiyam/di heewi

plenty of water
the water is plentiful.

sudu maundu ndu
suudu ndu di mauni

the big house
the house is big.

But one can say

suudu ma ndu ko maundu !

how big your house is !

neɗɗo bonɗo

a bad person

maudo deɓbo

an old woman

leuru wooturu

one month (one moon)

ndiyam nyoldam

dirty water

cukayɛl tokosɛl

a small child

maaro heso

new rice

liɗɗi njoorɗi

dried fish

leɗɗe ndɛfirtayde

wood to cook with

gude muudum cuuwaade

his dyed clothes
her

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

| | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| woindu Manekunda | <i>Manekunda well</i> |
| ndiyam woindu | <i>well water</i> |
| ṣoggol woindu | <i>well rope</i> |
| nguru nagge | <i>cow skin</i> |
| aaudi maaro | <i>rice seed</i> |
| kewal sire | <i>snuff container</i> |

To express the term female the root rew is used.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| dəbbo - reuḍe | <i>woman - women</i> |
| ullunndu reu-ru | <i>a female cat</i> |
| pucu ndewu | <i>a mare</i> |
| nduulaldi ndeu-ri | <i>a female lizard</i> |

The word jarl- is also used for certain animals .

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| ngeelooba njarla | <i>a female camel</i> |
| puccu njarlu | <i>a mare</i> |

DIMINUTIVE AND AUGMENTATIVE FORMS

Diminutives -el (pl. = ony)

| | |
|--|---|
| ca'el mbeifungel (from <u>saare</u>) | <i>A pretty little village.</i> |
| cukayel deyengel. | <i>A little girl.</i> |
| cukayel gorel | <i>A little boy.</i> |
| maamayel gootel. | <i>A certain little old woman (granny).</i> |
| kala kullel ngonongel to nder maayo (from <u>huunde</u>) | <i>Each little thing that lived in the river.</i> |

Augmentatives -ii

| | |
|---|--|
| nyama ha deeringii heewa. (from <u>reedu</u>) | <i>He) would eat until his big belly was full.</i> |
| kennii molanteengi Alla ari. (from <u>henndu</u>) | <i>A wonderfully strong wind came.</i> |
| don leggii biri-barayi fudi. (from <u>leggal</u>) | <i>There a large shady tree sprang up.</i> |
| ben mboppi mangii ngi. | <i>They left the large one.</i> |
| maccullii molanaadi cf. maccuŋe molanaaŋe | <i>Wonderfully big slaves.</i> |

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|------|------------------------|
| 1 | goo, gooto | 10 | sappo |
| 2 | didi | 20 | noogai, noogas |
| 3 | tati | 30 | cappande tati |
| 4 | nai | 40 | " nai |
| 5 | joowi | 50 | " joowi |
| 6 | jeegoo | 60 | " jeegoo |
| 7 | jeedidi | 70 | " jeedidi |
| 8 | jeetati | 80 | " jeetati |
| 9 | jeenai | 90 | " jeenai |
| 11 | sappo he goo | 21 | noogai he goo |
| 12 | sappo he didi etc. | 22 | noogai he didi etc. |
| 100 | teemedere | 1000 | wuluure |
| 200 | teemelle didi | 2000 | guluuje didi |
| 300 | teemelle tati etc. | 3000 | guluuje tati etc. |

- a) For personal nouns, an o is substituted for the final i of the numeral.

The plural form is also o, not be .

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| yimbe dido | two people |
| neɔdɔ gooto | one person |

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

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| gootɛl | a little one |
| cukalony tatony | three children |

- 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.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| jowiiji didi | two fives |
| minɛn dido | we two |
| mauɛ reuɛ dido | two old women |
| * buudi sappo he jowi | fifteen dollars |

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

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| laabi didi | twice |
| laabi tati | three times |

* mbūdi = 4 shillings (old currency) = 1 dollar (dalasi)

WORDS INDICATING PLACE AND DIRECTION

to = to (indicating direction away from the speaker)

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| mbo yahii to wuro. | <i>He has gone to the herd.</i> |
| Kadi di to wooindu. | <i>Kadi is at the well.</i> |
| njeɛɛn to suudu ma. | <i>Let us go to your house.</i> |
| afo yaha to marse ? | <i>Are you going to the market ?</i> |
| to suudu ma. | <i>To your house.</i> |
| njeɛɛn to suudu to. | <i>Let us go to the house.</i> |
| mbo yahi to ngesa. | <i>He went to the farm.</i> |
| ɓat too to seeda. | <i>Move over a little.</i> |
| a yii'i Faatu to marse ? | <i>Did you see Faatu at the market ?</i> |
| joofo to joodorgal to. | <i>Sit on the seat over there.</i> |
| yah heefoy to. | <i>Go and scrape (the fish) over there.</i> |
| Hamadi wadi dum to jiba. | <i>Hamadi put it in his pocket.</i> |
| mbo yahi to ladde. | <i>He went to the 'bush'.</i> |

ton = there (when distance is far)

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| a yah-aani ton tawo ? | <i>Didn't you go there yet ?</i> |
| follere alaa ton. | <i>There is no sorrel there.</i> |
| a ɓooyi ton ! | <i>You were a long time away there !</i> |

do = here, there (when distance is not far)

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| alaa do. | <i>He is not here.</i> |
| mi tawaani ma do. | <i>I did not find you here.</i> |
| immo do, yah to. | <i>Get up from here, go away.</i> |
| wad do. | <i>Put it here.</i> |
| aan, immo do. | <i>You, get up from here.</i> |

ga, gai = here (close), indicating movement towards the speaker.

ar gai.

Come here.

a wairi gai !

You were long away from here !

he = and, with, on, in (no motion involved) (See also: p.32)

inna am he ba am .

My mother and my father.

reufe am he siŋŋe am.

My wives and my children.

gooto he muɛn .

One of them.

wota joodo he leidi.

Don't sit on the ground.

yah he jam.

Go in peace.

mbo hɛddiima he maayo.

He has perished in the river. (lit. remained)

ko woni he jiiba ma ?

What is in your pocket?

kany he = along with

dɛbbo o yahi to Banjul.

*The woman went to Banjul,
along with her child.*

kany he siɖɖo muⁿ.

on nyan Mairam kany he
fulaŋeeŋe muudum ɛe fiuu...

*On that day Mairam along with
all of her age-mates...*

nder = inside

nder suudu to.

Inside the house there.

Mairam yahii to nder suudu.

Mairam has gone into the house.

mbo di to nder suudu.

*^{She}
He is there in the house.*

nder hunuko muudum.

*In ^{his}
her mouth.*

- 1 Other dialects use gai more than the people of Mansajang etc.
who prefer do .

yaai (yaas in other dialects) = outside

(6e) njiiaani hai nɛdɔ
to yaai.

*They) did not see anyone
outside.*

naɓ to yaai.

Take (it) outside.

di to yaai.

It is outside.

jimba = beside

mbo di darii he jimba'm.

He/she is standing beside me.

mbo di he jimba saare.

He/She is beside the village.

yeeso = in front of (lit. face)

ado joodi to yeeso am.

You are sitting in front of me.

yautu(to)yeeso.

Pass on ahead.

ɓaawo = behind (lit. back)

mbo di to ɓaawo suudu to.

He/she is behind the house.

acci dawaadi muudum di
to ɓaawo.

He left his dogs behind.

sengo = side, direction

mbo yahii ngo ^{to} /sengo.

He/She went that way.

ko ngoo/sengo woni.

It is in that direction.

heede = direction

mbo di to heede ton.

He/she is in that direction.

di darii heede panye goro
muudum.

*He is standing beside his basket of
kola nuts.*

dou = up, on top

laar to dou)
hoino to dou)

Look up.

booli o, di to dou.

The basin is up there.

...dyeenga to dou leggal.

He) would climb up a tree.

lei (les 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 wadi. *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,

*He has not yet come,
but he will come.*

a hootaani tawo ?

You have not gone home yet ?

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

mi noodii joo.

I am tired now.

a arata do joo.

You do not come here now.

haa = until

haa jango.

Until tomorrow.

haa kiikiide.

Until evening.

haa joo.

Until now, still.

haa 6ooyi.

For a long time.

mi dogi haa mi duppi.¹

I have run until I am out of breath

haa duntun jogga.

Until the cock crows.

accu haa weeta.

Wait until it is morning.

waali haa leriinde jemma.

They) lay down until the middle of the night.

gila = since do)

gila han̄ki a araani gaai.)

Since yesterday you did not come here.

gila ontuma ha joo...

Since that time until now.

gila njibina mi..

Since I was born..

gila on nyan fulaŋeeŋe
muudum cōkkoyi, ha joo mbo
leŋaani.

*Since the day her companions
went for tattooing, until now
she has not spoken.*

¹ or tampi (to be exhausted).

also ndog mi haa nduppu mi

I ran until I was out of breath

lau, law = early

bimmbi lau.

In the early morning.

janngo bimmbi lau.

Tomorrow morning early.

han (hannde in other dialects): today

hanki yesterday

hec hanki the day before yesterday

janngo tomorrow

fa66i janngo the day after tomorrow

janngo bimmbi.

Tomorrow morning.

or

hanki a ar no ?

a ar no hanki ?

Yesterday did you come ?

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 ittindira ndiyam
rowani dam he hikka dam,
he ndiyam rowandeya dam.

I am separating last year's water from this year's, and from, the water of the year before last.

bimmbi = morning

nyannde nyan nyalaande = day

nyalooma = daytime (afternoon)

jemma = night time

a yarataa nyalooma ?

Don't you drink in the day-time ?

a hulataa yaade jemma ?

Aren't you afraid to go at night ?

waali ha leriinde jemma.

He) lay down until the middle of the night.

janngo bimmbi.

Tomorrow morning.

^{yo}
bimmbi-o-bimmbi.

Every morning.

bimmbi lau.

Early in the morning.

^{wo}
nyannde-o-nyannde, o dana
yaha to nder ladde.

*Every day the hunter
would go into the bush.*

siko haa nde nyalaande
arta..

*But until that day
comes round..*

gila on nyan..

Since that day..

nyānde wootere.

One day.

Gooyi = for a long time

Gooyi ko ngar mi.

It is long since I came.

Gooyi ko mbo yahi.

It is a long time since he went.

laari din na'i haa Gooyi.

He looked at those cows for a long time.

nyalli don haa Gooyi.

He spent the day there for a long time.

Gooyataa.

It will not be long . Soon.

Siwaa = it is not yet time

ma siwaa naatu.

Before he had entered.

meed = ever, never (lit. to taste)

mi meeda yiide biibe
no be ni.

*I have never seen children
like them.*

gila njibina mi, he
ndi leidi,
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 haade dabbo.

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

nauliraafe muudum
kersi titi.

*Her co-wives
were ashamed again.*

Penda neli Buubel titi.

Penda sent Little Fly again.

funntini dumen titi.

She took them out again.

hingal = finally, in the end

o
debbo/hingal yahi to
mamaare.

*The woman finally went to
an old woman.*

yah wi inna am yo:
hingal noon mi semtat.

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

doode = before

dana o, doode wakkade
gididi muudum, wi dumen...

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

hanti = now

wi dum: hanti njehen to banta.

He said 'Now let us go to the banta.'

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----|-------|
| bui | very much | hen | a bit |
| seeda | a little | | |
| ko heewi | plenty | | |

sood ko heewi.

Buy plenty.

tady an am hen.

Cut me a bit.

kosam dam heewaani,
ko seeda tan.

*The milk is not plentiful,
only a little.*

wonaa seeda,
ko bui.

*It is not a little,
it is much.*

seeda mbo maaya.

He almost died.

seeda mbo yana.

He almost fell.

a jaraamaa bui.

*Thank you very much. (Lit. you are to be
greatly praised)*

WORDS INDICATING MANNER

| | | | |
|----------|----------------|---------|------|
| seese | softly, gently | no bete | well |
| doi | softly | | |
| no feewi | well | | |
| ko meere | in vain | | |
| ko yaawi | quickly | | |

doi doi.

very softly.

wad ko yaawi.

Do it quickly.

EMPHATIC WORDS AND PHRASES

de = (an emphatic word, used at the end of a sentence)

midɛn nguna de !

We are pounding !

a lippɛtee de !

You will be beaten !

mi lippat on de !

I will beat you (pl.) !

wonaa min de !

It wasn't me !

min de, mi yiaani nɛɖɖo.

As for me, I did not see anyone.

kai (from Wolof)

mbo ɖi anndi kai.

He/she knows !

mbo ari kai.

He did come.

fou (fof in other dialects) = all

a huumni fou !

You've completely finished (it).

mi yeejitii fou.

I completely forget !

tiggi

ko noon tiggi !

That's exactly so.

no bette = well

mbo anndii Jara no bette

He knows Jara well.

mbo ɖi modɖyi no bette.

He is extremely kind.

hai = even

hai gooto mi heɛaani.

I have not even one.

hai jɛmma mbo yiiloto.

Even at night he is wandering around.

hai gooto wiaani mbo.

Not one told him.

hai huunde.

Not a thing (alaa do - implied)

hai tuus

Not a thing

hai fɛɲ. (Mandinka)

" " "

hai dara. (Wolof)

" " "

hai nɛɖɖo heɖɖaaki.

Not a single person remained.

Fou = all, every

Biɓɓe muudum ɓe fou ko worɓe.

Her children all were male.

tawi fou nyaamete to laawol.

It happened everything was eaten on the way.

saare nde fou lamdi dum.

All the village asked her.

maaro^{ko}/fou di ɓɛnndii.

All the rice was ripe.

njahi, ka'en fou, ...

They went off, all of them...

fulaɗeeɓe muudum ɓe fou.

All her age-mates...

ɓen fou poɓɓi juude.

They all clapped their hands.

yimɓe ɓe fou ndaartindiri.

All the people looked at one another.

Fiu, fiuu = all, the whole

reuɓe muudum ɓe fiu.

All his wives....

saare nde fiuu hauriti to banta.

All the village met at the banta.

ka'en fiu caakii.

They all scattered.

wondema = clearly, definitely.

yeejiti wondema njumri
nakkoto neddo.

anndi wondema pellet..

o felliti pellet wondema.

Ho yimbe be fou njiia
wondema kany reube muudum
be ko reube.

kollan aduna o fou,
wondema be ko bibbe am.

waaji bojel 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.*

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| mbo anndi pellet. | <i>He knew for sure.</i> |
| di 6auli not. | <i>It is very black.</i> |
| di 6uubi yem. | <i>It is very cold.</i> |
| di feewi bec. | <i>It is completely straight.</i> |
| di haadi rok. | <i>It is very bitter.</i> |
| di heewi tep. | <i>It is completely full.</i> |
| di juuti lupuut. | <i>It is very long.</i> |
| di laa6i pos. | <i>It is very clean.</i> |
| di leppi putuk. | <i>It is very wet (of an object)</i> |
| di lammi tau. | <i>It is very sour.</i> |
| di luu6a duus. | <i>It is smelling strongly.</i> |
| di maayi pak. | <i>It is completely dead.</i> |
| di nyoli tof. | <i>It is completely rotten.</i> |
| di ra66idi ndotok. | <i>It is very short.</i> |
| di rauni tal. | <i>It is very white.</i> |
| di weidi weset. | <i>It is very beautiful.</i> |
| di weli cilom. | <i>It is very sweet.</i> |
| di wojji coi. | <i>It is very red.</i> |
| di wuli cau. | <i>It is very hot.</i> |
| di yoori kon. | <i>It is very dry.</i> |
| ----- | |
| nge | |
| naange/di wuli cau. | <i>The sun is very hot.</i> |
| gude daneeje tal. | <i>Very white clothes.</i> |
| kirsi dum taraas. | <i>He) cut his throat,</i> |
| mi haari tep. | <i>I am completely satisfied (full).</i> |

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 këll | 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, hobor, hobor. | Very, very, old. |
|---------------------------------|------------------|

Where English has a form such as "he tied him tight,"
 "she washed him clean," etc. Fula uses haa (until) + the appropriate
 verb. e.g. "She washed him until (he was) clean."

Sentences frequently heard are :

yahi haa woddi.

He went until he was far.

asi ngaika haa luggi.

He dug a hole until it was deep.

fitti dum haa laaɓi.

She swept it until it was clean.

yiggi dum haa laaɓi.

She washed him until he was clean.

ɓe kumi dum haa yoori.

They tied him until he was dry (=tight)

mbo humi dum haa siinyi.

He tied him until he bared his teeth.

nyaami haa haari.

He ate until he was full (satisfied).

mbaali haa weeti.

They slept until morning.

ɗi nyariihaa ɗi weidi.

She ^{was} dressed up until she was beautiful

ɗyooga faka muudum haa heewa.

She ^{fill} would the water pot until it was full.

ɗefi haa hampini

She cooked until it was finished.

ɗefa hiiraande ha deeuta.

She would cook dinner until it was cooked (ready).

o weli haa maayi

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

on kambaane ko **yakkii**
 ko tai yautu,

*That youth was spoiled
 completely (= so that it passed (all) .*

di juurta curuut, curuut.

He poured it out, churut, churut.

inna o wadi arde, fiwir, fawar .
 filim, falam.

*The mother came, fiwir, fawar
 filim, falam
(= slowly)*

di soppa tan, cak, cak.

*he was cutting, chak, chak ..
(sound of cutting tree with ax.)
The little grandmother was trembling,
kada, kada.*

Beda fiu njolla mbada puci di
pucum pacam, pucum pacam.

*The others all would plunge their horses
into the river, puchum, pacham.*

wadi arde perkete, perkete,
perkete.

*(The antelope) came along, perkete,
perkete, perkete.*

kulli ngi...wadi pulum palam.

(The monster..)went pulum, palam.

nayeeyel...nyekki cek, cek.

*The little old woman..came tripping
along, chek, chek.*

wadi 'fiif'.

He went 'fiif' (of nose blowing)

wutti hinere nde 'fur'.

He) blew his nose 'fur'.

GREETINGS

| | |
|------------|---|
| jam waali | <i>good morning ! (Have you spent the night in peace)</i> |
| jam weeti | <i>good morning !</i> |
| jam nyalli | <i>good day !</i> |
| jam hiiri | <i>good evening !</i> |

The plural form adds on

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| jam weeti on ! | <i>Good morning ! (pl.)</i> |
| hono pin dɛn ? | <i>How have we wakened ?</i> |
| hono nyallu dɛn ? | <i>How have we spent the day ?</i> |
| (ho)no kiir dɛn ? | <i>How have we spent the evening ?</i> |
| (ho)no mbeet dɛn ? | <i>How have we spent the morning ?</i> |
| hono pin da ? | <i>How have you wakened ?</i> |
| hono ɓe cuudi ? | <i>How are the people at home ?</i> |
| hono ɓe saare mon ? | <i>How are the people of your village ?</i> |
| hono ɓeengu ngu ? | <i>How are the family ?</i> |
| (ho)no musidangal fou ? | <i>How are all the relatives ?</i> |

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

When one is about to leave one says:

| | |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| mi hooti. | <i>I am going home .</i> |
|-----------|--------------------------|

One's host then says :

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| mi yetti ɓe <u>or</u> | <i>I greet them.</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------------|

mi salmini ɓe

One can then say:

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| ɓe nanat. | <i>They will hear (it).</i> |
|-----------|-----------------------------|

On leaving at night one says:

mbaalɛn jam.

Let us spend the night in peace.

the standard reply being:

awa, mbaalɛn jam.

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

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

ar nyaamen.

Come and eat.

or kiirtodɛn

Let us have dinner together.

nyaltodɛn

Let us have breakfast together.

mbottodɛn

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:

mbuurdɛn.

May we live together.

| | | | |
|-----------|---------|----------|--------|
| rawaandu | wofat | A dog | barks |
| | nuilat | A dog | whines |
| | luudat | A dog | howls |
| mbabba | hanat | A donkey | brays |
| mbaroodi | uṣṣat | A lion | roars |
| ulluunndu | nyeewat | A cat | miaows |
| fowru | nuunyat | A hyaena | howls |
| mbaalu | mee'at | A sheep | bleats |
| mbeewa | mee'at | A goat | bleats |
| mboddi | fuupat | A snake | hisses |
| duntun | njoggat | A cock | crows |
| na'i di | nuunyat | The cows | low |
| pucu | hijat | A horse | neighs |

rawaandu ndu wadi
wow, wow, wow, wow.

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

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

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

GIRLS' PLAY SONGS¹

matamburaaaje, matamburaaaje,
 ma woni Meri,
 matamburaaaje,
 yahi wuro janngo,
 matamburaaaje,
 hombo tawoyta ton,
 matamburaaaje,
 sina Uwa muen,
 matamburaaaje,
 Birana dum keddām,
 matamburaaaje,
 keddām njakkām no wēldi,
 matamburaaaje,
 matamburaaaje, matamburaaaje.

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

leuru. leuru,
 saakoddaa sumaye,
 ma woni kaari han,
 saakoddaa sumaye,
 yahi wuro han,
 saakoddaa sumaye,
 no hakkilo siwe nge,
 saakoddaa sumaye,
 siwe no yuwalata,
 saakoddaa sumaye.

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

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

A LULLABY¹

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| nja mi to, nja mi to, nja mi. | <i>I went, I went, I went,</i> |
| nja mi to wukkuru joye. | <i>I went where the joye trees were putting out buds,</i> |
| taw mi tabaaje di laudya. | <i>I found the taba trees cleaning,</i> |
| laudyu mi, ngokku mi Sebo, | <i>I cleaned, and I gave to Sebo,</i> |
| Sebo meeden maudo, | <i>Sebo our older brother,</i> |
| fii'anta en baudi, | <i>beating the drum for us,</i> |
| baudi sangalaaji. | <i>the drum from the porcupine skin,</i> |
| ho baina, ho bah, | <i>Hush, (baby), hush,</i> |
| ho baina, ho bah. | <i>Hush, (baby), hush.</i> |

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 !²

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

2 See: David P. Gamble : "Chain-rhymes in Senegambian Languages," Africa, 29(1), January 1959, 82-83.

D. W. Arnott: "Proverbial lore and word-play of the Fulani," Africa, 27(4), October 1957, 379-396.

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 ? | <i>Calabashes overturned calabashes. Kore kipiti kore (a sound).</i> |
| | A. | yaadu mbabba he pette. | <i>A donkey walking over stones.</i> |
| 2. | Q. | di juuti, alaa mbeelu ? | <i>It is ^{tall} long, but has no shadow.</i> |
| | A. | fatal. | <i>A path.</i> |
| 3. | Q. | Sira daasa, lince caami. | <i>Sira was dragged along, rags fell off.</i> |
| | A. | leggal njoorngal. (si a daasi dum han, kakaali di njanat.) | <i>A dry branch. (If you drag it along, leaves will fall off.)</i> |
| 4. | Q. | camalle dou mbalndi ? | <i>Dry sticks on the bed.</i> |
| | A. | korle nayeejo. | <i>The shins of an old person.</i> |
| 5. | Q. | leulewal gada mbalndi ? | <i>Moonlight behind the bed.</i> |
| | A. | boccoode. | <i>Eggs. (Laid by hen under the bed.)</i> |
| 6. | Q. | ngaari lei faka ? | <i>A bull beneath the water pot.</i> |
| | A. | faabru. | <i>A frog . (which croaks under the pot).</i> |
| 7. | Q. | mifo tami leggii biri-barayi, kono a waawata sorde he foudi muudum. | <i>I have a big spreading tree, but You can't get under its shade.</i> |
| | A. | gertol. | <i>Peanut plant (which spreads along the ground.)</i> |
| 8. | Q. | mifo tami horde, mi laudya dum ha laaba, mi feero dum to dou, yanat, siko fusataa, eesotaako. | <i>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.</i> |
| | A. | kaakaalol. | <i>A leaf.</i> |

9. Q. tuuba mba sumi. *The trousers burnt,*
 duforgol ngol sumaani ? *The trouser cord did not burn.*
- A. ladde sumi, laawol *The bush burnt, the path*
 sumaani. *did not burn.*
10. Q. mi hod-oy-o dula, *I go on a visit,*
 mi wertane basal, *A mat is spread for me,*
 doode mi joodaade, *Before I sit down,*
 cukayel idito kam. *a little child beats me to it.*
- A. buubel. *A little fly.*
11. Q. mido tami cukalong didony, *I have two little children,*
 mi nela gootel, *I send one off,*
 yaha ha wodda, *he goes far away,*
 si mi dalti ngela tan, *if I let the other go,*
 heutoyo dum. *he will catch up with him.*
- A. gite. *The eyes.*
12. Q. do beel'el, *Here is a little lake,*
 do dyeenanel. *here is a little hill.*
- A. do doodel. *Here is a little pile of excrement,*
 do kandyel. *Here is a little pool of urine.*
13. Q. worbe tato, *Three men,*
 dufol gooto1. *one pair of trousers.*
- A. dukke tabaaje. *A pod of taba fruit (with three kernels)*
14. Q. pelmeles. *Pelmeles.*
- A. na'i si peggima, *Cows, if they stumble,*
 njeiyitaako *don't look back.*

1-5, 7-12. Provided by Mary Umah Baldeh, from Saare Mansajang, San Francisco, 19

13-14 Heard at Kundam, Fulladu East, 1979.

FULA CONVERSATIONS

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, ¹ hono mbiiete da ? | Tubab, what is your name ? |
| J. | Jainaba. hono an mbiiete da ? | Jainaba, what is your name ? |
| K. | min ? Kumba Balde. | Me, Kumba Balde. |
| J. | Kumba, duubi njelu keɗ da ? | Kumba, how old are you ? |
| K. | duuɗi noogas he tati hikka. | Twenty three years (old) this yea |
| J. | Kumba, hombo woni ba ma ? | Kumba, who is your father ? |
| K. | Mabel Balde. | Mabel Balde. |
| J. | inna ma ne ? | What about your mother ? |
| K. | Hawa Balde. | Hawa Balde. |
| | hoto ngiuru da, Jainaba. | Where are you from, Jainaba ? |
| J. | Banjul. | Banjul. |
| K. | ee..hono ɓe Banjul ? | eh..how are the people of Banjul |
| J. | jam tan. | Peace only. |
| K. | no golle de ? | How is the work ? |
| J. | jam tan. | Peace only. |
| K. | tana fo alaa ? | There is not trouble at all ? |
| J. | jam tan, hono mbaɗ den. | Peace only, how are we doing ? |
| K. | jam tan. | Peace only . |
| J. | ^{ho} no yimɓe men ? | How are our people ? |
| K. | jam tan. | Peace only. |
| J. | ee yoo. | 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 weli ? Is Banjul nice ?
- J. ha, di weli uu. Yes, it is very nice.
- K. Buri welde Basse. Nicer than Basse ?
- J. fereŋ bom. Very much !
- K. a-a, mi jaŋaani. No, no. I do not agree.
- Basse Buri welde Banjul Basse is nicer than Banjul
- laabi teemedere. one hundred times.
- J. hodum wadi mbii da noon. Why do you say that ?
- K. ngalaa na'i he kosam, They have no cows and sour milk
motooji tan. (in Banjul)
only cars,
- noppi ma fiuu paada your ears are completely deaf
- diiraango motooji. because of the noise of vehicles.
- J. eeyi, *du*m ko goonga, Yes, that is true,
- kono Basse di wuli no bette. but Basse is very hot.
- K. minen ga min mboowti We here are used to
- ngullendi ndi. the heat.
- mi hooti, Jainaba, I'm going home, Jainaba.
- nyallen jam. May we spend a peaceful afternoon.
- J. awa, nyallen jam. All right, may be spend the day in
peace.

(2)

- K. Jainaba, ho a yahanni maayo ? Jainaba, are you going to the river
(in Basse = down-town.)
- J. eeyi, mido yaha marse. Yes, I am going to the market.
- K. hodum codoitaani ? What are you going to buy ?
- J. ko maafor'te. Ingredients for cooking.
- K. he, kori an ado waawi ndefu ? Hey, I hope you can cook !
- J. mido waawi uu ! I can indeed !

- K. hodum, ndɛfata botaare ? What are you going to cook for lunch?
- J. maarɔ he teew. Rice and meat (stew).
- K. hee, njaka noon aɛn a ^{indeed} Hey,/nobody can memotaako. touch you. (= you're good !)
- J. an, hodum ndɛfoita ni ? You, what are you going to cook ?
- K. min, follɛɛ lammunde taw. Me, very sour sorrel soup.
- J. ho ko follɛɛ coodoytaa The market now cannot be touched.
- ni ? Are you going to buy sorrel ?
- K. hani, mido tami follɛɛ No, I have wild sorrel,
- ladde, gile tan he basalle it is only peppers and onions
- coodoyammi. that I am going to buy.
- J. mbii ɔa marse o wɛlaani. You say the market is not nice ?
- K. ha, joo kuntɛl basallɛl = cheap.
- ni mbiie ɔa nyataa Yes, for a little piece of onion
- J. tew o ne ? you are asked to pay 6 bututs.
- K. tew o ko hare hɛsata dum. What about the meat ?
- J. awa, han mi tinnoto The meat, it is fighting that gets it
- K. ko ndaragol ha keesi ma Ah well, today I have to try.
- muusa won ton. It is standing until your
- J. kori min mi waawat dum de ? sides ache, ~~that is~~ what is there.
- K. eh, a ɛttoto. I wonder if I can do that ?
- J. kori ne a saahat kam he Eh, you will try.
- bottare ma he ? I hope you will dish out a share
- K. si mi deuti tan, for me from your lunch ?
- mi noddɛt ma, When I have finished cooking
- si a siidaani han. I will call you,
- J. si a noddɛ kam tan, mi arɛt. if you are not joking.
- K. awa, ha bottaare. As soon as you call me, I will come.
- J. mi salmini ɛe cuudi. Well, until lunch-time.
- I greet those at home.

K. Ge nanat !

They will hear.

(3)

J. a jaaraama ngesa !

Welcome from the farm !

K. ya wuur,
hono nyallu den ?

May you live long.
How ^{are we spending} ~~have-we-spent~~ the afternoon ?

J. jam tan.

Peace only.

K. ar mbotto den.

Come, let's have lunch.

J. mi yoni.

I'm full (satisfied).

K. kon ar, ko follere defa.

Please come, it is sorrel that's cooked.

J. awa, fado mi meeda-seeda.

Well, let me taste a little.

K. kori, alaa gile no bette.

I hope it hasn't got too much pepper

J. hani, do ko nii footii.

No, it's just right.

K. nyaam de, wota a hersu,
do ko moodon.

Do eat, don't be shy.

This is your home.

J. hombo kersat mi do,
hai gooto.

Who am I shy of here,
no one.

follere nde di lammi,
di weli.

The sorrel is sour
and tastes fine.

kono mi haari.

but I have had enough.

K. kon nyaam, inna !

Do eat, my dear (lit. mother.)

J. ngal Alla mi yoni.

God knows I've had enough.

K. awa, fado mi napta
horde nde,

All right, let me take away
the calabash,

min kala mi haari.

I too have had enough.

J. eadanor am ndiyam mi yara.

Bring me some water to drink.

K. awa, soodoyo ha nden.

All right. Wash your hands in the
meantime.

(4)

- J. maama, jam nyalli. Grandmother, are you spending a peaceful day.
- K. jam tan, hono nyallu den ? Peace only, how are you spending the day ?
- J. jam tan. Peace only.
- hono njey-ir ta maaro ko ? How are you selling the rice ?
- K. poti kopparaaje jowi. 10 bututs for the cup.
- J. maama, dum di seeri uu, Grandmother, that is very dear, uitu. reduce it.
- K. mi waawta uitu. I cannot reduce it.
- J. kon, mi eeltu ma. Please, I am begging you.
- K. hani, mi heStoyta ko No, I will not get back cod mi dum ko. what I bought it for.
- J. awa, yeey am potiji na'i. All right, sell me four cups.
- K. ado tami to mbada. Do you have a place to put it ?
- J. wad he tikka am he. Put it in my head tie.
- K. a jaaraama. Thank you.
- J. awa, maama, nyallen jam. All right, grandmother, let us spend a peaceful afternoon.

(5)

- J. on jaaraama. Well done (pl.)
- K. ya wuur. May you live long,
- hono nyallu dan ? Are we spending a peaceful
afternoon ?
- J. jam tan. Peace only.
- hodum ngun tan nii. What are you pounding ?
- K. gauri. Millet.
- J. siifa gauri, maaja na, What kind of millet, maaja (late)
ma suna ? or suna (early millet)
- K. maaja. Maaja.
- J. hodum defete ? How is it going to be cooked ?
- K. nyele. With groundnut soup.
- J. ho nyele di mbeli ? Is this dish nice ?
- K. di mbeli nu. Very nice !
- J. Fulɓe ko nyele nganndi ! It is nyele that Fulas know.¹
- K. nyele tan. Only nyele ?
- J. he lacciri, sere maafe, And lacciri (steamed millet)
buko- lālɛ , he millet porridge, millet with
kosam he dakkiri fou. baobab leaves (laalo), sour milk
and steamed millet, all (of these).

1 i.e. it's their dish.

THE WORK OF WOMEN

By Mary Umah Balde

.... ndefu,
 he dyoog-oy-gol,
 he teenoy-gol, jomonsi
 fini bimmbi lau,
 fitta suudu muudum ha laa6a,
 dyooga faka muudum ha heewa,
 fitta defardu muudum,
 laudya kaleeraaji he
 boliije muudum he kore
 muudum fou.
 ooga dumen ha laa6a pos,
 on tuma noon jonga kaleera
 muudum,
 fudo ndefu muudum,
 defa ha hempina,
 sa'ha, yim6e mbotto,
 si yim6e mbottima,
 6a6a kore muudum,
 mooptoya.
 awa, si di tami gerte,
 6obba gerte muudum,
 si mottat, motta.
 ko woni kala, si tai
 dyoog-oy-at to 6uunndu,
 dyoog-oy-a to 6uunndu,
 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.

awa, arti han,
 looto ha laa6a,
 jonga kaleera muudum,
 defa hiraande, na deeuta,
 yim6e kirto,
 si yim6e kirtiima,
 awa, yim6e mbaawat joodaade
 to diure. kaca,
 ha jenga seeda.
 si jengi tan, 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.
