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BY- STENNES, LESLIE H.

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THIS REFERENCE WORK IS A STRUCTURAL GRAMMAR OF THE
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IT IS PRIMARILY WRITTEN FOR LINGUISTS AND THOSE WHO ALREADY
KNOW FULANI. THE GRAMMAR IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS--(1)
PHONEMICS AND MORPHOPHONEMICS, DISCUSSING SEGMENTAL AND
SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES, PERMITTED SEQUENCES OF PHONEMES,
PHONEME REDUCTION, VARIATION IN VOWEL LENGTH, VOWEL HARMONY,
AND MORPHOLOGICAL STRESS, (2) MORPHOLOGY, TREATING NOMINALS,
VERBALS, AND NONINFLECTED PARTS OF SPEECH, (3) SYNTAX,
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**A Reference Grammar
of
Adamawa Fulani**

By
Leslie H. Stennes

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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OF
ADAMAWA FULANI

Author: Leslie H. Stennes, M.A.
Project Director : Irvine Richardson, Ph.D.

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FOREWORD

When one attempts to place the languages of Africa on a scale based on the extent of the area over which they constitute a useful means of communication, there are some which immediately spring to mind as contenders for a high position on the list. For a variety of reasons Fulani in its many dialectal forms tends to be underestimated in this respect. Yet it extends from Senegal to Chad and provides a medium of intercourse for many of the tribes which border on this region.

The present work, composed by Mr. Leslie H. Stennes, bears testimony to the author's long experience of Adamawa culture, his sound linguistic training and great patience and perseverance. Because of the unavailability of Fulani informants at Michigan State University where the grammar was written, he has been obliged to describe the language by means of a painstaking analysis of previously recorded and transcribed material obtained in the field, with only occasional recourse to sources in Cameroun.

I would like to thank the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education for supporting this project. My gratitude also is extended to the various agencies of Michigan State University for their kind and thoughtful co-operation. Finally, I am indebted to Mr. Stennes and indeed to all who have collaborated in this venture for the efficient and responsible manner in which they have performed their respective duties.

East Lansing
June, 1967

Irvine Richardson, Ph.D.
Project Director

PREFACE

Approximately six to eight million people in the savannah areas of West Africa from Senegal to Chad speak Fulani.

Since Fulani is one of the major languages of Africa, it certainly merits the attention it has already received, as is evident from the partial list of works dealing with it (see Bibliography pages 269 to 276). In view of the large number of existing grammars, the production of yet another would seem to require some justification. Although many have written on Fulani, most of these works do not greatly advance our understanding of the language. Many are just brief sketches often done by laymen. The great volume of such publications is deceiving since only a few authors merit serious consideration. Gaden's work on Poular was, and still is, a milestone in Fulani studies. Arnott has written many sound articles and is about to publish a grammar of the Gombe dialect. For Adamawa, Klingenheben's grammar and Taylor's lexical work are the best.

Although most Fulani dialects are mutually intelligible, they differ sufficiently to necessitate descriptive studies for different dialects. At the same time, because of the close relationship between dialects, new information gained in one area will be important elsewhere as well.

In spite of all the previous studies of Adamawa Fulani, a new grammar has now become necessary because the older works were denied the insights of more recent grammatical theories. They were either based on the analysis of 'classical' languages (as was Taylor's) or they lacked unity and overall organization (as did Klingenheben's). In other words, they failed to give us a real notion of the unified system that Adamawa Fulani surely must have. Further, although former grammars claim to be based on speech, it was a variety of speech that had been seriously modified by the field workers both as regards editing and the manner of collection. Grammarians (as well as the Fulani themselves) tend to look for 'correct' or ideal forms and it appears that 'incorrect' forms have sometimes been edited out of the material.

In an attempt to avoid these pitfalls, most of the corpus was recorded on magnetic tapes. The use of elicited materials has largely been avoided since this produces examples which are out of context and more apt to be skewed because of the abnormal method of collection. To obviate this, longer discourses, folklore, description, sermons and conversation have been recorded. While it is true that the presence of a foreigner and a machine can affect the informant's style--we trust that this was minimized by obtaining excellent rapport with most of our informants and by accustoming them both to us and to the recording machine through prolonged contact (ten to fourteen years for the main informants). The discourses thus recorded were translated and filed systematically. References are given in the grammar for all except very short examples. The references include the initials of the informant and the numbers of the transcribed material. This untranslated transcribed material may be seen at the African Studies Center, Michigan State University. Hesitation phenomena, false starts, etc. were all filed. Thus, actual speech rather than idealized speech has been studied. My own predilections have no doubt skewed the transcription, but these are not considered as being serious enough to invalidate the corpus in any important way. The aim has been to describe the sample in an economical way with the belief that it is representative of Adamawa Fulani as a whole. There has been no attempt to describe Fulani from a historical or comparative viewpoint.

For the present work an adequate view of the theory of language was thought necessary. Language is looked on as a code by means of which experiences are translated into speech sounds. Grammar is a systematic study of these structured codes or layers. Meaning is thought to be structured and hence should also be described, although this grammar has not included it. I have only probed a little into the structure of discourse. The smaller units have received a more systematic treatment. It seemed best to try to show how the systems are structured and how they fit into the language code as a whole

rather than to delve into the many areas which have already received considerable attention but which can be understood only when the entire structure has been at least partly understood.

The purpose of this grammar, then, is to give an overview of the entire structure with enough detail and examples to demonstrate its nature. It is hoped that it will not only help linguists to understand the structure of Fulani and to write pedagogical materials, but that it will also advance the knowledge of those who have already learned the language. High priority has been given to clarity of presentation of the analysis and this has necessitated the use of many special terms, abbreviations and symbols. While the two latter are glossed not all the special terms are explained since this grammar is primarily written for the linguist and those who speak Fulani. The English glosses are intended only as a rough guide to the meaning of the Fulani example and not as elegant translations.

The study is limited to the speakers of 'Adamawa Fulani', i.e. that of the old Kingdom of Modibbo Adama,¹ which includes present day Adamawa and Saradauna provinces in Nigeria and much of the Fulani-speaking areas of Cameroun, but not Maroua or Kalfou.

Our data is, of course, a restricted sample from Adamawa in that the main informants are few: Mallum Saalihu, and Marta Adama of Doubeye, Mallum Abaayi of Garoua and Mallum Markus of Jemeta. The two latter were born about 1900 and are deceased. Marta Adama was born in the late 1930's and Mallum Saalihu a decade earlier.

I am indebted to many for their help in the preparation of this grammar, but can list only a few. First I am especially grateful for the patience of Mallum Abaayi, Mallum Markus Muhammadu, Mallum Saalihu and Marta Adama who have taught me most of the Fulani I know and also to many other informants who were kind enough to give of their time and talent in the recording of Fulani data.

¹See Kirk-Greene, 1958, p. 15, and Mohamadou, 1965.

I would like to express my gratitude to those whom I have consulted during the course of this project, Dr. H. A. Gleason, Jr., Dr. D. W. Arnott, and Dr. Lloyd Swift. My thanks also go to Jarle Olson, David Smith, Dr. Roger W. Shuy, Dr. Ruth Brend, and many others who read parts of the manuscript and offered valuable criticisms.

I owe a great deal to previous writers on the Fulani language, as well as to those whose works have provided general guidance. These are indicated in the bibliography.

Many thanks go to the numerous students at Michigan State University who have helped in various ways, but especially to Miss Dotti Clune who has been the project secretary since December 1965.

While I am, of course, solely responsible for the analysis and the final copy, I am particularly indebted to the project director, Dr. Irvine Richardson, for administering the project in such an efficient way and for his many valuable suggestions concerning grammatical analysis and style of writing.

In conclusion, I gratefully acknowledge the financial support accorded this project by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, and the excellent facilities and cooperation provided by Michigan State University during the execution of the contract.

East Lansing, Michigan

June, 1967

Leslie H. Stennes

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CHAPTER 1 PHONEMICS

1] 1.1 Relation to standard orthography

There has been no one orthography accepted for all of Adamawa Fulani, much less for all dialects of the whole language. However, under the auspices of UNESCO, a common orthography was agreed upon at Bamako in 1966. Unless otherwise noted, this is the orthography that is followed in this grammar. The values of the letters are approximately those associated with phonetic symbols in common use except that ʔ is written as ʔ, ɲ as ny, ɕ as c, and ʝ as j. Digraphs are used for the prenasalized consonants, though these are analyzed as unit phonemes.

2] 1.2 Vowel phonemes

1.21 Inventory

Adamawa Fulani has five vowel¹ phonemes that contrast with one another as regards quality. Vowel length is also contrastive or phonemic and each of the five vowel phonemes may be lengthened. Vowel length is marked by doubling the letter. The vowels are:

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
High close	i/ii		u/uu
Mid open		e/ee	o/oo
Low open			a/aa

1.22 The phonetic features of vowels

The back vowels are rounded, the rest are unrounded. Since there are only five contrastive qualities, the area covered by each

¹In the description of the phonology it may sometimes be advantageous to speak of ten vowels (as in describing the CV(C) pattern), but elsewhere (as in the distributional restrictions) it is simpler to refer to the five vowel phonemes, as length is in this case irrelevant.

vowel quality is rather large. The essential differentiating feature of 'short vowels' versus 'long vowels' is that of quantity. It should be noted, however, that the quality of long and short vowel phonemes is not identical, as is shown by the following phonetic chart:

ii	uu
i	u
e	o
ɛɛ	oo
a	
aa	

Short vowels are more central and hence harder to distinguish from one another than are their corresponding long vowels. Furthermore, in any given syllable the quality of the consonant tends to affect the quality of the vowel that follows. Thus, a labial consonant will move a vowel forward while a velar consonant will move it to the back of the mouth.

- 3] There are two semivowels w and y which have sometimes been treated as vowels u and i in all positions. However, a thorough study of the canonical structure of the syllable leads one to the conclusion that these are in fact semivowels (see 24-25).¹ When words like dów and séy are treated as dóu and séi two kinds of syllables must be hypothesized: CVV and CVC. In this case the first of the CVV pattern may be any vowel, while the second vowel can only be i or u. But if i and u in the second position are treated as consonants they fit into the one general CVC syllable pattern, and the problem of restricted diphthongs is eliminated.

4] 1.23 Vowel contrasts

All vowels contrast in medial position.

¹Cross reference whole numbers refer to paragraph numbers unless specified otherwise.

In verb stems:	sál- ¹	refuse
	sél-	take a side road
	síl-	strip meat
	sól-	be a tightwad
	súi-	take a concubine

Contrasts between short and long vowels in verb stems:

hár-	snore	hór-	spy
háar- ²	be satisfied	hóor-	take away
féw-	lie	dúr-	to shepherd
féew-	be cold	dúur-	to be long
hís-	save		
híis-	count		

In dependent pronouns:	-ŋgal-	-dam-
	-ŋgel-	
	-ŋgol-	
		-dum-

In nouns:

háala	talk	léamu	kingdom
		léemu	lemon
híila	magic		
		dóole	force
		dúule	clouds
		lúumo	market
		káre	goods
kéni	winds		
kíne	nostrils		
kónu	war	kóre	wife
		kúri	arrows

¹ over the vowel indicates morpheme stress (see 28 and 41ff.). Bound morphemes are marked by a hyphen.

² In long vowels stress is only marked on the first letter.

Vowels contrast in final position :

In verbs:

tókka	follow	Active voice continuative
tókk-aa	you follow	2nd person singular inverted
tókkee	follow	Imperative plural
tókki	followed	Past
dotókko	is following	Emphatic voice continuative
tókku	follow	Imperative singular

In dependent pronouns:

-nga-		-ka-
-nge-	-nde-	
	-ndi-	-ki-
-ngo-		-ko-
-ndu-	-ndu-	

These examples are clitics and function in various ways (see 171ff.).

5] 1.24 Vowel distribution

A count of 30,556 syllables revealed the following vowel distribution:

a	7366
aa	2866
e	3734
ee	596
i	5934
ii	909
o	5689
oo	1047
u	2021
uu	394

It is interesting to note that high vowels number 9,258, mid vowels 11,066 and the low vowel 10,232 although there is only one low vowel.

6] With few exceptions all vowels can precede and follow all consonants. The following exceptions should be noted:

- 1) n is never followed by a vowel.¹
- 2) u or uu do not precede n word finally and very rarely otherwise; however, the combination um is very common.
- 3) om and oom are rarely found.

dóomru ²	rat
cóomri	tiredness

- 4) uw does not appear as such within a syllable.
- 5) *un and *uun do not occur.

Each syllable contains one and only one vowel.

¹Since the phonology of ideophones and formulaic words does not entirely follow that of other parts of speech, it is best described as a sub-system (see 31-38). Thus, in the ideophone búnulum one finds n does occur before a vowel.

²For many speakers it is dóomburu.

1.3 Consonant phonemes

7] 1.31 Inventory

There are 27 consonant phonemes:

		LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEOPALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	Voiceless	p	t	c ¹	k	'
	Voiced	b	d	ɟ ¹	g	
	Vd. Implosive	ɓ	ɗ			
	Pre-nasalized	mb	nd	nj	ŋg	
FRICATIVES	Voiceless	f ²	s			h
	Voiced	v ²				
NASAL RESONANTS	Voiced	m	n	ny	ŋ	
NON-NASAL RESONANTS	Lateral		l			
	Trill		r			
	Semivowels	w		y		

8] 1.32 The phonetic features of consonants

Stops appear at five points of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar and glottal. The absence or presence of voicing is significant except for the glottal stop. Voiced glottalized bilabial and alveolar consonants³ occur. Pre-nasalization of all the stops but the glottal is also significant. The alveopalatal stops are affricated. Although the alveopalatal voiced implosive γ is said to be phonemic in other dialects, it is rare in Adamawa

¹See paragraph one.

²The symbols \underline{f} and \underline{v} are employed for these labial fricatives although they are usually used for labiodental fricatives.

³Ladefoged (196 pp. 7-8, 16-17) points out that there are two types of glottalized consonants in West African languages: the implosives e.g. \underline{b} , \underline{d} as in Igbo and Kalabari and the laryngealized consonants e.g. $\underline{\underline{b}}$, $\underline{\underline{d}}$ as in Hausa and Fulani.

Fulani and not distinguished from the glottal stop. Final stops are unreleased.

Voiceless fricatives occur at three points of articulation: labial, alveolar, and glottal. The voiced bilabial fricative is a separate phoneme in Adamawa although it is not in other areas. The point of articulation of the s ranges from alveolar in some speakers to alveopalatal in others.

Nasals occur in labial, alveolar, alveopalatal and velar points of articulation. The non-nasal resonants occur as alveolar lateral, alveolar trill, and labial alveopalatal semivowels.

9] 1.33 Consonant contrasts

Most of the consonants have only one phonologically significant realization. However, there are two important exceptions (see 17).

10] Voiced-voiceless contrasts in stops: (there are no voiced-voiceless contrasts in the final consonant of Sy_2 , see 25).

<u>p</u>	<u>b</u>	páali	pots	báali	sheep (pl)
		dáppini	crouch	dábbaaji	animals
<u>t</u>	<u>d</u>	táwi	find	dáwi	start out early
		wárti	come back	wárdi	come with
<u>k</u>	<u>g</u>	káda	stop (pl.)	gáda	across
		tággi	roll up	tákki	stick to

Affricated stops:

<u>c</u>	<u>j</u>	cáali	pass by (pl)	jáali	conquer
		máccudo	slave	májjudo	lost one

The affricates do not occur finally.

11] Implosive-explosive stops:

<u>b</u>	<u>ɓ</u>	báabaaji	fathers	ɓáabaaji	hip beads
		jáɓbe	hills	jáɓbe	tamarind tree
			[for sowing] ¹		
<u>d</u>	<u>ɗ</u>	dáani	caused to win (race)	ɗáani	slept
		káɗi	thus, so	káɗi	hindered (pl)

12] Nasalized-non-nasalized consonants:

<u>ɗ</u>	<u>nd</u>	'o-dári	he stood	be-ndári	they stood
		wáade	death	wáandu	red monkey
<u>b</u>	<u>mb</u>	mbáali	slept (pl)	báali	sheep (pl)
		kóobi	roan antelope (pl)	dóombi	rats
<u>g</u>	<u>ŋg</u>	gáari	porridge	ŋgáari	bull
		tógi	stamped	tóŋgi	vowed
<u>j</u>	<u>nj</u>	jála	laugh	njála	laugh (pl)
		káaji	was jealous (pl)	kánji	those

13] Non-nasal resonants:

<u>l</u>	<u>r</u>	lám̄mi	was salty	rám̄mi	was short
		háari	was satisfied	háali	character
		mbár	kill	mbál	beer
<u>l</u>	<u>w</u>	láarata	see	wáarata	do in a certain manner
		féli	scolded	féwi	lied (cf. <u>féri</u>)
		gal-	to	gáw	hunter
<u>l</u>	<u>y</u>	yáara	lead, take	láara	see
		sélni	lead astray	séyni	make happy
		tól	(ideophone)	tóy	where

¹Square brackets in the English glosses indicate that the enclosed item is added to make sense.

<u>w</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>y</u>	wára	come	hára	snore	yára	drink
			táwi	found	táhi	licked	jéyi	possessed
						(cf. tári	támi	mound
			dów	up	séy	only		mould)

14] Nasal resonants:

<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>	máni	praised	náni	heard
		támi	moulded	táni	gave in marriage
		láar-am	see me	láaran	will see
		námgo	to grind	nángo	to hear
<u>m</u>	<u>ny</u>	dáami	bothered	dányi	gave birth to
		máama	grandparent	nyáama	eat
<u>m</u>	<u>ŋ</u>	kumkúmre	a plant	dónka	thirst
<u>n</u>	<u>ny</u>	námi	ground	nyáami	eat
		gónđo	one present	dányđo	one born
		náni	hear	dányi	sleep V
<u>n</u>	<u>ŋ</u>	<u>ŋ</u> does not occur initially, and finally only in ideophones.			
		gónđo	one present	dánđe	thighs
<u>ny</u>	<u>ŋ</u>	dányđo	one born	dánđe	thighs

15] Fricatives:

<u>f</u>	<u>v</u>	fáli	took care of	váli	made (rope)
		<u>v</u> does not occur medially or finally			
<u>f</u>	<u>s</u>	fáli	took care of	sáli	passed by
		túfi	pricked	túsi	punctured
				lés	below
		<u>f</u> occurs finally only in borrowed words.			
		<u>h</u> does not occur finally.			
<u>h</u>	<u>s</u>	hófi	knelt down	sófi	got wet
		kólakolàahi	type of tree	láasi	[long] hairs

<u>h</u>	<u>v</u>	váala	make [rope]	háala	palaver
----------	----------	-------	-------------	-------	---------

16] Other contrasts

<u>w</u>	<u>v</u>	wáali	laid [down]	váali	made [a rope]
<u>s</u>	<u>c</u>	sáali	passed by (sg)	cáali	passed by (pl)
<u>f</u>	<u>p</u>	hámfurde	duiker	kámpure	duikers

17] Non-contrastive consonants

y' is apparently phonemic in other Fulani dialects. In Adamawa Fulani it is best considered an allophone of the glottal stop. However, some Adamawa speakers will consistently use y' in certain words which can be considered as borrowings from other dialects.

z is used by some speakers in loan words. Other speakers will substitute j for z in loan words.

18] 1.34 Consonant distribution

The prenasalized stops occur initially in a syllable, but not finally. nd and ng occur as a second member of consonant sequences where the resonants or s form the first member, e.g. ngilnga 'large worm.' mb can also occur following these consonants in reduplicated verbs, e.g. mbàrmbárni 'killed systematically.'

' occurs initially in a syllable. However, its distribution within words is restricted to an intervocalic position, e.g. tá'i 'cut,' or in a sequence of two glottals dó"i 'fell,' or following resonants sír'irde 'opening in teeth for spitting.'

The alveopalatal stops c and j occur syllable initial or in a consonant sequence following resonants, e.g. wáanci 'strolled,' kánjum 'that.'

All other stops can occur in all positions except word finally. However, all voiced stops do occur finally in imperatives and in the shortened form of the verb under special conditions (see 25). Voiceless stops occur word finally in ideophones.

f and s can occur in all positions except word final. However, s occurs in this position in lés 'down' and in ideophones. As a

second member of consonant clusters they occur only after the resonants, but not after ŋ, e.g. fulfúlde 'the Fulani language.'

y occurs only word initially. This is not a phoneme in other areas but in Adamawa Fulani several minimal contrasts are found.

h occurs syllable initially and word initially but as a second member of a consonant cluster it follows only the resonants, e.g. kalháldi 'virile bull.'

The labial, alveolar, and alveopalatal resonants m, n, ny, l, r, w, y show no gross restriction of occurrence. They may occur word initially, word finally, syllable finally as first or second members of consonant sequences. There are, however, some clusters that do not occur. w does not occur before b but wb > bb. l does not occur before r (see consonant cluster chart 56).

ŋ can only occur syllable finally before another syllable. Since its occurrence is not frequent, we have not found minimal pairs in contrast but there is convincing evidence that this is a separate phoneme with very restricted distribution (see 14).

1.4 Larger phonological units

19] 1.41 Words

A word is a unit of speech having one or more stressed syllables. The word usually consists of a stressed root (see 87-88) plus the suffixes. Words include the verbal, nominal and adjectival roots plus suffixes, as well as all stressed function words. Words contain from one to six syllables. Stressed suffixes are not considered separate words. Clitics are non-stressed one syllable units of speech that depend phonologically on a preceding or following word, or on another clitic. Clitics are marked by a hyphen, e.g. mal- 'teacher.' Some depend on following words, some on preceding words, and others on one or the other. When more than one clitic depends on the same word, one of these clitics may be stressed (see example MS 57.3 in paragraph 21).

20]

A combination of a word plus a dependent clitic may be called a complex word.¹ Optional pause breaks do not occur within the complex word. The complex word usually has one stress. However, the complex word may include two stressed morphemes (see juncture 22-23 and morphological stress 86-91.) Boundaries between words and clitics are marked by a hyphen; other boundaries are marked by a space.

yéhi táwi fówru-go dowáali dáani. [He] went [and] found hyena, the
MS 99.8 one referred to, was lying
sleeping.

'o-wártoy bee-kúuje-go-? MS 92.1 He came back from there with things
previously referred to.

lábbo-go túfi-mo háa tetéki. Spear, the one referred to, pierced
MS 105.2 him in the guts.

21]

Two or more clitics may follow a word.

kánka mbii-noo-maa-mi. MS 57.3 That is what I told you.

The vowel of the pronoun {-maa}² in the above example is realized as a long vowel, although it is more commonly realized as a short vowel (see 78).

22]

1.411 There are two types of juncture. The first type of juncture is marked by a space and delimits words. Words usually have one stress.

'o-mább=it=an=i-'en háa 'en-'ánd= he opened up for us so we could
a 'Alla³ M 181.7 know God

to-'o-wár=t=i sáare máako 'o-síw= if he come back [to] home-his he
t=o M 179.2 would rest

However, some units having two stresses are one word. In the tense suffixes the negative morphemes are stressed when followed by other

¹Although it is most economical to describe complex words by referring to morphology, they are primarily phonological units and not particularly useful in the description of morphology or syntax.

²Morphemes enclosed in braces have variant forms. See Glossary of symbols page 240.

³Clitic junctures are marked by hyphens (see 23), and morpheme boundaries within words are marked by equal signs.

suffixes. The stressed suffixes are a part of the word as are unstressed suffixes.

'end=udó-yam	bee-mo-'éndáayi-yam	the one who cares for me with
	MS 110.4	the one who does not care for
		me

Instead of	mo-'énd=áayi-yam	
one could say	mo-'énd=i-yam	one who cares for me

- 23] The second type of juncture is marked by a hyphen and delimits clitics from words within complex words. Boundaries of phrases often occur at this juncture, i.e. dependent pronoun clitics replace stressed noun phrase units.

'o-vii-mo	mi-fáami...	MS 186.3	he said [to] her I understand
NP	VP	NP	complement
	NP	VP	

bíddo	débbó	vii	górko-'am	wári	The girl said man-my came
NP		VP	complement		(The girl said, "My man has
			NP	VP	come.") MS 186.5

Compare 'o-wári 'he came' with Búuba¹ wári 'Buuba came.'

- 24] 1.412 Syllables: the phonological shape of all syllables is CV(C) or consonant, vowel (where the vowel can be either short or long), with an optional final consonant. Words are composed of from one to six syllables. Although the phonology of ideophones and borrowed words is different from that of regular words (see 31-38) the shape of syllables in these words is not different.²

¹Capital letters are used in the Fulani examples only for proper names.

²One peripheral exception must be noted here. Response words are often given in the abstract. That is, syllabic words can replace response words. These bear the same rhythm and intonation as the words they replace: mmhm may replace 'óoho 'yes,' etc.

25] There are two types of syllables, one which occurs initially and medially in a word and the other which occurs word finally. The following formula shows how the syllables of a word are arranged.

(Sy₁)(Sy₁)(Sy₁)(Sy₁)(Sy₁)Sy₂

The following chart gives the restrictions of the consonant occurrences in Sy₁ and Sy₂:

Sy₁ > C₁ + Vowel (C₂)

Sy₂ > C₃ + Vowel (C₄)

C₁ > All consonants but ŋ

C₂ > All consonants but mb, nd, ng, nj, v, h

C₃ > All consonants but ŋ, nj

C₄ > d, d', s, m, n, l, r, w, y

Stops occur finally in Sy(llable)₂ only under restricted conditions, (see below) but they occur more freely in Sy₁ (see consonant cluster chart in paragraph 56). Voiceless stops do not occur finally in Sy₂ except in ideophones (31-38), where they occur frequently. Some examples of stop plus stop in contiguous syllables are:¹

pt	as in	hépti	found
dʃ	as in	yíʃbe	beloved ones
ʃd	as in	háʃda	struggle
ʃd'	as in	kéʃ-den	we got
dʒ	as in	bédʒol	dawn
ʃg	as in	tóʃgo	to rain
gd	as in	ságdere	ax
tg	as in	wáylititgo	to change, translate
tk	as in	dúutkoy	many little ones
gd'	as in	tágd'	maker, creator

¹These are the only clusters for which I have clear evidence. Other clusters occur in borrowed words, e.g. dókta 'doctor.'

b and g go not occur as the final consonant of Sy₂ in Adamawa Fulani. d and ɗ do occur in this position: wod 'there is' and wad 'do' but only when these units are destressed.¹

26] 1.413 Word-syllable comparison: A study of over 20,000 occurrences of one-syllable words and clitics gives us the following information:

	Number of types ²	Percentages of the total number of one-syllable tokens ³
Pronouns	45	.50
Relators	75	.42
Verbs	33	.05
Ideophones	50	.015
Formulaic words	17	.005
Nouns	13	.008

Although about 45 percent of all word tokens are monosyllabic, these are confined to a rather limited number of types. There is a limited number of one-syllable pronouns and function words, yet these words comprise nearly half the word types and over 90 percent of the word tokens. Although 33 verbs comprise 5 percent of the occurrences, these types are limited to a very few common verbs. One of them occurs without the medial glottal stop, e.g. vi'i > vii and comprises nearly 90 percent of the one-syllable verb occurrences.

¹However, stops do occur in this position in imperatives in the Maroua dialect, which is outside Adamawa.

²Type = a particular item without regard to its number of occurrences.

³Tokens = individual occurrences.

27]

Ideophones, formulaic and nonsense word classes are productive but the production of ideophones is largely restricted to a CVC pattern. Also, long vowels are not phonemically distinguished from short vowels in these types of words. Further, it appears that certain other features may also not be phonemically significant in ideophones. Compare the following variants of the same ideophones as used by one speaker: páw, páaw, fáaw and váaw.

wáandu díwi páw! ^{*} MS 84.2

The red monkey jumped suddenly or unexpectedly.

be-kóo'i kóombooje váaw...
MS 65.7

They took the boats in a surprise move.

Note also káp and cáp appear to be variants of the same ideophone.

'o-jóodi cáp. MS 67.4

We sat right there.

...báari hed-dáago káp. MS 63.6

[she] put [him] by the bed roll exactly.

(She put him next to the bed roll)

28]

1.414 Stress is basically tied to the morpheme and is best described as morphological stress (see 86 ff.).

29]

1.415 Nasalization indicates special emphasis. It is not common.²

káyya 'ám-boo górko-go nǒy?
MS 64.6

My-then you also man-that how?
(Hey you there, what about that man?)

fájiri láamdo 'émata-mo nǒy
hánde? MS 64.6

Morning chief asked him what today?
(In the morning the chief asked him, "What's up today?")

bíiraba bóosaaru-go bíira wádi
nfi.

You know dog-that-one, you know, did thus.

Nasalization also occurs in ideophones.

...'o-násti súudu boõ. MS 64.3

he entered house boõ
(he came into the house with a bang)

¹The * above the vowel indicates emphatic stress (see 41).

²It could be treated as a paralinguistic feature.

... 'o-biri kólam fyẽw fyẽw fyẽw he milked milk squirt squirt squirt
MS 76.1

- 30] 1.416 Extra length also indicates special emphasis of the quality or quantity of a word in a clause or phrase. Extra length can occur on long vowels and on r.

be-mári céede dúuudde...MS 80.1 They have money lots-and-lots...

...dányi bíkkoy duúutkoy ...bore children very very many
MS 103.7

wúurni-di háa di-tékki bóooddum. Raised them until they fattened
MS 97.5 very very good.

bíngel máwni máwni máwni. Child grew, grew, grew, a-very-
bóooŋgel níi. MS 91.7 fine-child indeed so.

'iwo bóoŋgo...MS 76.5 Adolescence very very good

'O-tékkini-ŋgu bóooddum. He fattened it very very very
MS 99.4 good.

gáaaptarel. MS 103.7 a very very very wretched child

...hórde njófti cólel báaw! The female slaves let loose the
MS 73.7 little bird baaw!

górko-go sáari fárrrrr. MS 63.7 Man, one referred to, voided
fárrrrr.
(The man's heart went out of him)
(indicates never-ending stream
going farr)

- 31] 1.417 Ideophones usually modify verb stems in Adamawa Fulani. They are called ideophones rather than adverbs because their phonology forms a sub-system in relation to the phonology of other parts of speech and because they are reminiscent of similar kinds of words in other Niger-Congo languages.¹

- 32] Ideophones are a class of words which may receive emphatic stress² rather than normal stress on the stressable syllable.

¹See Doke 1935, Ansre 1961, Samarin 1962 and 1966, Fivaz 1963, Kunene 1965, and Alexandre 1966.

²Emphatic stress (see also 41) refers to form and not meaning. One should perhaps consider emphatic stress as paralinguistic.

Emphatic stress is marked by one or more of the following features: raised pitch, forceful aspiration, and loudness. Ultra high pitch is sometimes found on high vowels i and u. When emphatic stress is realized, forceful aspiration occurs in ideophones containing at least one stop or fricative consonant. Most ideophones have at least one stop or fricative. These consonants may occur initially or finally in a syllable. Láw 'quickly' is an example of an ideophone not containing a stop or fricative. When such ideophones occur with emphatic stress, forceful aspiration will not be a feature of that stress.

- 33] Two-syllable ideophones are stressed on the final syllable rather than the first as other stressed words are, unless the final syllable of the ideophone ends in a vowel. When ideophones are totally or partially reduplicated, stress will occur on the last syllable regardless of whether they end in a vowel or consonant.

E.g. lawláv 'very quickly' from láv 'quickly', and parararararará 'purposefully' from parák, as in:

'o-sórti parák	he ran away with a purpose
súka...sórti parararararará	the young man ran away like a rocket
MS 56.5	

- 34] Rhythm and intonation on reduplicated ideophones are also significant. A constant rising intonation indicates a rapid smooth movement on the part of the actor of the clause (cf. MS 56.5 in paragraph 33), while an alternating low high pitch indicates an undulating movement.

be-ndílli pùrúppùrúppùrúppùrú¹ they went galloping along
MS 100.3

- 35] Most ideophones modify verb or adjective roots:
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| háa háca <u>dús</u> MS 111.7 | until it smells <u>badly</u> |
| 'o-'ándi <u>fakát</u> Ibr 53.6 | he knew <u>for-a-fact</u> |
| ndiyam bálwi <u>kurum</u> MS 71.1 | the water blackened <u>very-black</u> |

¹[' '] here indicate a pitch rhythm contour.

'o-dànyáay <u>láv</u> MS 21.10	she did not bear a child <u>very-fast</u>
dóo-kam vóofi <u>masín</u> MA 129.3	this is good <u>very</u>
mi-siwtáaki <u>sám</u> MS 84.3	I have not rested <u>at-all</u>

Some of these are onomatopoeic:

símta <u>tól</u> MS 59.3	drip <u>tól</u>
górko-oo sáari <u>fárrrrr</u> MS 67.3	The van (previously referred to) voided <u>fárrrrr</u>
'ádi gáwri-kam tímmini fff... MA 117.6	carried corn then finished <u>fff</u>
nonnón 'o-bólwi <u>cululululululút</u> MS 58.6	thus she melted <u>cululululululut</u>
débbo dáneejo <u>tál</u> MS 68.6	woman white <u>very</u>
ndiyam ránwi <u>*tál</u> MS 71.1	water whitened <u>very</u>
ndiyam vóoji <u>*còy</u> MS 71.1	water reddened <u>very</u>
lékki-man bódeejum <u>còy</u> AB 121.5	medicine (referred to) red <u>very</u>
nder-súudu-ndu báleeru <u>kurúm*</u> DY 13.12	in house-this black <u>pitch(black)</u>

Other ideophones modify the nominal unit and could be called adjectives:

jáma'aaje léddi pát háwti dow-máako . MS (14) 2.9	Peoples of-country all gathered { on him over
--	---

36] The phonology of ideophones

The contrastive features of the phones of ideophones are substantially reduced. Vowel length is not phonemic. There is no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants, implosives and the glottal stop apparently do not occur, and the occurrence of pre-nasalized consonants is very rare. Of the resonants only alveolars are phonemic. In the following consonant chart the phonemes are written in lower case letters.

STOPS	Voiceless	P	T	C	K
	Voiced	b	d	j	g
FRICATIVES	Voiceless	F	S		H
	Voiced	v			
NASALS		m	N		ŋ
	Lateral		L		
	Trill		R		
Semivowels		w		y	

37] In ideophones there is sometimes a free variation between phonemes and allophones (see 27):

[páw ~ páaw ~ fáaw ~ véaw]
 [pavak ~ paráp ~ parák]
 [cáp ~ káp]

However, this free variation does not operate throughout ideophones. In other words the variation will range from a very free variation (as above) to virtually none at all as in some ideophones such as dús, tál and cóy.

háa háca dús	MA 111.7	until it smells badly
ránwi tál	MS 71.1	whitened very white
vóoji cóy	MS 71.1	reddened very red

Ideophones associated with a particular root tend to be less susceptible to free variation than those used with several roots which are related in meaning.

Although the phonology of ideophones operates as a system different from that of other words, it is interconnected and words found in the other system are avoided. Koy- is a pronoun and also a theoretically possible ideophonic form, but is not used as such. Cf. also tóy, nóy.

38] The distribution of allophones in ideophones

y m w ŋ do not occur initially, while f and the voiced stops occur only initially. All other phones occur both initially and finally. The voiceless stops occur nearly as often as all the other ideophonic consonants put together (45 percent of the total). They occur approximately five times (and fricatives about ten times) more frequently in ideophones than in an equal number of other words. Thus while stops in final position are very often found in ideophones, they are rather rare in regular words.

39] 1.42 Breath groups

Breath groups are units of one or more words that are uttered during an exhalation of breath and have one of the terminal intonation patterns described in 50ff. Breath groups also occur with or without final glottality and may occur with breath group stress.

40] 1.421 Stress occurs on three levels: on the word, on the phrase, and on the breath group. Word stress is described under morphological stress (86 ff).

41] 1.4211 Noun phrase stress:

As is shown in paragraph 86 ff, words show a contrast between stress and non-stress. However, in order to describe stress on units larger than the word, it is useful to note five kinds of stress:

[*]	emphatic stress	as in	pāt
[']	major stress	as in	bóodum
[ˈ]	morpheme stress	as in	báaba màako
[˘]	minor stress		
[]	no stress		

42] When examining words we find such items as báaba 'father' and máako 'his, her' with morpheme stress on the first syllable

and no stress on the second syllable. But in a larger context the stress of the head noun may be relatively stronger than that of the modifier.

She said he would go to her father.

'o-víi 'o-díllan haa-báaba máako. MS 97.5

Pr V Pr V Loc Noun PPr

Head PPr

VP VP NP

In the above example we find that the stress of the first syllable of the possessive pronoun máako is reduced in relation to the stress of the first syllable of the head noun.¹

43] Noun phrases usually occur with one prominently stressed syllable [´]. Other syllables in the noun phrase occur with minor stress [˘] and no stress (not marked).

kúuje hóoti ládde. MS 81.3 Things went home [to the] bush.

H(ead) V(erb) H

NP² VP NP

S V O

'éme kumáarewal. MS 91.4 Ask the crown bird.

V H

VP NP

V O

kála mo-'o-tókki...ND 85.1 Everyone whom he followed...

NZ Pr V

Lim₁ Head

NP

¹Pitch and intonation certainly play a role here. It may well be that minor stress, major stress and emphatic stress may be more economically described in terms of pitch and intonation.

²For an explanation of the symbols see Glossary.

ko-ŋgid-daa fùu min-ŋgéenet-e.¹

NZ V-Pr Lim₂ Pr V
NP(Co) NP VP Co

What you want all we will pay you
(Whatever you want) MS 97.1

hàkkunde hóore gòrko bee-dèbbo

Prep H N link N
Head GN

Between the head of the man and woman
MS 64.4

'o-hóo'i júngo gòdó-go MS 64.3 He took the hand of man-that.

Pr V N N Ref
N GN Ref
NP

Chief [of] village-that even cannot surpass him [in] riches.

láamdo wùro-man fùu wáawataa búrugó-mo jáwdi. MS 56.8

N N Ref Lim₂ V Inf Pr N
H GN Ref Lim₂
NP

However, there are examples of different stress patterns:

cúra hùunde ládde MS 66.15

N N N
H GN GN
NP

The big house [of] the thing bush
(The big house of the bush
animal)

¹Nasal plus nasal become nasal across clitic junctures.

44]

Adjectives, demonstratives, féere and méere normally occur with prominent stress on the stressed syllable.

góóóó	'óó	MS 109.1		man, that one
				(that man)
N	Dem			
H	ATN			
NP				

ngóóóó	máááá	góóóó	féere	MS 109.3	friend-his man-another
					(another friend of his)
H	PPr	H	ATN		
NP		NP			

The following example shows all the words with equal stress:

(He also took a hand of the cut-up corpse)

He took hand [of] person cut up that also.

'c-hóóóó	'i	júúúú	góóóó	tá'aááá	go-boo.	MS 64.2
Pr	V	N	N	Adj	Ref	relator
		H	GN	ATN	Ref	
		NP		NP		

45]

The following examples will show how an intonation pattern (see 50-55) interacts with stress. In a group of words with serial intonation pattern, a shift of stress may occur in words of more than three syllables provided this word falls within the final four syllables of the intonation pattern. This shift can occur only forward from a short syllable to a long one. Thus:

[vfi móóóóari] ¹	+	serial intonation	>	vfi mòóóóari-?
['óóóó-vfi góóóóriiko] ²	+	serial intonation	>	'óóóó-vfi gòóóóriiko-?

¹'Said to the python'

²'She said [to] her husband'

In noun phrase there is also another shift, where the stress is normally on the head noun it will shift to the genitival nominal.

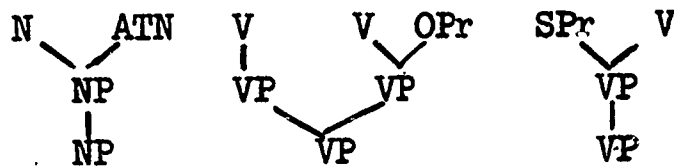
[dáliila mùudum]¹ + serial intonation > dàliila múudum-?
[sébre dùkuuje]² + serial intonation > sèbre dukúuje-?

- 46] 1.4212 Verb Phrase Stress: Often the verb phrase is co-extensive with the word and hence has no different stress. However, verb phrases can be united by prominent stress to form a compound verb phrase. The last verb root will occur with morpheme stress, while the first root will occur with minor stress.

The compounding of diverse verb phrases:

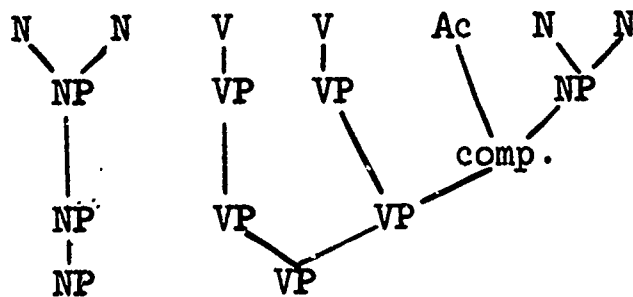
Person another entered found her she was sleeping.

gòdò féere nàsti táwi-mo 'o-dodáani. MS 186.6



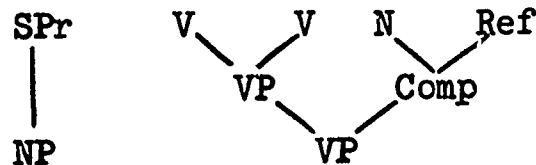
Old woman went visited with old woman.

pul-débbo yèhi yíidi bee-pul-débbo. MS 186.4



Note the similarity of the stress patterns of the above with partially or completely reduplicated verb roots:

kánko...mbàrmbàrni kúuje-go. MS 95.6 He...killed thoroughly, things referred to before. (He really did away with those beings.)



¹'his purpose'

²'fresh pawpaw bark'

ngem-dúuniya làaláati...G 158.5 Because the world has changed...
Compare pàwpáwni MA and pòpóotiren Ma.

- 47] 1.422 Final glottality may occur at the end of a breath group, that is pre-pausally. It is marked by an unreleased glottal stop. An examination of 204 breath groups with final glottality shows this feature occurring after the following morphemes:

Subjunctive	- <u>a</u>	91
Past active	- <u>i</u>	70
Infinitive	- <u>go</u>	18
Nominals		14
Imperative	- <u>u</u>	1
Progressive	<u>do</u> -...- <u>a</u>	3
Future passive habitual	- <u>etee</u>	2
Future active	- <u>an</u>	1
Adverb	<u>séeda</u>	1
False starts		<u>3</u>
		204

In the same units, final glottality co-occurs with the following intonation patterns (See 50-54):

Sustained	122
Final	82
Question	0
Serial	<u>0</u>
	204

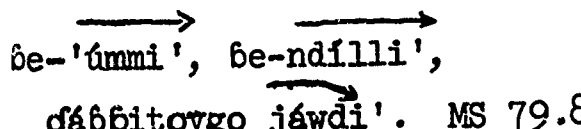
- 48] In an examination of 203 breath groups from parts of three texts,¹ 81 units occurred with final glottality while 122 occurred without it. In the conversational text the ratio was one to five, while in the others it was three to four.

¹A story by Mal-Saali (XXI), a description by Marta Aadama (XXI), and a conversational text from Garoua (G 2).

Certain morphemes are never glottalized finally:¹

The negative tense morphemes,
 ideophones,
 attributives,
 locatives,
 function elements (but note séeda),
 etc.

- 49] The final syllable of a breath group with question or serial intonation is very rarely glottalized. When optional and chosen, final glottalization seems to indicate that more clauses in the same unit are to follow. When it occurs inside a clause, it is probably due to an interruption. The absence of glottal stop at the end of a final intonation contour indicates the end of a larger grammatical unit (usually a series of clauses). Otherwise its absence does not appear significant.
- 50] 1.423. Contrastive terminal intonation on breath groups begins with the last stressed syllable of a breath group and continues to the end. In rapid speech one breath group may comprise what is normally more than one breath group. The expected terminal intonation pattern may be evident at the points of expected pause though modified.
- 51] Continued sustained intonation to the pause break signifies that the pause was optional, stylistic or explanatory. This is marked by a comma.


 be-'úmmi', be-ndílli',
 dáábitoygo jáwdi'. MS 79.8

They got up, they went,
 to search riches.

¹In all other forms it is optional.

In this example this whole utterance could have been said in one breath group, so that the pauses marked by commas are optional or stylistic here.

'o-yéhi haa-bii-kíla', o-víi-mo He went to daughter [of] the smith,
ndéa...MS 102.7 he told her: "Here..."

This is an explanatory pause since that which follows the pause is a result or fuller explanation of the preceding and only in very rapid speech would this pause be omitted.

52]

A sustained intonation with a final pre-pause rise in pitch denotes a serial count or a minor question in which the speaker indicates he knows the response and will proceed to give it in the next breath group. It may simply be a question with a question word. This pre-pausal intonation is marked by -?.

wáddi kuróori-? gértogal-? Brought flour, chicken, oil, wood,
nyébbam-? léddé-? mánda-? salt, pepper...
cítta-?...MS 97.2

to-'iyéende tóbi-? gáwri-ma If rain falls, corn-your will sprout.
fúdi. MS 106.4

'o-víi-mo wáay-? MS 109.2 He said to him, friend?

wóodi-na-? M 185.1 Is there? (Is there any?)

53]

A lowered intonation with a final rise indicates a question. It is marked by a question mark.

'a-wári? MS XIIB Did you come?

bii-kíla máayaay? MS 102.5 Daughter-smith not die?
(Didn't the smith's daughter die?)

mbí'an to-'a-hóoti 'a-báŋgan? You say, if you go home you will
MS 80.4 marry?

54] A falling intonation indicates a major break and is marked by a period.

kóomoy múnya-mo hébatáa mo.

MS 186.4

Whoever courts her will not get her

góódo féere-boo lúutóy.

MS 186.6

Person-another then just missed [it].

However, if the final syllable of the breath group is glottalized, a continuation is indicated (see 49). The absence of this glottal would then indicate that the break was a larger one as in the two above examples.

'o-mári léddi', gállure máapindiire

bee-jáma'aaje'. bee-jáwle mábbe...

MS 186.1

He owned country, city-large

with peoples, and riches-their

A fading volume is sometimes superimposed on the intonation pattern to indicate a more important close.

55] 1.43 Discourse Units

Discourse units are normally closed with a fadeout and a lowering of pitch over the last one to three breath groups. This is, of course, superimposed on the breath group intonation and may largely obliterate it.

sáarde tetètte mùudum ^{*}pat, máayi. kányum wòn tímmi. MS IX A

Breath
group:



Discourse:

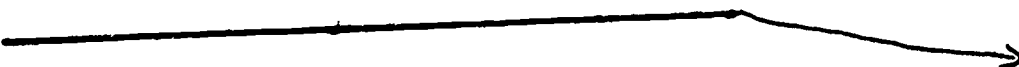


...jinni dát, wálaa ko-'o-lúttiri kóo mísidala jáрати.

Br. gr.:



Discourse:



nonnón bíirabáddel', débbo-go wúrtiri', haa-máako nonnón. láafere?,

Br. gr.:



Discourse:

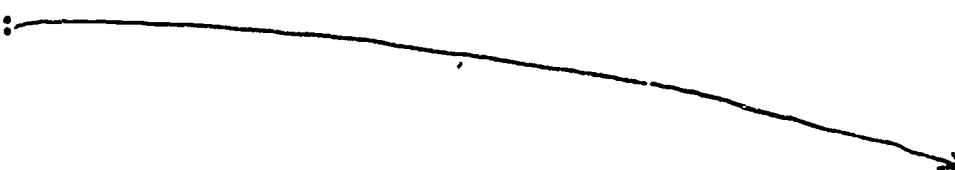


wáfi-mo?, bérnde màako tá'i. 'o-máayi. háala jinni. MS IX B 56.10

Br. gr.:→



Discourse:



In discourse IX B the fadeout more obviously follows the discourse intonation than the regular intonation pattern.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

		p	t	k	b	d	g	b	d	'	mb	nd	ng	nj	m	n	ny	n	r	w	y	s	f	h	e	j	z
C1 p	37	3													10	54			1	181	49	16	54	58			12
C1 t	1	2													29	5			34	3	7		21				517
C1 k		1													1				10		6	2					125
C1 b								1							19	19	1		62	11	10	13	1				34
C1 d							3	5	4						2	16	2		33	X	13	1					181
C1 g							4	4	8						18	2	2		12	11	4	9					81
C1 b d'	1				1	5									23	17	3		36	17	17	6					136
C1 '															2	1			1			1					5
C2 mb																											1
C2 nd																											25
C2 ng																											22
C2 nj																											
C2 m																											66
C2 n		1	1	1	1	5	2								10	26			7	12	5	1					206
C2 ny																											
C2 n																											
C2 l																											
C2 r																											
C2 w																											
C2 y																											
C2 s																											
C2 f																											
C2 h																											
C2 e																											
C2 j																											
C2 z																											
	39	13	11	13	1	6	35	19							144	172	7	43	198	503	221	159	142	87	3	1816	

NOTE: Geminate clusters are not included. X indicates that there is a known occurrence.

57]

The following list of words is given to illustrate infrequent occurrences of consonant clusters which are marked on the preceding chart. The source and type of word are given in the letters following the words. For example, dóktər MA-B indicates that the word dóktər is found in a text by Marta Adama and that it is a borrowed word. Other abbreviations are MS = Mallum Saalihi, M = Mallum Muhammadu, Ma = Maroua, ND = Ngaoundéré, TT = Timotheé Teeri, G = Garoua, P = poetry, FO = formulaic word, ? = origin unknown, A = Arabic, F = Fulani.

Bámyo	M-Name	gáble	MS-P
Báwsi	M-Name		
beléwbasa	MS-P	hárfuure	M-F
búrfuwol	MS-F	Háwsaare	M-Name
bárcébrecebrecébrecébrecébré	TT-FO		
		jétsemani	M-B
mbàrmbàrni	MS-F	jísmu	MS-P
		júutdum	G-F
bántugo	M-F		
beléwbasa	MS-P	kábna	MA-F?
		kálawha	MS-P
cáble	MS-P	kálfa-mmi	MA-F
cètcètcèt	MS-FO	kárfuuje	M-F
cípcipel	MS-FO	kiiryát	MS-FO
		kirirípkira	MS-P
dánde	?-F	kirirípkin	MS-P
dókta'en	MA-B	kólce	MA-F
dóktər	MA-B		
Dúrbey'en	M-F	láyhaaji	M-F
		láysalahu	MS-P
Ndétingelen	MS-Name	líw'unuru	MS-P
Firdówsi	M-A	mállaharitgi	MS-P
fulfúlde	M-F	mállum'en	M-F
		másla	MS-P

mátubeléwbasa	MS-FO	wáلكulhu	MS-P
mátuyeléwbasa	MS-FO	wásfu	MS-P
Míkilsin	M-Name	wáyhi	MS-P
		wáyhifzu	MS-P
patáwsi	M-F	wá'inda	MS-P
páwpáwni	MA-F	wódbe	MA-F
pèlpéle	MA-F		
púkar'en	M-F	'ákbar	G-A
		'ánfi	MS-P
sákráangu	Ma-F	'àsbaaru	MS-FO
sáyhu	MS-P	'ázma'ína	MS-P
séyhugo	MS-F	'ikráani	MS-P
sír'irde	MS-F	'ikráanii	MS-P
		'iḡsáanu	MS-PO
táḡdaḡ	MS-FO	'íznyatu	MS-P
táwhidi	?-	'ízni	M-?
tútsuwit	MS-B	'íznu	MS-P
wádno	ND-F		
wágno	ND-F		

CHAPTER 2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1 General rules

59] 2.11 Sequence limit

Although many stems end in a sequence of two consonants, and suffixes may begin with a consonant, sequences of more than two consonant phonemes do not occur.

60] 2.111 In the nominal system the non-permitted sequences are avoided by the occurrence of a vowel identical with that of the following morpheme at the morpheme boundary:

wáanc-	+	-ru	>	wáancuru	a walk
njáwd-	+	-ri	>	njáwdiri	ram
tépp-	+	-re	>	téppere	heel
mó"-	+	-re	>	mó"ere	favor, blessing
wárd-	+	-re	>	wárdere	hole, window
dóomb-	+	-ru	>	dóomburu	rat

61] 2.112 In the verbal system the kind of vowel which occurs at morpheme boundaries to avoid non-permitted sequences is determined by the morpheme which follows.

62] 1) In the variable stem extension morphemes (see 217 ff.) the full forms of the morphemes occur following roots ending in double consonants.¹

hókk-	+	{-it-}	>	hókkit-	to give again
tímm-	+	{-in-}	>	tímmín-	to finish (causative)
wárt-	+	{-ir-}	>	wártír-	to come back a - certain way
jápt-	+	{-id-}	>	jáptíd-	confiscate, take away

¹This problem does not usually exist in the emphatic and passive voices since the suffixal morphemes always have a vowel initial. séniido 'holy one' (emphatic voice).

The following examples show what happens when the stem extensions {-it-} and {-ir-} follow clusters and single consonants.

a)	nán	+	-e	>	náne	listen				
	nán	+	{-it-}	+	-e	>	nánite	listen again		
	tímm	+	{-it-}	+	-i	>	tímmiti	finished again		
b)	tág-	+	{-ir}	+	-i	>	tágrí	created		
	jáŋg-	+	{-ir-}	+	-de	>	jáŋgirde	school		
	hóos-	+	{-it-}	+	-a	>	hóosita			
c)	hól	+	-do	>						
	kól	+	do	>	kóldo	unclothed person				
	hól-	+	{-it-}	+	do	>				
	kól	+	-t-	+	-ii-	+	do	>	kóltiido	clothed person

- 63] 2) In the case of infinitive or nominal suffixation to verb stems ending in a consonant cluster, u occurs between the stem and the suffix in the active voice.

	tókk-	+	-do	>	tókkudo	he who follows
	márd-	+	{-daa}	>	márdudo-daa	you own completely (inverted)
cf.	már-	+	{-daa}	>	márdudo-daa	you own (inverted)
	nánt-	+	-mi	>	nántudo-mi	I heard again (inverted)
	támm-	+	-nde	>	támmunde	hope
	wárt-	+	-go	>	wártugo	to come back

There are, however, other conditions under which this u appears even when the preceding consonant is single (see 83 and cf. 217).

64] 2.12 Non-permitted sequences of consonants

Certain sequences of consonants do not occur (see the chart, 56). For many of these the following rules explain the processes by which such sequences are averted.

65] The sequence glottal stop or h plus consonant does not occur. The following rules are ordered.

- 1) a' (within a morpheme) > ay preceding a consonant in a suffix.
- | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|---|-------|----------------------------|
| há'- | + | -re | > | háyre | stone |
| tá'- | + | -re | > | táyre | cut (of meat, for example) |
| sá'- | + | {-it-} + -i | > | sáyti | fried again |

2) Following a stem with initial voiceless fricative (h, s, f), and final glottal, ' + b/d becomes y + b/d.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-----|---|--------|--------------|
| hóo'- | + | -do | > | kóoydo | one who took |
| hé'- | + | -do | > | kéydo | worthy one |

3) Stem final V'/Vh + C becomes long vowel + consonant.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|------------|---|---------|-----------------|
| hóo'- | + | {-ir-} + i | > | hóori | took away |
| yáh- | + | -mi | > | njáa-mi | went I |
| té'- | + | -do | > | téedo | married person |
| ví'- | + | -mi | > | mbíi-mi | said I |
| báh- | + | -ru | > | báaru | quiver |
| jí'- | + | -re | > | jiire | ground squirrel |
| yáh- | + | -re | > | yáare | scorpion |
| té'- | + | -gal | > | téegal | marriage |
| bé'- | + | -wa | > | mbéewa | goat |
| hó'- | + | -re | > | hóore | head |

66] Voiced stops (b, d, g, b, d) are devoiced at morpheme boundaries preceding voiceless stops:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------|---|---------|------------------|
| móob- | + | {-it-} + -i | > | | |
| móob- | | -t- + -i | > | móopti | to assemble |
| dúud- | | -koy | > | dúutkoy | many little ones |

67] Stem final /h/m + an initial prenasalized consonant in the suffix (ŋg, nd, mb, nj) becomes /h/m + g/d/b/j

té'-	+	{-ŋgal}	>	té'-	+	-gal	>	téegal	marriage
yáh-	+	{-ndu}	>	yáh-	+	-du	>	yáadu	pace, walk
láab-	+	{-nde}	>	láam-	+	{-nde}	>	láamde	clean NDE ¹
dém-	+	{-ŋgal}	>	démgal				tongue	
wáam-	+	{-ŋgo}	>	wáamgo				a pagan village	

See paragraphs 106 and 117 for similar statements.

68] The sequence consonant plus y does not occur.² Dependent pronoun plus far demonstrative morpheme (see 208):

-dam-	+	{-ya}	>	dáma
-ŋgel-	+	{-ya}	>	ŋgéla

69] Although some of the following rules are illustrated by single examples they form part of an overall pattern.

1)	n	+	l	>	ll	són-	+	-li	>	cólli	birds
2)	l	+	r	>	ld	halhál-	+	-ri	>	kalháldi	virile bull
3)	t	+	r	>	r	wóot-	+	-re	>	wóore	one NDE
						wóot-	+	-ru	>	wóoru	one NDU
						wóot-	+	-ri	>	ŋgóori	one NDI
4)	n	+	r	>	nd	hén-	+	-ru	>	héndu	wind
				>	rr	nán-	+	-re	>	nárre	left hand NDE
						wón-	+	-r-	>	wórr-	to be in a certain way

5) When a stem ending in the sequence consonant plus m precedes a suffix with an initial consonant, a vowel identical to that of the stem will occur between the consonant cluster of the stem.

dákm-	+	{-dam}	>	dakámjam	sweet liquid
délm-	+	-dum	>	delémdum	soft DUM

¹Capital letters are used for the class names, as well as in references to the classes.

²Except in borrowed words or ideophones. cf. Káwye 'hamlet' from Hausa.

6) j plus stop becomes y plus stop.

yáaj- + -dum > jáaydum wide DUM

70]

The following rules are ordered and are a combination of rules described in 59 ff. Although all the examples come from the nominal system there is no evidence that these are not general rules.

When the full form of the nominal suffix is suffixed to a verbal stem with a short vowel preceding a stem final w, the initial consonant of the suffix is denasalized. However, in the case of the verb stem occurring with a short vowel preceding stem final wn, only the nasal of the verb root is deleted.

When the final w of the verbal stem follows a short vowel, and the initial of the following suffix is a velar stop, the w is assimilated to the velar stop. When the initial of the following suffix is a prenasalized stop, the stem final w is deleted.

máwn-	+ {-be}	>	máwbe	big people
máwn-	+ {-dam}	>	máwdam	big DAM
máwn-	+ {-nde}	>	máwnde	big NDE
máwn-	+ {-ka}	>	máw- + -ka > makka	big KA
máwn-	+ {-ngu}	>	máw- + {-ngu} > mángu	big NGU
wáw	+ {-ngu}	>	mbáw- + -gu > mbággu	drum
wáw	+ {-de}	>	báwde	drums
láw-	+ {-ngel}	>	láwgel	small speed
bów	+ {-de}	>	bówde	baobab trees
bów-	+ {-ki}	>	bókki	baobab tree
bów-	+ {-ngol}	>	bów- + -gol > bóggol ¹	rope

71] 2.13 Phoneme reduction and vowel harmony

When a stem extension is followed by two or more suffixes of which the one immediately following the stem extension begins with a short vowel, that short vowel is deleted.

¹However, the plural of bóggol is bóggi which is formed by analogy from the singular rather than from the root as though the root were bógg-.

Verb root	Stem ext.				
sáal-	-or-	-atoo	>	sáalortoo	will pass by in a certain way
hóu-	{-ir}	-atáa	>	hónirtaa	will not fight in a certain way
wád-	-an-	-atáa	>	wádantaa	will not do for (someone)
nyí6-	-an-	-at-e	>	nyíbant-e	will build for you
'úmm-	{-in-}	-at-e	>	'úmmint-e	will raise you up

72] When a suffix with vowel plus t is followed by another suffix or clitic beginning with a vowel, the vowel of the first suffix becomes the same as that of the following suffix.

wád-	+	{-at-}	+	-en	>	mbádet-en	we will do
ví'-	+	{-at-}	+	-on	>	mbí'ot-on	you will say
mbár-	+	{-at-}	+	-am	>	mbárat-am	will kill me
láat-	+	{-at-}	+	-oo	>	láatotoo	will become
ví'-	+	{-at-}	+	-e	>	ví'ete	is called

The vowel of the possessive marker {maa-} is harmonized with the vowel of the following -den and -don suffix (see 168).

{maa-}	+	-den	>	méeden
{maa-}	+	-don	>	móodon

73] 2.14 Variation in vowel length

Although it is very evident that vowel length is phonemic (see 4), and there are numerous minimal pairs in stressed positions to support this analysis, vowel length in affixes is neutralized word finally and often predictable elsewhere.

74] 2.141 The phonemes of length and stress in syllable final ee and aa¹ vowels of the tense-aspect system, the second person object pronoun,

¹Note that the morpheme {-ii} (polite request) is never altered.

the second person inverted order pronoun and the pre-time clitic -noo are neutralized in final position in simple words and also before the second person inverted order pronoun (-daa), but not before clitics within the complex word.

75] The negative morpheme {-áa}.

[mi-yí <u>da</u>] MS 92.2	I don't want.
[mi-yí <u>da</u> sám] MA 145.7	I don't want at all.
[...vi' <u>ata</u>] MS 199.8	...is not said
['a-yí <u>da</u> néldugo-yam rédiyo] MS 203.7	You don't want to send me a radio.
[to-yí <u>dáa</u> -boo-?] MA 105.6	If one does not want [it].

Note that stress on the preceding syllable is sometimes reduced.

[mi-yí <u>dáa</u> -ma] MA 129.1	I don't want you
[mi-dímbat <u>áa</u> -boo] G 152.8	I won't budge either
[be-táwat <u>áa</u> -kam] MA 144.5	they couldn't find me

Compare with the active morpheme -a.

[mín fú <u>dáa</u>] MS 103.7	I am the one who will start
[mínin 'e <u>wnata</u> -mo] MS 203.3	We will call him
['On-á <u>dina</u> -boo] M 181.2	That you also make known
['Alla yí <u>da</u> -mo] ¹ ND 86.8	that God love her

76] The second person plural imperative morpheme {-ee}.

[ngá <u>re</u>] MS 91.6	come
['éme kumá <u>arewa</u>] MS 91.6	ask the crown bird
['úame lawl <u>áw</u>] MA 132.8	get up on the double
[píst <u>ee</u> -le] MS 91.6	unloosen [it] then
['táa mbá <u>ree</u> -mo] MS 2.10	Don't kill him

¹cf. [...pát ngídáa-mo] MS 76.5 'all did not like him'

[ndókkorée-dam biríjì] MS 96.7 Give me peanuts
 [ngéenee-dam]¹ MS 97.1 pay me

Compare with the passive morpheme -e.

[to-táwe-ma hánde-?] MS 106.3 If you are feur^a today...

[búri ko-wólwe] MS 82.4 surpasses speech

[góódo ví'ete Núuhu]² M 176.1 a man named Noah

77] The second person inverted order pronoun {-daa}³

['aén bee-ko-númat-a. Dáada-am You with what you think. My
 bee-ko-númata.] MS 63.7 mother with what [she] thinks.

[ndéen-a Ndéentindeley] MS 94.5 You wait for Ndéentindeley.

[kánje ngid-da.] MS 200.1 That DE [is the one] you want.

[no-númtu-da?] MS 102.2 What do you think?

[mi-yídi káwt-aa-min] MS 186.4 I want you to introduce us.

[...njógor-daa-mi...] MS 188.6 you carry [for] me in a certain way

[no-képtir-aa-ngel] MS 70.4 how you will find it

78] The second person object pronoun {-maa}.

[mi-tórake-ma] M 176.6 I beg you

[mi-tàwatáa-mà.] M 184.7 I do not find you.

[ndéy 'ékkítinan-maa-mi?] When will I teach you?
 AB 10.14

[káŋka mbii-no-maa-mi] MS 57.3 That is what I told you.

¹Note also [képtee mo-búri] MS 80.3

²The same form within a word: [mbí'etéeka] M 183.5 'called'

³It must be emphasized that vowel length is neutralized rather than that vowel length is not present. One can cite examples where length is present in word final positions, e. g. [kább-aa yímbe] MS 95.2 'You tie people up'. However, MS 63.7 in 77 shows that length is not contrastive in this position. At present we cannot always predict when the neutralized vowel will be long, but this could simply be due to the fact that the language of Ma¹-Saali and other Adamawa speakers is now changing at this point. For-aa/-daa alternation see 175.

- 79] The emphatic (and passive)¹ future {-otoo}.
- ['en-ndó"oto.] M 181.4 We will fall.
- [gúde dídídídí 'o-háddoto.] Sarongs two-two she will wear.
MS 56.3 (She wears two sarongs at a time.)
- [sáa'i, 'úmmotoo-mi, bee-yónki] When I will arise with life
M 4.1
- 80] The pre-time clitic {-noo}.
- [min-njéhi-no] M 178.2 We had gone
- [mi-nánget-e-no] M 178.5 I would have caught you
- [dòndón táw-noo-mi!] MA 129.3 Here I had found it
 (Here is where I found it)
- 81] However, when two syllable final long vowel morphemes are
juxtaposed within a complex word the vowel of the first morpheme
is short.
- [káŋka mbli-no-maa-mi] MS 57.3 That is what I told you.
- 82] 2.142 Vowels² (other than those examined in 74-81) preceding class
suffixes, infinitives and inverted pronouns are long unless the
class suffix or pronoun begins with a semivowel or faucal y, w,
', h.
- | | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----|
| [sóba <u>aa</u> jo] | friend | 'O |
| [sóba <u>a</u> 'en] | friends | 'EN |
| [sóba <u>aa</u> ku] | friendship | NGU |
| [bálee <u>je</u>] | black | DE |

¹I would expect the future passive -etee to fit into this pattern but I have no examples of it before clitics within a complex word.

²Although it would be logical to write these vowels long wherever they occur, in the present work we have chosen to indicate the variant forms in order not to depart too much from the way in which Fulani is usually written.

[bá <u>le</u> ere]	black	NDE
[bá <u>le</u> ha]	black	KA
[bá <u>le</u> wa]	black	PGA
[bá <u>le</u> ye]	black	NGEL
[bá <u>le</u> ebe]	black people	EE
[súka <u>aku</u>]	youth	NGU
[wá <u>ll</u> iinde]	help	NDE
[ndó <u>tti</u> wa]	grand old man	NGA
[ndó <u>tti</u> iyo]	old man	'O
[hú <u>do</u> hoy]	small grasses	KOY
[hú <u>do</u> oji]	various grasses	DI
[hú <u>do</u>]	grass	KO (sg)
[hú <u>do</u> ho]	big grasses	KO (pl) (derived from <u>húdo</u>)
[kó <u>omb</u> owal]	boat	NGAL
[kó <u>omb</u> oje]	boats	DE
[há <u>ako</u>]	legume	KO (sg)
[há <u>ako</u> ore]	legume pot	NDE (derived from <u>háako</u>)

When preceding infinitives:

[sá <u>pp</u> eego]	to be pointed at	passive verbal inf.
[pú <u>te</u> eki]	the act of being duped	passive nominal inf.
[jó <u>o</u> daago]	to sit	emphatic verbal inf.

83] 2.143 Although the general rule in paragraph 82 applies to a large majority of the cases, there are several stateable exceptions.

Euphonious infixes (cf. 63) are not lengthened.

		Preceding:
[wá <u>dd</u> ube]	those who brought	pl. person class
[wá <u>rt</u> ugo]	to come back	active verbal inf.
[wá <u>rt</u> yuki]	the coming back	active nominal inf.
[ké <u>du</u> -fon]	you listen	2nd pers. pl. inverted

[lúgguka]	deep [hole]	KA
['éwnu-mi]	I called	1st person sg. inverted
[támmo-da]	you would think	2nd person sg. inverted

Unlike the derivational suffixes, the short suffixes have no vowel unless required by euphony (see 60).

[wáancuru]	a walk	NDU
[lúggere]	hole, valley	NDE
[déftere]	book	"
[fáddere]	fainting	"
[sángere] ¹	camp	"
[tínyere] ¹	onions	"
[hálkere]	perishability	"

The morpheme {-oo-} 'habitual' is not shortened.

[hónoo ^{oo} be]	warriors	BE
[kónoo ^{oo} wo]	warrior	'O
[kónoo ^{oo} ye]	small warriors	NGEL
[múto ^{oo} ye]	that which sets	NGE

In some words, when the vowel preceding the class suffixes, inverted pronoun and infinitives is a part of the stem, this vowel is not altered. Some of these words are known to be borrowed.

[jahánnama ^{aa} ye]	from jahánnamaa-	+ -ye	hell (Arabic)
[máapindi ^{di} jo]	from máapindi-	+ -jo	huge person
[kíkide]	from kíkide-	+ -de	afternoon

Compare also:

[hábaru]	from hábar-	+ -u	news (Arabic)
[dábare]	from dábar-	+ -e	stratagem
[lábange]	from lábang-	+ -e	bridle

¹sángere and tínyere have derived plurals with derivational suffixes in which the regular rule applies: tínyeeje 'various kinds of onions.'

84] 2.15 Alternation of initial consonants of roots

There are eight base or 'fricative' consonants that alternate with seven 'stops' and also with these stops prenasalized. The alternation system operates with roots that are inflected and the type of inflection determines the type of alternation or non-alternation of the base consonant.

When the root is inflected with a verbal suffix the alternation will not take place if the subject is singular, but if the subject is plural, the initial consonant will become a 'stop'.

When the root is inflected with a nominal suffix the alternation is dependent on the class of the suffix. If the suffix is of the NDE, NDU, NGE, NGO, KO (singular), or BE classes, the alternation will not take place. If the suffix is of NGAL, NGEL, NGOL, NGUM, KI, KAL, DE, DI, 'O, or DUM classes, the second stage or 'stop' alternation will occur in the initial consonant. If the suffix is of the NDI, NGA, NGU, KA, KO (plural), KOY or DAM classes, the initial consonant will be the full or prenasalized consonant.

For further explanation with examples and charts see nouns 109-113 and verbs 213-214.

85] 2.16 Alternation of semivowels

The final consonant of a syllable can be a semivowel, y or w (see 3). Preceding consonants and following their vowel counterparts, semivowels will not retain their identity but will fuse with the preceding vowel to form a long vowel, unless the preceding vowel is already long, in which case the semivowel will disappear and the vowel will remain long, i.e.

fíy-	+	-i	>	fíyi	beat			
fíy-	+	-de	>	píide	beatings			
yúw-	+	-i	>	yúwi	speared			
yúw-	+	{-it-}	+	-i-	>	yúuti	speared oneself	
kúuw-	+	-i	>	kúuwi	as in be-kúuwi	they worked		
kúuw-	+	{-id}	+	-i-	>	kúudi	as in be-kúudi	they worked together

86] 2.17 Morphological stress

Word level stress is morphological in that it is predictably related to morphemes in most cases. That is, all roots are stressed and this accounts for most morpheme level stress. We may have minimal pairs where stress is the only differentiating factor, e.g. 'O-kísnoowo-'on 'he is your savior,' 'O-kísnoowo-'ón 'he is that savior.' There are, however, some exceptions which are best explained by reference to phonological factors.

While morpheme stress may be considered basic, phrase stress and breath group stress may be superimposed on morpheme stress so that certain morphemes will become destressed. See 41 ff. The following is an outline of the occurrence and non-occurrence of stress:

87] 2.171 Stressed elements

A) 1-2) Adjectival and verbal roots are stressed on the first syllable of the root.

bál-	+	-dum	>	báleejum	black DUM
máapindi-	+	-nde	>	máapindire	huge NDE
wár-	+	-i	>	wári	came
láar-	+	-i	>	láari	saw
wáyl-	+	-i	>	wáyliti	turn over, translate
hákkil-	+	-i	>	hákkili	needed

88] 3) Nominal roots of one and two syllables are usually stressed on the first syllable of the root.

In nominal roots of two or more syllables, if the last or next to last syllable is long,¹ and the preceding syllable(s) short,

¹A long syllable is one containing a long vowel or a final consonant or both.

the long syllable will be stressed unless C₁ of the second syllable is h.¹

kumáare=wal ²	crown birds
dewéerd=iiko'en	brothers
rawáa=ndu	dog
dalíila	purpose
linjíila	gospel
yadfi=ri	cattail guinea corn
Jemíita	name of a town
sáhaa=re	cunning

89]

Reduplicated roots or reduplicated stressed function words occur with stress on both elements but the stress on the first element is minor stress, and that of the second more prominent³ (see 41 and 46).

mbàrmbáarni	cause to kill completely
pàwpáwni	really spruce up
tetéki	guts
fèereféere	different
làwláw	very quickly

90] B) Non-inflected elements—

- 1) Ideophones (see 31-38) such as pát and kurúm; but note pénelen.
- 2) In function words which are not inflected, stress usually occurs on the first syllable.

¹Note, however, Yahúuda=en 'Jews.'

²Here, the equals sign marks the root and suffix boundary.

³When in a breath group with no following stressed syllable. It appears that this rule would apply to any word with two stressed morphemes. Cf. do'áccáay. with bé-'áccáay víigo ha-nón. M 178.2-3.

'ámmaa ¹	but
ndén	then
bánye	near
jóna	now
hákkunde	between

However, the expletive 'asée 'really' has stress on the final syllable.

91] 2.172 Non-stressed elements

A) Clitics

- 1) Dependent pronouns are not stressed. They can act as subject or object of a verb.

-mi-	I, me
-nge-	it

- 2) Some short nouns are not stressed.

bii-	son
mal-	teacher

- 3) Certain function elements connecting clauses or larger units are non-stressed.

bee-	with
'e-	and
-boo	also
to-	if

B) Nominal or verbal suffixes

Nominal or verbal suffixes, except the negative suffix (see 75), are non-stressed.

¹Mallum Muhammadu occasionally pronounces this word 'ámmáa, perhaps under Hausa influence. In a clitic, a final open syllable with a long unstressed vowel may be stressed for emphasis, cf. -boo, bee-, haa-. When not stressed, length is neutralized.

92] 2.2 Rules applying to limited items of speech

For some speakers, the consonant of the morpheme {-at-} (future tense morpheme) is partially assimilated to a following stop with regard to voicing and glottalization (see 241):

{-at-}	+	-boo	>	mi-fóofad-boo	MS 57.4
{-at-}	+	-do	>	kísnàdfo	M 17:14
{-at-}	+	-be	>	wádanàdfe	M 6.5

There are several special rules governing the singular-plural distinction which are described in 158-162.

The combination -n- + {-dam} becomes -ndam as in kisndam and ngeendam, for many speakers of Adamawa Fulani.

There are certain morphophonemic changes which are either not used by all speakers or which cannot be stated as a general pattern.

'íw	+	{-it-}	+	-i	>	'ífti	came from again
lóow-	+	{-it}	+	-i	>	lóofti	poured again

The combination w + t remains unchanged at certain other morpheme boundaries:

tów-	+	{-it-}	+	-i	>	tówti	was high again
------	---	--------	---	----	---	-------	----------------

There are other changes which are either stylistic or dialectal:

tontón	>	tottón	over there
--------	---	--------	------------

For rules governing the emphatic pronouns (kámbe, etc.), the far demonstratives (ngála, ngéya, etc.), and the nominal class interrogatives (ndúye, ndúyeeru, etc.) see 186 and 208-209.

CHAPTER 3 NOMINALS

93] 3.1 Nouns

Nouns are words which may occur with a class suffix and which fill head, genitival or attributive positions in noun phrases (see 331-336).¹ The composition of the noun may be represented by the following (which is a generalization and does not include many restrictions):

Noun = non-derived nouns (Class suffix) (-'en).²

Non-derived nouns = non-class nouns (Class suffix) or
stem + class suffix

$$\text{Stem} = \begin{cases} \text{adjectival stem or} \\ \text{verb stem}^3 \text{ or} \\ \text{noun stem} \end{cases}$$

Adjectives are nouns composed of verb stems or adjective stems plus class suffixes. They fill attributive positions in noun phrases.

Most nouns are composed of stem plus class suffix.

góoto	one person	adjective stem	+	'0
kúlŋgel	fearful little one	verb stem	+	NGEL
kúrol	arrow	noun stem	+	NGOL

94] 3.11 Compound nouns

Compound nouns⁴ consist of a verb stem plus -a plus a noun with or without the derivational form of the suffix.

¹Time words are excluded from this category because they normally fill other positions and do not usually occur with class suffixes (see 269-273).

²An item enclosed in parentheses indicates that it is an optional item.

³The 'verb stem' in a noun is not quite the same as that in verbs, (see 98).

⁴Compare constructions such as baa-Háman (see footnote to paragraph 332).

wéla-démgáljo	eloquent man
< wél-	be sweet
+ démgal.	tongue
+ -jo	person
séelita-húnduko	slit mouthed one
< séelit-	cut into strips
+ húnduko	mouth
sáata-kó'e'en	stubborn people
< sáat-	hard
+ hó'-	head
+ -'en	

95] 3.12 Non-class nouns

Some of the stems are most frequently used without class suffixes and are called non-class nouns. Many kinship terms occur in this way:

báaba	father
dáada	mother
káawu	mother's brother
máama	grandparent
káaka	great-grandparent
dewérdu	sibling
sáaro	parents

Many abstract or borrowed nouns are used without class suffix:

bóne	woe
'áybe	fault
hákke	sin
jámanu	era
'ánnabi	prophet

However, class nouns may be derived from non-class nouns by the addition of noun-class suffixes. The addition of a class suffix makes the meaning more specific.

báabiraawo	<	báaba	+	-iraa-	+	'O	good father
dáadawa	<	dáada	+	NGA			great mother
'áybewol	<	'áybe	+	NGOL			a fault
jámanuuru	<	jámanu	+	NDU			an era

96] 3.13 Infinitives

The infinitive may act as a nominal. When it does, it fills a nominal position and is modified by nominal modifiers (see 341).

jóoda jóodugo-ma	MS 94.5	Stay your staying. (Sit right where you're sitting)
bíkkoy háa réenugo-go	MS 96.5	The children in that waiting. (The children were still waiting)
yìdáago wódaa	M 2.13	There is no help.
táa be-mbára-mo bee-mbárugo	MS 76.6	They should not kill by killing. (they shouldn't commit open murder)

97] 3.14 Non-derived nouns

There are three kinds of nouns that are not derived from other nouns: those based on a noun stem, verb stem, or adjective stem.

3.141 Nouns based on noun stems occur with one of the singular suffixes and its plural (exclusive of the augmentative or diminutive).¹

kúrol - 'kúri	arrow	Noun stem	+	NGOL - DI	short suffixes
déftere - défte	book	Noun stem	+	NDE - DE	short suffixes
húunde - kúuje ²	thing	Noun stem	+	full NDE - DE	suffixes
kósnjal - kósde	foot	Noun stem	+	full NGAL - DE	suffixes

¹A few nouns in the NGA class have that class as base, see the NGA class (155-156).

²Irregular plural -je for expected -de.

Nouns composed of noun stem plus suffix as above cannot be placed into any other regular class. They can, however, go into the diminutive or augmentative classes.

kúra-ŋga	this large arrow
kúro-ko	these large arrows
kúrel-ŋgel	this little arrow
kúroy-koy	these little arrows
kúŋga	large thing
kúŋgel	small thing
kúŋgum	nasty little thing (in a pejorative sense)

Many nouns based on a noun stem are of a CVC(C)- or CVC(C)V-shape. Those stems occurring with a final consonant will usually occur with the short form¹ of the class suffix (see 107).

<u>lára</u>	skin	NGAL
<u>gé</u>	fields	DE

However, for those occurring with a double consonant, nd or n in stem final position, a vowel like that of the following suffix will occur between the stem and the suffix when the following suffix begins with an r²

wúrd-	+	-re	>	wúrdere	opening, window	NDE
jáwd-	+	-ri	>	njáwdiri	ram	NDI
dóomb-	+	-ru	>	dóomburu ³	rat	NDU

Stems occurring with a final second syllable vowel will often occur with the modified or derivational form of the class suffix (see 106).

ndóttiwa	venerated old man	NGA
túrmiwol	cloth	NGOL

¹Arnett calls these 'grades,' Klingenheban suffix stufen.

²This rule also applies to verb stems plus suffix.

³Sometimes, however, the word occurs as dóomru.

98] 3.142 Nouns derived from a verb stem normally occur with the full form (see 104) of the class suffix.

<u>máraado</u>	owned one	'0
<u>céniinga</u>	great holy one	NGA
<u>tórnde</u>	prayer	NDE

However, verb stems ending in a manner suffix will occur with the denasalized form (see 105).

<u>jángirde</u>	school	NDE
-----------------	--------	-----

The verb stem as used in noun-formations is not the same as the verb stem in the verb phrase (see 211-229). Verb stem here is verb root plus or minus stem extensions plus or minus tense, and voice or: $VS_n = VR(SE)(TV_n)$. Tense-voice markers are also modified.

Tense-Voice (TV) = past, future

past	=	{	past active	∅
			past emphatic	-ii-
			past passive	-aa-
future	=	{	future active	-at-
			future emphatic	-otoo-
			future passive	-etee-

wáabotooḅe M 180.4
 VR TV
 VS

those who will argue

jággantooḅe M
 VR SE TV
 VS

those who will serve (us)

dóggitirteedo MS 68.3
 VR SE's TV
 VS

the one who will be made to run
 again in a certain way

Nouns based on a verb stem may be modified by verbal modifiers (VM).

kúsel . . . káccungel ^{*}dus Ma 3.3 meat . . . smelly very
 NS VS VM

99] 3.143 Nouns based on adjectival stems: There are certain stems which are adjectival. As opposed to verb stems, they cannot enter the verbal system, and as opposed to nominal stems they can freely enter into a combination with any class suffix. As nouns they can fill any position that other nouns fill (see noun phrase 330-349).

Some of the more common adjectival stems are:

bál-	black
rán-	white
wód-	red
náy-	old
wóot-	one
fámar-	small
wór-	male
fáh-	deaf

Some adjective nouns are composed of adjective roots plus -e- plus the derivational set of suffixes.

black:	{bál-}	{-e-}	{-ki}	>	bálehi	black	KI
white:	{rán-}	{-e-}	{-ngel}	>	dáneyel	white	NGEL
red:	{wód-}	{-e-}	{-ko(pl)}	>	mbódeho	(large) red	KO
old:	{náy-}	{-e-}	{-'o}	>	náyeejo	old person	

Suffixes are applied directly to adjectives with a stem ending in a vowel.

venerable: {ndótti-} {-nga} > ndóttiwa venerable NGA

Adjectives modify other nouns and will occur with the same class suffix as that of the noun they modify.

súudu	house	NDU
súudu wóoru	one house	N + adj.
cúura	big house	NGA
cúura ngóota	one big house	N + adj.

Adjectives may be used pronominally and will then fill any noun position.

Káygama . . . mári ngóotu ND 3.15 Kaygama owned one [horse].

100] 3.15 Nouns derived from other nouns

Nouns derived from other nouns occur with derivational suffixes. The derivational set of suffixes (106 and 108) may be affixed to non-class nouns. The modifying suffixes may be used with any non-class noun. When they are used, the meaning will undergo a similar alteration to that which is found when modifying suffixes replace the regular suffix of class nouns (see 149-157). The commonly used word dáada 'mother' which is a non-class noun may receive the augmentative singular suffix:

dáada + {-nga} > dáadawa great mother

The same word with the diminutive suffix:

dáada + {-ngel} > dáadayel small mother

dáada + {-koy} > dáadahoy small mothers

Non-class nouns can be put into a specific class by use of the derivational suffixes.

hínnuye	mercy	>	hínnuyèere	NDE
dála	five francs	>	dálawol	NGOL
táasa	bowl	>	táasawo	NGO

When pluralized, non-class nouns receive derivational suffixes.

'áybe	offense
'áybeeji	offenses
táasa	bowl
táasaaje	bowls

Class nouns which are normally and basically singular may be pluralized by the use of derivational suffixes.

háala	KÁ	palaver + {-di}	>
háalaaji		palavers of various kinds	
kósam	DAM	milk + {-di}	>
kósamji		various milks	

Nouns which are already plural may occur with derived suffixes to render a new plural.

yímbe	people
yímbeeji	various peoples
púcci	horses
púcciije	various kinds of horses

101]

In addition to being a part of the regular derivation suffix set, -en forms an outer layer suffix that can occur with many nouns:

pádali	antelope
pádali'en	(antelopes and) their kind
Dúrbey	name of a village
Dúrbey'en	people of Dourbeye
jíire	ground squirrel
jíire'en	those associated with the ground squirrel
dókta	doctor
dókta'en	those associated with the doctor (his staff)

102]

3.16 The noun classes

The nominal class system consists of 19 singular classes and five plural classes (see chart 108). The system is largely based on a semantic taxonomy. Borrowed words, for example, will not be suffixed at random but will fall into the class compatible with the meaning of that word.

Semantically the classes are divided into four groups:

- 1 - The person classes, singular and plural.
- 2 - The diminutive-pejorative classes, which include a class for small masses,¹ a pejorative class, a diminutive class and a plural class.

¹The KAL class includes nouns referring to small quantities not normally counted.

- 3 - The augmentative classes, singular and plural.
 4 - The remaining classes, seven singulars with plural in DE, and seven singulars with plural in DI.

The classes with DE as plural are DAM (liquids) and DUM (neuter) which are, however, basically singular. Also in this group is the NDE class which includes round objects and metalanguage, the NGAL class which includes solid frames, the KA class which includes philosophical ideas or systems, the KI class which includes trees and the KO class which includes mouth, cotton, and useful grass.

The classes with DI as plural are NDI which includes words for mass nouns and some animals, the NDU class which includes containers, the NGE class which includes fire, sun and cattle, the NGO class which includes body parts and channels of social intercourse, the NGU class which includes elusive animals and things, the NGOL class which includes long slender objects, and the KOL class with a word for a female calf.

103] 3.161 The variant forms of the suffixes:

Although there are four series of class suffixes plus some variants within the series,¹ useful generalizations can be made about all forms except the person class forms. The full forms² are identical to the dependent pronouns; from these one can usually predict the denasalized forms. The initial consonants of the derivational forms undergo regular changes from those of the full form, and the short forms usually occur without initial consonant.

104] The full form of the suffix occurs with most nouns derived from verb stems (see 97). It is also found with some stems not traceable to verb stems:

fómo <u>nde</u>	bank [of a river]
kó <u>ngal</u> - kó <u>sde</u>	foot - feet

¹The four series are listed on the chart in paragraph 108.

²Although these labels properly describe only the changes in the initial consonant, they are used as labels for the suffix forms as a whole.

105] The denasalized form:

The initial consonant of the suffix is denasalized following verb stems ending in manner suffixes, and following noun stems ending in u, r or a nasal.

{'ún-}					grind
VR					
{'únor-}	+	{-ndu}	>	'únordu	mortar
{wínd-}					write
VR					
{bíndir-}	+	{-ngol}	>	bíndirgol	pencil
VS					
{túmmu-}	+	{-ngel}	>	túmmugel	small dish
{hor-}	+	{-ngel}	>	kórgel	small slave girl
{láam-}	+	{-nde}	>	láamde	clean NDE
{dém-}	+	{-ngal}	>	démgal	tongue

106] The derivational form: Following (a) noun stems ending in any vowel but u, (b) all nouns that are derived from other nouns, and (c) those that follow the habitual morpheme {-oo-},¹ the initial consonant of the suffix is changed as follows:

nd	>	r
ng	>	w/y ²
k	>	h
d	>	j

¹Only a few other nouns and some apparent verb stems occur with derivational suffixes, e.g. lélwa 'Thompson's gazelle'; gínnaaji 'demons'; láyhaaji 'amulets'. See also possessive pronouns (168-170) and independent pronouns (186-192). See also 100-101 for further examples of derivation.

²ng becomes y preceding e. However, {-ngum} often becomes -yum rather than -wum. The singular person class suffix following VS + {-oo-} is -wo.

{bóosa-}	+	{-ndu}	>	bóosaaru	dog
NS					
{ndótti-}	+	{-nga}	>	ndóttiwa	grand old man
NS					
{bóosa-}	+	{-ngel}	>	bóosayel	little dog
{hottollo}	+	{-ko}	>	hóttolloho	big cottons
N					
bórgc					blanket non-class noun
{bórgo}	+	{-de}	>	bórgooje ¹	blankets
{mut-}	+	{-oo-} + NGE	>	mútooye	setting (sun)
{hon-}	+	{-oo-} + 'O	>	kónoowo	warrior

107] The short form: After noun stems of a type not mentioned in paragraphs 104-106, initial consonant of the class suffix is dropped. Note, however, that nd > r.

{béemb-}	+	{-ngel}	>	béembel	small granary
NS					
{gúd-}	+	{-ngel}	>	gúdel	sarong
NS					
{gúd-}	+	{-de}	>	gúde	sarongs
NS					
{wúr-}	+	{-ngo}	>	wúro	town
NS					
{yíit-}	+	{-nde}	>	yíitere ²	eye
NS					
{yíit-}	+	{-de}	>	gíite	eyes
NS					
{kús-}	+	{-koy}	>	kúsoy	small game animals
NS					

¹For lengthening of vowels, see 82-83.

²For addition of the e, see 60.

FULANI NOMINAL CLASS SYSTEM (generalized)

		Possessive Pronouns PPr	Independ- ent Pron. IPr	Dependent Pronouns DPr	Class suffixes			
					1	2	4	
PERSONAL CLASSES	Sg	1	-am	mín	mi-/yam ²		-mi ³	
		2	máada/-ma ¹	'aan	'a-/-maa		-daa ³	
		3	máako	kánko	'o-/-mo	-o	-jo	-do
	Pl	1	'ámín/-mín	mínin	-mín-			
		1-2	méeden/-mén	'énen	-en-			-den ³
		2	méedon/-món	'ónon	-on-			-don ³
		3	mábbe	kámbe	-be-	-be	-be/-'en	-be
DIMINUTIVE CLASSES	Small mass		máakal	kánkal	-kal-	-al	-hal	-kal
	Sg. Pej.		máagum	kánḡum	-ḡum-	-um	-yum	-ḡum
	Pl		máakoy	kánkoy	-koy-	-oy	-hoy	-koy
AUGMENTATIVE CLASSES	Sg		maagel	kánḡel	-ḡel-	-el	-yel	-ḡel
	Pl		máaga	kánḡa	-ḡa-	-a	-wa	-ḡa
OTHER CLASSES	Pl		máako	kánko	-ko-	-o	-ho	-ko
	Sg		máare	káyre	-nde-	-re	-re	-nde
	"		máari	káyri	-ndi-	-ri	-ri	-ndi
	"		máaru	káyru	-ndu-	-ru	-ru	-ndu
	"		máage	kánḡe	-ḡe-	-e	-ye	-ḡe
	"		máago	kánḡo	-ḡo-	-o	-wo	-ḡo
	"		máagu	kánḡu	-ḡu-	-u	-wu	-ḡu
	"		máagal	kánḡal	-ḡal-	-al	-wal	-ḡal
	"		máagol	kánḡol	-ḡol-	-ol	-wol	-ḡol
	"		máaka	kánka	-ka-	-a	-ha	-ka
	"		máaki	kánki	-ki-	-i	-hi	-ki
	"		máako	kánko	-ko-	-o	-ho	-ko
	"		máakol	kánkol	-kol-	-ol	-hol	-kol
	"		máajam	kánjam	-dam-	-am	-jam	-dam
	"		máajum/-man	kánjum	-dum-	-um	-jum	-dum
	"		múudum/-mum	kanyum	∅/-dum	-um	-jum	-dum
	Pl		máaje	kánje	-de-	-e	-je	-de
Pl		máaji	kánji	-di-	-i	-ji	-di	

¹Some possessive pronouns have alternate forms.²Some dependent pronouns have a subject form and an object form.³Inverted order subject pronouns.

109] 3.162 The alternation of the initial consonants of stems occurring with class suffixes. For the related alternation in verb stems occurring with verb suffixes see 213-214. The vertical columns of the following chart indicate the variety of alternance which is found:

1. Fricative: ¹	v/w	w ^B /y ^F	y ^{B2}	r	f	s	h
2. Stop:	b	g	j	d	p	c	k
3. Pre-nasal:	mb	ng	nj	nd	p	c	k

The 'fricative' consonants listed are the only ones participating in all the alternations. Consonants not listed are not altered.

w followed by front vowels e and i does not alternate with g/ng, while y followed by front vowels always alternates with g/ng. y followed by central and back vowels a, u, o always alternates with j/nj.

110] The 'fricative' initial consonant occurs when the stem is combined with a suffix in the following classes:

BE, NDE, NDU, NGE, NGO, KO(sg.)

réwbe	women	<	VS	réw-
yímre	song	<	VS	yím-
sáyeeru	golden (monkey)	<	Adj	sáy-
wóote	one NGE	<	Adj	wóot-
fádo	shoe	<	NS	fád-
húnduko	mouth	<	NS	húndu-

111] The initial consonant becomes a stop when the stem is combined with a suffix from one of the following classes: '0, KAL, NGUM, NGEL, NGAL, NGOL, KI, DUM, DE, DI.

¹The terms fricative, stop and pre-nasal are not here intended as phonetic descriptions, but rather as convenient generalized labels for the three series of consonants.

²B equals back vowels, F equals front vowels, so w^B indicates w plus back vowels, etc.

bóodó	good man	<	VS	vóod-
kóttollal	small mass of cotton	<	NS	hóttoll-
débbum	bad woman	<	VS	rév-
bánel	small bush cow	<	NS	*wán-
jáhaangal	trip	<	VR	yáh-
gímol	song	<	VS	yím-
cékehi	a fig tree	<	NS	*séeke-
gúldum	hot thing	<	VS	wúl-
péwe	lies	<	VS	fév-
dawáadi	dogs	<	NS	rawá-

112]

The initial consonant of the stem becomes a stop and if the stop is voiced it is prenasalized when the stem is combined with a suffix from one of the following classes:

KOY, NGA, KC (pl.), NDI, NGU, KA, DAM				
ndawáakoy	small dogs	<	NS	rawá-
ngóna	another big NGA	<	VS	wód-
mbé'o	large goats	<	NS	*wé'.
mbélni	sharp [blade]	<	VS	vél-
ngílnu	worm	<	NS	*yíl-
mbóotka	good KA	<	VS	vóod-
njáram	drink	<	VS	yár-

For comparison the stem {wóot-} 'one' is presented with a suffix representative of the classes participating in the different alternations:

Initial consonant:

1.	'Fricative';	ngílnu ngóota	MS 58.1	one worm
2.	Stop:	gúdel góotel	MS 196.6	one sarong
3.	Pre-nasal:	wáro wóoto	ND 90.2	one town

113]

However, there are exceptions to the alternation rule. Stems occur with the initial consonant in a stop form even when the suffix is one of the group selecting 'fricative' initial consonants.

1)	jún̄go	hand	not *yún̄go
2)	jún̄gel	small hand	NGEL
3)	njún̄ga	large hand	NGA
1)	dárnde	height	NDE
2)	dár̄de	pl.	DE
3)	ndár̄nga	augmentative	NGA
1)	défetéendu	kitchen	NDU
2)	défanád̄fo	one who will cook	'O
3)	ndéfurga	big pot for cooking	NGA

Initial consonants of nouns which are derived from other nouns do not alternate.

1)	yím̄beeji	various peoples	<	yím̄be
2)	hóoloyel	small noise	<	hóolo
3)	hóolowa	large noise	<	hóolo
1)	súkaabe	youths	<	súka
2)	súkayel	small youth	<	súka
3)	súkahoy	small youths	<	súka
1)	réejahoy	small razors	<	réeja
2)	ndámbayel	small cold	<	ndám̄ba
3)	ndám̄ba	cold		

114] 3.163 The basic noun classes

Nouns, other than adjectives, are basically found in one of the regular singular classes. Most of them can occur with modifying suffixes (149-157) in which case their meaning is altered. Adjectives and nominals derived from verb stems may occur with any noun class.

115] 3.1631 Person classes

(1) 'O class

Dependent pronouns: subject: 'o-; object: -mo; plural: BE

Independent pronoun: kán̄ko Possessive pronoun: máako

Suffix forms: short: -o; others: -do

Initial consonant of the noun: Stop

(2) BE class.

Dependent pronoun: -be- Singular: '0

Independent pronoun: kámbe Possessive pronoun: mábbe

Suffix forms: -be in all cases, but -'en is also used in derivational forms.

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

The singular person class is the '0 class and the plural is the BE class. These classes contain words denoting human beings and also a very small number of borrowings.

Examples of person nouns (sg-pl) with the series of the full forms are:

gárho - wárbe	he who came	<	VS	wár-	(active).
tókkiido - tókkiibe	he who followed	<	VS	tókk-	(emphatic).
máaydo - máaybe	dead person	<	VS	máay-	(active).
láamdo - láambe	chief	<	VS	láam-	(active).
bóoddo - wóodbe	good person	<	VS	wóod-	(active).
gídaado - yídaabe	loved person	<	VS	yíd-	(passive).
káado - háabe	slave				
máccudo - máccube	male slave	<	NS	mácc-	
górdo - wódbbe	a person	<	Adj	wódb-	
kébdó - hébbe	one who received	<		héb-	(active).

In some words -ko or -lo replaces -do:

górko - wórbe	man	<	Adj	wór-
gáynaako - wáynaabe	shepherd	<	cf. VR	'áyn-
púllo ¹ - fúlbe	Fulani person	<	Adj	fúl-

In the morpheme {biv-} there is an abnormal alteration of the final consonant before the suffix (see also the section on NGEL, 152-153):

¹For the expected *puldó, púllo occurs. cf. kuldó.

bíḍḍo - bíḍḍe child < N biy-

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the suffix are:

dérkeejo - dérke'en	youth	< N	dérke
sóobaaajo - sóoba'en	friend	< N	sóoba
ndóttiijo - ndótti'en	great old person	< Adj	ndótti-
Yáhuudúujo - Yahúudu'en ¹	Jew	< Arabic	
mállumjo - mállum'en	teacher	< N	mállum

There is another set of forms which is included in the derivational series because for all other classes but the person classes the endings are of this set. Following the morphemes -oo- 'habitual' and -iraa- 'intimate' the derivational series are used, but in the person classes -wo and -be occur:

jáwmiraawo - jáwmiraabe	intimate master
'ésiraawo - 'ésiraabe	intimate in-law
báabiraawo - báabiraabe	father
bálloowo - wálloobe	helper
kísnoowo - hísnoobe	one who is a savior
'ékkitinoowo - 'ékkitinoobe	teacher

Examples of nouns with the series of person class short forms are:

géeto - yéetbe	live person
jámo - yámbe	well person
pámáro - fámárbe	small one
kódo - hóḍbe	guest
báppanyo - wáppanybe	uncle

A very small number of borrowed words are used in the person class by some people:

bárka 'óo	M	this blessing
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A few nouns referring to human beings are in other regular classes.

géndeeru wóoru	M	one strong servant
géndeeji		strong servants

¹Yahuudaṅkéejo - Yahuudaṅko'en are also used.

116] 3.1632 The non-person classes: There are 14 non-personal regular classes. Seven of these occur in the plural in the DE class and the other seven in the DI class. It must be noted that not all nouns have regular plural forms, but that derived pluralization can often operate on those forms not having a regular plural (see 100-101). Although the person class carries the meaning 'human being', the semantic affiliation of words in the other classes is sometimes rather elusive.

117] (3)¹ NDE class.
 Dependent pronoun: -nde- Plural: DE
 Independent pronoun: káyre Possessive pronoun: máare
 Suffix forms - short: -re; derivational: -re; full form: -(n)de
 Initial consonant of noun: No change.

The nouns of this class are very diverse in content but several categories can be mentioned. Round objects usually capable of being handled: egg, rock, head, buttocks, mud ball, heart, ground-squirrel, ring, eye, calabash, neck, thing, onions, blanket, charcoal, mud, beans, nose, etc.

Metalinguage: book, names of language, name, song, letters of alphabet, etc.

Times and places: week, time, day, meeting place, city, home, school, mosque, etc.

Abstract: cunning, craftiness, lie, death, struggle, goodness, lightning, fainting, game, loan.

118] Examples of nouns with the series of the full NDE forms are:

bérnde - bérde	heart	cf. VS	bern-
wárande ² - gárande	that which will come	<	VS wár- active future
'inde ² - 'inde	name	<	VS 'inn-

¹The number refers to classes rather than sub-section.

²Nasal is deleted before prenasalized consonants {-wárannde} and {'innde}.

After verb stems ending in the {-ir-} 'manner' suffix, the nasal of the full form is deleted:

jáŋgirde - jáŋgirde	school	<	VR	jáŋg-
júulirde - júulirde	Mosque	<	VR	júul-
móoptorde - móoptorde	meeting place	<	VR	móob-

After adjective or noun stems¹ ending in r, u, or m the nasal of the full form is usually deleted:

wórde - górde	male NDE	<	Adj	wór-
túmmude - túmmude	calabash	<	NS	túmmu-
wámde - bámde	donkey	<	NS	wám-

In some cases there is an alternant plural form:

fíjirde - píjirle	game	<	VR	fíj-
wámarde - gámarle	dance	<	VR	wám-
hólbunde - kólbule	ankle			
fómoonde - pómoole	river bank			
'iyéende - 'iyéele	rain			
fáttude - páttule	quarter			
wáawarde - báwarle	shield			

119] Examples of NDE nouns with the nominal derivational suffixes are:

bórgoore - bórgooje	blanket	<	N	bórgo
hóoloore - hóolooji ²	noise	<	N	hóolo
'ásaveere - 'ásaveeje	week	<	N	'ásave
saháare - caháaje	cunning	<	NS	sahá-
hálagaare - kálagaaje	ring			
báleere - báleeje	black	<	Adj	bál-
ráneere - dáneeje	white	<	Adj	rán-

¹After verb stems the full form is usually retained, cf. támmunde 'hope' and dárnde 'stance, height' but not after m, cf. láamde 'clean NDE' from the verb stem láab- plus the class suffix NDE. For some roots there seems to be no way to predict. Compare lésdi 'earth' with kósn̄gal 'foot'.

²An exception to the general rule.

háwsaare	Hausa language	< N	Háwsa
'ínlisre	English language	< N	'Ínlis
wákkatiire - wákkatiije	time	< N	wákkati
húuduure - kúuduuje	sore		
támseere - támseeje	bread		
hóoseere - kóoseeje	mountain		

Verb stems with the habitual suffix -oo- are also found with these suffixes:

'úmmatoore - 'úmmatooje	crowd	< VR	'úmm-
yéttoore - géttooje	gratefulness	< VR	yétt-
báttarre - báttajje ¹	scar		

Ordinal numbers referring to time sequence occur with NDE suffixes (see paragraph 204) and are derived from regular numerals:

dídawre	second	< Num	díd-
tátabre	third	< Num	tát-
sáppoore	tenth	< Num	sáppo

120] Examples of nouns with the short form NDE suffixes are:

yímre - gíme	song	< VS	yím
wuykere ² - gúyke	drunkenness	< VS	wúyk-
féwre - péwe	lie	< VS	féw-
défre - défe	cooking, culinary art	< VS	déf-
hábre - kábe	fight	< VS	háb-
halkere ²	destruction	< VS	hálk-
wóore	one	< Adj	wóot-
hínere - kíne	nose	< NS	hín-
yáare ³ - jáhe	scorpion	< NS	yáh-

¹It is probably best to consider the morphophonemics of this pair as irregular.

²The -e- between the stem and the suffix is a euphonious infix following double consonants, nd and n. (see 60)

³Before r, h and ' are replaced by length on the preceding vowel (see 65).

májjere ¹ - májje	loss	< VS	májj-
yébre - gébe	part		
déftere ¹ - défte	book		
líkirre	hiccough		
'élewre - 'élewe	craftiness		
réndere ¹ - déne	egg		
séfre - céfe	bunch		
jíire ² - jí'e	ground-squirrel		
dábare	stratagem		
hóore ² - kó'e	head		
nárre - náne	left (hand)	< VS	nán-
nyáamre - nyáame	right (hand)	< VS	nyáam-
túure - túude	spit	< VS	túut-
'áawre - 'áawe	sowing	< VS	'áaw-
háyre ³ - ká'e	stone		
táyre ³ - tá'e	cut piece	< VS	tá'-

Other nouns plus the short form class suffixes undergo irregular modifications.

sáare - cí'e	house
nyíindere - nyíi'e	tooth
wólde - bólle	word
fáttude - páttule	quarter
jóonde - jóole	stay, sojourn

121] (4) NDI class.

Dependent pronoun: -ndi-

Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káyri

Possessive pronoun: máari

Suffix forms - short: -ri; derivational: -ri; full form: -(n)di

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

¹See 60.

²See 65.

³Glottal stops are replaced by y in this position, see 65.

The NDI class includes nouns for some male domesticated animals or birds, e.g. rooster, he-goat, ram, bull as well as snakes and lizards. It also contains many mass nouns, such as words for sand, millet, iron, antimony, silver, gold, earth, flower, rice, flour, porridge, things stored, etc.

122] Examples of nouns with the series of the full NDI forms are:

pállaandi - pállaade	lizard		
cúlaandi - cúlande	cobra		
díggundi	fine (flour)	< VS	dígg-
dákkundi	gums (mouth)		
mbóondi	good NDI	< VS	vóod-
njáareendi	sand		

Following certain consonants the nasalization disappears:

lésdi - lésde	earth
njámdi - jámde	iron
mbóodi - bóóde	snake

123] Examples of nouns with the nominal derivation NDI suffixes are:

láyhaari - láyhaaji	amulet
njóobaari - njóobaaje	provision for a trip
'ásugumri - 'ásugumje	rooster
mbáyeeri	a kind of millet
báleeri	black NDI
kárniiri	special kind of porridge
njígaari	red millet
ngóroori - ngórooje	kind of snake
kúroori	flour
máaroori	rice
láawaloowáari	special kind of porridge

124] Examples of nouns with the short NDI class forms are:

ndémri	cultivation	< VS	rém-
ndéwri	female NDI	< VS	rév-
ngáari ¹ - gá'i	bull		
gáwri	millet or guinea corn		
gáari	a kind of porridge		
njúmri - júme	honey		
nyíiri	staple food made from <u>gáwri</u>		
kalháidi ² - kalháli	virile bull		

125] (5) NDU class.

Dependent pronoun: -ndu- Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káyru Possessive pronoun: máaru

Suffix forms - short: -ru; derivational: -ru; full form: -(n)du

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

Generally, the nouns of this class are containers. Thus it includes well, mortar, house, lake, moon, box, bottle but not such open things as plates or pots. Some musical instruments are found here, as well as body parts that can be considered containers such as body, female breast, stomach, ear, and also the digits and their nails but not legs and arms.

Moreover, hyena, dogs, cats, monkeys, rats and ant-eaters are included as are some words for birds, frog, etc.

126] Examples of nouns with the full NDU suffix are:

'íwdu	a NDU that originated	< VS	'íw-
wárandu - gáradí	the NDU to come		
défetéendu - défetéedi	the house to cook in	< VS	déf-
rawáandu - dawáadi	dog		
wáandu - báadi	baboon, monkey		
'éwnaandu	call	< VS	'éwn-

¹The a is lengthened as a result of the loss of the ' before r (see 65).

²After a stem in l the r of suffixes becomes d (see 69).

However, -li often occurs instead of -di in the plural:

fáandu - páali	bottle, narrow-mouthed pot		
hóondu - kóoli	body digits		
véendu - béeli	lake		
wóokaandu - góokaali	shout	< VS	wók-
sóndu - cólili ¹	bird	< NS	són-

Prenasalization of the full forms disappears after stems ending in certain consonants (see 105).

'únordu - 'únordi	mortar	< VR	'ún-
nyáamdu	food	< VS	nyáam-
nástordu	initiation rites	< VS	nást-
yáadu ²	gait, walk	< VS	yáh-

127] Examples of nouns with the series of the nominal derivational suffixes are:

fáatiiru - páatiiji	cat		
jáwleeru - jáwleeji	entry house		
láymaaru - láymaaji	tent, umbrella		
géndeeru - géndeeji	virile slave		
báleeru - báleeji	black	< Adj	bál-
gílangeeru - gílangeeji	crocodile		
nyólooru	spoiling NDU	< VS	nyól- + -oo-
láyhaaru - láyhaaji	amulet		
dúniyaaru	world		
sáafaandu - cáafaali	bush dog		

128] Examples of nouns with the short form NDU suffix are:

héndu ³ - kényi	wind	< VS	hén-
wáwru - gáwi	well		
dóomburu ⁴ - dóombi	rat		

¹The n of the root > ɲ by assimilation (see 69).

²See 65.

³r > d after n (see 69).

⁴See 60.

hábaru	news
wáancuru ¹ - gáanci	stroll
báaru ² - báhi	quiver
réwru - débbi ³	female NDU
fówru - póbbi ³	hyena
sáwru - cábbi ³	cane, staff
nófru ⁴ - nóppi ³	ear
hófru ⁴ - kóppi ³	knee
réedu - déedi	stomach
súudu - cúudi	house
báandu - bálli	body

129] (6) NGE class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋge-

Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káŋge

Possessive pronoun: máage

Suffix forms - short: -e; derivational: -ye; full form: -(ŋ)ge

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

This class has only three main words:⁵ sun, fire and cow.

Subcategories of the same are also in the NGE class, as are adjectives.

The morphology of nágge is irregular.¹See 60.²h > length, see 65.³See section on singular-plural dichotomy, 158-162.⁴Also nófuru, hófuru.⁵Seemingly hínnuye, yáafuye, etc. would belong to this class, but they are non-class nouns and must be derived to enter the class system, i.e. hínnuyéere < hínnuye.

náange	sun			
nágge - ná'i	cow			
yíite	fire			
wóote	one (cow)	<	Adj	wóot-
mútooye	setting (sun)	<	VS	mút- + -oo-
ráneye	white (cow)	<	Adj	rán-
híirnaange	west	<	VS	híir- + náange
dúunge	much (fire)	<	VS	dúud-

130] (7) NGO class.

Dependent pronoun: -ngo-

Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: kángo

Possessive pronoun: máago

Suffix forms - short: -o; derivational: -wo; full form -(ŋ)go

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

The words in this class include body parts such as hand, tail, back, face, thigh; objects worn on body as bracelet and shoes; household items such as bed, hoe, and also river, market, village and some abstract nouns.

131] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGO suffixes:

sáakiŋgo	scattered NGO	<	VS	sáak-
wóongo	good NGO	<	VS	wóod-
ví'etéeŋgo	called	<	VS	ví'- + -etee-
wáamgo ¹ - báamle	pagan village			

Examples of nouns with the nominal derivational NGO suffixes

are:

bálewo - báleeje	black NGO	<	Adj	bál-
táasawo - táasaaje	dish	<	N	táasa
sílawo - cílaaje	basket			
'ésiraawo - 'ésiraabe	intimate in-law			

¹See 67.

Examples of nouns with the short NGO suffixes are:

hóolo	noise
víco - bíce	tail
wúro - gúre	village
bóoro	bag
súuno	covetousness
fého - péhe	cover
fúdo	growth
'íiwo	adolescence
hákkiilo	circumspection
léeso - léese	bed
yéeso - géese	face
véelo	famine
wányo	a game, joke
lúumo - lúube ¹	market
máayo - máaje ¹	river
núumo	idea, thought

132] (8) NGU class.

Dependent pronoun: -ngu-

Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: kángu

Possessive pronoun: máagu

Suffix forms - short: -u; derivational: -wu; full form: -(ŋ)gu

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

In the NGU class there are a number of abstract nouns, most of which are pluralized by derivation, e.g. news, greatness, war, sickness, preaching, reign, etc. There are also a number of animals and insects such as sheep, horse, hippopotamus, worm, fly, mosquito, and also fish.

¹cf. gújjo, gúube, bójji (see 158-162).

Examples of nouns occurring with the long NGU suffix are:

ngíln̄gu - gíldi	worm
líln̄gu ¹ - líddi	fish
mbágg ² - báwdi	drum
círgu - círdi	leopard

Examples of nouns occurring with the derivational NGU suffix are:

páadawa - páadaaji	cheetah
mbódfewu - bódfeeji	red NGU

Examples of nouns occurring with the short form of the NGU nominal suffix are:

mbóju - bóji	rabbit
mbúubu - búubi	fly
cúufu - cúufi	mosquito
púccu - púcci	horse
mbédu - bédi	mat cover, phonograph record

133] (9) NGAL class.

Dependent pronoun: -ngal- Plural: DE
 Independent pronoun: kángal Possessive pronoun: máagal
 Suffix forms - short: -al; derivational: -wal; full form: -(ŋ)gai
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

This class includes nouns indicating solid elongated articles such as wood, bone, needle,³ and birds of similar build to the crown bird, eagle, goose, vulture, chicken, partridge.

Also included in this class are abstractions, some of which indicate a real or supposed duration such as a journey, hunt, patience, covenant, marriage, knowledge, victory, speed, etc.

¹l + ng > preceding vowel length plus ng.

²w + ng > wg > gg.

³Needles were originally made by blacksmiths.

134] Examples of nouns occurring with the full form of the NGAL

suffix are:

démgal ¹ - démde	tongue			
kósn̄gal - kósde	foot			
'úmmun̄gal - 'úmmude	resurrection	<	VS	'úmm-
píirugal - píirude	flail	<	VS	fíir-
dámmugal - dámmude	door			
jáalorgal	victory			
górgal - górde	male NCAL	<	Adj	wór-
kúugal - kúude	work	<	VS	húuw-
cáygal - cáyde	goose			

Examples of nouns occurring with derivational NGAL suffix

forms are:

'álkawal	covenant
kóombowal - kóombooje	boat ²
kumáarewal - kumaréeje	crown bird
jígawal - jígaaaje	vulture

Examples of nouns occurring with the short form of the NGAL suffixes are:

báatal - báate	needle
gér̄lal - gér̄le	partridge
lúwal - lúwe	horn
dútal - dúte	eagle
láb̄an̄gal - láb̄an̄ge	bit
béembal - béembe	grain bin
'í'al - 'í'e	bone

¹Note prenasalization is deleted after m, see 67.

²Originally made of wood.

135] (10) NGOL class.

Dependent pronoun: -ngol- Plural: DI
 Independent pronoun: kángol Possessive pronoun: máagol
 Suffix forms - short: -ol; derivational: =wol; full form =(ŋ)gol
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

Long, slender objects such as rope, road, arrow, boundary, strand of hair, root, occur in this class. Stories or speech utterances are also included such as a question, paragraph, an uttered truth (not the abstraction), a letter, a tale, an argument and a dream. Also included are birth, maturity, commencement, rainy season.

136] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGOL suffixes are:

bádaangol	that which has been made	<	VS	wád-
gímaangol	that which has been sung	<	VS	yím-
támmiingol	that which is thought	<	VS	támm-
bíndirgol- bídirdi	pencil	<	VR	vínd-

The plural form can be li:

jókkirgol - jókkirli	argument	<	VR	jókk-
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Examples of nouns occurring with the derivational NGOL suffix forms are:

pataakewol - pataakéeji	letter			
dákkawol - dákkaaji	fence			
ginnawol - gínnaaji	madness	<	VS	yínn-
díingaaawol - díingaaaleeji	wall-wood fence ¹	<	N	díingaaale

Examples of nouns occurring with the short NGOL suffix forms are:

kéerol - kéeri	border			
láawol - láabi ²	road	<	NR	láaw-
kóyfol - kóyfi	dream	<	VS	hóyfi-
táalol - táali	tale	<	VS	táal-
bóggol - bóggi	rope			

¹See Taylor, 1932.

²See 158-162.

137] (11) KA class.

Dependent pronoun: -ka- Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: káŋka Possessive pronoun: máaka

Suffix forms: short: -a; derivational: -ha; full form: -ka

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of
voiced stops.

Many nouns in the KA class are basically singular so that plural forms of such nouns are made by means of derivational suffixes.

The nouns in the KA class are often abstractions such as loneliness, thirst, light, judgment, palaver and include borrowed words like paradise, religion and gospel. Moreover, the words for field, cabinet of the ruler, and the common cold are in this class.

138] Examples of nominals with the full form of the KA suffix are:

dámmuka	short KA	<	V	r ámm-
mbélka	sweet KA	<	V	vél-
mbí'etéeka	called KA	<	VS	ví'-
ŋgúyka - gúyke	cheft	<	VS	wúy-
ŋgáska - gásde	hole	<	VS	wás-

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the KA suffix are:

báleha	black KA	<	Adj	bál-
máapindiha	huge KA	<	Adj	máapindi-
háalaaaji	palavers	<	N	háala
sírlaaaji	trousers	<	N	sírla

Examples of nouns with the short form of the KA nominal suffix are:

ŋgésa - gése	field			
késa - kése	new	<	NR	hés-
linjíila	gospel	<	Arabic	
háala ¹	palaver			
díina	religion			
sírla	trousers			

¹The plurals of this and the two following forms are made with the derivational suffixes, e.g. háalaaaji, díinaaji and sírlaaaji.

139] (12) KI class.

Dependent pronoun: -ki-

Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: káŋki

Possessive pronoun: máaki

Suffix forms - short: -i; derivational: -hi; full form: -ki

Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

The nouns of this class include trees of all kinds and bladed instruments, as well as the usual word for life.

140] Examples of nouns with the full forms of the KI suffix are:

yóŋki	life		
jóorki - jóorde	dry KI	<	VS .yóor-
bókki - bówde	baobab tree		
dáŋki - dánđe	shelter		
dúumiiki	everlasting KI	<	VS .rúum-
márki - márđe	which owns KI	<	VS .már-

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the KI suffix are:

káafahi - káafaaje	sword
náarehi - náareeje	locust bean tree
bálehi - báleeje	black KI
'ándakehi - 'ándakeeje	acacia tree
ŋgálbihi - ŋgálbiije	tree (Vitex Cienkowskii)

Examples of nouns with the short forms of the KI suffix are:

lábi - lábe	knife
jábbi - jábbe	tamarind tree
'íbbi - 'íbbe	fig tree
t'anni - tánne	desert date

141] (13) KO class.

Dependent pronoun: -ko-

Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: káŋko

Possessive pronoun: máako

Suffix forms - short: -o; derivational: -ho; full form: -ko

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

Nouns in this class include only a few common words such as leaves (legumes), grass, cotton and mouth.

húnduko - kúndufe	mouth		
hóttollo	cotton		
húdo	useful grass		
háako	leaf, legume		
báleho - báleeje	black KO	<	Adj bál-

142] (14) KOL class.

Dependent pronoun: -kol- Plural: DI
 Independent pronoun: káŋkol Possessive pronoun: máakol
 Suffix forms - short: -ol; derivational: -hol; full form: -kol
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop.
 Only one word is basic to this class.

nyálahol	female calf	plural nyálbi
bálehol	black KOL	

143] (15) DAM class.

Dependent pronoun: -dam-
 Independent pronoun: kánjam Possessive pronoun: máajam
 Suffix forms - short: -am; derivational: -jam; full form: -dam
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

Nouns in this class are basically singular. They can often be pluralized by derivation.

Nouns in this class are liquids, water, milk, oil and some abstracts.

144] Examples of nominals with the full form of the DAM suffix are:

péewdam	cold DAM	<	VS féew-
ndúumiidam	everlasting DAM	<	VS rúum-
ngúldam	hot DAM	<	VS wúl-
bíraadam	fresh milk	<	VS bír-
kísndam ¹	salvation	<	VS hísn-

¹The glottalization has disappeared after n. Cf. also ngeendam 'life' (see 92).

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the DAM suffixes are:

báleejam	black DAM	<	Adj	bál-
dákamjam	sweet DAM	<	VS	dákm-

Examples of nouns with the short forms of the DAM suffixes are:

kósam	milk			
mbósam	marrow			
'í'am	blood			
nébbam	oil			
ngóotam	one DAM	<	Adj	wóot-

145] 3.1633 (16) The neuter classes

There are two neuter classes of which some forms are the same but the function is different (see 163-167). These are the neuter topic referent and neuter logical subject referent classes.

146] The neuter topic referent class

Dependent pronoun: -dum Plural: DE
 Independent pronoun: kánjum Possessive pronoun: máajum
 Suffix forms - derivational: -jum: full form: -dum
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

Though nouns in the neuter topic referent class are basically singular, when pluralized, they have their plurals in the DE class without derivation.

Unlike the regular noun classes or the modifying noun classes, the topic referent class does not have nouns basic to this class nor does it modify basic roots. As the name suggests, it modifies or refers to the topic of discussion and hence the nominals in this class are usually based on adjectival and verbal roots which modify or refer to a topic rather than a noun.

ko-o-táwi háa-nder bíndaadum what he found in what-has-been-
M 10.3 written

bíndaadum refers to no specific book or writing.

There are nominals in this class derived from nouns by use of the derivational forms.

kúseljum animal thing < N kúsel

Neuter topic referent class nominals are used adverbially in adverb positions (see 256).

ngel-vóoji bóodfum G 169.7 It got good and red
(It reddened good)

cf.

. . . vóoji cōy* MS 71.1 reddened very-red

min-ngétti-maa dūuddum M 5.6 We thank you very much

The neuter topic referent class nominal bóodfum may be used as a response word:

Páaba vfi bóodfum. MA 8.2 The large toad said: "Good!"

Examples of nouns with the full form of the DUM suffixes

are:

séniidum	holy thing	< VS	sén-
bóodfum	good thing	< VS	vóod-
cádfum	difficult thing	< VS	sádf-
láabfum	clear thing	< VS	láab-
béldum - béldē/béldi	sweet thing	< VS	vél-
kálludum - kálludē	evil thing	< VS	háll-
lúttudum - lúttudē	remaining thing	< VS	lútt-
bíndirdum - bíndirdē	something to write with	< VS	vínd-

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the DUM suffixes are:

bođéejum	red thing	< Adj	bóđ-
danéejum	white thing	< A	rán-

147] The neuter logical subject referent class

Dependent subject pronoun: \emptyset
 Dependent object pronoun: -dum Possessive pronoun suffix: -um
 Independent pronoun: kányum Possessive pronoun: múudum
 Suffix forms - derivational: -jum; full form: -dum
 Initial consonant of stem: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

There is no plural form. The nominal formation is the same as that of the neuter topic referent class, but the use of the pronouns of this class is far greater than that of its nouns. For a description of the function of this class see 163-167.

débbo mo-kóoli múudum tá'aadum DG 54.2	The woman whose digits were cut.
be-mbári bíngel - kányum-boo 'en-mbára-dum MS 186.7	Someone killed the child - him too we must kill him.
débbo . . . númi dúm górum. ND 2.1	The woman thought it (was) her husband.

148] (17) DE class.
 Dependent pronoun: -de- Singulars: NDE, NGO, NGAL, KA, KI,
 KO, (DUM)

Independent pronoun: kánje Possessive pronoun: máaje
 Suffix forms - short: -e; derivational: -je; full form: -de
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop

(18) DI class.
 Dependent pronoun: -di- Singulars: NDI, NDU, NGE, NGU,
 NGOL, KOL
 Independent pronoun: kánji Possessive pronoun: máaji
 Suffix forms - short: -i; derivational: -ji; full form: -di
 Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The DE/DI classes are treated as plurals of specific singular classes (see singular-plural dichotomy 158-162).

149] 3.164 The modifying noun classes

The modifying noun classes differ from the regular noun classes in that they generally contain words from one of the regular noun classes with the substitution of a modifying noun class suffix. In such cases the meaning will be altered to give a diminutive, pejorative or augmentative meaning.

lábi	knife
lábe	knives
lába	large knife
lábel	small knife
lábum	nasty little knife
lábo	large knives
láboy	small knives

150] (19) KAL class.

Dependent pronoun: -kal- (Plural: KOY)

Independent pronoun: káŋkal Possessive pronoun: máakal

Suffix forms - short: -al; derivational: -hal; full form: -kal

Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The suffixation of a stem with the KAL class suffix indicates a small mass. It is not normally pluralized.

An example of a noun with the full form of the KAL suffix is:

jáarekal small heap of sand

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the KAL suffix are:

gáwrihal	small quantity of guinea corn	<	N gáwri
			'guinea corn
bálehal	black KAL	<	Adj bál-
nyírihal	small quantity of staple food	<	N nyíri

An example of a noun with the short form of the KAL suffix

is:

kóttollal small mass of cotton < NS hóttoll-

151] (20) NGUM class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgum- (Plural: KOY)

Independent pronoun: káŋgum Possessive pronoun: máagum

Suffix forms - short: -um; derivational: -yum; full form: -(ŋ)gum

Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The suffixation of a stem with the NGUM class suffix gives a pejorative meaning. It indicates smallness in a figurative way. The meaning is not ambiguous. It is not normally pluralized, but when pluralized its special pejorative meaning is neutralized.

An example of a noun with the full form of the NGUM suffix is:

dúppuŋgum runt (of a man)

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the NGUM suffix are:

nyíiriyum báleyum horrible black food

púkarayum nasty little student < NS fúkara-

Examples of nouns with the short form of the NGUM suffix

are:

pámarum small NGUM < Adj fámar-

bé'um nasty little goat < NS bé'-

152] (21) NGEL class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgel Plural: KOY

Independent pronoun: káŋgel Possessive pronoun: máagel

Suffix forms - short: -el; derivational: -yel; full form: -(ŋ)gel

Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The suffixation of a stem with the NGEL class suffix indicates a small object, or small in comparison to ordinary objects indicated by the stem. This suffixation may also be used in a figurative way and it may be ambiguous.

bérŋgel máako nyíiddi MS 188.6

His little heart is ugly

'a-húurataa bee-júŋgel máada
M 171.7

You'll not work with your little
hand

153] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGEL suffix

are:

dawáangel - ndawáakoy small dog

normally

rawáandu dog < NS rawá-

júngel small hand

normally

júngo hand < NS .júg-

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the NGEL

suffix are:

lúumoyel - lúumohoy small, insignificant market

< N lúumo market

móotayel - móotahoy small car < N móota car, truck

báleyel - bálehoy black NGEL < Adj .bál-

Examples of nouns with the short form of the NGEL suffix are:

báalel - mbáaloy small sheep

normally

mbáalu sheep

béembel - mbéemboy small granary

normally

béembal granary

lábel - láboy small knife

normally

lábi knife

Some nouns are normally found in this class; the contrast is then lost and meaning small is only implied.

kúsel - kúsoy meat

péllel - pélloy place

múkel - múkoy sandfly

154] (22) KOY class.

Dependent pronoun: -koy- Singular: NGEL (KAL, NGUM)

Independent pronoun: káŋkoy Possessive pronoun: máakoy

Suffix forms - short: -oy; derivational: -hoy; full form: -koy

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of the voiced stops.

The KOY class is the plural class for the NGEL class. Although nouns in the KAL and NGUM classes are not normally pluralized, when this takes place they occur in the KOY class. See examples in the singular classes.

155] (23) NGA class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋga- Plural: KO (DI)

Independent pronoun: káŋga Possessive pronoun: máaga

Suffix forms - short: -a; derivational: -wa; full form: -(ŋ)ga

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

The suffixation of the NGA class suffix to a stem gives an augmentative meaning with literal or figurative implications.

156] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGA class suffix are:

kúlŋga fearful NGA < VS húl-

ŋgílŋga - ŋgílko large worm
normally

ŋgílŋgu worm < NS yíl-

njúŋga - njúŋko large hand
normally

júŋgo hand < NS júŋ-

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the NGA suffix are:

dáadawa - dáadahó great mother < N dáada mother

hóolowa - hóolohó big noise < N hóolo noise

máapindiwa - máapindiho big NGA < Adj máapindi-

Examples of nouns with the short form of the NGA suffix are:

pówa - pówo	huge hyena	<	NS	fów-
cáwa - cáwo	huge cane	<	NS	sáw-
ngóota	one NGA	<	Adj	wóot-
kúra - kúro	huge arrow	<	NS	*húr-

Some nouns are normally found in this class, in which case there is no augmentative contrast, and the meaning is only implied. These nouns are usually pluralized in the regular DI plural class. Sometimes, however, they are also pluralized in the augmentative KO class, which makes the augmentative meaning explicit.

lélwa - lélji	Thompson's gazelle
mbéewa - bé'i	goat cf. mbé'o large goats
nyíwa - nyíbi	elephant

157] (24) KO class.

Dependent pronoun: -ko- Singular: NGA

Independent pronoun: kánko Possessive pronoun: máako

Suffix forms - short: -o; derivational: -ho; full form: -ko

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

The KO class is the plural for the NGA class and gives the same explicit augmentative meaning to the noun. For examples see the NGA class.

158] 3.17 Singular-Plural Dichotomy

There are three types of nouns (see 93 ff.), compound nouns, non-class nouns, and class nouns. Non-class nouns comprise words without a class ending and referring to specific ideas, things or people considered as a unit not ordinarily counted. Should they need to be modified by number or size (literally or figuratively), derivational suffixes are used. The derivational suffixes are

also used with the compound nouns. Clitics are shortened noun forms used only in compounds with other nouns. These are singular.

159] The class nouns are the most important group. There are 19 singular and 5 plural classes. These can be combined into two major groupings: the regular noun classes and the modifying noun classes. The regular classes comprise person and non-person classes, while the modifying classes comprise diminutive and augmentative groups. Each of these sub-groups has its singular-plural classes.

The basic classes:	singular	plural
Person	'O	BE
Non-person	NDE, NGO, NGAL	} DE
	KA, KI, KO	
	(DAM, DUM)	
	NDI, NDU, NGE, NGU	} DI
	NGOL, KOL	

The modifying classes:

Diminutive	KAL, NGUM, NGEL	KOY
Augmentative	NGA	KO

All kinds of nouns except the clitics can occur with the derivational suffixes (see 100-101). These usually have their plural in the DI class regardless of the class chosen as singular.

For any given noun, the plural suffix is of the same series as that of the normal singular form (see 102), but the initial consonant changes according to the class of the noun (see 109-113). These changes are regular for most nouns. All noun stems ending in double consonants follow the regular morphophonemic rules.¹

¹Unless the root of nágge-ná'i be (nágge-).

160] Some plural suffixes are -le/-li instead of -de/-di. Nearly all the plural formations of this sort are found in the NDE, NDU and NGAL classes (see 117-120, 125-128, 133-134). The plural form jáwle, of which the singular is jáwdi (NDI class), is an analogous formation from jáawngal - jáawle 'guinea fowl.' It has been noted¹ that the plural of ndiyam 'water' and kósam 'milk' are di'eele and kóseele respectively. However, these nouns are not normally pluralized and when they are, the forms ndiyamji and kósamji are more usual.

161] Some of the changes that take place in roots or suffixes in the singular-plural formations, which at first sight appear to be irregular, are in fact governed by general morphophonemic rules (see 65). The rule that a glottal stop or fricative is deleted before another consonant and the preceding vowel lengthened may be seen in:

jíire - jí'e	ground-squirrel	<	NS	jí'-
yáare - jáhe	scorpion	<	NS	yáh-
hóore - kó'e	head	<	NS	hó'-

The rule that a' > ay before the initial consonant of a suffix is exemplified in:

háyre - ká'e	stone	<	NS	há'-
--------------	-------	---	----	------

These are treated as regular formations.

162] However, there are other words with singular-plural formations that do not follow the general rules of the language: and these are called irregular nouns, although special rules govern the alterations in many of these nouns.

A few of the irregular plural formations can be grouped. The final consonants of the stems réw-, léw-, láv-, fów-, nóf-, hóf-, wúy-, wóy- are doubled and moved toward stop positions in the classes having initial implosive alveolar stops (or a glottal stop) in the full form of the suffix, e.g.:

¹cf. Klingenberg 1963, p. 105.

Class	female	hyena	thief	'cane'
NDU	réwru	fówru	--	sáwru
NGA	ndéwa	pówa	--	cáwa
KO (pl.)	ndéwo	pówo	--	--
'O	débbo	--	gújjo	--
BE	réwbe	--	wúybe	--
DI	débbi	póbbi	--	cábbi
NGEL	déyel ¹	pówel	--	cáwel

Stem final y/w/m become j/b/b in one syllable noun stems² with a long syllable plus a short plural suffix, e.g.:

máayo - máaje	river
láawol - láabi	road
nyíiwa - nyíibi	elephant
lúumo - lúube	market
wúumre - gúube	bush

163] 3.2 Class pronouns

Most pronouns reflect the specific class of the noun to which they refer. Neuter pronouns, however, are not tied to any particular class. There are two series of neuter pronouns, each series being used in conjunction with different portions of discourse, although some of the forms are the same in both series. The pronouns of these two series are listed in the following chart, together with the corresponding person class pronouns (see also 108).

	Neuter Pronouns		Class 'O Pronouns
	Topic referent	Logical subject referent	
Dependent pronoun (subject)	dum-	∅	'o-
Dependent pronoun (object)	dum	-dum	-mo
Independent pronoun	kánjum	kányum	kánko
Possessive pronoun	máajum/-man	múudum/-mum	máako

¹déyel occurs where *déwel would be expected.

²Note that the rule does not apply to nominals derived from verb stems, e.g. báawal-báawde 'power' < VR wáaw-.

164]

The principal distinction between the two series is that the topic referent pronouns refer to a topic of conversation whereas the logical subject pronouns refer to the preceding noun or noun phrase which is the logical subject. The class pronouns refer to a specific noun of the same class. Topic referent pronouns do not usually refer to named nouns but rather to a general topic. It may be that the topic is not amenable to formal classification or that it is in the process of definition. When one object is being compared to another or described as being in process of change, it may be referred to by means of a topic referent pronoun. The following examples illustrate the use of the topic referent pronouns.

kánjum dón háa-nder bérnde-am
háa jónta. M 173.5

That is in my heart until now.
(Kánjum = what he just told
about.)

ngam-kánjum 'Almasiihu
hókki yórki maáko. M 12.25

For that reason (what has been
described) Christ gave his life.

wáandu wádan-dum. MS 91.6

A monkey will do that
(tomfoolery just described).

kánjum mi-séndiri-dum
MS 110.5

That (is why) I separated it.

(kánjum = the story just told; -dum = the major theme of the story)

dúm dúme? DG 54.1

What is this?

mbóodi-? kánjum wòn démgal.
M 185.1

Snake - that is the tongue.

yóo, 'o-wári 'o-táwi fakát,
dum-bíngel màako...MA 140.5

Well, he came and found for a
fact, it was his child.

nonnón górko-go wári yúurni
mi-táwi dum-génderu. MS 96.2

So that man came and peeked
(and) saw it was a virile slave.

yóo to-dum-pelpéle MS 105.8

Well if it is pelpéle (fish)

ngam-dúumol-boo, dum-jémma.
MA 1.4

Because the rainy season it
is also night.

ngéewta dútal bee-dóomru.
dum-wáfi ngáaba. Ma 5.1

Discourse of an eagle with a rat.
They had a quarrel.

ko-góddo 'áawi, kánjum
 sódata. M 16.18

What a man sows, that he will reap.

'anáar-boo kánjum bána viigo
 yíite. M 17.18

Anaar, that is as to say fire.

kánko mári yáapendo máako
 sám jemmaare máajum. MS 96.1

He was the one who had his 'aunt'
that night (the night we are
 talking about).

mi-'ándaa kárfuuje máajum.
 M 172.6

I did not know that writing.

165]

Logical subject referent pronouns refer to the preceding logical subject (noun) which is named. The preceding logical subject often follows other subjects and the use of this referent pronoun indicates that among all the possible subject referents, the one which immediately preceded is the one intended. These pronouns often refer to generalized subjects when first introduced. The opening sentences of the following story (MS 54.10-55.1) illustrate the use of the logical subject referent pronouns:

mi-doyécca-'ón kúbaru.

I am telling you a story.

no-góddo wéadi bæe-mbárooga.

How a person strove with a lion.

débbu réedi réedu mùudum

A woman got pregnant,

yóttidini.

her time arrived.

doyáha haa-mábbe.

[She] was going to hers (home).

réedu màako-boo

Her pregnancy then,

'o-bésni haa-láawol.

she bore a child on the way.

mbárooga-boo dányi-noo bíngel

A lion too bore its child,

mùudum. wàr-táwi

came found

débbu-go dojóodi bee-bíngel

that woman sitting with her child.

mùudum.

It killed the woman.

'o¹-mbári débbu.

It took

'o-hóo'i

it dragged

'o-dási

it took [it] to

'o-yáarani

its child.

bíngel màako.

bíngel màako wári', dási bíngel

Its child came, dragged the child
of that person.

góddo-go

It too went and hid
[it] in its place.

kányum-boo yéhi nyúkkini,

hàa-péllél mùudum.

Its mother would bring things.

dáada màako² wádda kúuje'.

to-wáddi kúuje [ban, kuuje ban,]

When it brought things like

bánanta, pádali-? kámpure-?

red antelope, duikers;

'o-hóo'a

it would take

'o-tá'a kúsel-man

it would cut the meat

'o-yáarana

it would take [it] to

ngórgi màako-go.

that age-mate.

bíngel-go yákka. MS 54.10-55.1 That child would chew [it].

¹The lion is personified and hence in referring to him the person class is used.

²See footnote 1.

166]

Some more examples may help to illustrate the use of the logical subject referent pronouns:

nonnón linjiila, féwre

wúrtataako haa-húnduko
múufum. M 180.1

So the gospel, lie does not come
 out of its mouth.

be¹-mbári bingel - kányum-boo

'en-mbára-dum.

Someone killed the child - him too
 we must kill him.

lélwa dílli kányum húunde

múufum. MS 84.1

The Thompson's gazelle went its
 way.

háa 'o-híito kóomoye nder-

hákkeeji múufum. M 13.10

That he judge everyone in his sins.

wáyne mbári débbo-mum. MS 18.19

So-and-so killed his wife.

It is well to note that in the last example, had máako been used one would not know whether 'so-and-so' killed his own wife or someone else's. Had máajum been used it would have referred to the wife who had been talked about without reference to possession by an individual. Compare:

'o-násti súudu máajum ND 89.4

He entered that house [that was
 talked about]

'o-táwi...górko-go hoo'i

débbo máako MS 96.4

He found that man took his wife.

If one should substitute múufum for máako in the above sentence 'that man' would be the referent.

góógo-go 'ítti páde múufum.

MS 36.8

That man removed his shoes.

¹Indefinite 'they'.

sóbaajo máako wára haa máako... His friend would come to him
 . . . táwataa-mo . . . would not find him.
 bee-sóbaajo máako 'úmmi haa with his friend [who] started
 sáare, múudum M 184.6 from his [friend's] house

167] Class pronouns refer to a specific noun of the same class.

nde-nyáw nángi góoto, 'o-yídi When illness caught one he was
 máayuro, 'o-'éwni sóbaajo about to die, he called his
máako. AB 10.2 friend.

(where all pronouns refer to góoto)

'o-wálaa tókkora kúnko-boo. He had no namesake he too.
 M 183.1

níi ngol-tímmiri. MS 93.6 So it (story) finished.

cáafaali ngári...di-nyáamdi-mo. The bush dogs came...they ate
 MS 99.3 him up.

168] 3.21 Possessive pronouns

For a list of the possessive pronouns see the chart in paragraph 108. As may be seen from the chart the possessive pronouns are composed of the possessive pronoun morpheme {maa-} plus the full form of the class suffix less nasalization. The class suffixes beginning with alveolars occur only in the first and second person forms of the person classes, while in the third person singular the suffix form -ko occurs. For the other forms of the suffixes beginning with alveolars, the derivational suffixes are substituted. The third person plural is irregular.

{maa-}	+	{-do}	>	máako	third person singular
{maa-}	+	{-be}	>	mábbe	third person plural
{maa-}	+	{-nde}	>	máare	NDE
{maa-}	+	{-ngo}	>	máago	NGO
{maa-}	+	{-ki}	>	máaki	KI
{maa-}	+	{-de}	>	máaje	DE

169] The first and second person forms are not always predictable:

Person

Number:	Singular	Plural
1	-am	'ámin/ -min
1-2	--	méeden ¹ /-men
2	máada/-ma	móodon ¹ /-mon

The first person pronouns are used when the speaker (or speakers) is excluding the party present (usually the person(s) addressed).

kúuje 'ámin njóoltaama M 175.8 our things were lost

(The speaker and his wife had lost their things, she was not now present.)

mi-hóotan haa-'ámin AB 5.17 I am going home to us

(No other member of the family was present.)

mi-nyállí nyállirki 'ámin MS 203.6 We spent the day talking

(The speaker and a certain person had done this; he was reporting the fact to another listener.)

na-báaba 'ámin-go fíntaay? Our father did not awaken, did he?

(Brothers speaking to one another in the presence of a third party who quotes it.)

The inclusive person plural pronoun is used when the speaker includes everyone present.

'en-pát méeden every last one of us

céede méeden-de This is our money
(wife speaking to husband)

¹For the alteration of the vowels see 72.

170]

The following examples indicate the use of the other forms:

		<u>CLASS</u>
dáada máako	his mother	'0(1)
wúro mábbe	their village	EE(2)
sáare máakoy	their (children's) home	KOY(22)
víco máare	its (ground squirrel's) tail	NDE(3)
débbó máajum	its woman or that woman	DUM(16)
(neutral in that it refers to an idea not explicitly stated)		
'inde máaji	their (animal's) name	DI(18)
kúsel máago	its (goat's) meat	NGA(23)

171] 3.22 Dependent class pronouns

For a list of the dependent class pronouns see the chart in paragraph 108. The dependent pronouns in all but the person classes are the same as the full form of the nominal suffix. These are clitics and as such are not accented. The same forms are used whether the dependent pronoun acts as a subject or complement of a verb phrase, except in the case of the singular forms of the person class. The following is a list of the dependent pronouns for the person class:

		Subject		Object
		Normal order	Inverted order	
Singular	1	mi-	-mi	{-yan}
	2	'a-	{-faa}	{-maa}
	3	'o-		-mo
Plural	1	min-		-min
	1-2	'en-	{-den}	-'en
	2	'on-	{-don}	! 'on
	3	be-		-be

The dependent pronouns are used as subject or complement of verb phrases, or as topic or description of topic-description clauses.

172] The following examples are given to demonstrate the use of these person pronouns when subject of a verb phrase:

<u>mi</u> -wólwa?	AB 121.8	Should I talk?
' <u>a</u> -wári	MS 74.1	You came.
' <u>o</u> -fiyi lésdi	M 171.7	He hit the ground.
<u>min</u> -dóngára	MS 201.3	We (excl) are coming.
' <u>en</u> -kákkilanaay-di	M 185.4	We did not take care of them.
' <u>on</u> -kálki	MS 96.2	You are lost.
<u>be</u> -mbíi-mo:	M 184.1	They told him.

173] The following examples illustrate the use of the inverted order subject pronouns:

ko-'éwnir- <u>daa</u> -mi-na?	MS 94.2	What did you call me for?
wólde nán- <u>den</u> hánde	M 23.6	that word we heard today
jám mbáal- <u>don</u>	M d	Did you sleep well?

174] The following examples illustrate the use of dependent person pronouns as complements:

'o-háwti- <u>yam</u> bee-góófo	M 174.5	He introduced me to a person.
mi-yídi- <u>maa</u>	MS 140.8	I want you.
'o-nángi- <u>mo</u>	MS 203.2	He grabbed him.
káwt-aa- <u>min</u>	MS 186.4	Introduce us (to one another).
'o-hókki-' <u>en</u> bíbbe	M	He gave us children.
háa mi-yímana-' <u>on</u>	MS 67.5	Let me sing for you.

175] However, some of the object pronoun morphemes have variant forms:

3.221 The consonant of the inverted order subject pronouns is deleted when the verb is in the subjunctive or future active;

e.g. [-daa] > -aa when the verb is in the subjunctive or future active.

Normal order	Inverted order	Gloss	Tense-aspect-voice
'en-kébi	kéβ-dén	we received	past active
'en-kéba	kéβ-en	that we receive	subjunctive active
'en-'ándi	'ándu-dén	we knew	past
'en-'ánda	'ánd-en	that we know	subjunctive active
'en-'ándan	'ándet-en	we will know	future active
'a-hóosi	kóosu-daa	you took	past active
'a-hóosan	kóosat-aa	you will take	future active
'a-hóosa	kóos-aa	that you take	subjunctive active
'on-mbí'i	mbíi-dón	you(pl) said	past active
'on-mbí'an	mbí'ot-on	you(pl) will say	future active
'on-mbí'a	mbí'on	that you say	subjunctive active

176] 3.222 The first person singular object pronoun has several variant forms.

{-yam} occurs following the tense-aspect-voice markers,

-i, -o, -e:

ko-wáddi- <u>yam</u>	'e-máada...MS 68.2	What brought me to you...
... 'a-hókki- <u>yam</u>	G 163.8	You gave me
tágbó- <u>yam</u>	MS 67.6	the-one-who-created me
'a-sáppake- <u>yam</u>	Ma 3.4	You pointed (at) me.

NOTE: y is sometimes reduced.

177] {-yam} becomes -am following singular imperatives and the future active:

hókk- <u>am</u>	rawáandu-ma Ma 6.8	Give me your dog.
úseni wúrtin- <u>am</u>	MS 57.2	Please let me out.

'asée 'a-búrat- <u>am</u> fěwre	AB 10.14	Indeed you surpass me in lying.
be-mbfi be-mbarát- <u>am</u>	M 21.1	They said they would kill me.
róond- <u>am</u>	MS 62.8	Carry me.
hókkor- <u>am</u> sédǎ	MS 57.4	Please give me a little.

178] {-yam} becomes -mi after subjunctive and the 2nd person inverted order pronoun {-daa}:

kóo'-aa lábi njúw-aa- <u>mi</u>	MS 56.9	Take a knife and stab me.
ngár-aa ngécc-aa- <u>mi</u>	MS 56.2	Come tell me.
njáar-aa- <u>mi</u> le-wláv	AB 6.13	Take me very fast.
Compare		
mi-yídi káwt-aa-min.	MS 186.4	I want you to get us together.

179] {-yam} becomes -mi after the short passive:

har Márwa dányaa- <u>mi</u>	Ma 1.11-14	It was at Maroua I was born.
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180] {-yam} becomes -mmi after -a:

'o-hókkora- <u>mmi</u> sédǎ	MS 57.6	He should give me a little.
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Compare MS 57.4 in 177 above.

mín-do be-ndíllira- <u>mmi</u> háa		As for me they will take me to be
be-mbára	MS 2.15	killed.
to-a-nyíbi 'a-tímmi,		When you finish building, tell me.
'a-yécca- <u>mmi</u> .	MS 56.2	
háa báaba-am yí'a- <u>mmi</u> ...	MS 2.12	So my father can see me...

181] {-yam} becomes -dam after 2nd person plural imperative and inverted order pronouns.

mbáree- <u>dam</u>	MS 2.12	Kill me.
múryanee- <u>dam</u>	MS 77.8	Be patient with me.
táa nyáawanee- <u>dam</u>	MS 77.8	Don't hurry me.
mbár-on- <u>dam</u>	MS 77.6	You should kill me.
ndikka kóor-on- <u>dam</u>	MS 65.5	Better you take me.
ndókkor-on- <u>dam</u> bíriiji	MS 98.6	Give me peanuts.

- 182] [-yam] becomes -kam after the negative tenses:
- 'o-yídáa-kam MS 110.5 He doesn't like me.
 be-táwatáa-kam¹ MA 144.6 They would not find me.
- 183] 3.223 The second person singular object pronoun has two forms.
 [-maa] occurs in most instances (see 74 and 78):
- ko-wáddi-maa? MS 75.5 What brought you?
 táa be-nánga-maa. MS 109.4 Don't let them catch you.
 min-ngéeni-maa MS 97.1 We'll pay you.
- 184] When the active subjunctive, or future active² and [-maa] occur together they become e. (-a + -maa > -e)
- málla-boó min-do mi-mbár-e Or else, I, I' will kill you and
 mi dílla. MS 56.9 go away.
 'Alla wónan-e MS 102.2 God be with you.
 'áccu mi-défan-e. MS 97.2 Let me cook for you.
 'Alla dáan-e. MS 109.4 May God help you get away.
 be-mbár-e MS 77.3 They'll kill you.
 mi-mbáret-e hánde MS 62.8 I'll kill you today.
 To-mi-lórtake mi-yóbet-e When I return I will pay you.
 M 21.1
 mi-hókket-e bíngel-am MS 58.4 I will give you my child.
 mi-fídant-e AB 2.3 I will sting for you.

- 185] The use of dependent pronouns other than person pronouns is similar to the use of person pronouns except that there are no variant forms.

As subject pronouns:

- haa-nde-wóni pát. MS 76.8 Wherever it (ring) is.
 nge-wártan 'f'am M 180.3 It (sun) will become blood.

¹But MA gives us one counter-example... sùunatáa'am which may be an uncorrected error.

²I have a few examples of future plus -maa. Cf. Na-'-húlan ko-nyáaman-maa Ma 118.5 'Wouldn't you fear what would eat you?' Although this is found in Adamawa my core informants do not use it.

tóy ngol-yéni?	MS 195.2	Where did it (arrow) fall?
<u>ka</u> -dárake	MS 106.3	It (field) is established.
<u>dum</u> -wári	MS 73.3	It came (neuter topic referent).
<u>de</u> -kállli	M 17.21	They (words) are evil.

As object pronoun:

no-njógrat-aa- <u>ndu</u>	MS 98.4	How do you keep it (dog)?
'o-sóppi- <u>nga</u> paa!	MS 71.4	He slashed it (dragon) <u>paa</u> !
'a-jókka- <u>ngal</u> bána náane	M 181.1	You make it (wood) fit like before.
'a-wó"itina- <u>ka</u>	MS 106.6	You make it (field) good.
'en-mbára- <u>dum</u>	MS 186.8	We should kill it (neuter logical subject referent).
be-kábbani-mo- <u>di</u> .	MS 98.2	They tied them (dogs) up for her.

186] 3.23 Independent pronouns

For a list of the independent pronouns see the chart in 108.

The independent pronouns consist of the independent pronoun morpheme {kan-} and the class suffix morpheme. The set of suffix morphemes

used with the independent pronoun morpheme is nearly the same as that used with the possessive pronoun morpheme (168-170).

{kan-} + {-do}	>	kánko	Third person singular
{kan-} + {-be}	>	kámbe	Third person plural
{kan-} + {-ka}	>	kánka	KA
{kan-} + {-ngol}	>	kángol	NGOL
{kan-} + {-nde}	>	káyre	NDE

However, the first and second person forms are different:

Number:	Singular	Plural
1	mín	mínin
1-2	--	'énen
2	'áan	'ónón

In contrast to the dependent pronouns, the independent pronouns

are stressed. The most common use of the independent pronouns is

to indicate emphasis, and they are also used in nominal positions apart from the verb phrase. In this latter use they do not contrast with the dependent pronouns, as these are used only in connection with verb phrases.

187] Sometimes the independent pronoun replaces the dependent pronoun.

<u>kánko</u> mábbiti láawol M 8.15	<u>He</u> opened the road.
<u>kámbe</u> ndéfata ¹ M 58.4	<u>They</u> [are the ones that] will cook.
náa <u>kánko</u> mbári MS 2.14	not <u>he</u> killed (he wasn't the one that killed)
<u>kánjam</u> lóoti hákkeeji M 16.10	<u>It</u> (blood) washed sins.
<u>kánko</u> búri wóofugo DG 54.2	<u>She</u> [was the one who] surpassed in goodness.
<u>kángu</u> wòn 'ájal máada i 173.5	<u>That</u> [sickness] is your end.
láamdo vii <u>kánko</u> bángata	The king said <u>he</u> will marry my daughter.
bíngel-'am. MS 131.8	

188] Sometimes the independent pronoun is used in addition to the dependent pronoun, or noun:

<u>kánko</u> ko-'o-jóodi, 'o-méedaay	<u>She</u> , since she's been there, she never had a child.
dányugo. MS 57.8	
dáande húunde-nde <u>káyre</u>	The neck of this thing, <u>it</u> never tires...?
sómataa sám... MS 56.8	
Yákub, <u>kánko</u> dányi Yúsufu.	Jacob, <u>he</u> bore Joseph.
M 182.4	
'O-dányi <u>kánko</u> MS 103.4	She bore (a child) <u>herself</u> .
be-mbéeri <u>kámbe</u> -boo. MS 142.1	They camped <u>they</u> also.
léggal ngá'al <u>kángal</u> wóni	This wood, <u>it</u> is our light.
'ánoora i den. M 180.2	
bíngel-boo y ti <u>kángel</u> -boo	The child arrived, <u>it</u> did too.
MS 55.6	

¹Future forms of verbs following independent pronouns are modified, see paragraph 240.

189] The independent pronouns can also be used to emphasize a complement. If it is used without the dependent pronoun, it precedes the verb.

<u>kánko</u> 'Alla jó"ini M 8.19	[It was] <u>he</u> God placed.
to-'a-'áawi kálludum máa-?	If you sow evil-- <u>that</u> [is what]
<u>kánjum</u> 'a-sódata. M 16.20	you will reap.
<u>kángol</u> 'o-tókkata. M 173.1	<u>That</u> [is the one] (road) he will follow.
<u>kánka</u> mbii-noo-maa-mi MS 57.3	<u>That</u> [is what] I had told you.
<u>kánjam</u> 'o-yáarani mállum. MS 76.3	<u>That</u> (salt) [is what] she took to the teacher.

190] It may also be used preceding the verb phrase in conjunction with an independent demonstrative:

'óo-do kánko ngíd-mi. MS 61.4 He here he [it is] I want.

But if the independent pronoun as a complement is to follow the verb phrase, the independent pronoun is also present:

mbára-mo-le kánko. MS 62.8 Kill him then! (Go ahead and kill this one then!)

However, following an attention particle either may follow:

ndáa kánko ón-do. M 171.6 There he that one here
(There he is right here!)

cf. ndáa-mo MS 109.8 There she is!

191] When a referent, demonstrative or function word is to be used with a pronoun the independent form of the pronoun is used:

<u>kánko</u> -man, 'o-túuta...MA 132.3	That <u>one</u> , he would vomit...
<u>kánko</u> 'ón mi-táwi, háa-nder láamu. M 175.5	<u>He</u> [is] the one I found, on the throne.
'o-wárta wúro, <u>kánko</u> -man MS 64.1	He should come back to town, that <u>one</u> .

<u>káyre</u> -go-boo ¹ dobéeda	That <u>one</u> (ground-squirrel)
wásugo MS 66.2	also kept on digging.
<u>kánko</u> 'óó, 'o-dumáni MS 76.5	<u>He</u> , that one, he [is] a what-you
	may-call-it.
'o-jóodi <u>kánko</u> -go ND 89.8	He sat there, that <u>one</u> [did].

192]

The use of the independent pronoun in nominal positions not connected with the verb phrase may be seen in the following examples:

'o-nyámataa nde[r]-bíkkoy sám	He never eats with the children,
séy féere màako <u>kánko</u> . MS 103.8	only by himself <u>he</u> (alone).
<u>kánko</u> bee-káaw màako-go. MS 100.4	<u>He</u> with his uncle-referred to
Wódaa góóó séy <u>kánko</u> .. MS 73.3	There is no one only <u>him</u> .

193] 3.24 Nominalizing pronouns

The dependent object class pronouns are used to nominalize clauses so that the whole acts as a nominal. However, the neuter pronoun is ko- rather than dum- although dum-ko does occur. The neuter form is used more often than all the other forms together for this construction. Forms other than ko- or mo- are not in frequent use.

S V
mo-ngíimi máaya MS 1.6

Who sees me would die.

S V O
'Alla 'ándi ko-'en-kúuwata
M 11.9

God knows what we will do.

Co₁
ko-dáada máako wáddi fúu

Whatever his mother brought he

S V Co₂
'o-yáarana bíngel...MS 55.2

would take to the child...

¹The use of -boo with the independent pronoun indicates a change of subject.

V S
wálaa ko wálaa MS 55.8 There is not that is not
(There is nothing lacking.)

gíite méeden ndáro haa-
'ándal ngal-be-'ándini-'en. M 181.5
May our eyes rest in the knowledge
that they have made known to us.

'Almasiihu wóodi bérnde
nde-bérnata. M 185.3 Christ has a heart that will
anger.

dúm-ko is used to refer to two or more subjects.

0
Tóreego bee-hókkugo dúm- To be begged and to give [is]

V S
ko ndón-daa MS 69.1 what you inherited.

ha- (har-) may nominalize a clause. The whole acts as a locative and may replace a nominal.

NP
┌───┴───┐
NZ Clause
└───┬───┘
ha-koy-dondóga-do Where they were running there,
góngel féere dó"i..AB 5.12 various ones fall...

194] Another nominalizing pronoun used by many speakers in Adamawa is je-. I have no examples of this pronoun used by Mal-Saali, Mallum Abaayi or Mallum Markus. This pronoun may refer to all areas covered by the other nominalizing pronouns.

Instead of mo-/be-:

súkaajo...je-'o-yídi MA 147.4 The young man that she loved
rówbe táti je-'o-hébi ND 90.1 The three women that he got

Instead of dum- (or the class pronoun):

lékki...je-wúro G 169.1

The medicine that of the town.

húunde-man náa bána je-dáada
Ibr 52.10

The thing was not like that
[of] mother.

Instead of ko-:

ko-'o-vii-mo pát MA 132.5

What she told him all
(everything she told him)

See also the interrogative pronouns and noun phrases.

195] 3.3 Referents

There are four referent words: -do, 'ón, máajum/-man, -go. These are defined as referent words not only because they refer to nouns or subjects (pronouns also do) but also because in addition to this they occupy a specific position in the noun phrase (see 329-346). The use of these referents is not the same for all of Adamawa and the description of these is as used by our three main informants (Mal-Saali, Mal-Abaayi and Mallum Muhammadu).

196] -go refers to the head noun as a major subject in the present discourse which has previously been identified. The time interval between references may be as long as four minutes.

H PPr Ref
...débbo-ma-go máayi. MS 99.3 wife your that-one died
The context is a story, and the man's head wife brought the husband the news of the death of one of his wives. The last time they had spoken of any woman was when they had talked about this one.

197] máajum/-man-: -man refers to the head noun as the subject now being spoken of.

H Ref
'a-'áawa mbáyeeri-man MS 106.8 you plant sorghum-this

It should be noted that máajum/-man are neuter possessive pronouns and that in most cases they seem to fill the same position as all the other possessive pronouns. Compare:

húunde máajum náawi. AB 2.13 That thing hurt

with

báandu máako donáawa M

His body is hurting

But

díi wóni béldi máako-man
MS 68.8

These are her sweetnesses

(that are already) mentioned

sóoba'en-'am máajum AB 122.3

these my friends

-man and máajum fill essentially the same general functions but -man seems to be used more freely in a variety of ways than máajum. In examples I have from Adamawa Fulani, 75 percent of the examples of máajum are used with a single noun while only 55 percent of the examples of -man are so used.

198]

The locative -do is also used as a referent. -do refers to the head noun as a subject close to the speakers (in space).

H PPr ATN Ref
bíngel máako féere-do MS 103.7

child his another here

(this other child of his)

mín-do

MS 84.1

I here

do- may also be used pronominally.¹

háa mi-tímmína dóo

that I finish this here (and)

mi-nyáama dóo-boo MS 64.4

I eat this here too.

(Let me finish this, then I'll

eat that too.)

dóo ko-képtu-mi M 179.1

This here [is] what I remember.

dó fúu

M 1.20

this here all

¹I have one example of the locative {-to} used pronominally
'o-rúfi-to-go MS 82.6 'He dumped that that we talked about.'

199]

'ón refers to the head noun as the subject specifically chosen (there was a choice).

H Ref
kánje 'ón náati nder-
'Alkura'áani. M 14.8

Those entered in the Koran.
(Those were the verses that
got into the Koran.)

Pr Ref
'áan 'ón 'ándi ND 85.6
ngam-kánko 'ón tágu-maa DY 2.5

You [are] the one that knows
Because he [is] the one who
created you.

jángo-kam mín 'ón jóodoowo
MS 108.2

But tomorrow I [am] the one
to sit.
(One of several who could
do this)

NP NP
N Ref N Ref
'asée háala-do góonga 'ón.
MA 143.1

Well! This talk is true.
(most people thought it was false)

[bá <u>l</u> eere]	black	NDE
[bá <u>l</u> eha]	black	KA
[bá <u>l</u> ewa]	black	EGA
[bá <u>l</u> eyel]	black	NGEL
[bá <u>l</u> eebe]	black people	EE
[sú <u>k</u> aaku]	youth	NGU
[wá <u>l</u> liinde]	help	NDE
[ndó <u>t</u> tiwa]	grand old man	NGA
[ndó <u>t</u> tiijo]	old man	'O
[hú <u>d</u> ohoy]	small grasses	KOY
[hú <u>d</u> ooji]	various grasses	DI
[hú <u>d</u> o]	grass	KO (sg)
[hú <u>d</u> oho]	big grasses	KO (pl) (derived from <u>húdo</u>)
[kó <u>o</u> mbowal]	boat	NGAL
[kó <u>o</u> mbooje]	boats	DE
[há <u>a</u> ko]	legume	KO (sg)
[há <u>a</u> koore]	legume pot	NDE (derived from <u>háako</u>)

When preceding infinitives:

[sá <u>p</u> peego]	to be pointed at	passive verbal inf.
[pú <u>t</u> eeeki]	the act of being duped	passive nominal inf.
[jó <u>o</u> daago]	to sit	emphatic verbal inf.

83] 2.143 Although the general rule in paragraph 82 applies to a large majority of the cases, there are several stateable exceptions.

Euphonious infixes (cf. 63) are not lengthened.

		Preceding:
[wá <u>d</u> dube]	those who brought	pl. person class
[wá <u>r</u> tugo]	to come back	active verbal inf.
[wá <u>r</u> tuki]	the coming back	active nominal inf.
[ké <u>d</u> u-don]	you listen	2nd pers. pl. inverted

200] 3.4 Numerals

3.41 Chart

	Cardinals	Ordinal Stems	Adjective stems (or forms)
1	gó'o ¹	'áran-	wóot- ³
2	dídi	dídáb- ²	díd-
3	táti	tatáb-	tát-
4	náyi	nayáb-	náy-
5	jówi	jowáb- ³	jów- ³
6	jóweego	jóweegó'o-	jóweegó'o ⁴
7	jóweedídi	jóweedída-	jóweedíd-
8	jóweetáti	jóweetáta-	jóweetát-
9	jóweenáyi	jóweenáyab-	jóweenáy-
10	sáppo	sáppo-	sáppo
11	sáppo 'e-gó'o	sáppo 'e-gó'o-	sáppo 'e-gó'o
20	nóogas	nóogas-	nóogas
30 ⁵	cáppande táti	cáppande tatáb-	cáppande tát-
100	témmerre	témmerre-	témmerre
200	témmedde dídi	témmedde dídáb-	témmedde díd-
1000	'újineere	'újineere-	'újineere
10,000	'újine sáppo	'újine sáppo-	'újine sáppo
100,000	'újine témmerre	'újine témmerre-	'újine témmerre
1,000,000	mílyo ⁶	mílyo-	mílyo

¹gó'oojo, etc. may be used to indicate 'one of' as in gó'oojo móodon wára 'one of you should come' cf. 'áranó móodon wára 'The first one of you should come' Mal-Daawu'a.

²For some speakers w is used rather than ɕ e.g. díwáwre.

³Forms beginning in j participate in initial consonant alternation, as does the form beginning in w.

⁴The adjective forms without final hyphen undergo no change in form.

⁵For the formation of other tens see 201.

⁶mílyo is not used by all Fulani speakers.

201] 3.42 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals are used for serial counting. The forms do not change. There are single words for 1/2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 20, 100, 1000, 1,000,000. All other numbers and fractions are formed by combinations of these numbers. The numbers six through nine are formed by adding the numerals one to four to the numeral five, e.g. six is jóweego or jówi plus 'e plus gó'o 'five and one.' Seven is five plus two, eleven is ten plus one, etc. For the tens there are sáppo 'ten', nóogas¹ 'twenty' and for 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 the forms cáppande plus the unit numbers are used, e.g. cáppande tátu '30'. There are singular and plural forms for 100 and 1000, i.e. témmerre - témmedde 'hundred' and 'újineere - 'újine 'thousand.' Réeta is 'one half'² and réetita 'one fourth.'

Equal distribution is expressed by repeating the numeral.

'a-tókka mófugo tátu tátu AB 121.3	You keep on swallowing three at a time.
gúde dídi dídi 'o-háddoto MS 56.3	She will always wear two skirts.
jówi jówi be-fúu ND 2.15	They all [had] five (they had five each).
be-vúrta góotel góotel ND 89.5	They should come out one at a time.

Repetition is expressed by nde-³ plus the numeral.

nde-wóore	MS 108.4	once
nde-dídi	AB 121.1	twice
nde-tátu	M 173.5	three times

¹Some speakers west of Adamawa use cáppande dídi for twenty. In most Hausa areas the words for the tens from 20-90 are Hausa loans of Arabic origin.

²Adaptations to the needs of modern arithmetic have been attempted, but the results are neither uniform nor widely accepted. See Klingenberg 1963 and Taylor 1953.

³cíli is also used.

- 202] Currency calculation in Cameroun is often based on the five franc piece which is called dála or súnko. One hundred francs are 'twenty fives' dála nóogas; five hundred francs are 'one hundred fives' dála témmerre. For amounts larger than five hundred francs, the system used is the one based on francs and 'bags.'
bóro góotel = '1000 francs' literally 'one bag.'
bóro dídi bee (súley) témmerre jówi '2,500 francs' or '2 bags 500.'

203] 3.43 Concordant numerals

Concordant numerals are based on the cardinal numeral stems except for 'one.' There are two series of concordant numerals: the ordinals and the adjectives.

- 204] 3.431 The ordinal numerals are composed of the ordinal numeral stems plus the short form of the nominal suffixes (see 107) when the stem ends in b or n. When the stem ends in any other phoneme,¹ the derivational suffixes occur. For example:

<u>dídab</u> o	the second (person)
'áran <u>o</u>	the first NGOL
'árande <u>e</u> re	the first NDE (in time)
jóweedí <u>d</u> awol	the seventh NGOL
sáppo <u>o</u> re	the tenth NDE

The ordinal numerals are used to specify the rank of an item in a series.

Dída**bo-? láarowo ND 90.2 The second [man was a] magician.**

The ordinal number for 'one' is based on the stem 'áran'² as well as gó'o-.

'áran <u>o</u>	the first (person)
----------------	--------------------

¹jóweedídaha 'the seventh KA' dídaha, dídayer, etc. are used by some speakers.

²'árande (NDE class) 'the first time' refers to time and other forms with time reference are based on it. For example: 'úmmungal 'árandewal 'the first resurrection (in time).'

205] 3.432 The adjectival numerals are used in modifying nominals or in acting as pronominals. Although the adjectival numerals do exhibit concord, this concord is limited. The initial consonant change is normal. For all classes but the person, diminutive and augmentative,¹ the form of the adjectival numerals is the same as the cardinal numerals.

wórbe dído	AB 10.1	two men
jigáaje dídi	MS 184.2	two vultures
bálde táti	MS 57.6	three days
yímbe táto	MS 93.2	three people
bíkkoy tátoy	Mal-Dáawuda	three children
kósde náyi pát	MS 107.7	all four feet
bíbbe njóweetato	MS 61.8	eight children
lébbi sáppo e-dídi	Ma 118.7	twelve months

Numerals may also replace nominals and thus function as pronominals.

góoto hoo'i dáwaadi dídi.	MS 97.5	One (woman) took two dogs.
Hóosu dídi	MS 94.3	Take two.
'o-wáddi sáppo	MS 77.6	He brought ten.
to-'o-wáawi límugo sáppo.	M 1.10	if he can count ten
sáppoore-man	ND 90.1	the tenth NDE

As can be seen from the chart in paragraph 207, the adjectival numerals sáppo, any numeral + 'e-gó'o, nóogas, témmerre, 'újineere, and mílyo do not undergo any alteration in form.

bálde sáppo	MA 142.8	ten days
yímbe sáppo	MS 74.8	ten people
dúubi sáppo	MS 80.1	ten years
túbaliije 'újineere	M 175.1	a thousand bricks

¹According to D. W. Arnott, the augmentative suffix is -o.

In compound numerals often only the last form is changed.

...bén 'újine témmerre

'e-cáppande náyi

'e-'újine náyo. M

Those one hundred and

forty-four thousand

[persons].

206]

The numeral adjective 'one' {wóot-} has a stem that is not like that of either the cardinals or ordinals. It functions in the same way as nominal adjectives (see 99). The short form of the nominal suffix occurs with this stem, and the initial consonant alternation is complete.

péllel góotel

MS 196.7

one place

kúsoy ngóotoy

MS 198.7

animals [are] one

júngo wóoto

MS 193.7

one hand

3.5

Demonstratives and Interrogatives

3.51 Chart

	Demonstratives			FAR	Interrogatives	
	Dependent	NEAR Independent				
1)	-'o	'óó	'ó'o	'óya	móye	
2)	-be	bée	bé'e	béya	béye	be'en
3)	-nde	ndée	ndé'e	ndéya	ndéye	ndéyeere
4)	-ndi	ndíi	ndí'i	ndíya	ndíye	ndíyeeri
5)	-ndu	ndúu	ndú'u	ndúya	ndúye	ndúyeeru
6)	-nge	ngée	ngé'e	ngéya	ngéye	ngéyeye
7)	-ngo	ngóó	ngó'o	ngóya	ngóye	ngóyewo
8)	-ngu	ngúu	ngú'u	ngúya	ngúye	ngúyewu
9)	-ngal	ngáal	ngá'al	ngála	ngále	ngálewal
10)	-ngol	ngóol	ngó'ol	ngóla	ngóle	ngólewol
11)	-ka	káa	ká'a	káya	káye	káyeha
12)	-ki	kíi	kí'i	kíya	kíye	kíyehi
13)	-ko	kóó	kó'o	kóya	kóye	kóyeho
14)	-kol	kóol	kó'ol	kóla	kóle	kólewol
15)	-dam.	dáam	dá'am	dáma	dáme	dámeejam
16)	-dum	dúum	dú'um	dúma	dúme	dúmeejum, dúmeejo, etc.
17)	-de	dée	dé'e	déya	déye	déyeeje
18)	-di	díi	dí'i	díya	díye	díyeeji
19)	-kal	káal	ká'al	kála	kále	kálehal
20)	-ngum	ngúum	ngú'um	ngúma	ngúme	ngúmeyum
21)	-ngel	ngéel	ngé'el	ngéla	ngéle	ngéleyel/ngélel
22)	-koy	kóoy	kó'oy	kóya	kóye	kóyehoy
23)	-nga	ngáa	ngá'a	ngáya	ngáye	ngáyewa
24)	-ko	kóó	kó'o	kóya	kóye	kóyeho
NZ	mo-				mó(y)(e)	
Other	to-				tó(y)(e)	
	nde-				ndé(y)(e)	
	no-				nó(y)(e)	

208] 3.52 Demonstratives

There are two types of demonstratives, near and far. The near demonstratives point to something that is near and the far demonstratives to that which is distant. However, the semantic areas covered by these demonstratives cannot be equated with those of English.

Generally speaking, far demonstratives are used for objects beyond hearing but not necessarily out of sight, while near demonstratives are within hearing distance.

There are two sets of near demonstratives; the dependent, which have the same form as the class pronouns and are unstressed clitics, and the independent near demonstratives which are stressed and are formed by lengthening the vowel of the class pronouns or by the addition of another syllable.¹

The dependent near demonstratives follow the nominals they modify.

ndámba-ka	this cold
húdo-ko	this grass
kúseljum-dum	this kind of meat
yímbe-be	these people

The independent near demonstratives also follow the nominals they modify but may function pronominally.

débbo 'ó'o	this woman
sóbaajo màada 'ó'o	this friend of yours
háala kàa	this palaver
dáam bóoddam ²	this (milk) [is] good
ngáal jóodi tò, ngáal jóodi dõ.	This [chair] sat here, this one sat
MS 77.6	there. (This chair was here and that one there.)

¹Some speakers alternate between both forms, but many use only one of the two.

²Contrast with dám-bóoddam 'it (milk) [is] good.'

The far demonstratives are formed by adding -ya¹ to the class pronouns with stress on the first syllable.

Class Pr.	+	-ya	+	Stress	
e.g. -nde-	+	-ya	+	Stress	> ndéya
-ngal-	+	-ya	+	Stress	> ngála

The far demonstratives have no variant forms.

gér ^l al ngála	that partridge
púccu ngúya	that horse
rawáandu ndúya	that dog
ngórgi máako 'óya	that colleague of his

The far demonstratives may be used pronominally.

'óya...hóo'i sáwru MS 93.5	that one (person) took a cane
béya-go... 'úmmi MS 93.3	those (people) arose
'O-nángi ngála dō-boo.	She caught that one here too.
MS 66.5	(She caught that one near her there too.)

209| 3.53 Interrogatives

The nominal class interrogatives are used in questioning a subject in order to specify which one of two or more is being referred to.

kósam dáme...? MS 200.7	Which milk?
rímbe béye...? MS 199.1	Which freed slaves?
'Iisa móye 'a-ándi? M 10.16	Which Jesus do you know?
'áan móy-dó MS A.1	You which here? (Who are you?)

There are two forms of the class interrogatives. The short form consists of the dependent class pronoun plus -e and the long form is composed of the short form plus the derivational suffix of the same class. The use of the long form emphasizes the question.

¹ C + y > C (see 68).

ngáari ndíyeeri	MS 188.8	Which bull?
nyálaade ndéyeere?	M 8.26	Which day?
húnduko kóyeho...?	MS 196.2	Which mouth?
líddi díyeeji...?	G 157.8	What fish?

The neuter class short interrogative form may be suffixed with a derivational form from another class.

dúme?		what
dúm dúméejo?	M b	This - what sort of person? (What sort of person is this?)

210] 3.6 Limiters

Limiters define the quantity of the nominal in some way other than numerically and are the first and last elements of a noun phrase.

Limiters that precede the nominal are kála, kéerol and híl.¹ These forms are used rather sparingly and are usually (but not always) followed by one or the other of two last element limiters, fúu/pát. kála and kéerol both designate 'every, each' but have different dialect distribution.

kála mo-'o-tókki	ND 85.1	Every one he followed
kála lényol máako fúu	ND 85.1	Every one of his clan
kéerol ha-jókke jókke ngóni		Wherever joints were
fúu	MS 104.4	
kéerol débbo fúu	MS 96.3	Every woman

híl indicates that the following nominal is the only one and can be translated 'only.'

híl ndéera mánga	MS 94.6	only a large stomach
------------------	---------	----------------------

Limiters that follow the nominal are fúu, pát and tán. fúu and pát indicate that the entire quantity of the preceding nominal is under consideration and may often be translated 'all.'

¹lúrna ('Ardo, G, M) and 'írin (Ardo, G, DY) probably also function in this position.

Outside Adamawa pát is very rarely used. Some Adamawa speakers prefer one over the other. In the speech of Mal-Saali, I have 88 examples of pát and 79 of fúu, and they seem to be interchangeable as to both position and meaning. When all the Adamawa data available to me was examined, fúu was found to be used 196 times and pát 116 times.

báaba bee-bíngel fúu	MS 96.7	father and child both
círdi-go fúu	MS 95.6	all those leopards
yímbeeji-go pát	MS 98.2	all those kinds of people
kósde náyi pát	MS 107.7	all four feet

tán like híl can be translated 'only,' but tán follows the nominal. tán is often collocated with séy while the other limiters would not co-occur with séy.

séy hímbe njóweetato tán kisi.		Only eight people were saved.
	M 3.6	
séy wóore tán	AB 6.13	Only one alone.
kányum tán lútti	MS 90.6	That alone is left.

CHAPTER 4 VERBALS

211] 4.1 Introduction

A verb phrase¹ is the central element of most clauses (see 350-353 and chapter seven). A generalized formula for most clauses can be expressed as: (Subject noun phrase(s)) VP (Complement noun phrase(s)). Although subject and object pronouns may form a single complex word, these pronominal elements are not part of the verb phrase as they represent noun phrases and act as noun phrases on the phrase level.

Be-káǵbani-mo-di. MS 98.2 They tied them up for her.
 NP VP NP NP

The verb phrase core is composed of verb stem plus tense-aspect-voice suffix. The verb stem can be a verb root or a verbalized noun or adjective root with or without the stem extensions, and can be expressed as:

$$\text{verb stem} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb root} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{verbalized noun} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{verbalized adjective} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with stem extension(s)} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{without stem extensions} \end{array} \right.$$

Some examples are:

Verb root	wár-	come
Verbalized adjective	bál-w-	black
Verbalized noun	bárk-id-	bless
Verb root with stem extension	wár-t-	come back
	wár-t-ir-	come back in a certain way
Verbalized noun with stem extension	bárk-id-in-	cause to bless

¹The term verb phrase signifies any word or words which may occupy a verb position in a clause.

212] 4.2 Verb Stem

The verb stem is a verb root (or verbalized adjective or nominal root) with or without the stem extension(s). Tense-aspect-voice suffixes are added to this stem.

213] 4.21 Verb Roots

Verb roots generally occur in a CVC(C) pattern.

wár-	come
díll-	go away
sákl-	be confused
hóot-	go home

There is an alternation of certain initial root consonants between singular and plural forms. This is related to the stem initial alternation that takes place in nominal stems (see 109-113). The following chart indicates the alternances that occur between the initial consonants of verbal roots.

Fricative: v/w w^B/y^F y^{B¹} r f s h (singular)

Pre-nasal: mb ng nj nd p c k (plural)

w followed by front vowels (e, i) does not alternate with g/ng.

y followed by central and back vowels (a, u, o) always alternates with j/nj.

The first set ('fricative') occurs in singular forms while the second set occurs in plural forms.

'o-wári	he came
be-ngári	they came
'o-vámi	he weaved
be-mbámi	they weaved
'o-wámi	he danced
be-ngámi	they danced
'o-yérđi	he agreed
be-ngérđi	they agreed

¹B indicates back vowels, F front vowels.

'o-yári	he drank
be-njári	they drank
'o-rémi	he hoed
be-ndémi	they hoed
'o-fáami	he understood
be-páami	they understood
'o-stúmi	he fasted
be-cúmi	they fasted
'o-hábi	he struggled
be-kábi	they struggled

214] However, the alternation of the initial consonants between singular and plural forms does not always take place. In a small sample of five to ten minutes of speech from each of five Adamawa informants only the plural verb forms with potential alternation were examined. The following chart indicates the occurrence of such alternation:

	Alternation realized	Alternation not realized	TOTAL plural forms
Mallum Markus	30	2	32
Mallum Abaayi	41	1	42
Mallum Saali	40	0	40
A Ngaoundéré informant	0	65	65
A Baaseo informant	12	23	35
TOTALS	<u>123</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>214</u>

Mallum Markus did not have an alternant of s, and the two examples given are where s appeared where c would be expected.

There is some indication that the style of the Baaseo speaker may govern the use of alternation. The variation in the use of initial consonant alternation in verbs may well indicate both social dialects as well as geographical dialects within Adamawa.

Note, however, that there is very much less variation in the realized alternation of the initial consonant of nominals than that of verbs (see 109-113).

215] All verb roots and many verb stems can occur with nominal class suffixes (see 98). The resulting word is a nominal.

gárdo < {wár-do}

he who came

gártoynoodo < {wár-it-oy-noo- do} Root-SE-SE-noo-class suffix	he who had come from a distance
jággantooſe(-'en) < {jágg- an-otoo-ſe} (Root-SE-future emph.-class suffix)	those who <u>will</u> work for (us)

Certain verb stems are composed of a verb root plus stem extensions. However, the root is not found to occur without the extensions. We shall consider these as roots. They are not very numerous.

fákkit-	to make fun of
wúdin-	to throw away
tíndin-	to explain

Other verb stems are borrowed roots that cannot be classified with regular verb roots or stems. These are rare.

hákkil-	be careful (Arabic)
---------	---------------------

Roots may be reduplicated for emphasis. These do not occur frequently. In each of the following examples, a stem extension is added to the reduplicated root.

pàwpáwn-	MA	to dress one's very best
mbàrmbárn-	MS	to systematically kill
wèrwért-	MS	to flourish (grow well)

216] 4.22 Verbalizers

There are two verbalizers {-w-} and {-id-}. When either of these occur with a noun or adjective root, a verb stem is formed. The verbalizing morphemes occur directly after the noun or adjective root. They are not used extensively.

-w-	Adjective Root	+	-w-	>	verb stem
	ǒál- ¹ black	+	-w-	>	ǒálw- to be black

¹But note that wód- plus verbalizer becomes wóoj-.

rán-	white	+ -w-	>	ránw-	to be white
náy-	old	+ -w-	>	náyw-	to be old
Noun root		+ -w-	>		verb stem
túun-	dirt	+ -w-	>	túunw-	to be dirty
{id-} Adjective root		+ {-id-}	>		verb stem
yám-	well	+ {-id-}	>	yámǫ-	to be well
rím-	free (non-slave)	+ {-id-}	>	rímǫ-	to be free
fám-	small	+ {-id-}	>	fámǫ-	to be small
dóm-	thirst	+ {-id-}	>	dómǫ-	to be thirsty
Noun root		+ {-id-}	>		verb stem
sémb-	strength	+ {-id-}	>	sémbǫ-	to strengthen
góonǫ-	truth	+ {-id-}	>	góonǫ-	to make true
bárk-	blessing	+ {-id-}	>	bárkǫ-	to bless

217] 4.23 Stem Extension¹ (SE)

Stem extensions are suffixed to the verb root (or nominal or adjectival root plus a verbalizer) and alter the meaning of the original form. The new stem may have the same tense-aspect-voice markers as the original stem.

The stem extensions occur in two main sets, the first set having alternants while the second set does not.² (See 62 and 235-237.)

Voice	First main set	Second main set
Active	{-id-} {-ir-}	
Emphatic	-od- -or-	
No distinction		-indir-
	{-it-} {-in-}	-ootir-
		-ikin- -an- -oy-

¹Cf. Arnott 1956 pp. 133-4 and Klingenberg 1963 pp. 187-194.

²With the probable exception of -(i)kin- which is very rarely heard in Adamawa.

218]

The verb stems which occur with active forms will also occur with [-it-], [-id-], [-in-], [-ir-]. Under specified phonological or morphological conditions the alternants -t-, -d-, -n-, and -r- occur. When a verb root or verb stem ends in a consonant cluster the full form of the stem extension is used.

hókkít-	sáŋkít-	yámdít-
díllid-	hálkid-	jáptid-
tímmín-	wúrtin-	fíndin-
lúttír-	hálkír-	wártír-

In this position the full rather than the short form of the morpheme is used to avoid creating certain undesirable consonant clusters.

The alveopalatal, voiceless velar and the prenasalized stops do not occur as the first member of a consonant cluster, hence:

fíjír-	instead of	*fíjr-
séndít-		*séndt-
séndír-		*séndr-
náŋgít-		*náŋgt-

There are also other consonant combinations which are not normally found (see consonant cluster chart in paragraph 56), hence:

bádt	instead of	*bádt-
yídir- (or yírri)		*yídr-
sákit-		*sákt-
hédt		*hédt-
hótid-		*hótd-
lótir-		*lótr-

After l or s the full form of the stem extension is normally used:

hóosit-	
sáalit-	(but compare hólt-)
séelit-	(but compare yáalt-)
mbólid-	(compare also júuln-)
táalír-	

Stem extensions which follow other stem extensions will occur with the full form:

dábbítír-
tímmítínír-

219] Verb stems with emphatic voice forms substitute -od- for {-id-} and -or- for {-ir-}:

jóóóod-	jóóóor-
wá"od-	húltor-
wúrtod-	wáalor-

220] When a verb stem has more than one extension, the order of the individual morphemes within the first main set is usually {-it-}, {-id-}, {-in-}, {-ir-}.

timmitinir-
timmidin-
jáptid-

However, after a few verb stems the order may be different:

dárnit-
nyáwnd-

One might explain the first case as one of dárn- becoming a new verb stem. In the case of nyáwnd- the nd is best considered as a unit phoneme. But one would expect *nyáwdin- and *dártin-. Dártin- is possible if one considers dárt- as the verb stem.

221] The second main set of verbal extensions is:

-ikin-		
-indir-	-an-	-oy-
-ootir-		

These have no alternate forms. They will appear in the order given above after the extensions of the first main set, if one or more elements of the first main set are present.

máákinan-	wároy-
máábitan-	hóofnoy-
lórtan-	dáábitoy-
ndányan-	táaskoy-
fóynan-	ngártidoy-
hóoran-	wártiroy-
njáaran-	yárnanoy-

'A-fáamikini?

Do you make a pretense of understanding?

'en-áccindirtaa

We will not leave one another.

'en-jábbootiri

We welcome one another.

222] Meaning of the stem extensions.

[-it-] Repetitive or reversive

The addition of this morpheme indicates that the action of the root is repeated (1b, 5b) or reversed (2b, 3b, 4b, 6b).

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1 a) | 'o-fúddi | MA 142.8 | He started. |
| b) | 'o-fúdditi | cf M 178.4 | He started again. |
| 2 a) | 'o-wári | MS 66.15 | He came. |
| b) | 'o-wárti | M 175.3 | He came back. |
| 3 a) | kóldo | Proverb | Naked one. |
| b) | kóltiido | Proverb | Clothed one. |
| 4 a) | 'o-mábbi | M 177.4 | He shut (them). |
| b) | 'o-mábbiti | gite M 177.4 | He opened (his) eyes. |
| 5 a) | 'o-'ándi-mo | cf MS 62.2 | He knows him. |
| b) | 'o-'ánditi-mo | | He recognized him. |
| | | cf MA 131.2 | |
| 6 a) | 'o-hókki | MA 140.6 | He gave. |
| b) | 'o-hókkiti | G 159.2 | He gave back. |

223] [-id-] Associative or intensive

The addition of this morpheme indicates an associative or accompanying action (1b, 2b) or an intensification or completeness of the action of the root (3b, 4b).

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 a) | be-ndilli | AB 8.2 | They went. |
| b) | be-ndillidi | AB 8.2 | They went together. |
| 2 a) | o-hóoti | bee-kúje | He went home with the things. |
| | | cf MA 130.5 | |
| b) | o-hóotidi | bee-kúje | He went home right with the things. |
| | | MS 60.8 | |

- 3 a) be-kálki cf MS 96.2 They perished.
 b) be-kálkidi M 3.3 They perished completely.
- 4 a) mi-séeri-maa G 164.3 I divorce you.
 b) Láamdo séerdi sáare
 réwbe pát^{*} MS 103.6 The chief divorced all his wives

224] {-in-} Causative

The addition of this morpheme indicates that the action of the verb is made to take place by the subject of the clause and that the action of the verb is applied to the object of the verb.

- be-ngúrti MS 77.7 They came out.
 be-ngúrtini debbo MS 71.7 They brought the woman out.
 'o-násti MS 36.7 He went in.
 háa 'o-nástina bíngel' MS 91.8 So that he take the child in.
 (that he cause the child to go in)
 'o-nyáami MS 82.3 He ate.
 dum-nyáamnan-be G 163.2 It will feed them.

225] {-ir-} Manner

The use of this morpheme indicates the manner in which an action is accomplished.¹

- nfi háala-man tímmiri'. tímmi. This is how the story ended. [it
 MS 97.4 is] finished.
 be-ndíllliri-be MS 75.1 They took them away (in a certain
 manner).
 ndáa-do mi-yétttiri-maa MS 64.7 Here now is how I thank you.
 tetékoy-do bee-hóore-do mi- These guts and this head is why I
 'éwnniri-maa MS 94.2 called you.

¹Arnott and Klingenberg call this a modal or instrumental extension.

- 226] -ikin- Simulative is very rarely heard in Adamawa Fulani.
 'a-fáamikini? M Do you make a pretense of understanding? (I know you really are unable to)
 'a-fáami? G 164.7 Do you understand?
- 227] -indir- -ootir- Reciprocal
-indir- is the more common of the two forms, while -ootir- occurs with the roots jább-, wáab-, yédd-, tókk-, hópp-, táar-, 'eewéwt- in the Adamawa data available to me. Both forms are followed by active suffixes only.
- be-níngindiri hábre MS 60.2 They both started to fight.
 mi-dóséndindira réwbe bee- I am separating men from women.
 wórbe Ma 1.4
 be-dókáajindira MS 60.4 They are jealous of one another.
 'en-njábbootiri MS 103.3 We are saying goodbye to one another.
- 228] -an- The dative extension must be defined in relation to its complement or object which is obligatory. The morpheme -an- plus its complement indicates that the action of the root is performed on behalf of the object (when the latter is animate) or with the object as a goal (when it is inanimate).
- háa mi-táalana-on góngel-boo. Let me tell-story for you another.
 MS 72.1 (Let me tell you another story.)
 mi-dowádan-e dábare MS 104.2 I am making a way for you.
 'o-wáddana-mmi kósam 'e-ndíyam He should bring me milk and water.
 MS 92.3
 'o-lórtani ndéya MS 76.2 She went back for that one.
 náange díllani cáka MS 60.2 The sun went to noon.

229] -oy- The distantive extension indicates that the action of the root is taking place at a distance from the speaker.

kúje-go ngároy MS 81.4 Those things came from a distance.

lórtu léaroya háala-man Go-back look there at the problem.

MS 96.3

mi-númtoy háala-go

I thought there about that problem.

MS 102.2

230] 4.3 The Tense-Aspect-Voice System

4.31 Chart of Tense-Aspect-Voice System

VOICE:		ACTIVE	EMPHATIC	PASSIVE
<u>TENSE</u>				
PAST	Positive	-i/ø ¹	-ake/-ii- ¹	-aama/-aa- ¹
	Negative	-áayi	-áaki	-áaka
FUTURE	Positive	-ata	-otoo	-etee ²
	Negative	-atáa	-atáako	-atáake
CONTIN- UATIVE	Progressive	do-...-a	do-...-o	do-...-e
	Durative	do-...-i		
<u>ASPECT</u>	Subjunctive	-a	-o	-e
	Imperative	-ee (2nd pl)		
		-u (all other)		
	Optative	-ma	-ooma ³	-eema ³
	Polite Request	-ii-...-na		
	(infinitive	-ugo	-aago	-eego) ⁴

PRE-TIME -noo may be suffixed to any of the six tense categories in all voices where these occur.

¹The forms after the slash occur with nominal suffixes and inverted order pronouns.

²See footnote to paragraph 79.

³These forms are not attested by textual occurrences.

⁴Infinitives are subjects or complements of verb phrases (see 96, 341, 352).

231] 4.32 General Description of Categories

The above chart is a list of the combined morphemes of the tense-aspect-voice system. However, the system can be further analyzed. The tense morphemes are in first position. The past morpheme is zero, the future morpheme is {-at-}, the continuative morpheme is do-, and it is prefixed to the verb root, while the other tense morphemes are suffixed to the verb root; however, the pre-time morpheme is suffixed directly to the continuative morpheme. Negative morphemes are added to positive ones to form negative tenses.

The negative morpheme {-áa-} is in second position in the system and negates the past and future tenses, but not the continuative.

In the future and continuative as well as in the subjunctive aspect, voices are distinguished by the suffix {-a} for the active voice, {-o} for the emphatic voice, and {-e} for the passive. For the past the active voice morpheme is {-i}, the emphatic voice morpheme is -ake in the positive and {-i} in the negative, and the passive voice morpheme is -aama in the positive and {-a} in the negative. In the case of nominalized verb roots, zero marks the active voice, -ii- the emphatic, and -aa- the passive. Voice markers are in final position in the verb phrase except for the optative. When a tense-aspect-voice morpheme beginning with a vowel immediately follows a morpheme ending in a vowel, -k- will occur between the two morphemes, e.g. negative and middle -aa- +{-i} > -áaki.

232] 4.321 Tense is differentiated from aspect in that the pre-time suffix (see 251) may be added to all the tense forms, but to none of the aspect forms. Tense may be divided into past, future and continuative. The future and continuative are differentiated from the past in that they are marked by the morphemes {-at-} and do- while the past has a zero morpheme.

The boundaries between past and future meanings are separated in relation to the context which is not necessarily the actual present.

Negatives occur only in the past and future tenses. Past and future tenses are negated by the suffix {-áa}. Past negatives imply non-finality, while future negatives imply finality.

mi-yáhéayi	'I have not gone,' may mean, 'I hadn't intended to go.'
mi-yáhataa	'I will not go,' may mean, 'I have no intention of going.'

The continuative is, as the word implies, concerned with continuity with no indication of beginning or end. The progressive form is marked by the regular voice morphemes while the durative form is indicated by the morpheme -i with no voice distinction. The progressive indicates a continued action while the durative indicates a continued state. The same verb may occur in both forms although the list of verbs that occur with the durative is somewhat restricted. The stems jóod-, wáal-, wónd-, dár-, 'ánd-, dáan-, 'sit, lie, be together, stand, know, sleep' are among the more common ones with restricted usage.

mi-dódára MS 201.7	I am standing up. (in process)
gódóo dódári haa-hóore-am	A man was standing by my head.
M 172.2	(passively)

233] The pre-time suffix -noo is optional. When it occurs, it indicates that there was a previous intervening act (see 251).

mi-násti	I entered. (in the general past).
mi-násti-noo	I entered previously. (before another past event--in this case it would indicate the person had cancelled his previous entrance by going out).
mi-wáran	I shall come. (in the general future)
mi-wáran-noo	I would have come. (something prior to the proposed event occurred hindering its occurrence)

- 234] 4.322 Aspect morphemes do not co-occur with -noo. These morphemes have no time connotation but indicate desires, wishes or conditions (see 247). None of the tense-aspect-voice forms can co-occur with one another except -noo.
- 235] 4.323 Voice: There are three sets of tense-aspect-voice forms, one for each voice: active, emphatic,¹ and passive. Active forms may be considered as basic. Verb stems are found with emphatic or passive forms only when these meanings are indicated.² Emphatic forms occur in Adamawa three times as often as passive forms while active forms are about 50 times more frequent than emphatic forms.
- 236] The employment of the emphatic voice indicates emphasis, and points to unexpected or dramatic results. Another way in which the meaning of the verb stem can be made prominent is by the use of emphatic stress. Emphatic stress does not co-occur with the emphatic voice suffixes. Note the following examples by the same speaker using the same verb stem in each case:

¹ Emphatic voice has been called reflexive and middle, that is to say that emphatic voice indicates an action done for oneself. It has been stated that emphatic voice has an intransitive meaning. While many examples can be found to show this, an investigation of numerous examples in context reveals that emphasis is central and that these meanings are accidental. (See Westermann and Bryan 1952, Taylor 1953, Arnott 1956, and Klingenberg 1963). In a private communication, Arnott reports that in view of a "fairly clear-cut function of the Middle in other dialects," he feels that "the use of the 'emphatic' voice in Adamawa may be simply residual." The answer to this must await a comparative study of the descriptive statements of various dialects.

² Arnott (1956) reports that some verb stems take only middle forms. However, an examination of these stems in many Adamawa speakers shows that both active and passive are used with these stems, though in varying proportions.

ngésa máada ka-fúdi MS 106.3	That field of yours has started <u>growing</u> .
Darábana 'o-[jónṭa-kam] fúḍake MS 60.3	Now Darabana has really started to mature.

The following examples show the use of the emphatic as opposed to the active voice (verbs with the emphatic voice are underlined):

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1) 'Alla <u>báḍake</u> bérnugo M 3.3 | God is about to get angry. |
| 2) na-'a- <u>sáppake</u> -yam? Ma 3.4 | Didn't you point at me? |
| 3) 'o- <u>yóttake</u> górko MS 60.3 | He attained manhood. |
| 4) <u>wáḍataako</u> káak-am AB 4.23 | That will never do, uncle. |
| 5) féere wáḍa féere wáḍataa
M 22.13 | Some, some don't. |
| 6) máamaaji 'ámin <u>yéccotoo</u>
Ma 1.18 | Our ancestors used to tell. |
| 7) ko-mi-yéccata jónṭa
Ibr 52.1 | What I am telling now. |
| 8) 'a-ḍáani-na 'a-ḍáanaay?
MS 109.3 | Are you sleeping or not? |
| 9) mi- <u>ḍáanaaki</u> ngórgi MS 109.3 | I am <u>not</u> sleeping, pal. |
| 10) séy 'o- <u>wúrto</u> DĖ 54.8 | She must come out. |
| 11) háa mi-wúrta G 162.2 | Let me come out. |

Examples which might be considered reflexive are 3, 4, 8, 9, and 11. Of these only 3, 4 and 9 are emphatic. Examples, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 10 cannot be construed to be reflexive and yet of these only 5 and 7 are active. In only four of the eleven examples cited does this generalization apply. In examples 4, 5, 8 and 9 there is no object to the verb. Of these only 4 and 9 are in the emphatic voice. Examples showing that the action of the verb phrase has dramatic or unexpected results (i.e. is emphasized) are 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10 and these coincide with the emphatic-active dichotomy. Examples 5, 7, 8, and 11 indicate general or expected results. Examples here listed

appear to be counter-examples:

12) nyánde féere 'o-ándaa no-
'o-dó"ortoo (...wáato
..dum-wáade máako) G 7.8

Another day he won't know how he
will fall. (it is in fact his
death)

13) ko-'o-dó"ata pát 'Alla
hísna-mo G 159.3

Whatever he runs into may God
save him.

Yet in example 12, that the person would fall was an expected or predictable result arising from his habits. Example 13 refers to the unforeseen happenings that one knows will come.

237] The passive voice indicates that the subject is the goal of the action of the verb phrase. The passive voice is rather rarely used in modern Adamawa. Active forms occur about 150 times for each passive form. In addition to this some of the most frequent forms are stereotyped expressions such as:

'a-já**bb**aama MS

You are welcome. (you have been
welcomed a long time in our
minds)

Of the 28 examples ending in -aama, 18 are já**bb**aama, and six others are by a man born before 1900.

púccu màako hírsaama ND 2.8

His horse was killed. (by throat
cutting)

ndiyam hèbáaka MS 99.4

Water has not been had.

ko-ví'ete súudu wáynaabe?

What is called the house of
shepherds?

MS 102.2

góonga jábataake séy to-dúuri

Truth will not be accepted until
it has been around awhile.

M

háa kúbaruuji... 'ánde G 3.4

So that the news be known.

238] 4.33 Description of the Tense-Aspect-Voice suffixes

4.331 Tense and Negation: Past has no overt marker where the other tenses do. We shall call this a zero marker. Past indicates a time

previous to the time of the story. It is often used in narration.

{-i} marks the (past) active.

be-káyni jfire MS 91.5	They saw the gopher. (from folklore)
mi-jíppi Gáanda M 175.4	I stopped at Gaanda. (from a narration)

-ake past emphatic

dóogal-ma wúurake M 22.12	Your load is off balance.
kúuje-boo mbáagake haa-dáada MS 108.5	The things were piled up at mother. (Mother had a lot of things)

-aama past passive

Mujáddadíjo tókkàama M 9.14	The great prophet has been followed.
-----------------------------	--------------------------------------

239] {-at-} marks the future in both the positive and negative series of all moods. It is the future of the context and not necessarily that of the present. The quality of the vowel becomes the same as that of the following vowel so that the following morphemes occur:

	Active	Emphatic	Passive
Positive	<u>-ata</u>	<u>-otoo</u>	<u>-ete</u>
	<u>at-am/-et-e</u>	([-am/-e] are 1st and 2nd person object pronouns, see 176-184)	
	<u>at-aa/-et-en/-oot-on</u> ([-aa/-en/-on] are inverted pronouns, see 175).		
Negative	<u>-atáa</u>	<u>-atáako</u>	<u>-atáake</u>

All these forms can occur without the initial vowel following the full forms of extensions (see 71).

hákkilanta, jípporto, néldirte

wúrtintaa, náwlirtáako. (no example for the negative passive)

Otherwise the only other changes occur in the active positive forms.

It is most commonly found as -an in Adamawa Fulani.

mi-hóotan MS 67.1	I will go home.
mi-sáa'an-rgal MS 97.2	I will fry it. (folklore)

However, the statement of the various forms can be given in terms of the phonological or syntactical environment.

240]

-ata occurs:

1) When the verb phrase is nominalized (except in case of first person singular subject) or when no- precedes the verb phrase.

wálaa ko-mbadan-mi MS 80.2

There is nothing I can do.

wálaa ko-'o-wádata ND 88.8

There is nothing he can do.

wálaa ko-be-mbádata MS 93.4

There is nothing they can do.

no-min-ndéfrata... MA 105.5

How we cook...

mín[in] bee-ko-núman-mi.

Me with what I think,

'áan bee-ko-númat-aa.

you with what you think,

dáada-am bee-ko-númata.

my mother with what she thinks.

MS 63.7

2) When a clause with a question intonation has as the first element an interrogative pronoun (see 207) or ko-.

ko-'on-hókkata-mmi? ND 88.2

What will you give me?

dúme dímbata-dó? MS 57.2

What is moving here?

móy nyáamata kóndon-'am-dó?

Who eats my bananas here?

MS 104.6

mo-dóftata-mo? MS 60.4

Who will see him off?

to-'o-wáalata? MS 62.8

Where will he sleep?

nóy 'en-kísrata hákkeeji?

How will we escape sin?

M 1.20

3) When there is an emphatic subject pronoun without a following non-emphatic subject pronoun.

mín fúddata' MS 92.7

I will start.

4) When the object, or another item which normally occurs after the verb is in pre-verb emphatic position.

mín be-mbárata MS 77.8

It is me they will kill.

lááde 'o-nyibata MS 64.1 in the woods he will build
 kóobi dum-tàppata MS 107.4 roan antelope it will strike

Some of the -ata forms will be understood as progressives, as is likely when one translates from a system with two time divisions to one with more than two.

kúuje mèeden dé-dó wóodi Something is taking our things.
 ko-hò'ata. MS 107.5

móy nyàamata kóndon-'am dó? Who is eating my bananas?
 MS 104.6

wóodi hùunde wárata haa-lááde There is something coming into
 -dó MS 96.6 these woods.

241] ata > ad/ad before voiced labial and alveolar stops, i.e. the consonant of the future tense morpheme is voiced before the voiced stops b, d, ɓ, ɗ and also glottalized before ɓ̥ and ɗ̥. This assimilation is optional.¹ See also 92.

dókkadó M
 'o-hébad-boo M
 wádanàdɓe M
 wárad dága M

242] Elsewhere ata > an

'a-yáhan-na? MA 144.7 Will you go?
 'o-nyáaman lów MS 103.7 He will eat quickly.
 {-otoo} positive future, emphatic
 'e-nóy 'yákkortoo-daa?² Ma 2.2 And how are you eaten?

¹The speech of some Adamawa speakers shows this rather consistently, for some it is variable and for others it does not occur. Note also 'o-réggad láamdo MS 103.2

²Although other long vowels are long in this position, the long o is usually shortened before {-daa}.

'o-wáali haa-láawol Háwsa'en cáalortoo. MS 55.8	He slept on the road where the Hausa were to pass.
'o-'ándaas no-'o=dó"ortoo G 7.8	He doesn't know how he will fall.

{-etee} positive future, passive (only 14 examples)

no-kúbaruuji-man néldirtee G 3.6	How the news will be sent.
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Fulani future carries no idea of completion and hence must often be translated by an habitual form in English.

jiddere ví'etee súudu wáynaabe MS 102.2	A garbage pile is called the house of shepherds.
--	---

The differentiation of meaning is usually clear from the context or from the verb roots used.

mbáretèedo MS 2.13	one who is to be killed
'ínnetèedo M 4.27	one who is named

243] do- marks the continuative tense. The action expressed by the verb is looked upon as continuous rather than having a beginning or end.

244] do-...-a/-o/-e¹ The continuative progressive is a very commonly used form. It indicates that the action is in progress at the time of the context.

<u>do-</u> + <u>-a</u> active progressive	
be- <u>do</u> ngóoka be- <u>do</u> 'illina MS 73.1	They are crying, they are ululating.
mi- <u>do</u> táala Dumo Héco MS 92.6	.I am telling the story of Dumo Hecho.

¹ -a, -o, -e are the voice morphemes, see 231.

do- + -o emphatic progressive

be dokúnoro M 13.8

They were taking an oath.

'en-dosálo M 3.8

We are refusing.

do + -e passive progressive

'óon máa dotókka; doréwa

Even that one is following,

dotórróre, ngam-máako

is worshipping, is taking a

M 9.22

beating because of him.

245] do-...-i The continuative durative indicates that the

situation is a lasting one.

sáriya doréeni-en M 181.6

Judgment is waiting for us.

'o-dojóodi MA 128.6

He was sitting.

mi-dowáali nonnón AB 122.1

I am just lying here. (sick man)

246] Negative suffixes

Only the past and future tenses can be negated. The negative morpheme {-áa-} follows the zero past or the future morpheme and precedes the voice position. The negative morpheme is here listed together with the pertinent tense and voice morphemes.

	Active	Emphatic	Passive
Negative Past	- <u>áayi</u>	- <u>áaki</u>	- <u>áaka</u>
Negative Future	- <u>atáa</u>	- <u>atáako</u>	- <u>atáake</u>

{-áayi} marks the past-negative-active.

mi-hé^hàayi ko-mi-nyáama

I didn't get anything to eat.

AB 1.1

mi-yímanan-mo-nde, to-'Alla

I will sing it for him, if God

jábi mi-máayàayi MS 67.5

will, and I haven't died.

(past in relation to the main verb)

{-áayi} > -áa after the verb roots {'ánd- yíd- wál- wóod-}

*kílbu wóodaa¹... MA 105.2

If there is no potash...

¹Phonetically short here, see paragraph 75.

mi-yáhàayi

I did not go.

It may also apply to a near future when the idea is that 'up to now I hadn't intended to go.' But for the most part the division is clear to Westerners.

-atáa marks the future negative

'o-húuwataa DG 54.3

She will not work.

'a-héptataa MS 70.4

You will not find.

-áaki past, negative, emphatic

Indicates that the import of the action is dramatic.

mi-síwtàaki sám làw mbí'-aa

I haven't rested at all, then you

mi-jíppo? MS 84.3

say I should get off?

jòodáaki (Conversation)

did not sit (and so avoided a conflict)

-atáako future, negative, emphatic

wádatáako MS 99.1

can't be done

mi-nyúkkatáako MS 62.7

I will not hide (although not to hide endangers her life).

-áaka past, negative, passive

júulde-boo júulàaka ND 4.8

The feast was not held.

púccu-ma hírsàaka ND 1.14

Your horse has not been killed.
(by throat cutting)

-atáake future, negative, passive (only 5 examples)

góonga jábatàake, séy

Truth is not accepted until it has
been around a while.

to-dúuri M Proverb

wálaa...nde-de-nyáamatàake

There is no time when it is not
eaten or drunk.

de-njáratàake. G 4.5

There is both a positive and a negative series of tense markers. However, aspect markers do not have a negative series. The imperatives and subjunctives can be negated by the use of táa, tó, tóoto, etc (see 279).

táa bíngel-am défa MS 58.4

My child mustn't cook. (subjunctive)

táa méeme MS 88.7

Don't touch. (Imperative)

- 247] 4.332 Aspect: -a/-o/-e mark the subjunctive aspect. The subjunctive form is used in subordinate subjunctive clauses introduced by sáko, ndíkka, séy, ngam-, háa, etc., (see 316, 317, 319, 321).

-a active subjunctive

mi-wáawataa háa mi-yéjjita.

I am not able that I forget.

Ibr 52.6

bíngel-go-boo-nyáama, háa háara

That child would eat until he was full.

MS 55.5

-o emphatic subjunctive

séy 'o-dáro, ngám 'o-hísna

He should stop and save his sheep.

báli máako. M 12.8

mi-síwtàaki sám làw mbí'-aa

I have not rested at all, now you say I should get off?

mi-jíppo? MS 84.3

-e passive subjunctive (only 17 examples)

káayee fi jóna...búri ko-wólwe

This miracle surpasses what one could say.

MS 82.4

háani hánde kála ko-húwtinir-den

It is appropriate that all we have done, should be written and made known.

...fúu, dum-wínde dum-'ánde

G 1.5

The subjunctive is also used in descriptive narrative, where it indicates what one would normally do.

dáada máako wádda kúuje

Her mother would bring things.

MS 55.1

béye ngára, 'éma, 'o-háda

Those would come, ask, and she would refuse.

MS 58.3

- 248] -u -ee The imperative aspect forms indicate a command, an entreaty, an exhortation, or an emphasis.

2nd Singular

hóosu hóore MS 94.2	Take the head!
díllu MS 82.2	Go away!
lóru MS 107.8	Go back!

After some verb roots (notably wár-) the singular emphatic form is dropped.

wár fístu-min MS 94.4	Come free us.
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2nd Plural

ndóndee kúsel-mon MS 94.7	Carry your meat.
njéhee yéeso MS 91.5	Go ahead.
njóodee MA 93.4	Si; down.

1st Plural

'en-ndíllu MS 99.8	Let's go.
'en-mbéalu AB 4.23	Let's lie down.

The singular 1st and 3rd person imperative form usually indicates emphasis.¹

ko-wáddu-maa MS 62.3	What on earth brought you.
mi-wáru MS 21.2	<u>I have come.</u>
mi-támmu no-be-'áccan. MS 74.7	I thought they would leave it.

- 249] -ii...-na indicates a polite request²
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 'éwníi rawáandu máada-man | Can you please call that dog so |
| min-ndáara- <u>na</u> ? MS 60.6 | we can see? |
| wárii- <u>na</u> ? MS 95.3 | Please come! |
| 'en-ndíllíi- <u>na</u> MS 94.1 | Should we go? |

- 250] -ma marks the optative aspect. I do not have enough examples of this morpheme to establish definitively what it is or what it may signify. It seems to be used as an optative.

¹cf. 'Alla vállu-'en... Kano 124.8 Imperative is used as a cover term for all areas of meaning included in these morphemes.

²But compare láarií-lee bándu-'am MA 128.7

ndillerma	MS 58.10	Let's go away.
njemma	> {yah-en-ma} MS 61.7	Let's go.
túubenma	M 20.7	Let's submit.
'a-wárma	Conversation	(It is our hope) you will come.

251] 4.333 Pre-time suffix -noo:

The suffix -noo is an optional element that is related to the tense system and can best be described in relation to that system. -noo occurs as the last element of the tense-voice suffixes but in the continuative it occurs after do-. When used, it indicates that the action of the verb was terminated previous to the time indicated by the regular tense suffix. It indicates that something intervened.

mi-vii-maa	I told you.
mi-vii-noo-maa ND 1.14	I told you before. (to do so-and-so and you didn't do it)
náane-kam 'o-támme-noo súley bee-síisi AB 11.3	Before she had thought a shilling and a half. (She thought she would have been given 1-1/2 shillings but it didn't materialize)
'o-dó-noo jóodo dow-háyre MS 97.4	He had been sitting on a rock. (and would still have been, but...)
'o-dilli haa-wúro-ngo'o 'o-yahan -noo M 21.2	He went to the town where he had been planning to go. (he had intended to go earlier, but...)

252] 4.4 Infinitives

Infinitives are formed from verb stems plus the voice suffix plus -go (see 230). There is an infinitive for each voice.

hókkugo	to give	active voice
jóodaago	to sit	emphatic voice
yáabeego	to be stepped on	passive voice

ko-támmi wárugo... M 180.6

ko-támmi láataago... M 181.3

mi-yífaa yáabeego víco.

Ma 3.3

What is about to come...

What is about to happen...

I don't want my tail to be
stepped on.

Infinitives function in three ways: as a modifier in a verb phrase (see 352), as a relator of clauses (see 329) and as nominals (see 96 and 341). In an examination of 81 infinitives, it was found that 42 modified a verb phrase core, 32 modified related clauses and seven acted as nominals.

CHAPTER 5 NON-INFLECTED PARTS OF SPEECH¹

253] 5.1 Introduction

As the only parts of speech that are inflected are verbals and nominals, this chapter includes all the other parts of speech. A few nouns which are normally non-inflected (see 95) in the singular are included in the chapter on nouns because they are inflected in the plural and because they fill the same positions as inflected nouns. Conversely a few words which are normally non-inflected (such as time words) are included in this chapter because they are only rarely inflected and because they do not fill all the same positions in clause structure as do nominals.

254] 5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are words which modify inflected verbs and nominals derived from adjective or verb stems. Most adverbs follow the word they modify and may be divided into two types: ideophonic and non-ideophonic adverbs.

255] 5.21 Ideophones

Ideophones comprise the majority of adverbs. The phonology of ideophones is quite distinct from that of other parts of speech (see 31-38) in that most of them may occur with emphatic stress and have a restricted phonemic system.

The use of ideophones varies greatly from speaker to speaker and from one style to another within the same idiolect. Some ideophones are, however, in common use:

ndiyam ránwi <u>tál!</u> MS 71.1	The water whitened real white!
dáneejum <u>tál</u> M 172.2	a DJM white as snow!
háa háca <u>dás</u> MA 111.7	until [it] smells badly

¹Many parts of this chapter are from Stennes 1961.

lékki-man bódeejum cóy

AB 121.5

mi-wári haa-yimbe-'am káp.

M 162.7

'o-hóoti wúro káp. MS 95.8

ndiyam bálwi kurum* MS 71.1

súudu-ndu báleeru kurum* MS 71.1

DY 13.12

dáayidum masín. ND 90.2

ngésa dáfúdi masín MA 116.7

mi-'ándaa-noo hábaru 'Iisa sám.

M 172.2

débbogo 'úmmi láv¹ MS 81.3

The medicine [was] bright red.

I came straight to my people.

He went straight home.

The water blackened pitch black.

This house [is] black as coal!

Very, very far.

(a very large field)

I did not know about Jesus at all

then.

The women arose quickly.

Some ideophones are reduplicated from a one-syllable ideophone, while others appear only as reduplicated or partially reduplicated forms.

ndillir-aa-mi lawláv MS 65.7

Take me quickly!

ndnnón 'o-bólwi cululululululút

Thus she melted cululululululút.

MS 58.6

256] 5.22 Non-ideophonic adverbs

Non-ideophonic adverbs do not occur with emphatic stress and their phonology is usually not different from that of other words. However the non-ideophonic adverb -le occurs with high pitch. -le only occurs after imperatives and subjunctives.

...éemu-le AB 9.6

Touch (Go ahead and touch it!)

'áan fúdfu-le MS 92.7

You start then (You go ahead and start)

be-jó"ina fahín MA 112.1

They would set [it] down again.

¹See 32. When láv precedes the clause, it functions to relate clauses.

láv ndèn báaba dilli jáhaangal MS 70.1

'o-wáraay <u>táwon</u> M 20.3	He hasn't come yet.
ṅga-jéedi <u>séesi</u> MS 62.6	It got real quiet.
néebi <u>séćda</u> AB 4.18	lasted a little

257] 5.3 Expletives

Expletives are words used to call attention to something or to give a response.

258] 5.31 Expletives of attention

Expletives of attention are used to call the attention of a person to something and usually precede a statement. ndáa is the most common of these words.

ndáa ko-mbi'ot-on M 178.3	Here [is] what you will say.
ndáa kósṅgal-am MA 141.3	Here [is] my little foot.
ndáa mi-náni M 17.20	Well I heard.
ndáa-mo Ibr T 22	There he [is].
ndáa ndíyam tímmi-?	Look, the water is gone, [and]
sémbe-'am tímmi. MA 119.5	my strength is gone.
'úseni wúrtin-am MS 57.2	Please get me out!
'úseni wáay. MS 57.4	Please, pal!
hákiika mīn mi-málaa'ikáajo	Truly <u>I</u> [am] an angel.
M 4.4	
gáafara-mon MS 96.7	Pardon, you (Pardon me).

259] yáa indicates that the speaker is politely making a serious request (usually addressing a superior) or that he is stating a fact that has serious consequences for the one speaking or the one addressed. This is often said by a person to God: yáa 'Alla, Báabiraawo 'ámin... Oh God, our Father...

M 5.6

The ground squirrel was in potential trouble with the crocodile:

'o-víi yáa báppanyo-'am He said: "Oh my uncle"

MS 65.4

The goat being alone with the camel in the bush, heard a hyena howling in the distance:

mbéewa víi yáa ṅgéelooba,
 jón̄ta-kam to-'en-kóotataa
 wúro-kam, vá'in-am
 dow-báawo màada mi-wáala.
 AB 4.21

The goat said, "Oh camel, now if we don't go back to town, [please] put me on your back so I can sleep."

If the request is in the nature of a wish or is a statement of fact which is not very serious, yáa will not be used. Compare the two following quotations:

yáa jáma'áare-'am, túubee

Oh my people, repent.

M 17.22

tóó jáma'aare-'am 'Almasiihu
 'Iisa wadi balndol... M 12.1

Now my people, Christ Jesus did a parable...

Compare AB 4.21. above with the first request of the goat (given below) while he was still confident the camel would obey him:

mbéewa...víi ṅgeelooba
 'en-kóotu wúro. AB 4.16

The goat said, "Camel, let's go back to town."

The following is a wish rather than a request:

'Alla, hísnu-'en;
 nyálaade máajum. M 7.19

May God save us that day!

In contrast héy (héey) indicates the speaker is demanding something:

héy 'éan! MS 91.8
 héy 'a-défataa-na débbo.
 MS 97.2

Hey you!
 Hey, aren't you going to cook, woman!

To a servant:

Héey páho, dárnu jíire'...
 MS 65.8

Oh deaf one, stop the ground squirrel!

260] sánnu indicates that the speaker wishes to converse with the person addressed.

sánnu móodon. MS 91.2	Greetings to you!
sánnu sóbaajo. MS 99.8	Greetings friends!
sánnu débbo(-'am.) MS 99.5	Greetings (my) woman!

261] 5.32 Expletives of response

These are used in response to another person's question, statement or action and indicate the attitude of the person responding. Negative and positive response words come as a reaction to the truthfulness or non-truthfulness of the basic statement behind the question. The most common positive response is 'óoho (see footnote to paragraph 24), 'íi or 'íihi (with high pitch) are used by some speakers, and there are other variants.

'o-víi-yam 'áan wóni	He said [to] me: "Are you
Máalam Márkus Muhámmadu-na?	Maalam M. M. ?"
mbíi-mi 'óoho M 174.7	I said: "Yes."
wóodaa Fulbe dey.	There are no Fulani, are there?
mbíi-mi 'óoho. M 174.2	I said: "Yes [there are no Fulani]."
'a-hóotan? 'óoho AB 5.9	You're going home? Yes.
'áawdi fóllere? LS	Red sorrel seeds?
máhm. MA 111.7	Yes.

262] The negative response 'áa'a also occurs in slightly variant forms:

'a-'ústantaa-mo sám-na?	Won't you cut off a little for him?
'o-víi 'áa'a. ND 86.6	He said: "No."
'eléwre-ma na-dúudi?	Your cunning is plentiful, yes?
'aá'a. MS 57.2	No.

263] káy is a response word indicating unfavorable reaction.

Variant forms are káyto and káyya.

wár fístam.

Come and free me.

fówru víi káy! MS 94.5

The hyena said, "Phooey."

káy, ...dóc-kam mi-nánaay

My, ...I was not at all

beldum maajum sam. M 179.4

pleased with that!

'o-víi-mo káyya sóobaajo.

He said [to] him: "Well now,

MA 138.5

friend." [How come you haven't...]

A werewolf changed form.

The response: káyto! MA 129.4

Oh!!! Get a load of that!!

264] 'asée indicates surprise and doubt.

'asée nélbi fúu wólwan dú?

Well, now I guess the ebony tree

MS 82.3

does talk?

'asée 'a-búrat-am féwre.

I am surprised that you surpass me

AB 10.14

in lying.

265] 'áyye indicates a complaint of a difficult situation.

Samonaggel heard the news of the death of the king:

Sámonággel násti wóokugo'.

Samonaggel started to cry:

'áyye sóobaajo-'am, MA 142.3

"Oh my friend."

Father had an incorrigible son:

Báaba víi 'áyye 'Alla-'am

Father said: "Oh my God."

MS 103.8

266] bìsimílla may indicate that the speaker is not enthusiastic about another's proposal, yet feels that he has no choice but to accept it.

A ground squirrel proposed to a bush cow that they should both break through a baobab tree. The bush cow replied:

bìsim'illa 'en-yáarto. MS 75.8 O.K. then let's dash through.

láa'illaa is sometimes used to indicate a miraculous surprise

(MS 76.6).

267] náa'am indicates the speaker is present.

túmmodé? naa'am MS 66.8

Calabash? Here [I am].

Báaba Fáalama. náa'am.

Father Faalama? Here [I am].

MS 92.2

yówwa expresses a pleasant reaction of praise.

'o-víi-mo yówwa, 'a-áandi

He told him, "Congratulations,

háala. MS 58.9

you know what to do."

híi with ingressive lung air expresses surprise on hearing very bad news.

'o-víi híi bérnde màako tá'i

She said "hii," her heart failed

'o-máayi... MA 125.8

[then] she died.

híi 'c-nyáami MS 62.6

Hii, it ate [her step mother].

268] 5.33 Formulaic Words

Formulaic words are words which are sometimes meaningful but do not fit into any regular group of inflected or non-inflected words. They are related to the expletives in the sense that they may be used in calling attention to something or in response to a situation but different in that they often have a different phonological shape. They may be magic words like mátubeléwbasá a word used to awaken people from unconsciousness or nonsense song words like kérna kérnáangoyon MS 97.7

269] 5.4 Time words

These refer to time, are not usually inflected, and usually fill a particular position in the clause (see 359, 369). Some time words may be inflected with the derivational suffixes of the nominal system.

jémmaare hánde máa-? M 11.7

The night of today--

káŋko mári (mo)...jémmaare

He had her that night.

máajum. MS 96.1

271] jemma 'night' often appears as the subject of a verb phrase:

jemma wáfi MS 81.3	Night came
jemma jéngi MS 101.4	Night deepened. (It was past bedtime)

jemma may be collocated with other words in a nominal grouping

wáali jemma dífi. MS 73.4	Slept two nights.
bee-jemma mi-númi bána níi. MA 145.5	At night I thought this way.

'o-dílla cáka jemma. Ma 2.9	He would go [in the] middle [of the] night.
-----------------------------	--

jemma occurs in a pre-verb phrase position more often than in a post-verb phrase position.

mi-hóoti jemma... MA 144.3	I went home [at] night.
jemma láamdo wári MS 102.4	At night the chief came.

fájiri 'morning' and kiikide 'evening' are emphatic when in pre-verb phrase position.

fájiri làamdo 'emata-mo... MS 64.6	[In the] morning the chief asks him...
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jángo fájiri mi-dowára M 178.8	Tomorrow morning I am coming.
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Kumbo fíni fájiri... MS 81.8	Kumbo awake [in the] morning.
'o-wári kiikide AB 121.2	He came [in the] evening.

Examples of other time words referring to a specific time are

<u>híkka-kam</u> 'a-túutan G 158.1	This year you will vomit.
<u>háŋki</u> bándu-'am náawi búri <u>hèsiháŋki</u> . M	Last night my body ached more [than the] night before.
fówru...hóotan <u>bábbol</u> . Proverb	The hyena will go home before dawn.

272] The following is a list of some of the most commonly used specific time words:

Years:

ndúubu (pl) duubi	A year
-------------------	--------

rówtani	Year before last
rówani	Last year
híkka	This year
máwri	Next year
máwriti	Year after next

Seasons:	Approximate European months	
céedu	the hot season	March--April
ndúngu	the rainy season	June--September
dábbunde	the dry season	October--February

Months:

léwru-lébbi mon'h, months

The Muhammadan months¹: Haaram, Sendaandu Haaram, Haaram

Miiraawo, Banjaaru Arandu, Banjaaru Fumbiindu, Banjaaru Gaginiindu, Suumateendu Waawbe, Wayrordu Suumaye, Suumaye, Tuuldaandu, Siwtoraandu, Laytaaji.

However, the use of the European system is also common. The pronunciation of these months generally approximates the French system.

The days of the week:

'Alat	Sunday
'Altine	Monday
Sálaasa	Tuesday
'Alarba	Wednesday
'Alhamiisa	Thursday
Júm'baare/Máwnde	Friday
'Asave	Saturday
'Asaveere	Week
'Asaveeje	Weeks

Days:

nyálawma, nyánde,	day
nyálaade, nyálde	
hésitikéenya	day before the day before yesterday

¹From Taylor 1953, page 116.

náane may modify nominals:

défte méeden náane M 171.8 Books ours of old (our former books)

náane may follow a preposition:

'o-hóosa lálal 'o-hádda bána He would take skin and wear
náane MA 132.5 [it] as before.

bóoyma refers to remote past:

'o-táwi púccu máako He found [that] his horse was
hirsáama bóoyma. ND 2.8 killed a long time ago.

'o-jóodi bána bóoyma MA 138.6 He sat as before.

Other non-specific time words are:

be-ŋgári rágare G 151.2 They came lastly.

sáa'i 'en-ndányi bíbbe... When we bore children

M 1.5

bíngel-kam yí'i yáake The child saw when the owl
dúujiire násta'. AB 12.7 entered.

274] 5.5 Interrogatives

5.51 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogatives related to the nominal system are discussed in the chapter on nominals (see 207 and 209). Note that in addition to the interrogatives for each class, there are also other interrogative pronouns. These generally precede the thing queried.

275] móy (variant mo-) is a personal subject interrogative pronoun used in reference to what is assumed to be a person.

'áan móy? MS 67.3 You who? (Who are you?)

móy défi? MS 102.6 Who cooked?

tóy (variants tóye to-) is an interrogative locative pronoun.

tóy bíngel-ma? MS 202.7 Where is your child?

to-sáare máako? MS 193.5 Where is his home?

'áan mbéaal-aa haa-tóy MS 36.8 You you would sleep where?
(And where would you sleep?)

nóy (variants nóye, no-) is an interrogative manner pronoun.

nóy? MS T-20 What?
nóy wádi? MS 62.9 What happened?
nóy nóy min-ndémnata? MS 55.6 How are we to be circumcized?
no-'índe máaji? M 184.7 What is their name?

ndéy is an interrogative time pronoun.

ndéy 'ékkítinan-maa-mi? When will I teach you?
AB 10.14
ndéy nástot-on? MS 55.7 When will you enter?

276] 5.52 Interrogative markers

The following interrogative markers are non-inflected.

-na- is the most commonly used of these markers. When -na- follows the statement queried, the inquirer is seeking an answer which may be negative or positive. It is accompanied by a question intonation.

'áan wóni Máalam Márkus Are you Mallum Markus Muhammadu?
Muhámmadu-na? M 174.7
mín-na? MS 202.7 Me? (Who me?)
'a-júulataa-na? MS 59.10 Don't you pray?
'a-yáhan-na? MA 144.7 Will you go?

When -na- precedes the statement queried, the speaker is expecting that the answer will be positive if the statement is positive and negative if it is negative.

na-búri yíte? M 185.2 Surpass fire--yes?
(Doesn't it surpass fire?)
dóo-kam na-jínni? MS 59.5 That [is] done--yes?
(Aren't we finished?)
na-yáhataa? M 173.2 Won't do--no?
(That won't do, will it?)

However, if the -na- precedes a statement and is not accompanied by a rising intonation, the speaker will not expect a response, although the statement may be questionable.

na-mín-kam mi-nánáay ko-mbfi-daa-mi AB 6.25	Now as for me, I didn't hear what you told me. (Did I hear what you told me?)
na-'áan 'ón véelo náawata. AB 2.15	Now aren't you the one who will be hungry.

kóo may be used as an interrogative.

'a-wárta sáare, 'a-nyáama béldum kóo? M cc	You would come home [and] eat sweet stuff, or?
kánjum wóni démgal. Kóo? M 185.1	That is the tongue? or? (or isn't it)

kóni is used as an interrogative to ask the reason for a statement. It must be accompanied by rising intonation.

kóni 'a-wárataa jóna? MA 144.7	Why don't you come now?
kóni 'áan fówru? MS 57.6	Why [that] you hyena?

277] 5.6 Locatives

Locative words signify a place or location in relation to the speaker.

do (variants dón, dó'o, dondó) signifies that the action or focus of attention is near.

'a-wári dó... MA 129.6	You came here...
náa dó be-nél'en M 173.3	Not here they sent us
háa dó'o M 183.8	Right here
dondón táw-n00-mi'. MA 129.3	Here is where I found it.

The variant dón may indicate that the story is taking place somewhere else than where the speaker is. We would translate this dón by 'there'.

ndu-wári háa dón AB 1.22	It arrived there.
--------------------------	-------------------

ngám kúuje násta dón MS 57.1	So that things could enter there.
<u>tó</u> (variants <u>tón</u> , <u>tontón</u>)	signifies that the focus of attention is far from the speaker or action.
ngáal jóodi <u>tó</u> , ngáal jóodi dó MS 77.6	It sat there, it sat here. (One was over there, the other here.)
wálaa jáhando tón. MS 186.4	No one goes there.
'o-jóodi háa-tón. MA 129.6	She stayed over there.
mbár-aa-mo tontón. MS 62.9	You kill him right there.

278] Some locative prepositional forms when stressed are locative words.

be-wári cáka ND 85.5	They came [in] the middle.
'o-sáali háa-nder. MS 96.1	He entered right inside.
mi-wáalay <u>yáasi</u> . MS 36.8	I'll sleep outside there.
di-njéhi yéeso, M 12.14	They went [on] ahead.
dányaado báawo 'ándi	One born after [me] knows the
Báynga'en. M 172.7	Baynga people.
'áan wáandu wád dów mi-wáda	You monkey go up
<u>lés</u> . MS 84.4	I go down.

yáasi is more often used as a locative than as a preposition.

279] 5.7 Negatives

Apart from the negative tenses (see 246) there are negative particles. As can be seen in paragraph 230 there are negative suffixes only for the past and future tenses. However, the subjunctive and imperatives are negated by the particle táa (to-, táata, etc.) preceding the verb.

With imperative singular:

ndúngu náa ngu-máada - to-
- 'a-hébi báatal táa yéwu.
(Proverb)

The rainy season is not yours-
If you get a needle don't break it.

With imperative plural:

bíkkoy-'am táa kúltoree.

My children, don't fear.

AB 11.17

With active subjunctive:

táa 'a-yéjjita-be... Ibr 52.6

Don't you forget them...

to-'on-kúla bíbbe 'Aadama...

Don't you fear people...

M 17.1

With emphatic subjunctive:

tóoto 'on-láato yóolo'iife

Don't you become the perishing
people.

M 18.13

náa is used to negate constructions without a verb. Naa precedes that which is negated.

náa háá-'am déy AB 8.2

Not with me hey!

(You're not doing that to me!)

be-dón nder-jókkirgol

They are in a fight

náa ngéewta-kam. G 6.6

not [in a] conversation.

to-náa nón... M f

If not so...(If it isn't so...)

náa mín.

Not me.

280] 5.8 Relators

Relators are words that relate words and larger units to one another.

5.81 Nominal relators

5.811 Locative prepositions are used to relate the location of the nominal to the action spoken of.

cáka indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is in the midst of the following object(s).

les-yónki dow-yónki cáka

Under life over life in the midst
of strategy.

dábare'. MA 143.8

mo-búri mone cáka mábbe?

Who surpasses [in] annoyance
among them?

MS 93.6

(Which of them had the hardest
time?)

cáka jemma, gódo wári...

M 174.1

[In the] middle [of] the night
someone came...

The addition of cák emphasizes cáka.

be-njéhi cáka cák ládde.

MS 61.6-7

They went right [in the] middle
[of] the bush.

281] hákkunde indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is amongst the people mentioned.

wáancu hákkunde 'ámin. MS 2.18

Walk amongst us.

nyíbre wádan hákkunde meeden.

M 180.1

Darkness will come between us.

sóobaaku jóodi hákkunde

máako bee-láamiido-go.

MS 64.8

The friendship remained between
him and that chief.

282] dow- indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is on top of or above the object which follows.

vá'in-am dow-báawo máada...

AB 4.20

Put me on your back!

wállini dow-dángo múudum.

MS 186.7

laid [her] on his thigh

'o-dó'i dow-lábbo-go MS 105.2

He fell on that spear.

dow- may be used figuratively.

'o-búri vóodugo? dow-vóodugo

máako náane-do. DG 54.7

She surpassed [in] goodness over
her goodness [of] before.

(She was now prettier than she
had ever been.)

283] les- indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is below the following object.

'o-siwti les-lékki níi.

MS 99.4

He rested under a tree.

háa les-máage M 176.3

'o-ándi fakát haa-les-

kákkara-do 'ón bíngel màako

dóggi násti... Ibr 53.6

Under it (cow).

She knew for a fact that under
the crate here her child ran
[and] entered...

284] yéeso indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is before or in front of the following object.

'o-dírsini haa-yéeso láamdo

MA 131.7-8

'o-wáddi haa-yéeso báaba màako

MS 56.6

hofáago yéeso máada dúm

vélan-mi. MS 68.1

He stopped short in front of
the chief.

He brought [it] before his
father.

To kneel before you that will
please me.

285] báawo indicates that the focus of the subject is located after or behind the following object.

jíire...wúrtoy báawo máaru...

AB 7.12

hábiiru dón báawo súdu...

TT 113.1

The ground squirrel...came out
there behind it [crocodile].

A cucumber is behind the house...

báawo may be used in the abstract.

báawo máajum, góddo...wári...

M 173.4

After that, someone came.

286] dága (díga)¹ indicates the provenience of the subject from the location in the following object. This contrasts with háa which indicates direction to.

...dága Mbúm háa Jóyla.

MS 36.7

From Mbúm to Joyla.

¹About 20 per cent of my Adamawa samples, and about 65 per cent of my non-Adamawa samples are díga.

Provenience from a place is shown by the following examples:

mi-yáari wólde 'Alla dága...	I took the word of God from
Lárbak M 182.7	Lárbak.
kóngol 'íwi, díga 'Alla.	The word came from God.
M 18.22	
rawáandu ládde-go 'úmni	That lion started out from afar...
díga dáayidum...Ibr 53.1	

dágr is used to introduce a list of objects:

'o-méedi dága báaliije-?	He drove sheep, cattle, goats,...
ná'i? bé'i-?...MS 63.1	

dága also shows provenience from time.

dága náane MS 97.3	from of old
dága kéenya...'en-dokába...	From yesterday we are fighting.
MS 60.2	(We've been fighting since yesterday).

- 287] nder- indicates that the focus of the subject is 'into' or 'within' a position in the following object.
- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| débbó-'am dóggi tíkkere | My wife ran angry into the hole. |
| nder-ngáska MA 143.2 | |
| mi-jóoda nder-bírniwol. | That I sit in the town. |
| ND 88.6 | |
| ...dó"i...nder-tírbu'. MS 84.1 | fell into the mud |

nder- may be used with abstract nouns.

nder-mínti jówi pát	Within five minutes he should pick
'o-súpta-dum. ND 89.3	them all up!
njéhee nder-'ánoora'. M 179.7	Walk in the light!

- 288] yáasi indicates that the focus of the subject is located outside the following object. yáasi is usually used as a locative (see 278).

...yaasi suudu woodaay...	...the outside of the house is
Taylor 1932 p. 229	bad...

- 289] 'e- indicates that the focus of the subject is towards or with the following object.

wárbe 'e-'ám ngam-láara-mmi.

Those who come to me to see me.

AB 122.3

...káwta 'e-mábbe'. Ma 1.7-9

...would gather with them.

...cáwel 'e-júngel MA 133.7

...a small cane in the small hand.

- 290] haa¹ (har) indicates that the focus is toward or in a location.

min-ngárti Dúmle haa-lésdi

We returned [to] Dumle in the

Yánguru', M 174.1

country [of] Yanguru.

be-mbinda háa déftere

that they write in the book

M 182.3

modáari yéhi haa-kíla'.

The python went to the smith.

MS 101.4

mi-yéhi háa méako', ...M 179.1

I went to him (I went to his place).

When háa introduces time words or phrases it is not locative but temporal and indicates duration.

háa jóna débbo-'am bésnàay.

Until now my wife has not had her baby.

M 176.6

Jáwmiraawo hókkan-mo háyru-man

The Lord will give him that blessing forever.

hár 'ábadà 'ábadin. M 173.1

...wáala háa bálte', ND 87.1

would sleep until ten A.M.

- 291] kómbi indicates near proximity to the following object (see bánye in 292)

mbárooga-go dowáanca kómbi

That lion was strolling alongside the village...

wíro... MS 55.6

dáada màako bíl-noo kákkara

Her mother had hung a certain crate near the house.

féere haa-kómbi súudu...

Ibr 53.2

¹The locative haa is sometimes stressed and sometimes not, while the temporal háa is always stressed.

...pát dombáali kómbi ...all was lying near that fire.
yíite-go. MS 58.6

292] bánye indicates proximity to the following object but not
as near as kómbi (see above).

'o-jóodi haa-bánye yíite'.	He sat by the fire.
+.!.'o-hóo'i kúsel-go	He took that meat
'o-wáddi haa-yíite'...	[and] brought [it] to
'o-hóo'i júnngo góddo-go-boo	the fire. He took the hand
'o-wállini kómbi yíite'.	of that man also, [and] laid
MS 64.3	[it] alongside the fire.
'o-sótti bánye báaba máako...	He left the side of his father.
MS 104.4	(he left home)

293] gáda indicates that the focus of the location is being
transferred to the other side of the object following gáda.

...be-njéhi gáda máayo-go...	...they went across that river...
MS 65.2	
...be-njéhi gáda wúro. MS 109.5	...they went to the other side of town (away from town)

294] gal- indicates a general direction.

hóo'i júnngo góddo-go	Took the hand [of] that man, threw
wúdini gal-dákkowol. MS 64.4	it in the direction of the fence.

295] wóyla indicates a northerly direction, fóombina a southerly
direction, fúunaange an easterly direction and híirnaange a
westerly direction.

'o-'yúmni dága wóyla Díikowa.	He came from north [of] Dikoa.
Ma 1.22-25	
...hóoseere dón híirnaange	...the mountain is [to the] west
'ámin. M 173.4	[of] us.

296] Combinations of different prepositions are often found. The material at hand does not permit a detailed examination of these, but it might be useful to try to analyze some common ones. It is no doubt significant that of about 70 samples, 60 have haa (faa) as the first preposition, nine have dága (díga) as the first, and two have 'e. On the other hand, nine different prepositions may occupy the second position.

The following examples could at first lead one to consider that haa, háa-nder and nder are synonymous:

tóo ndáaree háa-nder 'Alkura'áani, nder-Nísay, 'áaya 168... M 13.1	Well, look in the Koran, in Nisai verse 168...
tóo mállum'en, ndáaree, nder- 'Alkura'áani Nísay...M 3.23	Now priests, look, in the Koran, [in] Nisai...
ndáaree haa-'Alkura'áani ko- vinda-noo... M 16.18	Look to the Koran what is written long ago...

But a closer examination of more cases results in the following suggestions:

- a) haa points toward, in a general way.
- b) nder points to a specific unit within a larger unit.
- c) háa-nder is more specific than (a) but less so than (b).

númooji haa-bérnde 'íwata. M 21.6	Thoughts from the heart come.
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The following is a specific prayer for specific hearts:

háala màada yéyna nder- bérnde 'àmin. M 5.18	May your truth shine in our hearts.
'áa'a, kéefeeráku, dón háa- -nder bérnde. M 9.26	No, heathendom is in the heart.

One can find many cases where háa-nder might be construed as specific, but in each of these examples that is not the point that is being made at the time.

'o-vfi bisimilla, 'en-yáh,
 be-náilli haa-ládde. AB 1.)
 be-njéhi be-táwi, kúsoy
 ládde-boo, don-ngóola haa-
 ngóolirde háa-nder ládde.
 AB 1.10

'o-dári kádi haa-ndiyam...
 MA 125.2

gilangéeru don nder-ndiyam
 AB 5.8

be-násti ndiyam be-don'éera
 háa-nder ndiyam. AB 10.8
 vfi be-ngára ní be-yéha be-
 róonda yéerima haa-súudu...
 N 3.21

'a-nyáway, máayde wára
 hóoca nédó dów; kóo lékki
 kóo 'e-ngésa kóo nder-súudu.
 DY 18.24

gódó 'ácci ngúyka, ngám to-
 yángite, háa-nder, súudu
 nyíbre wóndu nder-dúu-
 yáaru. M 16.4

He said O.K. let's go:
 they went to the woods.
 They went, they found small
 game were salt-licking at the
 salt lick in the woods.

She stood by the water.

The crocodile is in the water.

They entered the water, they
 are crossing the water (river).

He said they should come, they
 should go [and] carry the prince
 to the house.

You'll get sick, death comes,
 takes a person on a tree, or in
 the field, or inside the house.

A person leaves off stealing,
 because not to suffer, in the
 dark house which is in the world.
 (Some people quit stealing so as
 not to be put into a dark prison
 in this world.)

Indications are that haa before other prepositions also tends
 to make the combination less specific.

'áljanna-boo, náa ka-Fir-
 dóosi, wáato 'Aljanna ngón-
 ka haa-yéeso 'Alla. M 15.12
 bíngel-go vfi-mo 'óoho, mi-náni
 lámýam háa-dow dóo. AB 10.10

Paradise then, is not Firdoosi.
 but it is the Paradise that is
 before God.

The child said [to] him, "Yes, I
 feel saltiness up here."

ndén, jfire táari nfi wási
 wási wási, yéhi wírtoy háa
 báawo máaru dílli... AB 7.12
 'o-óólwi 'o-pát káa-les yíte.
 MS 58.7

Then the ground squirrel circled
 thus, dug, dug, dug, went, came
 out behind it, [and] got away...
 She melted completely underneath
 the fire.

The above example has reference to a creature made of fat.
 Melting fat obviously cannot be contained in a very specific place on
 a more or less flat floor.

'e also makes the combination less specific.

'a-yídi wáfugo kúufe kálludum
 'e-yéeso láamiido-na? DY 14.6

Do you want to do evil works before
 the king?

This does not mean in the king's immediate presence (which
 would be unthinkable,) but that the king's presence is everywhere.

297] 5.812 Non-locative prepositions serve to indicate relationships
 between the subject and the nominal which the preposition precedes.

bee- indicates that the subject is associated with or partici-
 pates in the nominal which follows.

fówru bee-síwo víi...

The hyena with the leopard said...

MS 108.2

be-njókki débbo bee-bíngel.

They caught up to the woman with
 the child.

MS 71.5

góonga gónduka bee-méeden.

The truth that is with us.

M 179.7

séndir bee-seydáanu M 9.2

Split with the devil!

bee- also indicates that the following nominal is the
 instrument of the previous verbal.

débbo-'am lórti bee-párgal...

My wife came back with speed...

M 177.1

no-mbí'ot-on bee-fúlfulde?

How would you say [it] in Fulani?

M 171.6

táa be-mbára-mo bee-mbáruugo'.

They should not kill him by
 killing (murder).

MS 76.6

298] bána (ban-, baa-) precedes nominals and other words and indicates that the following word or phrase is in some way similar to or near the one compared. It is not used to equate two nominals.

mi-máayad bána máako...

I will die like him...

M 177.8

...háa wádi bána njámdi
sáppo 'e-gó'o. ND 3.9

...until it was about eleven
o'clock

...dojóodi bána fóoyma.

...was sitting as before.

MA 138.6

...wádi bána réeta
kilométir'. M 176.2
kánjum bána viigo yiite.

...made about a half a
kilometer.

That [is] like saying fire.

M 171.8

'en-'ándin-de, bána no-'en-
'ándinira... M 180.6

Let's teach it, like we were
taught...

299] séy indicates that of two or more possibilities the thing following séy is the actual choice.

séy jángo. MS 95.3

Until tomorrow.

'o-'éernidi ngórgi'en máako-
go pat'. Lútti séy fídoowo-
go. ND 90.5

He ferried all his peers.

Remained only that sharpshooter.

wódaa laamdo...fóti

There is no chief capable of
taking her. Only me.

hóocugo-mo. Séy min.

Ma 118.6

300] kóo precedes nominals and indicates an upper limit if the statement is positive and a lower limit if the statement is negative.

sóoynde wádugo réwbe, kóo
didi. M 23.9

The lack of having wives, even
two.

kóo dúme bee-hákke múudum,
háa-nder dūniyáaru. M 1.5

Whatever with its sin, in the
world.

kóo báatal be-ngálaa. MS 66.3
 búubi ngáràay kóo góotel.
 MS 93.8

Even a needle they did not own.
 Flies did not come, [not] even
 one.

301] ngam- indicates the reason for the core statement in the part that follows ngam.

dága náane máa ngam-débbo
 'o yáhan-noc. MS 110.5
 'óo yilla ngam-máada-?
 MS 110.2
 'a-hókka yóŋki máada-?
ngam-hákkeeji 'ámin.
 M 181.8

From way back. [it was] because
 of the women he had gone.
 He would visit because [cf] you.
 You should give your life
 because [of] our sins.

302] báakin indicates that the core statement is related to the nominal following báakin in an approximation.

to-'a-jóodi báakin ke-wádata
 minti 5... ND 88.8
 'énen-boc 'ánoora dówóndi
 bee-méeden báakin séeda.
 M 179.6
 mi-wóodi dérke'en-boc
báakin 6. M 178.2

If you stay approximately what
 would make 5 minutes...
 [With] us too, the light is
 remaining with us for a while.
 I have young men also, about six.

303] 5.813 Nominal connectors

Nominals may be connected equally by the use of kóo or 'e-.

kóo máayugo-? kóo láahira-?
 mi-'ánda. AB 121.7
 'o-wáddana-mmi kósam
 'e-ndíyam... MS 92.3
 ...débbo 'e-górko...MS 80.1
 ...sáppo 'e-dídi... G 153.8

Whether death or heaven, I do not
 know.
 ...That she bring me milk and
 water...
 woman and man
 ...ten and two...

304] 5.82 Words and clitics relating different units of discourse

Until the structures of Fulani discourse and its levels have been better described, the description of the relating words can only be tentative. However, even at this stage in Fulani studies, one can see that function words operate on different levels and that their functions overlap.

305] 5.821 Relators of various levels

-boo may relate any two units of speech at any level. -boo indicates that the unit now beginning is related to the preceding unit.

mín, bólwandóo-'on bólle	I, who am speaking these words
dé'e, 'ásli-'am fúu	to you, my whole race is Fulani,
mi-púllo, púllo-boo mi-lé'i	a Fulani then, I (have) am of
dídi. M 10:9	two tribes.
..ngam-káŋko lúttidi púccu.	...because he was left with a
ndáa-do, káŋko-boo 'odón	horse. Then too, he also, he
bee-sédawre. ND 4.10	has leprosy.

Mallum Abaayi has just told one story and now begins another, (-boo here refers to the previous discourse). In so doing he is reminding the audience that this story is of the same variety as the one told previously.

kiccawol-ngol-boo, fówru	This story also, (about how)
wáadi bee-yéendu. AB 3.1	the hyena became enemies with the anteater.

'Alla dókku 'en hánde	God who gives us today will give
hókkán-'er jáŋgo-boo.	us tomorrow also.
M 22.17	

'o-wáati 'ánsooji máako.	She put on her <u>ansooji</u> . She went
'o-wúruti háa 'o-dílla kádi	out to go away.
páabahoj-boo dón haa-kéesi...	There [were] also <u>paabahoi</u> on her
AB 10.18	hips...(<u>ansooji</u> and <u>paabahoi</u> are comparable terms).

A new section of discourse may be related to a previous one by the use of -boo:

wóodi góódo féere-boo...M

There is another man also...

It may connect a series of clauses:

'óo yilla ngam-débbó-ma,
'óo yilla ngam-máada,
'óo-boo yilla ngam-nyíiri.
MS T-23

He would visit because [of] your wife, he would visit because [of] you, and he would visit because [of] food.

306] máa occurs finally after a word or larger unit and modifies the preceding to mean 'even so-and-so.' It is accompanied by a serial intonation pattern. Another word or larger unit complements the máa construction.

tóro máa-? dakkérr AB 11.3

Even threepence was difficult [to get] (to say nothing about sixpence).

to-góódo yídi máa-? háarna
báskooje-man nònnón. MA 105.6

If one wanted even, he could make soup with okra-that alone. (If one would want to, he could make soup by only adding okra.)

to-'a-'áawi bóodúum máa-?
kánjum 'a-sódata. M 16.20
nyámaande mi-tókkata-maa máa-?
mi-'ácci-nde. AB 4.23

If you plant good [seeds] then, that [is what] you will reap. The loan I follow you then -- I leave it. (I'll even forget about the money you owe me.)

307] níi relates the preceding word or larger unit to (a) something that has been recently stated, (b) that which is described by gesture or (c) that which can be expected from what has been stated. When initial in a clause it refers to a preceding larger unit of discourse or to the entire discourse.

After a story has been told:

nii be-njóodi tálakáaku

jinniri haa-máŕŕe. MS 108.6

nii ngol-tímmiri'. MS 93.6

That is how they lived, [and how]
poverty ended with them.

That is how it ended.

In a story about a child capable of performing superhuman feats at birth:

'ámmaa dárnde péetel nii.

MS 107.3

But height small thus.

(But he was as small as one
would expect of any child.)

With the following kind of explanation one would expect a gesture to show size:

be-mbádana-mo tis nii...

MS 80.6

...'a-tékkatáako.

ko-fóynata-maa nii...

MS 80.6

They would make for him a little
bit so...

You don't get fat.

What makes you thin like that?

308]

Some speakers seem to use nón for nii in some contexts: Compare MS 108.6 in 307 with the following where the speaker is also summing up what has been explained:

nón mi-fúddi nánugo hábaru

'Iisa'. M 171.6

That is how I started to hear the
story of Jesus.

However, while it relates things as nii does, nón also implies a contrast or comparison. Thus in example M 171.6 the speaker is indicating that it could have been otherwise, while nii in example MS 108.6 does not bring out this possibility (although it could as well have been said).

bána no-cóomru-mi nii

to-'áan sómi nón 'a-dimban

-na? MS 84.2-3

be-vii-mo móy vii-maa nón.

MS 96.3

As I have gotten tired so, if
you got tired like that would
you move?

They said [to] him, "Who told you
that?"

nón is used with the negative.

náa nón sika. MS 84.6

Not so, surely.

nònnón is more often used than nón with little apparent difference.

léddi-dó pát 'ásaana

All this country one match will

góotel wúlan. Nònnón

burn. So also [with] this

démgal-ṅgal-boo. M 185.3

tongue.

The storyteller has told one story about a man and his wife and now begins to tell a similar one.

tóo, 'óo-boo nònnón bee-

Well, he too in the same way

débbo m̀uudum. MS 63.5

with his wife.

309] 5.822 In addition to -boo there are two other words that can relate discourses.

tóo and yóo indicate a change of topic and can readily open a new discourse, but they are not limited to discourse transition. tóo (yóo) indicates a change of topic if it is the same speaker who continues, or it implies a change of speaker who takes up the subject of the first speaker, i.e. the second speaker continues along the same line of thought as the first speaker. Change of topic may merely mean the discussing of different facets of the same problem, or continuing the argument from a point that is considered made or generally held.

be-mb́'i-mo min-nánaay.

They told him, "We didn't hear."

tóo, nántee bóodfum. MS 57.7

Oh, listen good.

M and his wife had just finished a song:

tóo jáma'aare-'am, nánee,

Well, my people, hear the word,

kóṅgol, ṅgol-'Alla. M 18.17

that [of] God.

MS begins a new story:

tóo, táalel táalel. MS 36.6

Well, [here is] a fairy tale.

The following example comes from the middle of a story, but where there is a shift of subject matter.

tóo, òm-fúúdí mántugo',... Well then, it started to act
Ibr 52.10 boastfully...

The crocodile suspected the ground squirrel of stealing his eggs and asked the ground squirrel to bring him the eggs so he could see them. The squirrel did so, but kept bringing back the one remaining egg, marking it with a different color each time. When he had done this the required number of times:

...gílangéeru láari, víi The crocodile looked [and] said
yóo, mi-támmi jóna-kam "Well, I think now then my eggs
déne-'am òngóndi. AB 6.5 are here together."

310] 5.823 There are many words which indicate a transition from one part of a discourse to another. These cues vary from speaker to speaker and from one discourse to the next. The range of words or combinations of words is rather limited so that the signals are clear. The words described below are used in this function although they are also used to relate smaller units.

311] 'ámmaa indicates a contrast between two independent clauses or larger units. It is normally the first word of a clause unless preceded by 'e.

ndén, ndu-wári ndu-víi	Then, it came, it said [to] the
yáare, mi-hèbáay ko-mi	scorpion, I did not get what I
nyáama. 'ámmaa 'áan-boo	eat. But you, so they say [of]
be-dombí'e, 'a-tási	you, you get food.
mbákka'. AB 1.3	
mi-'ándi dí-dón háa 'am.	I know they are with me.
'ámmaa mi-hákkilanáay-dí...	But I have not watched them...
M 185.5	

mi-hókket-e bíngel-'am.
 'ámmaa táa bíngel-'am
 défa, táa bíngel-'am vúrta
 haa-náange. MS 58.4

I will give you my daughter.
 But my daughter mustn't cook,
 my daughter mustn't go out
 into the sun.

312] wáato indicates that the following explanation elucidates the previous word or larger unit.

ámmaa to-'on-túubi; 'on-
 -njáñani-mo, wáato 'on-
 -njáñi kóngol 'Alla.
 M 13.18

But if you confess, [if] you
 accept him, that is to say, you
 accept the word [of] God.

patáwsi dúme dó?
 'áaco'-'? súuno fówru-?
 M 179.2

What is patáwsi?
 That is, to look [for] wealth.

The following wáato introduces a statement clarifying a vague introduction to a story:

wáato'-'? súuno fówru-?
 etc. etc. MS 83.8

That is, the desire of the hyena
 was...

313] ndén indicates that the clause or other unit following it is sequential to the previous action. See text A in the appendix for use of ndén as a marker for discourse units.

nde-híiri, ndén mbéewa náni,
 fówru wóyi... AB 4.15
 séy to-'a-tókki 'Iisa 'Alma-
 síihu. bíddo 'Alla. ndén
 'a-héban 'úmmungal 'árande-
 wal,... M 8.13

When it was late, then the goat
 heard the hyena cry...

Only if you follow Jesus Christ
 the Son of God; then you will
 get the first resurrection.

be-ngári be-táari súudu-?
 ndén kádi, gújjo-go, séeki...
 ND 90.4

They came, they surrounded the
 house; then that thief broke...

314] 5.824 Some words normally relate clauses or lower level units.

kádi indicates reference to a previous action. This may be the second or more of a series of actions. kádi may come first in a clause, or second after another function word; it may follow the verb or it may occur final in a clause. The action of the kádi clause or unit usually indicates controversy or futility.

nde-híiri 'o-yífi dillugo	When it was late she wanted to
jeréeji. 'o-wáati 'ánsooji	go [to] the playhouses. She
máako. 'o-wúrti háa	put on her <u>ansooji</u> . She went
'o-dílla kádi. AB 10.19	out in order to go then.

The above story later points out how useless it was for her to do this. The following example shows a transition from one controversial point to another.

kánjum wádata-mmi káyeeffi	That's what does me amazement
háa-nder módiḅḅe. kádi	among the priests. Then you
'on-ḁḁí'i... M 14.25	say...

One animal was trying to frighten another away by saying that if he opened his eyes the other would die:

to-mi-máḅḅiti mi-yí'ma	If I open [my eyes] I will show
kádi-'on hábaru. MS 1.6	you then something.

315] málla indicates an equal possibility between two clauses or smaller units.

tóo níi, 'émtóḅḅe-maa	If so, your questioners [should]
ngári. Málla kálmautu'en	come, or the Kalmautu'en if
to-ḅḅe-ngári... M 17.10	they [should] come...
búndo-na málla páho? MS 65.6	The blind man or the deaf one?

316] sákk (sákkonta) indicates that if the first statement is true, the second is even more likely to be true. sákk is normally followed by the subjunctive form of the verb.

wóodaa fúlbe máa sákko

lúumo wada'. M 175.4

'o-yífaa-kam-kam sákko

'o-yífa yónki-'am. MS 110.5

'áan máa 'a-tíjjan sákkonta

mi-tíjja-na? MS 59.7

There are no Fulani even,
much less a market.

He doesn't want me, much less
does he want my life.

Even you, you will look up [are
yet to look up] why should I
look up?

317]

ndíkka relates clauses and phrases and indicates the preferable action. The non-preferable action(s) may not be stated. If ndíkka is preceded by a vocative, the person mentioned is shown by the following statement to be the speaker's preference. ndíkka is followed by the subjunctive form of the verb. In the following examples the vocative forms are underlined.

'c-ví'a 'áyye 'Alla-'am.

bíngel-'am ngel 'Alla,

yámditin-am-ngel níi, ndíkka

mír 'ón mi-máaya. AB 12.3

'Alla-'am ndíkka mìn mi-máaya

bíngel-'am-ngel yéeda.

AB 12.5

ndíkka mi-bááita bána níi.

M 173.7

She would say, "Oh my God, this
my child, Goa, heal it thus,
better I be-the-one I die."

My God, better I, I die,
this my child live.

Better I come close like that.

If ndíkka is preceded by the negative or an expression of disapproval this indicates opposition to the previous proposal and the following statement will again indicate the speaker's preference.

'áy, ndíkka mbár-an-mo

búri. DY 5.6

Oh, better we kill him better.

(...we'd be better off killing
him.)

In the above, búri re-echoes ndíkka and indicates that it is better than some other choice.

káy, ndikka mi-yéha mín.

MA 125.3

'áa'a, ndikka mi-'í'a bee-

-kósnjal. AB 2.5

Oh! Better I, I go.

No, better I press with [my]
foot.

If ndikka is preceded by a time position the indication is that the statement which follows is preferable for the time mentioned.

jóna ndikka 'en-kóota wúro.

AB 4.18

hánde ndikka kúl-aa 'Álla

sósay. DY 6.19

Now better we go back [to] town.

Today better you fear God indeed.

318]

-kam follows a word or larger unit and indicates that this unit is open to question. It is often followed by an explanation.

ndén-kam, 'en-mbádan

háaje. ND 4.19

náane-kam 'o-támmi-noo súley

bee-síisi. AB 11.3

jángo-kam mi-méetataa yáago.

AB 11.13

ndén-kam lágawal-man fídataa

bóodfum... AB 2.6

ndóttiijo-kam doróondo

yíte... AB 8.22

'íisa-kam dído-na? kóo

góoto? M 10.16

bee-kíne-kam mi-wáawataa.

AB 2.14

nóy-kam ? 'áan ndóondotoo-daa

yíte níidow-hóore máada...

AB 9.3

'ám-kam 'en-téeran. ND 3.5

Then [if the previous statement
is so] we will do business.

Before he had thought one shilling
sixpence.

Tomorrow I will never go.

Then the bow will not shoot good...

An old man does carry fire.

Jesus, is he two or one?

With [my] nose, I cannot.

What? You who carry fire thus
on your head...

[As for] me, we will marry.

Sámbo ládde víi mín-kam
 bee-lékki-'am. Ma 4.6
 mi-láari ndée-kam. AB 5.23
 to-'on-náni bána níi-kam
 kúltoree... AB 11.9

Sambo of the woods said, I
 with my medicine.
 I saw that.
 If you hear thus then fear...

319] séy introducing a clause with the verbal in the subjunctive indicates an extreme necessity or inevitability of reaching a specific goal. From the examples given it will be evident that the clause related to the sey clause is not always contiguous to it. In a sermon by Doogon Yaaro the question is posed that if the sun should fall on the earth, who could stand? The reply:

'e-fúu mén séy káák-en.
 DY 3.3
 céede de-kéé-mí-de,
 wááa ko-mbáadan-mí',
 séy mi-bánga débbo féere'.
 MS 80.2

All [of] us surely we would
 perish.
 This money I have gotten,
 there is nothing that I will
 do, but marry another woman.

The lion had made a mistake in eating the hyena skin, so the owner of the skin said to him:

káadi na-séy 'a-héba lálal
 fówru... AB 8.2
 séy 'en-mbí'a nònnón. M 9.29

Well now you must get [me] a
 hyena skin...
 We'll have to admit it.

The pretty woman is willing to marry the man only if he promises to kill his horse, but he keeps putting this off until one day he says:

nyánde níi mi-háábani-maa mi-
 bángi-maa, 'a-wári 'a-násti
 sáare-'am, séy mi-hírsana-maa
 píccu-man. ND 1.9

The day I marry you, I take you,
 you come, you enter my home,
 indeed I will kill [for] you
 that horse.

séy 'o-dáaro, ngam 'o-hísna
 báali màakc. M 12.8

He must stand firm, in order to
 save his sheep.

320] séy introducing a clause with the verbal in the past tense or relative future indicates that of two or more possibilities this is what actually occurs.

Abaayi tells of a man who was looking for at least sixpence but:

séy kobóore wócre 'o-hébi	Only one penny he found in
haa-jíiba... AB 11.10	pocket...
wálaa ko-wáda, séy ko-'o-wádi.	Nothing is made, but what he
M 18.23	(God) made [it].

A pretty woman was looking over a wide area for a certain prince whom she had never seen and with only one clue to identify him. She interviewed many men in vain until one day in a far away land:

séy yéerimaajo wárani-mo	Then the prince came to her.
ND 2.21	

jáwleeji are guest houses, and guests are expected to stay there, but the bride-to-be said to the prince:

kála jáwleeji máaji pát séy	[In] every one [of] these guest
súkaabe-'am-do wáalata tón.	houses only these young men
ND 3.5	servants [of] mine shall sleep.

The following two examples are given to show the contrast between the two types of séy clauses described above.

mi-tókki-mo-boo.	I followed him also.
'áan-boo, séy 'a-núma;	You too you'd better think.
M 11.1	

be-ṅgáaji-'am, séy mi-númi	They preached [to] me, then I
háa-nder bérnde-'am, M 10.13	pondered it in my heart.

321] ngam introducing a clause with the verb in the subjunctive or infinitive indicates that the action of the main clause is done to bring about the action of the subordinate ngam clause. ngam also introduces other units with the same meaning. The reply to 'Why did you do that?' could be ngam-jángo 'For a rainy day.'

wárbe-'e-'am ngám láara-mmi.

AB 122.3

mbéewa-'am kirsu-mi ngam-háa
mi-séndira', yíðbe-'am bee-
wánybe-'am. MS 110.1

'Alla núlaay bíðdo múudum
nder-dúniyáaru, ngám 'o-
híito-ndu. M 19.17

A very hungry hyena had no success in finding food but heard that
the scorpion had a good reputation as a food gatherer so asked it:

kádi mi-yídi 'a-fíðana-mmi
kúsel, ngam-háa mi-héba
mi-nyáama... AB 1.5

góðdo 'ácci wádgo mbàrhóore,
ngám to-yángitee háa-nder
dúniyaaru. M 16.4

Those who come to me to see me.

My goat I butchered, so that I
could divide those who like me
from those who hate me.

God did not send his Son into
the world so he judge it.
(...in order to judge it.)

So I want you [to] kill me some
meat, so that I can get I eat...
(so I can get something to eat)

Some [people] leave off murder,
in order to avoid being penalized
in the world.

322]

ngam- introduces explanatory clauses. The reason for, or
explanation of, the action of the main clause is given in the ngam-
clause, while the verb of the subordinate ngam- clause may exhibit
any tense ending except the subjunctive or infinitive.

Abaayi tells of the hyena that desired to eat the anteater
but was afraid it might have as vicious-looking teeth as it had
claws, so the hyena tried to incite the anteater by asking some
questions. One was: "Give us some teeth to chew."

The response:

yéendu fóngini, ngam-'ándi
wálaa nyí'e. AB 3.7

The anteater scowled, because
he knew [he had] no teeth.

After killing her husband, the prince, his wife turned the
horses of the town loose and left, later resting in a nearby village:

yóo, 'ártudo yóttugo séy
káygama-boo ngam-kánko
lúttidi púccu. ND 4.8

Now the first one to get there
was Kaygama because he was
the one left with a horse.

táaskee, ndéenee, wálaa jémma,
wálaa náange ngám-'on-'án-
daa nyénde ngáran-mi. M 3.8

Prepare, wait, no night, no day,
because you do not know the day
I will come.

(Be ready and waiting, not just
by night or by day...)

ndáa ngam-hákkeeki máako
'o-máayata. ngám mo-gújjo,
DY 6.6

It's because of his sins he dies,
because he is a thief.

'Alla láarataa njúutirka,
máada. ngam-káŋko 'ón
tágu-maa. DY 2.5

God does not regard your height,
because he has made you.

323] to- introduces the conditional clause which, with the verb in any tense other than the subjunctive or imperative, indicates that if the condition of this subordinate clause is met, the statement of the main clause will apply.

In contrasting the good shepherd to the hireling (John 10) Markus states:

'ámmaa jáwmu báali, to-'o
-láari sáafaali ngári, 'o
-dóggataa. M 12.5

But the owner of the sheep, if
he sees wolves coming, he does
not run.

Mallum Abaayi tells a story of a liar who became ill and called in his liar friend to give a final request:

ndáa bíngel-'am ngéel,
'úseni, to-mi-máayi
níi' 'ékkitin-aa-ngel féwre
AB 10.3

Here [is] my child this; please,
if I die thus teach him lie[s].

to-'en-kákkilanaay-dí-?
'en-káalkan. M 185.4

If we do not watch them,
we will perish.

The prince had promised to kill his horse as a condition for marrying his girl friend but:

Yéerima, núma, to-'o-wúrti
 'o-hírsan púccu, to-'o-wári
 'o-yáabi héebeere 'o-wá''i
 'e-púccu máako-go-? 'o-yéjjita
 háala débbo-go-boo fáhin.
 ND 1.7

The prince would think, [then]
 if he went out to kill the
 horse, if he came and stepped
 into the stirrup, he mounted
 his horse, he would forget
 about that girl friend again.

The king's daughter had been bitten by a snake:

tóo, to-'a-yámditinani-yam
 bíngel-dam-do mi-hókk-e-mo
 té'aari mi-séekan-e lésdi
 -'am-do-boo már-aa Ma 4.7

Now, if you heal for me my child
 here I will give you her [in]
 marriage, I will apportion to
 you my country here also you
 will own. (I will give you a
 part of my kingdom to own.)

to-mi-lórtake mi-yóbet-e.
 M 21.1

When I return I will pay you.

to-'a-yídi ndéen-aa
 Ndéentindeléŋ'. MS 9⁺.5

If you like you could wait [for]
Ndeentindelen.

324]

háa is used as a purpose introducer. háa introducing subordinate clauses with the verb in the subjunctive indicates that the action of the main clause or idea is done to permit or to bring about the action of the háa clause.

no-mbádet-en 'eklésiya,
 háa 'en-kéba bárka 'oo?
 M 21.6

What should we do Christians,
 so we can receive this blessing?

múnyu háa mi-yécca-maa ND 2.23
 'a-hókkita-mmi háa mi-wádda
 féere. AB 8.1

Be patient so I can tell you.
 You give [it] back to me so I
 can bring some [more].

(speaking of a loaned vessel)

'o-wúrti háa 'o-dílla kádi.
 AB 10.18

She went out to go away.

túubee háa 'on-ndóondo káre
 Máyrama M 4.15

Repent so you can inherit Mary's
 wealth.

In requesting patience or permission of someone, the main clause may be omitted. In these cases an imperative such as múnyu may be placed before the háa and the total effect would be approximately equal. Compare ND 2.23 above with the following examples:

to-háa mi-'éma'on ko-'on-	Then let me ask you what you
'ándi... M 8.1	know...
mbárooga víi háa táha	The lion said let me lick
láral-go... AB 8.1	that skin.

325] háa introduces 'until' clauses or smaller units. When háa introduces subordinate clauses with the verb in any tense other than the subjunctive it indicates that the action of the main clause continues until the action of the subordinate háa clause takes place.

The following is a description of Noah's preaching to the people prior to the great flood:

be-do ndáara-mo, be-donjála,	They look at him, they laugh
háa nyánde 'Alla yíbbi-noo,	until the day God destroyed
ndíyam wári mábbi dúniyaaru,	[the world], the water came,
be-kálkidi. M 3.4	covered the world, they got
	lost together.
be-fíji fíjirle mábbe háa	They played their games until
be-sáfti... ND 1.11	they were satisfied...(until
	they had had enough...)

An animal got so scared it:

dosórta, dosórta, dosórta, háa	It runs, [and] runs, [and] runs,
bérnde múudum tá'i...máayi.	[away with fright] until its
MS 1.16	heart gives away...it dies.

be-njóodi, háa híiri...

They sat until late.

AB 4.10

Báaba Hãman yári'.

Haman's father drank until he was satisfied.

háa hé'i-mo. MS 66.8

In past time, when both clauses are completed there is no distinction between purpose and 'until' in Fulani as there is in English. In such cases, an English past purpose clause would be translated with an 'until' clause.

'Alla yídi dúnnyáaru, háa God loved the world, until he
'o-hókki bájjo màako... DY 1.1 gave His only Son...

326] nde- introduces clauses indicating a temporal sequence.

nde-biríji béndi húunde	When the peanuts matured, the
wároya'. MS 96.5	thing would come.
fówru nde-yí'i mbéewa yídi	The hyena, when [it] saw the goat
nángugo mbéewa. AB 7.16	wanted to catch the goat.
nde-be-njéhi kónu'-? be-táwi	When they went [to] war, they
háabe... MS 92.7	found the slaves...
mi-'andi be-ngídi nde-be-mbádi	I knew they wanted when they made
túbaliije... M 175.1	bricks...

327] no- introduces clauses indicating manner.

séy 'en-láara, no-dum-wá'i.	Let us see, how it goes.
M 182.5	
'ánde...no-kában-mi. MS 64.1	Know...how I will fight.

328] 'áw is a correlative conjunction which is used in pairs and relates formally equal utterances.

'o-dojógi ko-'Alla víi-mo	He guards what God told him.
'áw 'ó'hisa-?	Whether he will get saved, or
'áw 'o-hísata-?	whether he will not get saved,
nyénde kíita-? 'Alláhu'alámu.	the day of judgment, God knows.
M 10.7	(God will reveal it on the day
	of judgment.)
jémmaare hánde máa-?	The night of [this] day even,
Jáwmiraawo 'ánda no-'en-	the Lord knows how we will
-tímmidini 'e-máare.	finish it. Whether we will see

'áw 'en-ŋí'a púdkí nááŋge,
 'áw 'en-ŋí'ataa, báawde séy
 'Alla. M 11.7

the sunrise, or whether we will not,
 the power [is] only God's

329]

The infinitive recalls or recapitulates the action of the previous clause and relates it to what follows.

láamdo hóoti. hóotugo,
 bíi-kíla wáŋgi. MS 102.6

The chief went home. Having gone home, the smith's daughter showed up.

háa véeti. véetugo yáapendo
 máako dílli máayo. MS 96.1

Until dawn. When it dawned, his maternal aunt went to the river.

The relationship may be shown by the use of a different action root, but one which sums up what has been done before.

bóosaaji-go ŋári. yóttugo
 bíira dí-páddi nyíibi-go...
 MS 98.1

Those dogs came. Upon arrival, they struck down those elephants.

'o-hóo'i kúuje 'o-dílli.
wártugo, 6e-písti síiwo.
 MS 107.7

He took the things, he went.. Upon returning, he let the leopard loose.

330] 6.1 Noun Phrases

This description is based on a special study of over 2000 noun phrases. This corpus actually reflects the complexities of an estimated 10,000 noun phrase tokens.

The function of a noun phrase is to fill subject, complement, topic or description positions in clauses. Less frequently a noun phrase may be the only filler in an entire clause. Furthermore, noun phrases may form the axis of locative, time, manner, reason and accompaniment phrases.

In a sampling of 861 noun phrases, it was found that 808 or nearly 94 percent had one head or main nominal. Of these 808 noun phrases, 355 or about 44 percent occurred as single words. Further samplings indicate that about 40 percent of all noun phrases occur with one word while about 50 percent occur with two words. Perhaps less than one percent of all noun phrases occur with four or more words. Approximately six percent of the noun phrase sample consisted of noun phrases with multiple heads.

331] 6.11 Noun phrases with one nominal head

Noun phrases with one head nominal can be said to show a head-modifier relationship. Although all noun phrases of this type have a common overall structure, there are limitations on the elements that can occur together. Limiter₁ and referent never occur together, and the occurrence of a non-noun as head nominal imposes rather severe limitations as to the co-occurrence of other elements. The general description will be made first with noun as head and later the limitations on this general type will be described when the head is an independent pronoun, dependent pronoun, particle or nominalized verb phrase.

332] 6.111 The most common noun phrase may be expressed in the following formula:

(Lim₁) Head (GNⁿ) (PPr) (ATN) (Ref) (Lim₂)

where Lim is limiter, GNⁿ is genitival modifier repeatable, PPr is possessive pronoun, ATN is attributive modifier, Ref is referent. The description of limiters may be found in 210; of nouns in 93ff; of possessive pronouns in 168-170; of referents in 195-199. The attributive modifiers may be any noun, interrogative or demonstrative pronoun (see 207-209), numeral (200-206) or féere or méere.

The head of this type of noun phrase may be any noun.¹ The genitival nouns may be any noun or possessive pronoun.

333] Limiters (Lim) often go in pairs, with the first limiter before the head and with the second limiter in last position. kéerol or kála often go with fúu or pát in this way, as do séy and tán. But any of these may appear alone.

séy	'Alla	tán	Only God alone	MS 107.5
Lim ₁	Head	Lim ₂		

bádarle	màako	pát	ornaments-her all	MS 58.6
Head	PPr	Lim ₂	(all her ornaments)	

kéerol	débbo	fúu	limit woman all	
Lim ₁	Head	Lim ₂	(every last woman)	MS 96.3

'o-té'i	débbo	féere	he married woman-another	
	Head	ATN	(he married another wife)	MS 70.1

¹A few head nouns in a head-genitival construction have alternate forms which are shortened and unstressed (clitics). E.g. baa-Háman for báaba Háman, 'father [of] Haman,' Mal-Sáali for Mállum Sáali 'Teacher Saali,' bii-sóbaajo for bingel sóbaajo 'child [of] a friend.'

334]

Genitival nouns are non-attributive. However, attributive nouns (adjectives derived from verb stems or adjective stems) are sometimes used as genitival nouns. As the following examples show, stress is an important determining factor.

bìngel	górgel	MS 197.1	child male (boy)
Head	ATN		

bìngel	déyel	MS 197.1	child female (girl)
Head	ATN		

We may also get

bìngel	débbo	MS 101.2	child woman (girl)
Head	ATN		

In this context the meaning remains the same. But note

háala	débbo	MS 54.8	palaver [of] woman
Head	GN		(the woman's palaver)

wákkere	débbo	MS 58.7	side [of] woman
Head	GN		

Had there been attribution the attributive would have been in agreement with the head noun. In the case of bìngel débbo above, the collocation is so familiar that the meaning is unambiguous even to speakers who do not note the difference in stress.

Other examples of genitival nouns are:

sáare	báaba	màako-fo	home [of] father lies here (his
Head	GN	PPr Ref	father's home here) MS 103.8

sárla	górko	màako	trousers [of] man-her (her husband's
Head	GN	PPr	trousers) MS 61.7

The genitival modifier can be repeated:

cúura	hùunde	ládde	big-house [of] thing [of] bush
Head	GN	GN	(the wild creature's big house)
			MS 66.15

bóosaa ¹ ji	màako-go	'úm ¹ mi	dogs-his those-in-question arose
Head	PPr Ref		(The dogs of his that we talked
			about got up.) MS 98.7

335] The possessive pronoun (see 168-170) occurs in the position after the genitival noun and before the attributive noun.

bíkkoy	'ádda	màako	náyon	Children [of] older sister-his four
Head	GN	PPr	ATN (Num)	(His older sister's four
				children) MS 63.1

336] The attributive position can be filled by adjectives, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, numerals, and féere and méere. Two attributives do not often occur together in the same noun phrase. When they do, the adjectives come first, e.g. gállure wónde féere MS 2.2

'another different town.' I have only one example of two adjectives co-occurring in a noun phrase and this was in elicited material.

bíngel	déyel	fàleyel	góotel	child female black one
Head	ATN (Adj)	ATN (Adj)	ATN (Num)	(one black girl) MS 197.1

However, an adjective plus other attributives does occur:

gállure	wònde	féere	city another different (another
Head	ATN (Adj)	ATN	city, a different one) MS 186.2

337] The referent position follows the attributive position. The four referent words are described in 195-199. That these follow the last possible element in the attributive position is shown by the following example:

jíire	ndéya-go	MS 76.2	ground-squirrel that-the one
Head	ATN (FDm)		mentioned (The ground-squirrel there that we talked about)

That they come before the last position (Limiter) is shown by these examples:

láamdo	wúro-man	fúu	Chief [of] village that all
Head	GN	Ref	(All the chiefs of that place)
			MS 58.6

kónguđi	góđđi-đi	Utterances other these
Head	ATN(Adj) ATN(NDm)	(these other utterances)
		MS 200.6

Other examples of the use of these referents are:

sóoba'en-ʒam	máajum	AB 122.3	friends-my referred to (these friends of mine)
Head PPr	Ref		
haa-súudu	súka	'ón	at the house [of] the young man, that one (at <u>that</u> young man's house) AB 10.21
Loc Head	GN	Ref	
'áan	'ón	'ándi ND 85.6	You are-the-one who knows
Head	Ref	Verb	
kóndoŋ-'am-do	MS 104.6		bananas-my here (these bananas of mine)
Head PPr	Ref		

338] Numerals and demonstratives can occur together

dábbaaji	jówi-di	M 185.4	animals five these (these five animals)
Head	ATN(Num)	ATN (Dependent NDM)	
ngésa-go pát	MS 106.4		field mentioned all (all of the field we mentioned before)
Head Ref	Limit		

339] 6.112 There are other noun phrases with a structure similar to that of the main noun phrase type described above. These also have a head nominal but since there are severe limitations on the peripheral items, it is useful to study them separately.

The noun phrase with an independent pronoun or independent demonstrative as head may be formulated thus:

(Lim₁) Head (ATN) (Ref) (Lim₂)

The independent pronoun (see 186-192) as head is the only obligatory element, so that it may appear alone in this type of noun phrase.

mín	ví'ete	Dárabana.	I am called Darabana.	MS 60.1
Head				
NP	Verb	Co		

'óya	'úmmi.	MS 109.3	He [over there] arose.
Head	Verb		(That one arose)

'o-móri	ngáal	MS 66.5	She beautified it.
S Verb	Head (Co)		(She arranged its feathers)

káyri	ngídf-mi	MS 138.8	That NDI want I .
NP (Co)	Verb-S		(That's the one I want)

Of the limiters only séy occurs in the data available to me.

séy kánko	MS 73.3	only he
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Of the attributive nominals only the independent near demonstratives have been found to co-occur with the independent pronoun as head.

mín	'óo.	MS 64.5	I (am) the one.
Head	ATN (independent near demonstrative)		

káŋko '6o MS 76.5 He [is] the one.

All the referents occur with the independent pronoun as head;
and some of them occur with the independent demonstratives.¹

mín-dó MS 84.1 I here

Head(ID) Ref

'6ya-go MS 110.1/Ma 115.3 that one that we referred to

Head(ID) Ref

'6ya-man ND 87.7 that one

béya-go MS 93.3 Those there that we referred to.

káŋko '6n AB 121.1 He [was] the one.

séy káŋko '6n MA 139.1 (He [is] the only one)

The final position limiter can also occur:

béya-kam pát! MS 78.3 They there all

Head (FDm) FW Lim₂ (All of them!)

340] 6.113 The noun phrase with a dependent pronoun as head may be represented by the following formula:

Head plus Numeral or Limiter

¹Although my data shows only the referents -go and -man with the independent demonstratives, there seems to be no reason why '6n could not also occur with these demonstratives.

Since the head of this noun phrase is a dependent pronoun, i.e., a clitic, it cannot stand alone but must occur with either the numeral or the limiter or both. The construction is rather rarely found.

6e-sáppo pát. MS 75.1 They ten all.
Head Num Lim₂

ndóggee 'on-pát MS 98.2 Run you all!
Verb Head Lim₂

'on-dído pát MS 96.2 You two all
Head Num Lim₂ (Both of you)

341] 6.114 The noun phrase with certain particles as head may be represented by the following formula:

(Lim) Head (Referent)

The particles which may act as a head nominal are locatives, infinitives, interrogatives and time words.

Interrogatives and time words may occur alone and act as noun phrases:

Head (interrogative)
ngéleyel? MS 201.7 Which NGEL?

fájiri véeti. ND 89.1 Morning dawned.
Time word
Head

S V

nde-kíikide	wádi	M 177.6	when evening happened
Time word			(when evening came)
Head			
S	V		

All of these particles may occur with referents and thus operate as noun phrases:

'o-rúfi	tó-go	MS 82.6	He poured out that that we talked about.
	Loc		
	Head Ref		
S-Verb	Complement		

tímmi',	défugo-go	MS 97.3	finished cooking-referred to
	Infinitive		(finished that cooking)
	Head Ref		
Verb	Complement		

móy-dó?	Ma 118.2	Who's this here?
Interr.		
Head Ref		

jángo-go	MS 66.6	Tomorrow that we talked about
Time word		
Head Ref		

fájiri-dó	M 181.7	morning this
Time word		(this morning)
Head Ref		

The limiter séy can occur in these kinds of noun phrases.

séy fájiri G 162.6

Until tomorrow

Lim Head

3421 6.115 The verb phrase may be nominalized by the use of nominalizing pronouns (see 193-194). The nominalized verb phrase is the head of noun phrases which may be represented by the following formula:

(Lim₁) Head (Ref) (Lim₂)

The nominalized verb phrase may be used alone:

to-'ándine ko-dàgéaki. M 181.2 Don't make known what is unlawful.

NZ Verb
Head

VP Complement

wóodaa ko-búri njúmri véelgo?

[Is there] nothing that surpasses

NZ Verb Phrase

honey [in] sweetness?

Verb Subject M 183.5

Limiters may occur with the nominalized clause:

kéerol ha-jókke jókke ngóni fúu Limit where joints joints are all

Nominalized Phrase

(wherever the joints are)

Lim₁

Head

Lim₂

MS 104.4

ak 'o-fáddi pát MS 77.5 who he struck all
 Nominalized clause (whoever he struck)
 Head Lim₂

The following examples show how referents are used in this type of noun phrase:

har-be-ngéewtata-do MS 103.2 where they will chat here
 Head Ref

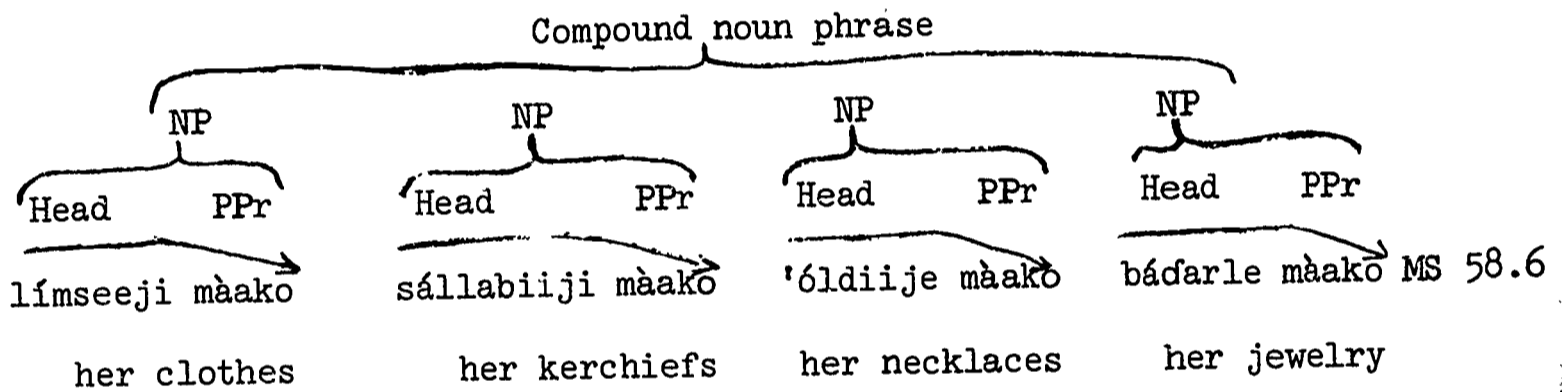
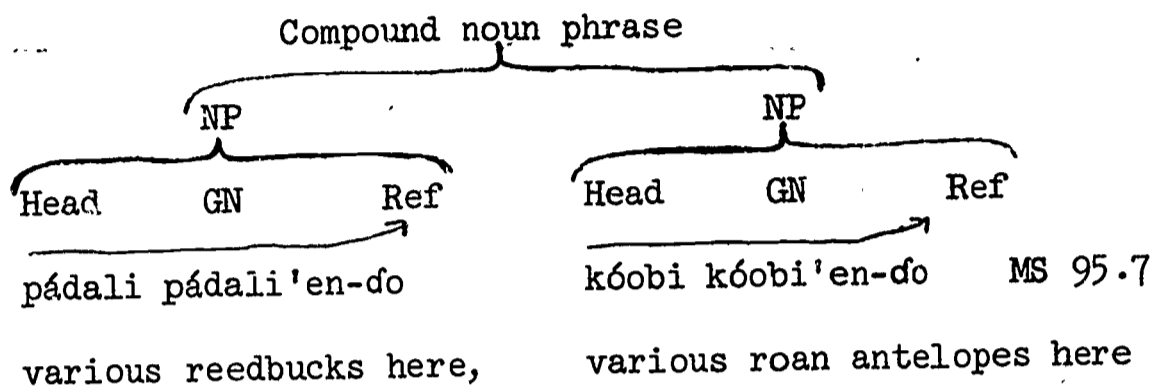
dága no-nga-wárata-man MS 95.4 From how it comes that one
 Head Ref

Prep NP

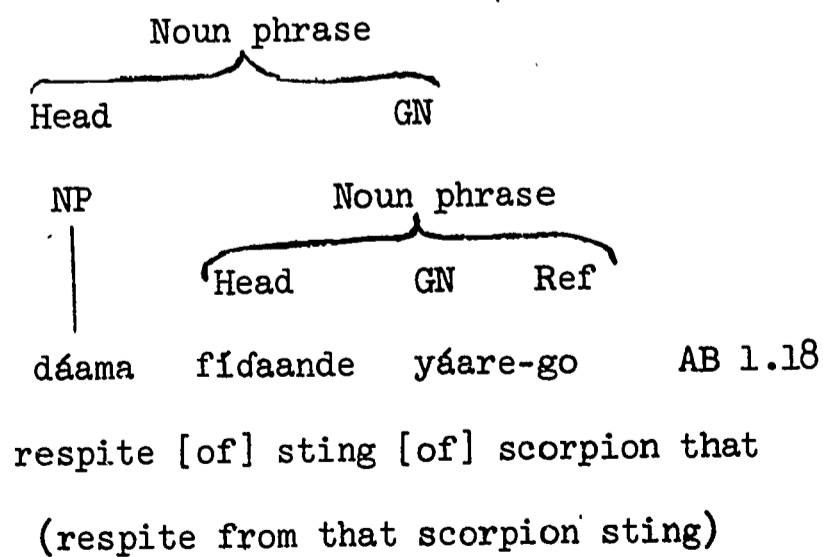
mo-wóndi bee-má-go ND 88.6 who is with you, the one we talked about
 Head Ref

- 343] 6.12 The remainder of the noun phrase types are plural-centered or compound noun phrases, i.e. they have more than one head nominal. Although the sample showed only 6 percent of all noun phrases as being of this type, this group includes the most complex noun phrases. However, the analysis is simplified considerably if we take intonation patterns into account.

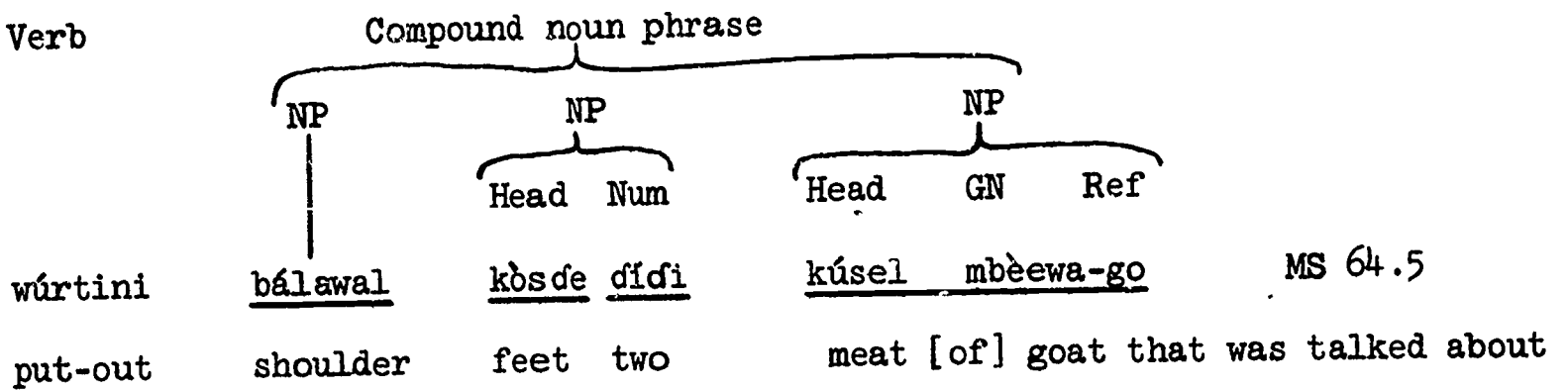
- 344] 6.121 A series of noun phrases accompanied by a shift in intonation levels / / / / or / / / / indicates that the noun phrases are part of a group or series or list.



- 345] 6.122 Two or more noun phrases may be conjoined by a single intonation pattern. This indicates that the first noun phrase is the head and that the succeeding noun phrases modify the first genitively.

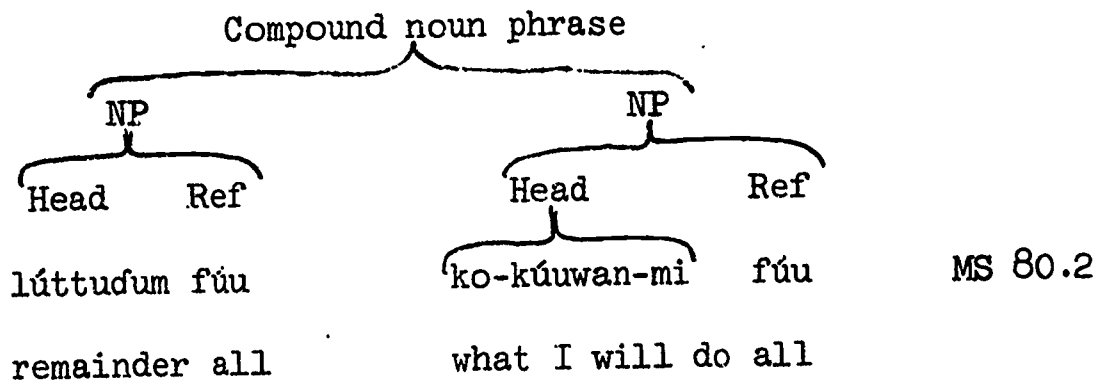


Verb



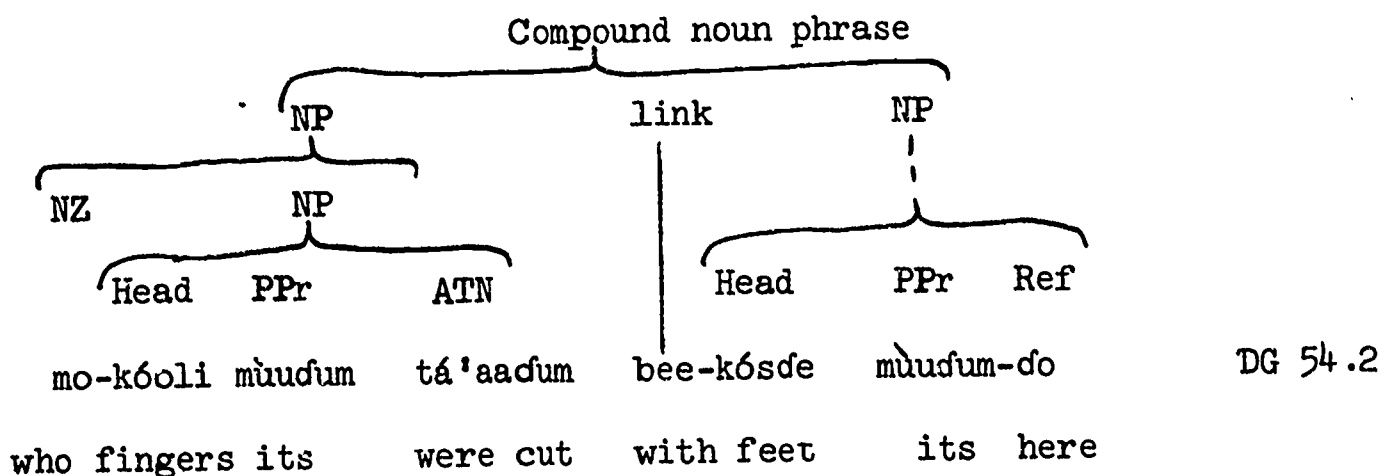
((He) brought out a shoulder and two feet of the goat meat that was mentioned earlier)

- 346] 6.123 When two or more noun phrases are separated by pause with sustained intonation, they are in apposition. The series then constitutes a compound noun phrase.



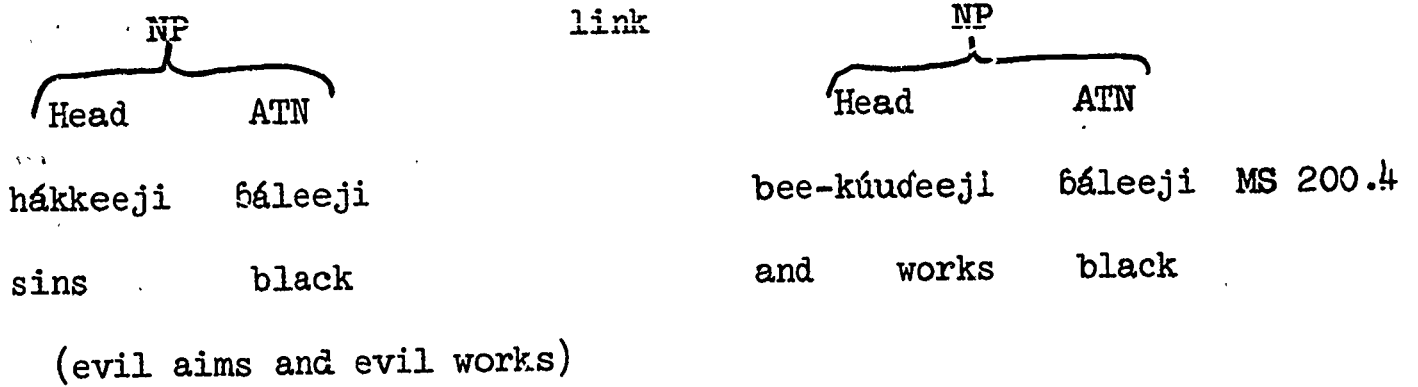
The level and volume of intonation may vary from noun phrase to noun phrase.

- 347] 6.124 Two or more noun phrases may be connected by a link. (These are also usually separated by pause.)



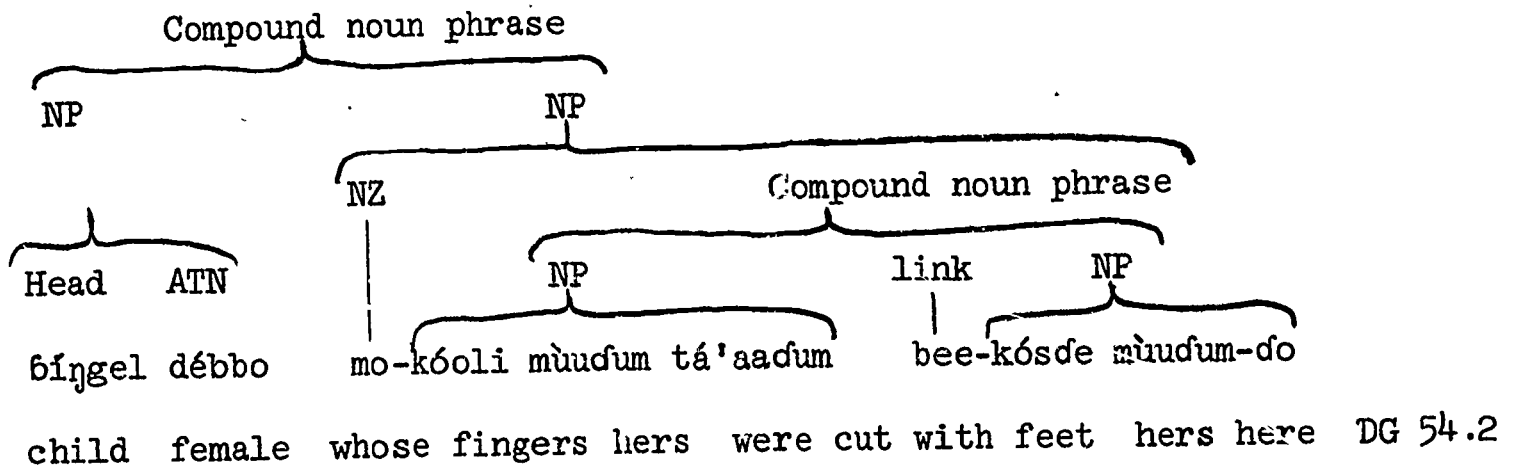
(whose fingers were cut and feet too)

The second noun phrase is parallel to the first except that tá'aadum is omitted in the second phrase.



348] 6.13 Combinations of simple and compound noun phrases

Compound noun phrases may become part of other noun phrase combinations just as any simple noun phrase may.



(For more details see 347).

349] 6.14 Noun phrase as subject of a clause

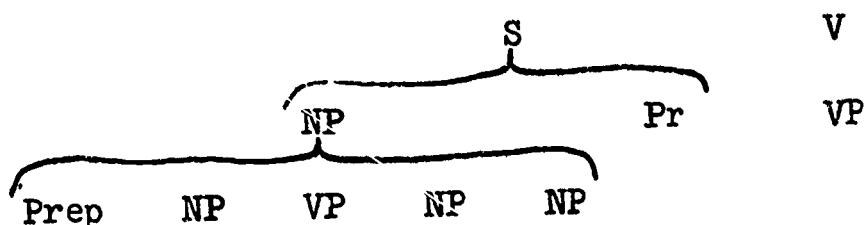
Any noun phrase or compound noun phrase which is the subject of a clause may have a pronominal in apposition to the main noun phrase. The longer and more complex the noun phrase, the more likely it is that an appositional pronominal will occur. In the example cited in 347 from DG 54.2 the independent pronoun kánko appears in apposition to the noun phrase.

Compound noun phrase	pronoun	Verb phrase	
óíngel.....-do	káŋko	búri	vóodugo.
(the girl who.....here she surpassed in beauty)			

The following example illustrates the use of a limiter as pronominal. The intonation pattern indicates that the limiter pát is to be taken as a pronominal and not as a limiter for the last noun phrase.

Prep	NP	NP	NP
dága	límseejo màako	sállabiiji màako	'óldiije màako
from	her clothes	her kerchiefs	her necklaces
	NP	Pr	VP
	bádarle màako	pát dombáali...	MS 58.6
	her jewelry	all were lying...	

The formula for the above is:



350] 6.2 Verb phrases

6.21 The verb phrase core

The verb phrase is composed of a verb phrase core (see 211) and a modifier which may or may not be present. Most occurrences of the verb phrase are without the modifier. The following examples are given to show the occurrence of verb phrases (underlined) without a modifier.

be- <u>kúli</u> .	M 174.3	They feared.
be- <u>móopti</u> .	M 174.5	They assembled.
<u>mbíi</u> -mo-mi 'áa'a.	M 174.7	Said I [to] him, "No."
mi- <u>doréena</u> kádi.	AB 121.7	I am waiting then.
ngam-débbo 'o- <u>yáhan-noo</u> .	MS 110.5	because [of] the woman he had gone.

351] 6.22 Verb phrase modifiers

There are three types of verb phrase modifiers: the adverb, the infinitive, and negative particles.

6.221 The adverb (see 254-256) may be either an ideophone or a non-ideophonic adverb and it normally follows the verb phrase core. However, non-verbal complements may come between the verb phrase core and the adverb.

In the following examples both the verb phrase core and the adverb are underlined.

be- <u>nànáay</u> <u>sám</u> .	MA 148.6	They did not hear at all.
mi- <u>nànáay</u> béldum màajum <u>sám</u> .*	M 179.4	I did not sense that sweetness at all. (I was not at all pleased with that.)
ndi- <u>máwni</u> <u>séeda</u> ...MS 106.5		It grew a little...
min- <u>ngími</u> -ngol <u>séeda</u> ...M 4.27		We sang it a little.
...be- <u>lábbini</u> -be <u>tal</u> ! MS 71.6		They washed them clean!
yóo, náwliiko <u>túm</u> <u>dojála</u> -mo kádi.	MA 138.7	Well now, the co-wife always was laughing [at] him so.
mi- <u>wári</u> haa-yímbe-'am <u>kap</u> .*	M 182.7	I came right to my people.

352] 6.222 The infinitive (see 252) modifies the verb phrase core. The infinitive may occur with one or two objects and follows the verb phrase core that it modifies. When the verb phrase core

occurs with an object, this object occurs between the verb phrase core and the infinitive.¹ Both the verb phrase core and the infinitive are underlined in each of the following examples:

'óya-go-boo <u>méetàay</u> <u>díllugo</u> ládde. MS 64.2	That one never again went away to the woods.
mi- <u>wáawataa</u> <u>jóodàago</u> MS 100.1	I can't sit.
ko- <u>támni</u> <u>hállango</u> súbetèebe G	What is about to clap [for] the to be chosen ones
be- <u>púddita</u> <u>wásugo</u> MS 66.2	They would start again to dig.
'o- <u>dílli</u> <u>hóo'oygo</u> jíire... MS 76.2	He went to take the gopher.
'o- <u>nyálla</u> <u>yáru</u> go déne MS 65.5	He spent the day drinking eggs.
'en- <u>kisàay</u> <u>yángitèego</u> M 16.1	We did not escape being tortured.

Infinitives do not occur with a subject. If there is a subject, it must relate to the main verb.

léwru <u>fúddi</u> 'éeroygo MA	The moon has begun to rise over there.
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However, an infinitive may occur with one or more objects.

'o- <u>yótti</u> <u>wádugo</u> sáare MS 56.1	He attained making a home (he was now old enough to start a home).
láamdo... <u>wáawataa</u> <u>búru</u> go-mo njáwdi. MS 56.8	The chief could not surpass him [in] riches.

353] 6.223 The negative particles táa, to-, táata, etc. (see 279) precede the verb and the subject of the verb which they negate. In the following examples both the negative particle and the verb phrase core are underlined. Only the subjunctive and imperative forms are negated in this way.

<u>to-góddo</u> <u>séla</u> ... M 181.4	A person shouldn't go astray...
---	---------------------------------

¹Note, however, mi-méettaa-'on yíigo MS 2.13 'I will never see you again' where the object of the infinitive precedes the infinitive.

- táa 'a-yéjjita-be...Ibr 52.6 Don't you forget them...
- táa pé'ee lékki-do. DG 54.1 Don't chop down tree here.
(this tree)
- táa 'éwru mbárooga...MS 75.6 Don't call the lion...

354] 6.3 Prepositional phrases.

Prepositional phrases form an optional part of clauses (see chapter seven). They are introduced by prepositions.

355] 6.31 Locative phrases

Locative phrases are composed of locative prepositions (280-296) plus a noun phrase (330-349). The locative preposition specifies the location of the action or state of the main verb of the clause. The locative phrase is underlined in the following examples.

- | | | |
|--|----------|---|
| 'o-yéhi | MA 139.1 | He went. |
| 'o-yéhi <u>nder-véendu</u> ! | MS 70.7 | He went into the lake. |
| be-njéhi <u>gáda wúro</u> . | MS 109.5 | They went to the other side
of town. (away from town) |
| 'o-síwti <u>les-lékki</u> ... | MS 99.4 | He rested under a tree. |
| be-nyíbi súudu màbbe <u>cáka</u>
<u>cák ládde</u> | MS 100.5 | They built their house right
in the middle [of] the woods. |
| féwre wúrtatáako <u>haa-húnduko</u>
<u>máako</u> . | M 179.8 | Lies don't come out from his
mouth. |
| be-njippini-yam <u>haa-dánki</u>
<u>ki-be-mbádani Dí'c'</u> . | M 173.8 | They put me in the shelter that
they made for the District
Officer. |

356] 6.32 Other prepositional phrases

There are some prepositional phrases which are composed of non-locative prepositions (297-302) plus a noun phrase. The relationship of the noun phrase to the action or state of the main verb is indicated by the preposition that occurs.

'o-dotáppa bee-hóolo AB 12.13

She was hitting with noise.
(noisily)

séy 'o-lóri vǎngiti bee-górko-
go. ND 88.2

She came back [and] appeared
again with that man.

mi-láari-maa-kam bána 'áan
'a-'áandi huunde'. MA 145.2

I saw you as though you, you
knew something.

sóoynde wádugo réwbe, kóo
dídi. M 23.9

The lack of having wives, even
two.

'o-wúruti yáasi ngam-sémtèende'.
AB 12.17

She went outside because of shame.

357] 7.1 Introduction

Clauses are defined as those utterances filling positional slots in a discourse. Three types of clauses will be described: Those which have the verbal as nucleus; those which are equational where the verbal is optional; and those which are functional and have no verbal.

D. W. Arnott has made an important study on the 'verbal complex'¹ in Gombe Fulani in which he describes the radical with its suffixes and elements, i.e. the tense system, the subject and object pronouns and the preterite element. He demonstrates how these items plus intonation and final glottality are inter-related and how they work together as a unit. The traditional roman orthography, however, makes this inter-relationship less obvious by separating the morphemes. Nonetheless, it is at the points where traditional orthography divides the 'verbal complex' that the boundaries for the phrase divisions within clauses exist.

'a-hólli-mo M 23.1 You showed him

The above is indeed phonologically one unit (verbal complex) but is traditionally written a hólli mo thereby reflecting the grammatical divisions of subject, verb, object. This becomes more evident when one uses nouns or noun phrases in the subject and object positions.

Búba hólli sóbaajo màako. Buuba showed his friend.

358] 7.2 Types of clauses

When analyzing Fulani clauses it is convenient to make generalizations about the positions which word classes may fill. For instance, the subject position may be filled by the word class called nominals. Nominals may consist of one or more words or

¹Arnott 1965.

phrases which are expandable. Only by so generalizing can the material be reduced to manageable proportions.

Seventeen hundred and thirty-seven clause patterns from four different speakers of the Adamawa dialect were examined. All but 41 of these were classified; the rest fell into three major groups. A pilot study of 130 clauses of a speaker from Niger was made for the sake of comparison. It was found that these clauses could also be classified into the same larger groups. There were no patterns (with one possible exception) that did not fit the system outlined below. The proportions, however, were noticeably different in regard to the subject verb order. Twenty-one examples of the inverted form were found in the Niger sample of 130 compared to 44 examples of 1737 in the Adamawa material. The other divergences were too small to be significant on the basis of such a small sampling.

The figures and examples¹ in paragraphs 356-372 are given on the basis of the study of the Adamawa clauses unless otherwise designated.

359] 7.21 Subject-Verb-Object Clauses and Variations

Over 86 percent or 1497 samples of the total sampling from Adamawa (1737) fall into one major clause pattern which may be formulated as follows:

I S VPC Co 1, 2, 3 Loc T/M/R Ac VM/C1
 which represents: Introducer; Subject; Verb Phrase Core;²

¹For the clause analysis of an entire text, see Appendix F.

²This study, made in 1961, presented an incorrect analysis of VPC (then called Verbal (V)). Verbal then meant the verb phrase core (see 211 ff. and 350 ff.) plus any verbal modifiers that immediately followed. Non-contiguous verbal modifiers (then written A) were positioned separately. However, since this would not give us any new clause types and the number of verbal modifiers for an over-all sample like this would be quite small and the figures thus not very different, they are left uncorrected. See Stennes 1961.

Complements one, two and three; Locative; Time, Manner or Reason; Accompaniment; Verbal Modifier or Closer. These names refer to positions or positional slots within a clause of this type. The only obligatory position is the verb phrase core position. The locative position usually precedes the T/M/R slot but may follow it. The T/M/R and the VM/Cl positions may be occupied by only one filler in any given clause. This major clause pattern has four subdivisions, the first of which is the largest and contains those patterns which fit into the main pattern without modification, while the other three subdivisions contain clauses that have certain stateable deviations.

- 360] 7.211 From the formula above it may be seen that the number of possible combinations would be very large. Although the material contains only eighty different patterns, only the statistically important patterns will be described.

The minimal possible clause occurs when one verbal fills the verbal position:

hèbáay¹ AB 11.1 He did not get

The maximum possible clause would be very long. There are a few examples in the data of clauses with six or seven filled positions:

no-'Alla néldi Jíbra'filu haa-Máyrama bee-kóngudi Jíbra'filu
I S VPC Co Loc Ac

how God sent Gabriel to Mary with words of Gabriel. M 10.23

'ámmaa to-'a-wáawan, fíyango-yam, kíne-'am-dó níi bee-kíne màada
I S VPC Co Co Loc M

But if you can shoot for me, my nose thus with your nose...AB 1.6

¹One might postulate a zero subject pronoun in these cases but I have chosen to deal only with overt distinctions.

361] About 22 percent or 377 examples of the clauses examined were

S VPC:¹

'iisa máayi M 7.8 Jesus died.
S VPC

mín dokába. Ma 2.8 We are trying.
S VPC (Maroua)

bíddo górkó-go 'o-náni MS 186 2 that male child, he heard
S VPC

362] Just over 13 percent or 228 examples of the clauses were

S VPC Co:

mbárooga wártiroy, lálal fówru-go. The lion brought back from there
S VPC Co the kin of that² hyena. AB 8.9

kórdo-go hóosi hálagaare-go That female slave took that ring. MA 130.7
S VPC Co

'o-jábay híite. W 2.26 He will receive fire. (Niger)
S VPC Co

363] About 12 percent or 210 clauses of the Adamawa sampling were
of the pattern VPC:

¹The sample also included some samples such as jiire díwi sadák
S VPC VM
AB 6.21 'The ground squirrel jumped' which would change the figures
slightly, but not the overall picture

²-go is translated by 'that' (elsewhere sometimes left untranslated).
It refers to that which has previously been spoken of (see 196).

<u>dombi'a</u>	AB 10.21	She is saying
VPC		
<u>lórnu</u>	AB 6.1	Return [it].
VPC		
<u>wúrti</u>	MS 186.6	He went out.
VPC		

which comes from the context: Hirsi-mo pás wúrti dílli 'He slaughtered him [emphatic], went out [and] went away' which consists of three clauses, two of them being in this category.

364] Just over 6 percent of the clauses were I S VPC:

<u>rdíkka mìn 'ón mi-máaya.</u>	AB 12.4	Better I be the one to die.
I S VPC		
<u>'ámmaa 'en-ácci.</u>	M 1.10	But we left [it].
I S VPC		
<u>káy, mi-wúrtintaa.</u>	Ma 2.9	No; I will not take [you] out.
I S VPC (Maroua)		

365] Over 5 percent of the clauses were of the pattern

I S VPC Co:

<u>nde-'a-tókkàay-mo</u>	M 8.10	Since you haven't followed him.
I S VPC Co		
<u>séy to-'a-tókki 'Iisa 'Álmasiihu, bíddo 'Alla.</u>	M 8.13	
I S VPC Co		
only if you follow Jesus Christ the Son of God.		
<u>háa 'o-wádi réedu</u>	MA 129.6	...until she became pregnant
I S VPC Co		

ngam-'Alla 'o-yi'i nyálaande ngó'o...Wusi 2.16 (Niger)

I S V Co

Because God he saw one day...

366] Less than 5 percent of the clauses in the sample were of a VPC Co pattern.

'Iísa dón dow-gáafal, láatake, sádaka hákkeeji mèeden fuu. M 2.15

VPC Co

Jesus there on the cross, became the offering for our sins.

fórti kósde mùudum, hóo'i bíddo débbo-go MS 186.7

VPC Co

He stretched out his feet, [he] took that girl

ndén fáatiiru méemi cókkol-go, táwi péewdi, dísi pedéeli AB 9.8

VPC Co VPC Co

Then the cat touched that comb, found [it] cold, stuck [in his] claws...

Báaba húli, yéhi yécci láamdo'.

VPC Co

The father feared, [he] went,

[he] told the king. MA 125.5

daɓɓu dággileeji kósam...Ma 3.4

VPC

Co

Look for milk containers...

367] Only 49 examples or about 2.8 percent of the clause patterns were S VPC Loc.

'o-donrewi, nder-'inde 'Iisa 'Almasiinu. He worships in the name of

S VPC

Loc

Jesus Christ. M 2.10

bíddo débbo dón haa-gállure wónde féere

S

VPC

Loc

The girl is at another village.

MS 186.2

'o-jóodi haa-tón. MA 147.3

S VPC

Loc

He stayed there.

mbéewa wári haa-ngéelooba. AB 4.2 The goat came to the camel.
S VPC Loc

'o-vákki dow-bálawal määko. AP 10.7 He shouldered [him] on his
S VPC Loc shoulder.

368] 7.212 There is what is called the inverted verbal form which may be described as a variation of the general pattern. In certain cases the first and second person subject pronouns will follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. When the participial form is used as a verbal it will also fall into this category since the class identifiers are always suffixed to the stem.

. . . séy tókk-en, séy ngád-en ko-'Alla yídi. W 1.21 (Niger)
I VPC S I VPC S Co

. . .let us follow, let us do what God wants.

'a-yíi bíkkoy-'am ha-mbádan-mi? AB 5.13
I VPC S

[Do! you see my children where I will do [hatch] them?

séy bíd-aa fówru. AB 8.13 Only squeeze you the hyena.
I VPC S Co (You must squeeze the hyena.)

mbíi-mi M 171.5 Said I.
VPC S

The participial form:

tókkudo dúniyaaru fúu jóoni. . . . The one who follows all the
VPC S Co T worldly now. . .W 3.1 (Niger)

- 369] 7.213 In 96 examples out of 1737 clauses, there is what may be described as an emphasis position which normally comes before the subject position. The item is thus given special emphasis.

tontón har-réedu fówru béldum-dum 'íwi AB 8.13

Loc S VPC

There in the stomach of the hyena sweetness originates.

dondón bérnde-'am yéwi. M 10.14 There my heart broke.

Loc S VPC

jóoni mi-doyídi mi-báttá-'on hábaru. . W 1.1 (Niger)

T S VPC

Now I want, I tell you the news . . .

na-'áan 'ón véelo náawata. AB 2.16 You are the one that hunger pains.

I Co S VPC

Sometimes part of a positional filler (complement) may occupy two slots: its normal one plus a place of emphasis.

'ámmaa 'áan-boo be-dombí'e. . . But you too they are saying [about]

I Co S VPC Co you. . . AB 1.4

- 370] 7.214 There are 51 examples of question formations. These are usually formed by adding a question position to the major clause pattern (346), and only rarely with only a rising intonation on the clause. The question position is usually initial or final. (Q represents question word or interrogative, see 207, 209, 274-276).

dúme ngáddu-daa? AB 7.22 What did you bring?

Q VPC -S

ndéy 'ékkítinan-maa-mi ? AB 10.16 When will I teach you?

Q VPC Co S

yéendu-boo wóodi nyí'e-na . . . The anteater has teeth, yes?

S VPC Co Q AB 3.6

'Alla yídi kúwanáadum kúugal-na? DY 10.7 (Kano)

S VPC Co Q

Does God want worked works? (Does God want man-made works?)

góonga mbíi-daa-na? ND 4.17 Are you telling the truth?

Co VPC S Q

371] 7.22 Topic-description clauses

The second major pattern of clauses is the equational or topic description type. Only about 5 percent (89 examples) fall into this category. In the formula Top represents 'Topic' and Des represents 'Description.' Clauses may also fill these positions.

kíccawol-ngòl-boo-? fáatiiru-? wáadi bee-'àsugúmri. AB 8.19

Top Des

This story also, the cat became enemies with the rooster.

kányum-boo níi. AB 11.24 That one also thus.

Top Des

tóro máa dakkérr AB 11.5 Threepence even difficult

Top Des

sey Jáwmiráawo, wóni 'ándudo, nder-bólle máajum. M 10.8

I Top VPC Des Loc

Only the Lord is the-knowing-one, in those words.

sóba'en màako dón tátu.

Top VPC Des

His friends were three.

(He had three friends.) MS XVI T 18

372] 7.23 Non-verbal clauses

The third major division also contains only a small number of clauses in proportion to the total (110 out of 1737). These may be called particle-like clauses and there is no verbal position.

373] 7.231 The larger discourse divisional function introducers are classified as clauses of this type (cf. 304-309). The following opens a discourse unit:

tóo jáma'áare-'am, . . .M 12.1 Now my people. . .

yóo here opens a discourse divisional unit:

yóo 'o-hóosi 'o-yéhi. . .MA 122.5 Well, she took [it], she went. . .

jám introduces a larger unit in a discourse:

jám, 'o-wáddi-ngol. . .Ma 2.20 Good, he brought it. . .

374] 7.232 Expletives (Exp) may fill clause positions in the discourse (see 257-268).

'a-hóotan? 'óoho. AB 5.19 You going home? Yes.

'o-ví'a 'áyye 'Alla-'am. AB 12.3 She would say, "Oh, my God."

375] 7.233 Interrogative particles may also often best be described as filling a position in a discourse (see 274-276).

ngám dume? DY 3.14 (Kano) Why?

nóy? AB 6.8 What?

nóy-kam? AB 9.3 How's that?

376] 8.1 Introduction

Discourses are units of speech that are opened formally and closed formally, and which contain a body of material.

Discourses most amenable to study are folklore because the linguistic markers are more widely used in these to signal the structure. But in fact these are often intercalations in a larger discourse. Discourses may be said to begin any time two or more people meet and talk. When they do, formal openings are made and when they terminate formal closings are made. The fact is of course that these can be and are omitted, but unless the non-linguistic context provides these signals, their omission tells us that something is amiss.

377] Let us examine the framework of a large unit of discourse during an evening in Cameroun. Buuba is on his way to spend the evening with Njidda at Njidda's home where he is sitting alone. This is the formal introduction. Greetings follow.

1. Búuba - saláama 'aléykum. Peace be upon you.
2. Njidda - 'amíina saláamu. Amen, peace.
3. Búuba - 'a-nyálli jám? Did you have a good day?
4. Njidda - jám. Yes.

From this we gather that they are known to each other and that they have probably seen each other within the last 24 hours (item 3). The formal introduction can vary slightly depending on the sex of the individual, the place of meeting, and the relationship of the two people.

saláama 'aléykum is most formal and is used by a head of a house to another and also when the people addressed are not seen or known.

gáafara is used by women in announcing their coming and less often by men when an intrusion is implied.

sánnu is used in meeting people face to face anywhere. A close friend may be called by name.

Following the formal introduction which consists of statement and response, the greeting takes place. Although there are certain fixed patterns which are in fact formal at certain levels of social relationship, these are adapted to the people involved and to the context. They also take into account previous discourses.

Then other conversation will take place, either leading out of information gathered in the greeting or on different subjects. If the topic is changed, there will be a formal marker. Within this overall discourse, shorter units of discourse which are complete in themselves may take place. These may be fables, tales, riddles, descriptions, etc., and they will have a formal opening, a body and a close. Should there be a series of these, relation markers within each will refer to the preceding one and will usually indicate the type of relationship.

378] 8.2 Types of discourse

Discourse,¹ being considered as including all human speech, can be classified into some common categories: Conversation, which may include monologue, dialogue and group speech; addresses, which are speeches prepared by a specialist for a particular group of listeners and are often political or religious; folklore, which includes tales, moral stories, songs, riddles, and parables, which are retained in much the same form from generation to generation.

¹See Storbeck 1920/21, Taylor 1929, Whitting 1935, East 1935, Pfeffer 1939, Arnott 1957, Stennes 1961, Klingenheben 1963, Mohr 1963 and 1965, Lacroix 1965 for various Adamawa Fulani texts. ' also the Appendix.

háala is a very general term and most items of discourse may be included in it. See Pfeffer 1939 for a discussion of some of these categories.

379] 8.21 Conversation

Among the Fulani terms for conversation and speech are:

wólde	word
bólle	words
Háa mi-wólwa bólle-'am... MS 67.5	Let me say a [few] words.

Mállum Márkus says there are three kinds of bólle:

bólle déftere	printed words
bólle lúumɔ	market conversation
bólle fáada	edicts of the court

kóŋgol message, utterance

kóŋdi messages

kóŋdi góŋdi-boo bóŋdi, Some messages are good,

kóŋdi góŋdi-boo méttuŋdi. some are unpleasant.

...háalaaji máwŋdi, kánjum Important discourses, that

ví'ete kóŋdi. MS 200.6 is what is called kóŋdi.

hábaru¹ news

tóo, mi-yíŋdi mi-yécca-'on Well, I want to tell you

hábaru no-mi-wáŋdi haa- the news [of] how I came to

'Almasíihu. M 170.7 Christ.

'o-víi-mo hábaru wáŋdi. He said [to] him, "news [is] made,"
MS 109.3 (I have news for you.)

Other words used in talking about language are hárfuure

'letter of the alphabet,' bóliide 'speech,' 'áaya 'verse.'

¹hábaru is also used for certain folklore stories by some informants, see 390.

380] 8.22 Addresses, (wáaju (sg), wáajuuji (pl)) are prepared by a specialist such as an official, a religious leader, or a teacher for groups of people.

mi-wáaji-be M 174.5 I preached to them.

381] 8.23 Folklore is the type of literature which has been handed down from generation to generation. Of course, these may include items originating in this generation, but if so it will be similar to the general body of such material. These are:

gímol, yímre	song, poem
kíccawol	moral story
géccol	moral story, tradition
táalol	tale
ngéewta	conversation
'ánditan-àm-yo	riddle
báldol	proverb

The usage of these more specific terms seems to vary from speaker to speaker so that in telling the same story one may announce it as a táalol and another as a géccol. This simply means that the point of view is different. A great deal of material will need to be examined before precise definitions can be made.

382] 8.3 Structure of discourses

Seventeen stories classed as folklore and eight other discourses were analyzed in an investigation of the structure of such discourses. This evidence was supplemented by a cursory examination of several times that many discourses. Both literary categories and linguistic forms were used to arrive at the different parts of discourse structure. These are charted in 390.

The literary categories are reflected in the headings; Formal opening, (which gives the type of discourse), title, setting, body, lesson or summary, and close. However, when one examines the transitions and other repeated markers, it is evident that the linguistic clues are very often present. (see Appendix)

We may list the linguistic markers of the story in appendix B; MS 63.5-63.8: (tóo signals that a new topic is about to begin).

Opening and Title: -boo indicates that the topic of this story of similar to that of the last story and thus that this story is also a géccol.

Setting: Although there are no function words signalling the beginning or end of this unit, the verb yí'- 'to see' does occur. Verbs like see, find or discover (táw-) and tenses other than the past help to signal the setting.

Body: nyénde-nde 'one day' signals the beginning of this section. Other such signals are ndén, 'then' nde, 'when,' etc. (See 310 ff.)

Lesson: bíiraba (or its variants) sometimes occurs repeatedly in a story; in such cases it is a hesitation phenomenon. But in this story, its use helps to signal transitional points in discourse.

Close: tímmi. 'Finished' tells us that we are finished with our story.

The structure of Fulani discourses can be represented by the following formula:

Introduction + Body + Conclusion

This pilot examination indicates that these items may be basic to all Fulani discourse.

383] 8.31 The introduction comprises:

Formal opening (with relators) + Title + Setting

384] The formal opening is basically an announcement of the type of story that follows.

géccawol...AB 1.1 (VIII A)

táalol-man fúddi-yoo-? MA 122.5 (IX M)

táalelel táalelel jénata 66oyel MS 59.6 (IX G)

This may simply be a reference to a previous story of the same type by means of a relator.

tóo, '6o-boo, ...MS 64.1 (IX L) Well, he also...

In the above example, the relator -boo refers back to the previous story and tells us that the present one is of the same type. In 100 recorded discourses, fifteen have no such opening, but it is probable that the introduction was given before the actual recording, either by the informant or in the request by the field worker. It is likely that the formal opening is an obligatory item.

385] The title is often given with the formal opening and is frequently a Topic-Description clause. If verbs occur, they are often such verbs as wóodi 'there was,' wáadi 'strove,' etc. In the following opening statements the title is underlined.

géccawol fówru bee-yáare.

AB 1.1

The story: The hyena and the scorpion.

débbò dányi cíwtukoy. MA 131.4

A woman bore twins.

wóodi wúro féere - bírniwol

máapindiwol. DG 53.9

There was a certain village -- a big town.

kiccawol-ngol-boo, fówru

wáadi bee-yéendu. AB 3.1

This story too: the hyena strove with the anteater.

tóo, mi-yífi mi-yécca

hábaru no-mi-wárdi haa-

'Almasiihu. M 170.7

Well, I want to tell the news [of] how I came to Christ.

386]

In the setting, additional information is given which will provide the needed background material for the main part of the discourse. The setting is very rarely omitted.

Opening:

hábaru...

News...

Title:

mbéewa no-wáadi bee-fówru. How a goat scrove with a hyena.

Setting:

fówru dowáanca mbéewa

A hyena was strolling, a goat

dowáanca be-pótti..MS A.1 was strolling, they met.

Opening:

yóo jóna-do ngéewta...

Well now a dialogue...

Title:

...páaba bee-yáare.

...a big frog and a scorpion.

Setting:

páaba bee-yáare mbíi

The hyena and the scorpion

mbáfan buláaje. Ma 120.1

said they would have a water game.

387]

The relators play an important role in the formal opening and in the title, in that they relate to a previous discourse in some way. Thus a relator may simply signal a new topic:

tóo, ...M 170.7

Well,...

A relator may connect one story with another. The -boo in the following example indicates this is also a kicca like the last one.

kicca káa-boo...AB 11.17

This story too...

A relator may connect one story with another without repeating all the information. In the following example -boo nonnón tells

us that not only is it the same type of story but that it also has the same subject matter.

tóo, 'óo-boo nonnón bee-
débbo m̀̀udum. MS 63.5

Well he-also in that way with
his wife.

388] 8.32 Body

The body may be very obviously structured as in the case of prepared materials, or it may have a very loose structure, as in the case of conversation. But even so, changes of topic and oppositions will be signalled by formal markers. The body of the story begins when one actor asks a question and another answers, or when one actor acts in such a way as to evoke a response. This transition is often marked by a relator. The continuation of MS 91.1 and the beginning of the body of the story is:

'o-vfi-mo sánnu wáay
júuta-dáande. 'o-vfi-mo
'ám-bco sánnu séela-húnduko.
MS 91.1

He said to him, "Hi pal [with a]
long neck." He said to him
(the monkey), "Hi you too, wide
mouth."

In the following example the transition from setting to body is marked by ndén kádi:

Opening.

mi-táala-na? yóo.

Shall I tell the story? Well.

Title:

hámfurde wáadi bee-fówru,
síiwo, mbárooga.

The duiker strove with the hyena,
panther and lion

Setting:

yóo be-láari péllél yáru go
hámfurde kádi. be-yídi
háa be-yáha be-nánga-mo
kádi.

Well, they saw the drinking
place of the duiker. They
wanted to go and catch it.

Body:

ndén kádi be yéhi...

Then they went...

MA 126.2

389] 8.33 Conclusion

The conclusion includes the lesson or summary and constitutes a formal close. The lesson or summary is almost always present in the discourses examined. In a story from Maroua a hungry hyena had caught a turtle but found the shell too hard. So he asked the turtle how he could be softened. The turtle said to put him in a stream of water. When the hyena put the turtle there, he got away.

jángo to-'a-héfi taa
sófnu.

fówru víi góonga.

dúuniya-kam kább-aa gértogal

'táwt-aa póola. Ma XIV B

"Tomorrow if you get [one],
don't soak [it]."

The hyena said, "Fine.

[In] the world you tie up a
chicken [and come back and]
you find a dove."

The formal close

Twenty-three of the twenty-five stories examined had a formal close. They varied from a simple tímmi (IX K) MS 63.8 'finished' to a repetition of the title.

géccol tímmi. (IXL) MS 64.1

níi kícca fáatiiru-boo wáadi

bee-'àsúgumri. (VIII F) AB 9.16

The moral story is finished.

Thus also the story of how the
cat strove with the rooster.

390] 8.4 Chart of the structure of some discourses

Type of Discourse	Source Reference	Informant	Topic Change Signal	Formal Opening	Title	Setting	Body	Lesson/summary	Close	
1) Folklore	táalol	X	B	MA	-	- ¹	-	+	+	+
2)	táalol	X	D	MA	yóo	-	+	+	+	+
3)	táalol	X	C	MA	-	-	+	+	+	+
4)	táalel	IX	C	MS	tóo	+	-	-	+	+
5)	táalel	IX	D	MS	-	+	+	+	+	+
6)	táalel	XIX	B	MS	-	+R	+	+	+	+
7)	kícca	VIII	C	AB	-	+R	+	+	+	+
8)	kícca	VIII	E	AB	-	+R	+	+	+	+
9)	kícca	VIII	H	AB	-	+R	+	+	+	+
10)	kícca	VIII	I	AB	-	+R	+	+	+	+
11)	géccol	IX	K	MS	-	R	+	+	+	+
12)	géccol	IX	J	MS	tóo	+	+	+	+	+
13)	géccawol	VIII	A	AB	-	+	+	+	+	+
14)	hábaru	IX	A	MS	-	+	+	+	+	+
15)	hábaru	XVII	A	ND	-	+	+	+	+	+
16)	kíbaru	IX	B	MS	-	+	+	+	+	+
17)	ngéewta	XIV	B	Ma	-	-	+	+	+	+
18)	ngéewta	XIV	H	Ma	yóo	+	+	+	+	-A ²
Conversation										
19)	Monologue	203.6		MS	tóo	-	-	+	+	+
20)	Description	XXI C		MA	-	+	+	-	+	+
21)	Description	167.1		G	-	+	+	+	+	+
22)	Description	173.2		M	yóo	+	+	+	+	+
23)	Description	173.7		M	-	+	+	+	+	+
24)	Description	175.7		M	-	+	+	+	+	+
25)	Prayer	181.8		M	-	+	-	-	+	+

¹The minus sign indicates the absence, the plus sign the presence of the item listed. R refers to the presence of a word clitic relating the story to a previous one.

²The audience responded with laughter which served as a closing signal.

391] 8.5 Some general conclusions

A pilot study of folklore and some other discourses has shown us that discourse is highly structured and that this structure is often marked by overt linguistic signals to make the points of transition obvious to the listener.

It was originally believed that folklore was more highly structured than other discourses but this does not seem to be true. However, the overt signals marking the structure in folklore seem to be more evident. One may conclude that all Fulani discourse is structured in very similar ways, but that the overt signals are more evident in some types of discourse and that these markers will serve as useful criteria for the categorization of varieties of discourse.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations of terms:

Ac	Accompaniment	NR	Noun Root
Adj	Adjective Stem	NS	Noun Stem
ATN	Attributive Nominal	Num	Numeral
Cl	Closer	NZ	Nominalizer
Co	Complement	O	Object
CV	Consonant-Vowel	pl	plural
Des	Description	PPr	Possessive Pronoun
Dm	Demonstrative	Pr	Pronoun
DPr	Dependent Pronoun	Q	Interrogative word
Exp	Expletive	R	Reason
FDm	Far Demonstrative	Ref	Referent
GN	Genitival Nominal	S	Subject
H	Head (Nominal)	SE	Stem Extension
I	Introducer	sg	singular
IDm	Independent Demonstrative	T	Time
IPr	Independent Pronoun	Top	Topic
Lim	Limiter	V	Verb
Loc	Locative	VM	Verbal Modifier
M	Manner	VP	Verb Phrase
N	Noun	VPC	Verb Phrase Core
NDm	Near Demonstrative	VR	Verb Root
NP	Noun Phrase	VS	Verb Stem

Abbreviations of sources:

MS	Mallum Saalihu	G	Garoua
M	Mallum Markus	Ma	Maroua
AB	Mallum Abaayi	DG	Doko Gombe
MA	Marta Adama	JM	Jama Maliki
ND	Ngacundéré	DY	Dogon Yaro
Ibr	Ibrahima		

Explanation of symbols:

- () indicates that the enclosed item is optional
- { } indicates that the enclosed item is a morpheme which can have variant forms
- [] a) indicates that the enclosed item is transcribed in a more narrow sense than usual
b) in English material indicates items supplied to implement the sense
- ˈ morpheme stress
- ˙ minor stress
- ˑ major stress
- * emphatic stress
- ? serial intonation
- , sustained intonation
- ? question intonation
- . closing intonation
- > becomes
- < comes from

APPENDICES

We have appended six discourses:

- A Folklore (géccawol) by Mallum Abaayi.
- B Folklore (géccol) by Mallum Saali
- C Folklore (kícca) by Mallum Abaayi.
- D Folklore (táalol) by Marta Adama.
- E Description (hábaru) by Mallum Markus Muhammadu.
- F Folklore (kícca) by Mallum Abaayi.

Discourses A, B, C, and F are moral stories. Discourse D is similar to our fairy tales and is the type of story normally told by women. It includes singing. Discourse E is a description of events taking place more than thirty years ago.

The transcription is phonemic (except in certain cases where it is morphophonemic, see footnote 2, paragraph 42, and 74ff.) The glosses are fairly literal and are intended to help convey the meaning of the Fulani texts, even though this meant writing inelegant English. Free translations are added for Appendix B, E, and F. False starts are included in A, B, C, and F but are deleted in D and E. The divisions of discourse are marked in all cases. In addition, a clause analysis is indicated in Appendix F.

The references in the title refer to the tape reels, i.e. in Appendix A, the story is found in tape reel VIII story A. The references in the margins refer to the transcribed copies of these stories. The apostrophes in the Fulani text are glottal stops, see paragraph one.

APPENDIX A

VIII A by Mallum Abaayi

OPENING AND TITLE:

Táalol, géccawol, fówru
bee-yáare'.

Tale, [no,] moral story: A hyena
and a scorpion.

SETTING:

Nde-fówru yéhi, wáanci
wáanci hébaay ko-nyáama.

When the hyena went, strolled
[and] strolled, did not get what
[it] should eat.

BODY:

Ndén, ndu-wári ndu-ví'i
yáare', mi-hèbáay, ko-mi-
nyáama'. 'Ammáa 'áan-boo
1.1 be-dombi'e', 'a-tási mbakka'.

Then it came, it said [to] the
scorpion, "I did not get what I
should eat. But you too it is
said of you, you get food.

Kádi mi-yídi 'a-fídana-mmi
kúsel-? ngam-haa mi-heba mi-
nyáama ngam-véelo mbári-yam-?
yáare vii yóo bóodfum. 'Ammáa
to-'a-wáawan; fíyango-yam,
kíne-'am dfo nfi bee-kíne
máada', mi-tíran lágawal-'am
1.5 bóodfum, ngam-mi-fídan-e kúsel.

Well, I want you to shoot me
meat so I can get I can eat
because famine kills me." The
scorpion said, "Well, good.
But if you can hit for me my
nose here with your nose, I will
draw my bow up good so I can
shoot for you meat "

'O-vii bisimílla', 'en-yáa',
be-ndílli haa-ládde'. Be-yéhi
be-táwi, kúsoy ládde-boo dón,
ngóola haa-ngóolirde háa-nder-
ládde'. Ndén, yáare, víi
fowru i'an-am haa-hóore, bee-
1.9 kíne máada.

It said, "In the name of God,
let's go." They went to the
bush. They went. They found
small animals were licking salt in
a salt-lick in the woods. The
scorpion said [to] the hyena,
"Press against my head with your

Ndén fówru wáddi', kíne
mùudum 'í'i' háa, hóore
1.12 yàare'.

Yáare lórni víco wári, háa-
-nder kíne fówru nde-fífi
fówru. Fówru dó'i'; wóoki;
wóoki; nde-fówru fonwóoka',
kúsoy ládde ha-ngóolata-dó
náni wóokæandu fówru koy-
1.13 kúltori ṽ , -cáṅkiti.

Ha-koy-dondógga-dó-? gónṅgel
féere dó'i, dáande yéwi,
gónṅgel kósṅgal yéwi. Koy-
cáṅkiti. Fówru wáali dondón.
1.16 Háa bábbol wádi.

Nde-fówru hebi, dáama fídaande
yáare-go féwti-? ndén ndu-'úmmi
ndu-yéhi, ndu-táwi yáare dílli.
ndu-táwi haa-péllél kúsoy
ngóolan-noo-go, ndu-táwi kúsoy
ngórkoy féere ndó'i mbáati
1.18 haa-dón.

Ndu-nyáami háa ndu-háari.
Ndu-dílli. Jáṅgo-boo ndu-wári
háa-dón. Ndu-táwi lúttudum
ndu-nyáami. Ndén ndu-dílli.

nose." Then the hyena brought
his nose, pressed against the head
[of] the scorpion.

The scorpion brought around
tail came into the nose [of]
the hyena, it stung the hyena.
The hyena fell, howled, howled;
as the hyena was howling, the
small animals at the salt-lick
there heard the howling of the
hyena, they feared, they scattered.

Where they were running here,
one fell neck broke another the
foot broke. They scattered.
The hyena lay there, until pre-
dawn arrived.

As the hyena got better [from]
the sting [of] that scorpion
[which] cooled, then it arose,
it went, it found the scorpion
[had] gone, it found at the
place the small animals had
licked salt, it found some
small male animals [had] fallen
[and] died there.

It ate until it was satisfied.
It went. Tomorrow again it
came there. It found the rest,
it ate. Then it went.

Yéhi fábbi-? ndu-hébbàay ko-
 ndu-nyáama fahín; ndu-dábbitooy
 1.22 yáare-go.

Went a long time, it did not get
 what it should eat again, it
 looked for that scorpion else-
 where.

Ndu-ví'i yáare', 'árande 'a-
 fídani-yam; mi-nyáami. Mi-yídi
 hánde-boo 'a-fídana-mmi. Yáare
 ví'i yoo-? to-'a-yídi-kam; mi-
 fídant-e, too-'a-wáawan 'í'ugo
 2.3 kine-'am-kam.

It said to the scorpion, "At
 first, you shot for me, I ate.
 I want today too you shoot for
 me." The scorpion said, "Well,
 if you want, I will shoot for
 you, if you can press my nose."

Ndén ndú, -númi-boo, náawdum
 fídannde yáare-go ndu-húltori.
 Ndu-víi 'áa'a', ndíkka mi-'í'a
 bee-kósgal. [Fow'] Yáare
 víi 'aá'a to-'a-'í'i bee-
 kósgal-kam-? ndén-kam
 2.6 lágawal-man fídataa bóodum.

Then it thought again [of] the
 pain of that scorpion sting, it
 feared. It said, "No, better I
 press with the foot." The
 scorpion said, "No, if you press
 with the foot--then the bow will
 not shoot good.

Séy níi 'a-'í'a bee-kíne
 màada. Ndu-wádda kine háa
 hóore yáare bána háa ndu-
 'í'a', ndu-húltora ngam-náawdum
 'árande-go; ndu-ví'a 'aá'a'
 ndíkka kósgal. Yáare-boo
 ví'a á' bee-kósgal-kam mi-
 yídaa'; séy níi [beeay]
 2.9 bee-kíne.

Necessary so you press with your
 nose." It brought nose to the
 scorpion's head, it pressed, it
 would fear because of that pain
 that was before; it would say,
 "No, better the foot." The
 scorpion too would say, "No
 with the foot I don't want, only
 with the nose."

Ndén, ndu-táwi 'aá'a',
 húunde màajum náawi. Ndu-

Then, it found, no, that thing
 hurt. It said, "Oh, your bow--

víi káy, lágawal máada-man
nyáadi masín. Bee-kine-kam
mi-wáawataa. Séy 'en-'ácca

2.13 kádi.

LESSON:

'0-víi yóo 'áan 'áandi kádi.
Na-'aàn'ón véelo náawata. Min-
kam véelo náawàay-yam.

CLOSE:

Ndáa níi kiccawol-? yáare
2.15 bee-fówru wáadi.

that is wicked very. With the
nose I cannot. Necessary we
should leave [it]."

He said, "Well, you know.
Aren't you the one famine will
pain? I--famine doesn't pain
me."

There [is] how (the moral story)
the scorpion and the hyena strove.

APPENDIX B

IX K by Mallum Saali

OPENING AND TITLE:

Tóo, 'óo-boc nònnón bee-
débbo mùudum.

Well, he too also with his wife.

SETTING:

Sùka féere dódábbita-mo débbo
tùm tùm tùm. 'O-'ánda. Bee-
-bíngel màako 'ámmaa bíngel-
-kam doyí'a.

Another young man was always
after his wife. He did not
know. But his child was
observing.

BODY:

Nyénde-nde bíiraba 'o-dílli
jáhaangal.'

One day he made a trip.

Súka wárti násti súudu-?
jàwmu sáare-bco nònnón
dowárta.

The young man came back,
entered the house. The owner
of the house was coming back
also at that time.

.6 Bíirabaddel, débbo màako tági
górko-go. báari hed-jáago káp.
Górko wárti. Débbo násti
wáali haa-súudu. Débbo 'úmmi
námi, défi be-dombáali nii.

His wife rolled that man in the
bed-roll. Her husband came back.
His wife went in and laid down.
She got up and cooked for him
and laid down.

Bíirabaddel, górko-go nyáami',
górko-go dó haa-dáago.
Bíngel-go víi káyto 'áyye
báaba-'am-? 'o-víi-mo hám.
'O-víi kóomoy fúu bee-ko-
númata'. 'O-víi hám. 'O-víi
mín bee-ko-núman-mi-? dáada-

The husband was eating. The
other man was in the bed-roll.
His child said, "Oh my father."
Father said, "What?" He said,
"Everyone with his thoughts."
Father said, "Yes?" He said,
"I and my thoughts,

'am bee-ko núman-mi-?
 báaba-'am-boo bee-ko númata-?
 'óo-boo bee-ko-númata.

- 63.7 Báaba màako víi-mo móy? 'O-
 víi-mo mín bee-ko núman-mi
 'Áan bee-ko-númat-aa dáada-'am
 bee-ko-númata. 'Óo-boo bee-
 ko-númata.

Bíirabaddel nònnón báaba háfti
 pút. Hóo'i' [dumáani hóo'i
 hóo'i hóo'i] lábbo. Víi yúwan
 dáago-go. Górko-go sáari
 fárrr. Bíiraba cáarol dága
 nder-dáago háa 'íli bíiraba
 násti yíite.

LESSON:

- 63.8 Bíiraba 'o-víi-mo sáala vúrta-
 -kam bíi-bú'e'. Kóo ko-górko-
 -go wádi mi-yóofti-mo.
 Bíiraba 'o-víi-mo 'a-méeridi.

CLOSE:

Tímmi.

Mother with her thoughts, Father
 with his thoughts, he too with
 his thoughts."

Father-his said, "Who?" He
 said, "I with my thoughts, you
 with your thoughts, Mother with
 her thoughts, he too with his
 thoughts."

So then father jumped up, took
 a spear and said he would spear
 the roll. That man had the
 excrement scared out of him.
 The excrement ran out from the
 roll way to the fire.

Now he said to him, "Pass by
 and go out, son of excrement.
 Whatever that man did, I let
 him go." He said to him, "You
 became worthless."

Ended.

FREE TRANSLATION

Well now, here is another story of a man and his wife.

A certain young man was always after his wife. The husband didn't know about it, but he had a child who saw what was going on. One day the father went on a trip. That certain young man had come into the house, but at that time the father was also returning home. So on sensing this, his wife rolled that young man right up in a bed-roll. When her husband came, she was lying down but got up and ground the meal and cooked it and went back to her room. Well now, the father ate, and all the while the young man was in the bed-roll.

The child said, "Oh my father." The father said, "Yes". The child said, "Everyone has his own thoughts". The father said, "Yes". The child said, "I have my own thoughts, Mother has her own thoughts, Father has his own thoughts, that one too has his own thoughts." His father said, "Who?" The child replied, "I have my thoughts, you have your thoughts, Mother has her thoughts, he too has his thoughts."

Well now the father jumped right up, took a spear, and said he would pierce that bed-roll. The young man was frightened so stiff that he voided so much it went way to the fireplace. So the father said to the young man, "Go on, get right on out you dirty dog, you worthless fool."

And that's the end.

APPENDIX C

VIII E by Mallum Abaayi

OPENING AND TITLE:

Ndáa-boo kícca, mbéewa
wáadi bee-fówru, bee-
mbárooga'.

Here also a moral tale, the goat
strove with the hyena, with the
lion.

SETTING:

Mbéewa, wári táwi fówru'.
Fówru nde-yíi mbéewa yídi
nángugo mbéewa.

The goat came found the hyena.
The hyena when [it] saw the goat
wanted to catch the goat.

BODY:

7.16 Ndén mbéewa-boo húltori; víi-
mo fówru 'en-njáa haa-ládde
[nyaa-] nyáamoy-aa-mi tón.

The goat feared, [it] then said
[to] him, "Hyena, let's go to
the bush; you eat me there."

7.19 Be ndílli haa-ládde'. Njéhi
be-táwi mbárooga'. Ndén,
nde-be-táwi mbárooga, mbéewa
no-yíi mbárooga víi mbárooga
káaw-'am, ndáa mi-wáddani-ma
húunde béldum. 'O-víi dume
ngáddu-daa?

They went to the bush, went
[and] found a lion. Then, as
they found the lion, the goat as
[it] saw the lion said, "Lion my
uncle, Look, I brought you a
sweet thing." It said, "What did
you bring?"

7.22- 'Asée [wun,] njúmri dón háa-
6.1 nder páalel-ma nga-'a-dovákki.
'O-hóo'i lárel-go 'o-súuwi
háa-nder njúmri 'o-hóosi 'o-
hókki mbárooga'. Mbárooga
hóosi; múkki haa-húnduko.

Well now, there was honey in your
small bottle that you shoulder.
It took that small skin [and]
dipped [it] in the honey, he took
[it] and gave [it to] the lion.
The lion took [and] put [it] to
[its] mouth.

'O-víi táhu nònnón. 'A-
hókkita-mmi háa mi-wádda féere.
Mbárooga víi háa táha lálal-go
dílli nder-réedu.

'O-víi na-mi-móddi, 'o-víi
yóovo kádi na-séy 'a-héba
lálal fówru, ndén, fówru víi
'áa'a, mín-kam náa háa-'am
déy-? 'o-víi 'm'hmm her-
máako, ndén fówru 'úmmi;
sórti; mbárooga 'úmmi;
tókki: be-ndílli be-
8.2 ndíllidi, be-ndíllidi.

Ndén, mbárooga jókkitoy fówru
nángi. Dúurti lálal, wáddi.
Mbéewa-boo-? kánjum-boo nde-
yí'i mbárooga dílli-? hoo'i
bíkkoy mùm dóggi dílli wúro.

LESSON:

Mbárooga wártiroy', lálal
fówru-go har-'ácci-noo mbéewa-
-go, wári tàwáay mbéewa-?
[tàwáay, tàwáay mbéewa,]
tàwáay, njúmri ndi-méem-noo-

CLOSE:

8.8 Níi mbéewa wádi dábare no-
kísra.

It said, "Lick [it] only, so you
can give [it] back to me and I
can bring [you] more." The lion
said, "Let me lick," skin-that
went into the stomach.

It said, "Well, I swallowed
[it]." It said, "Well, you must
get the skin [of] a hyena."
Then the hyena said, "No, me, not
with me, hey?" It said, "Yes,
from him." Then the hyena rose,
ran away. The lion arose,
followed, they went. They went
together, they went together.

Then, the lion reached the hyena
[and] caught [it]. Stripped the
skin and brought [it]. The goat,
it, when it saw the lion go, took
its children [and] ran to town.

The lion came back from there
with the skin of that hyena to
where it had left that goat, came,
did not find the goat, did not
find the honey it had tasted.

Thus, the goat made a stratagem
to get saved.

APPENDIX D

X D by Marta Adama

SETTING:

133.4 Yóo, sùkaajo féere 'o-do-
wáanca kádi. 'O-táwi póola
dosúfta', dovidita', jáar-
torde gáwri.

Well, then a certain young man
was strolling. He found a dove
was picking, was scratching in
a threshing place [for] millet.

BODY:

Ndén kádi 'o-víi póola-go,
to-'a-wári haa-jaartorde
baaba-'am nii na-'a-haaran.
Póola-go tókki-mo kádi. 'O-
yéhi haa-jáartorde báaba
màako. Póola-go módi gáwri-
go jínni kádi. 'Úmmi', fiiri
yéhi jóodi dow-dákkawal báaba
màako, dári kádi. 'O-vii,

Then he said [to] the dove,
"If you come to the threshing
place [of] my father, you will
get enough." That dove followed
him. It went to the threshing
place [of] his father. That dove
swallowed that millet ended.¹ It
got up, flew, went, sat on the
fence [of] his father [and]
stood. It said,

133.5 'Aan sùka górko
'e-nyámde 'e-tiinde
'e-lúduru 'e-dáande
'e-cáwel 'e-júngel
'a-sémti-boo mi-háaraay.

"You young man
with a nice forehead
with a wonderful neck
with a cane in hand
you are ashamed [because] I am
not satisfied."

133.6 Báaba naní-na
ko-póola ví'í-mmi
baa-mín sùka górko
'e-nyámde 'e-tiinde
'e-lúduru 'e-dáande
'e-cáwel 'e-júngel
'a-sémti-boo mi-háaraay.

"Father, please listen [to]
what the dove tells me
(like) I am 'a young man
with a nice forehead
with a wonderful neck
with a cane in hand
you are ashamed [because] I am
not satisfied."

¹Completely

Báaba màako víi-mo, 'o-
mábbitan-mo béembal mbáyeeri.
'O-mábbítani-mo'. Póola-go
módi fúu jinni'. Fíiri fahín
jóodi haa-dákkawal báaba
màako.

133.7 'Aan súka górko
'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde
'e-lúduru 'e-dáande
'e-cáwel 'e-júngel
'a-sémti-boo mi-háaraay.

Báaba nanii-na
ko-póola ví'i-mmi
baa-mín súka górko
'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde
'e-lúduru 'e-dáande
'e-cáwel 'e-júngel
'a-sémti-boo mi-háaraay.

133.8 Mábbitan-mo béembal njigaari.
'O-mábbítani-mo o módi jinni'.
'O-fíiri kádi-boo 'o-jóodi haa-
dákkawal báaba màako 'o-víi,

134.1 'Aan suka górko
'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde
'e-lúduru 'e-dáande
'e-cáwel 'e-júngel
'a-sémti-bee mi-háaraay.

Báaba nanii-na
ko-póola ví'i-mmi
baa-mín súka górko
'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde
'e-lúduru 'e-dáande
'e-cáwel 'e-júngel
'a-sémti-boo mi-háaraay.

His father said [to] him [that]
he should open the bin [of]
mbayeeri millet. He opened [it]
for him. That dove swallowed [it]
all ended flew again [and] sat
on the fence [of] his father.

"You young man
with a nice forehead
with a wonderful neck
with a cane in hand
you are ashamed [because] I am
not satisfied."

"Father, please listen [to]
what the dove tells me
(like) I am 'a young man
with a nice forehead
with a wonderful neck
with a cane in hand
you are ashamed [because] I am
not satisfied."

"Open for him the bin [of]
njigaari millet." He opened [it]
for him. It swallowed, ended. It
flew again, it sat on the fence
of his father, it said,

"You young man
with a nice forehead
with a wonderful neck
with a cane in hand
you are ashamed [because] I am
not satisfied."

"Father, please listen [to]
what the dove tells me
(like) I am 'a young man
with a nice forehead
with a wonderful neck
with a cane in hand
you are ashamed [because] I am
not satisfied."

Mábbitan-mo béembal nyádiiri.
 'O-mábbiti 'o-módi jinni'.
 'O-ffiri fahín. 'O-jóodi
 haa-dákkawal báaba màako'.

SONG¹

134.5 'O-vii-mo mábbitan-mo béembal
 biríiji. 'O-mábbitani-mo
 'o-módi jinni. 'O-ffiri
 fahín.

134.6 SONG

'O-vii-mo mábbitan-mo
 béembal nóome. 'O-mábbitani-
 mo': 'O módi'. 'O-ffiri
 fahín. 'O-jóodi.

134.7 SONG

134.8 Mábbitan-mo béembal nyébbe'.
 'O-mábbitani-mo 'o-módi
 jinni 'o-ffiri fahín.

135.1 SONG

135.2 Báaba màako vii-mo yáh
 mábbiti wáalde ná'i
 'a-hókka-mo 'o-móda'.
 'O-mábbiti', 'o-hókki'.
 Póola módi jinni'. Ffiri
 fahín.

"Open for him the bin of nyádiiri
 millet." He opened [it]. It
 swallowed, [it] ended. It flew
 again [and] sat on the fence of
 his father.

SONG

He said to him, "Open for him the
 bin [of] peanuts." He opened
 [it] for him. It swallowed,
 ended. It flew again.

SONG

He said [to] him, "Open for him
 the bin [of] heniseed." He
 opened [it] for him. It
 swallowed. It flew again [and]
 it sat.

SONG

"Open for it the bin [of] beans."
 He opened [it] for him. It
 swallowed, ended, it flew again.

SONG

His father said [to] him, "Go
 open the pen [of] cattle, give
 [them] it [so] it can swallow."
 He opened, he gave [them to it].
 The dove swallowed, ended.
 [It] flew again.

¹Each time the song is repeated, only SONG is written to save space.

135.3 SONG

'O-vfi mábbitan-mo wáalde
bámde'. 'O-mábbiti 'o-módi'.
'O-ffiri fahín.

SONG

He said, "Open for it the pen [of]
donkeys." He opened, it swallowed
[them]. It flew again.

135.4 SONG

135.5 Mábbitan-mo lúmaaru báali'.
'O-mábbiti 'o-módi. 'O-
ffiri fahín.

SONG

"Open for it the pen [of] sheep."
He opened It swallowed [them].
It flew again.

135.6 SONG

135.7 Mábbitan-mo lúmaaru pé'i.
'O-mábbiti 'o-módi. 'O-ffiri
fahín.

SONG

"Open for it the pen [of] goats."
He opened [it]. It swallowed [them].
It flew again.

135.8 SONG

Mábbitan-mo, súudu púccu'.
'O-mábbiti 'o-módi. 'O-
ffiri fahín.

SONG

"Open for it the barn [of] the
horse " He opened [it]. It swallowed
[it]. It flew again.

136.1 SONG

136.2 Yóo 'o-vii-mo 'a-wára 'a-móda
hóore-'am kádi. Yóo, 'o-sáli.
Vii,

SONG

Well, he said [to] it, "You come,
you swallow me then." Well, he
refused, [and] said,

SONG

136.3 Yóo mi-vii-mo 'o-wára 'o-móda
hóore-'am. 'O-sáli'. 'O-úmmi',
'o-yéhi', o-yéhi', 'o-yéhi
'o-túuti béembal njigaari, 'o-
túuti béembal mbayeeri', 'o-
túuti béembal nyádiiri, 'o-túuti
béembal biríji, 'o-túuti béembal
nóome, 'o-túuti béembal nyébbe,
'o-túuti kála kúuje báaba máako
'o-módi pát kóo-góotel wálaa dúm

SONG

Well, I told him [that] it come,
it swallow me. It refused. It
got up, it went, it went, it
went, it regurgitated the bin
[of] njigaari millet, it regurgitated
the bin [of] mbayeeri millet, it
regurgitated the bin [of] nyadiiri
millet, it regurgitated the bin [of]
peanuts, it regurgitated the bin
[of] beniseed, it regurgitated the

'o-lútti haa-rédu màako 'o-yéhi
 'o-túuti bee-dúm 'o-módi haa-
 jáartorde báaba màako pát:

bin [of] beans, it regurgitated
 everything [of] his father [that]
 it swallowed all, not one small
 thing was left in its stomach. It
 went, it regurgitated with that
 which it had swallowed at the
 threshing floor of his father,
 everything!

LESSON:

'O-vii-mo jángo-boo, to-mi-
 dofábbita láafere-'am 'a-
 wára 'a-jála-mmi kádi. Mi-
 támme 'a-háarna tón.

It said [to] him, "Tomorrow, if I
 am searching in my poverty, you
 come and laugh at me. I think you
 will have your fill there."

136.5 CLOSE:

Táalol-man jinni kádi.

This tale is ended.

APPENDIX E

Description by Mallum Markus

OPENING AND TITLE:

173.7 No-mi-fúddiri kúugal haa-
Gáanda.

How I started the work in Gaanda.

SETTING:

173.8 Min-'úmmi háa-dó, mín, Búnguwa,
bee-Batáajo féere ngam-min-
njáha, min-ngáanca lésde háa
yáhugo Láala.

We arose here, I, Bundgaard, and
a Bata person, so we could go, we
could journey through the countries
until going [to] Laala.

BODY:

Min-'úmmi dó, min-mbáali Pélla.
Min-'úmmi Pélla, min-mbáali
Jángura. Min-'úmmi Jángura,
min-njéhi min-njíppi Gáanda'.
Nde-min-njíppi Gáanda' min-
táwi be mbádani Búnguwa dánki
ki-jíppoto'. Min-boo be-
njíppini-yam haa-dánki ki-be-
mbádani Dí'o'. Min-mbáali
dóndón.

We arose here, we slept [at] Pella.
We arose [from] Pella, we slept at
Jangura. We arose [from] Jangura,
we went, we descended [at] Gaanda.
When we descended [at] Gaanda, we
found they [had] made for Bundgaard
a shelter in which [he] will stay.
I too, they settled me into a shel-
ter which they [had] made for
the District Officer. We slept there.
Middle night, a person came, stood
on head-my. He said me, "Hey! At
here, you will make home-your place-
this you will make home-your."
Thus he turned, he departed.

174.1 Cáka jemma, gódó wári dári
dow-hóore-'am. 'O-vii-yam héy.
Háa dó'o, 'a-wádata sáare màada.
Péllel-ngel 'a-wádata sáare
màada. Nonnón 'o-wáyliti 'o-
dílli'.

Broke morning I did not tell
Bundgaard. We journeyed until we
reached Laala. We returned, we

Véeti fájiri mi-yéccàay
Búnguwa. Min-njáanci háa min-

ndúkki Láala'. Min-lórti, min-
ngárti Dúmle. Haa-lésdi
Yánguru'. Nde-min-ngárti Dúmle
haa-lésdi Yánguru', Bataajo
174.2 dóggi hóoti húunde mùudum.

Séy, mi-vii Máalum
'Búnguwa', mi-yáhan Gáanda'.
'O-vii 'a-yáhan Gáanda? Mbíi-
mi mi-yáhan Gáanda. Wódaa fúlbe
déy mbíi-mi 'óoho Kóo wódaa
fúlbe-boo mi-yáhan. Mi-yáaran
hábaru 'Alla haa-Gáanda. 'O-
vii tóo. Mi-vii débbo-'am
débbo-'am vii yáhataa. Mi-vii
174.3 tóo, kóo 'a-yáháay, mìn-kam
mi-yáhan.

Mi-lórti', mi-vii Máalam
Búnguwa 'áccu mi-yáha bee-hóore-
'am-? téema nde-'a-'émi-be be-
mbí'i be-ngídi gódo-? háa
wállita-be dó-? téema ngam-be-
láari-maa, lárál-ma dánawal, 'a-
báturé, be-kúli.
'Anmaa 'áccu mìn gódo báleejo
bána mábbe mi-yáha-? to-be-
ngídi máa-? mi-héptan. To-
be-ngídáa, be-kúli máa-? ngam-
174.4 máada be-kúli máa-? mi-héptan.

came back [to] Dumle in country
Yanguru, when we came back [to]
Dumle in country Yanguru, the
Bata person departed went home
thing-his.

[Of] necessity, I told
teacher Bundgaard, "I will
go [to] Gaanda." He said, "You
will go [to] Gaanda?" Said-I,
"I will go [to] Gaanda."
"There are no Fulani." I said,
"Yes. Even so there are no
Fulani, I will go. I will take
the news of God to Gaanda."
He said, "Well." I told wife-my,
wife-my said will not go. I
said, "Well, even [though] you
do not go, I, I will go."

I returned, I said [to]
Teacher Bundgaard, "Let me go with
head-my--perhaps when you ask
them they say they want a person--
to help them here--perhaps because
they see you, skin-your white, you
European, they fear.

But let me a person black like
them, I go--if they want so--
I wil' find [out]. If they do
not want, if they fear so--
because [of] you they fear so--
I will find [out]."

Tóo mi-wá"i púccu-'am.
 Máalam Búnguwa hókki-yam góódo
 défanáádo-yam. Mi-yéhi mi-táwi
 'árnaado Gáanda haa-Jángura
 dojába céede. Mi-'úmmi mi-yéhi
 haa-máako, mi-hóofni-mo'. Mi-
 víi-mo mi-wári haa-máada, haa-
 lésdi máada. Ngam-mi-nána, ko-
 wón háa himbe màada. 'O-víi-
 yam tóo.

174.5 Véeti fájiri 'o-háwti-yam-bee-
 góódo 'o-víi-? góódo yáara-mmi
 haa-wákiili màako wákiili màako
 jíppina-mmi. Wákiiliijo màako
 jíppini-min nde-mín-njótti
 Gáanda. Haa-súudu, dánki ki-be
 mbádan-noo Máalam Búnguwa mi-
 jíppi."

Háa donón, be-móopti'. Mi-
 wáadi-be wáaji. Bee-fulfulde
 ngam-be-donána fulfulde'. Mi-
 wáaji-be', mi-wáaji-be', mi-
 wáaji-be', mi-wáaji-be. Mi-

174.6 víi tóo jóna mi-wári háa
 móodon-? ngam-mi-nána, no-
 'on-ngóorri. 'On-ngídi góódo
 wára wúrtina-'ón nder-nyíbre-na
 kóo 'on-ngídaa? Be-mbíi be-
 ngídi.

Mi-víi tóo. To-'on-ngídi-
 kam, mín-boo mi-yídi mi-
 láara, 'ánniya móodon. 'On-

Well, I mounted horse-my.

Teacher Bundgaard gave me a person
 who will cook for me. I went.
 I found the chief [of] Gaanda at
 Jangura was receiving money. I
 arose. I went to him, I greeted
 him. I said [to] him, "I came to you,
 to country-your. In order I hear
 what is with people-your." He said
 to me, "Well."

Broke morning he introduced me
 with a person he said that the
 person should take me to overseer-
 his, overseer-his should place me.
 Overseer-his placed me when we
 reached Gaanda. In a house, a
 shelter that they had made for
 Teacher Bundgaard. I descended.

There they assembled. I made
 them a sermon in Fulani, because
 they are hearing Fulani. I
 preached [to]..., I preached [to]
 them, I preached to them. I
 said, "Well now I came to you--
 in order I hear how you are
 getting on. You want a person
 come bring you out of darkness?
 Or you not want?" They said
 they wanted. I said, "Well."

"If you want, I too I want I
 see your intent. You make bricks.
 I slept there days twenty and five.

mbáda túbalije'. Mi-wáli
tón bálde nóogas, 'e-jówi. Be
mbádi túbalije, wádi
'újuneere'.

Séy háakimiijo lésdi wári
174.7 táwi-yam. 'O-vii-yam 'áan
wóni Máalam Márkus Muhamma-
na? Mbii-mo-mi 'óoho.
Háakimiijo máajum, 'inde
máako-? Máala 'Usumáanu.
Déerdu Gáldima Yóola.

'O-vii tóo. Mi-yí'i dérewol
máada. 'A-néldi-yam dérewol
mi-láari. 'Ámmaa, 'a-jóodatáako
háa-dó. Séy 'a-'umma jóna 'a-
dílla'. 'A-wúrta lésdi-'am.
Mbii-mo-mi 'áa'a. Mínin náa
min-wúybe lésdi. Min-ngújjataa
174.8 lésdi'. To-min-kébaay 'izni,¹
haa-lésdi, min-ngárataa min-
njóodo'. 'Ámmaa fúu dá 'e-non
mi-náni.

'O-sáali', 'o-dílli Kanjakkara.
Séy mi-wíndi dérewol. Mi-néli
haa Máalam, Búnguwa. Saa'i
màajum 'o-dò Kílba kádi-boo.
'O-lórtake Kílba.

Véeti fájiri, dérewol
yótti Máalam Búnguwa haa-
Kílba'. Búnguwa', wa'i',
búrbur mùudum. Wári táwi-mo',

They made bricks, made one
thousand.

Then an official [of] the country
came, found me. He said [to] me,
"You are Teacher Markus Muhamadu,
aren't you?" Said I to him, "Yes."
Official-that name-his Teacher
Usumanu. Brother [of] Galdima
Yola.

He said, "Well, I saw letter-your.
You sent me a letter, I saw. But
you will not remain here.
Necessary you arise now you depart.
You go out country-my." Said I
to him, "No. We are not we thieves
[of] country. We will not rob
the country. If we do not receive
authorization in the country,
we will not come we stay. But
nonetheless, I heard."

He passed on, he went to Kanjakkara.
Of necessity, I wrote a letter.
I sent [it] to Teacher Bundgaard.
At that time, he was at Kilba
again. Broke morning, the letter
reached Teacher Bundgaard at Kilba.

Bundgaard mounted motorcycle-
his. [He] came found him asked
him, he said because he did not

¹Loan word.

175.1 ...'émi-mo, 'o-víi ngam-'o-
hèbáay dérewol haa-láamiido-?
'o-hèbáay dérewol haa-résden,
Búnguwa ví'i-mo too. Mínin-kam
min-kébi dérewol haa-ngómna min-
kébi dérewol haa-résden.

Dága dón, mi-'úmmi mi-wárti'.
Mi-ándi be-ngídi nde-be-mbádi
túubaliije, 'újunéere. Mi wárti
Yánguru mi-víi Búnguwa too, jóna

175.2 séy 'a-yáha haa-péllél Kája, 'a-
'árta 'a-nyíba, súudu 'Álla.

Ndén dága báawo-don, too, mi-
'éggi mi-yéhi koo haa-dúbbe
léggal bee-débbo-'am min-
njóodoto, háa be-nyíbana-mmi,
mín-boo súudu. Sáare-'am. Séy
Búnguwa 'úmmi wári', táwi be-
mbáagi lésdi-kam, séy máhugo.
Haa nókkuure be-mbíi-noo-yam,
be-kólli-yam dó, dondón-boo mi-

175.3 hólli Búnguwa-boo, máhi súudu
'Álla.

Báawodon, nde-'o máhi súudu
'Álla, 'o-tímmi máhugo, 'o-
wárti. Mín-boo séy mi-'éggi.
'Éggugo jemma; mi-sáli Pélla'.
Nde-mi-sáli Pélla? mi-yéhi
mi-wáli haa-ládde'. Wúybe
tókki-yam. Be-kábi wújjugo,
'Álla hádi-be. Be-kábi, be-

get a letter from the King,
because he did not get a letter from
the Resident. Bundgaard said
[to] him, "Well, we got a letter
from the Resident."

From there, I arose, I came back.
I knew they wanted when they made
bricks one thousand. I came back
[from] Yanguru. I said [to]
Bunguwa, "Well, now necessary you
go to a certain place, you start
you build the house of God."

Then from that time on, well, I
moved. I went even to the bottom
of the tree with wife-my, we will
sit until they build for me, my
house. My home. Of necessity,
Bundgaard arose, came found they
[had] piled up dirt, ready to build.
In the place where they had told
me, they had showed me there,
right there I showed Bundgaard also,
built the house of God.

After that, when he built the house
of God, he finished building, he
came back. Me too, then I moved.
Moving at night, I passed Pella.
When I passed Pella, I went I
slept in the bush. Robbers followed
me. They tried to rob, God
hindered them. They tried, they

175.4 kábi, be-kábi'. 'Alla hòkkáay-
be báawde, be-ngújja-mmi.

Háa wádi dùubi táti. Gújjo
nder-mábbe wári víi-yam-?
Máalam 'a-wóodi rísku. Nyende
'a-wáala haa-ládde haa-nókkuure
kája, min-tókkaka-maa, háa min-
ngújj-e. 'Alla hòkkáay-min
báawde. Mi-víi tóo.

Dága dón mi-yéhi mi-jíppi
Gáanda'. Gáanda-boo wódaa
lúumo'. Wódaa fúlbe méa sákko
lúumo wáda'. 'Arnaado Gáanda
móopti hímbe. Be-nyíbbani-yam
mín-boo sáare-'am. 'Ádada'.
Mi-tíiti 'ádada súudu 'Alla-do
mi-tímmi'. Min tíiti súudu-
'am. Min-tímmi'.

SUMMARY:

Ndén mi-wádi, min-ndáwridi
bee-'árnaado Gàanda bí'etèedo
Dáaso. Kángo 'ón mi-táwi, háa-
nder láamu'. Min-tóri 'Alla min-
mbádi lúumo'. Háa jóna lúumo
máajum dón.

CLOSE:

Níi mi-fúddiri kúugal Jáwmiraawo
haa-Gáanda.

tried, they tried. God did not
give them power, they rob me.

Until three years passed. A
robber from among them came
said [to] me, "Teacher, you are
fortunate. The day you slept in
the bush at a certain place,
we followed you so we rob you.
God did not give us the power."
I said, "Well."

From then I went I descended at
Gaanda. Gaanda did not have a
market. There were no Fulani much
the less a market be made. The
chief [of] Gaanda assembled people.
They built for me, me too my home.
An Adada. I roofed the Adada house
of God. I finished. We roofed
house-my. We finished.

Then I made, we consulted with
the chief [of] Gaanda called Daaso.
He it was I found on the throne.
We prayed [to] God, we made a
market. Until now market-that
exists.

That is how I started the work of
the Lord at Gaanda.

FREE TRANSLATION

How I Started the Work in Gaanda

Bundgaard, a Bata man and myself started out on a journey through several kingdoms to go to Laala. We first stopped at Pella and we stayed there, then we went and stayed at Jangura. After that we went and stayed at Gaanda. On arriving at Gaanda we found that the people had made a shelter for Bundgaard to stay in. They put me in the shelter which they had made for the District Officer. We stayed there.

In the middle of the night, someone came and stood at the head of my bed. He said to me, "Look, here is where you'll make your home, right in this place." Then he turned and left. When we awoke early in the morning I did not tell Bundgaard what happened during the night.

We continued our journey until we arrived at Laala. We then started back on the return journey and we came to Dumle in the kingdom of Yanguru. It was at this point that the Bata man up and left us and went his way. I felt I had to tell Teacher Bundgaard that I would go to Gaanda. He said, "You'll go to Gaanda?" I replied, "Yes, I'll go to Gaanda." He said, "There are no Fulani there." I said, "No, but even though there are no Fulani, I'll go. I'll bring the news of God to Gaanda." He said, "Good."

When I told my wife about it, she said she would not go. So I told her that even if she didn't go, I would.

After I got back home I said to Teacher Bundgaard, "Let me go to Gaanda by myself because if you ask them whether or not they want someone to teach them, they may be afraid to tell the truth because you are white and a European. But if someone black like them goes, he would get the truth. If they really want someone, I'll find out. Or if they really don't want anyone to teach them but do not dare say so because they fear you, I'll find that out too."

So I mounted my horse for my journey. Teacher Bundgaard sent a person with me to cook for me. I went and found the Chief of Gaanda was outdoors collecting taxes. I got up and went to him and greeted him. I told him I had come to his country in order to find out whether or not his people wanted a teacher. He replied, "Good."

In the morning he gave me a guide who would take me to his overseer who would find a place for me to stay. The overseer put me in a house or a shelter that they had prepared for Teacher Bundgaard. That's where I stayed. When the people had been assembled, I preached to them in Fulani because they understand Fulani. I preached a lengthy sermon. I said, "Well now, I have come to you in order to find out whether or not you want someone to bring you out of darkness." They said they did want someone. I said, "Good. I'll find out if you really want someone. I want you to make bricks." I stayed there twenty-five days and they made a thousand bricks.

Then an official of the Emirate came and found me. He said to me, "You are Teacher Markus Muhammadu, aren't you?" I answered, "Yes." The name of that official was Teacher Usmanu and he was a brother of the Galdima of Yola. He said, "I saw the letter you sent me. But you'll not stay here. You must get up and leave my territory immediately. I said to him, "Now, we are not despoilers, we will not rob the territory. If we don't receive authorization to stay in this country, we will not come to stay here. Nonetheless, I heard what you said."

The official went on his way to Kanjakkara. I had to write a letter and send it to Teacher Bundgaard at Kilba. Bundgaard got on his motorcycle and went and found the official. The official explained that the decision was necessary because he had received no authorization from the King or the Resident. Well, Bundgaard said, "We do have an authorization from the Resident."

After that, I went back to Gaanda. I knew they wanted a teacher since they had made a thousand bricks. I came back from

Yanguru and said to Bundgaard, "Now you must build a house of God in Gaanda."

Well then, after that, I moved. I camped under a tree with my wife while a house was being built for me. Then Bundgaard came and found that they had prepared the dirt for the building. Bundgaard built the house of God right in the place where I had been shown in that dream.

When Bundgaard finished the house of God, he returned. Then I went to Gaanda. I passed Pella at night and camped in the bush. Robbers were following me and they tried to rob me, but God hindered them. They tried again and again, but God did not permit them to rob me. Three years later, one of those robbers came to me and said to me, "Teacher, you are very fortunate. One day while you camped in the bush at such-and-such a place, we followed you in order to rob you. But God did not permit us to." I said, "Good."

Then I entered Gaanda. Gaanda did not have a market at that time. There weren't even any Fulani, much less a market.

The Gaanda chief gathered his people. They built a home for me and a house of God and we roofed both of them.

I had frequent, friendly consultations with the chief of Gaanda who was called Daaso. He was on the throne there at that time. We worshipped God. We started a market which exists even today.

That is how I started the work of the Lord at Gaanda.

APPENDIX F

VIII 7 by Mallum Abaayi
(Clause analysis)

OPENING AND TITLE.

11.17 Kicca kaa-boo-? mboju bee-bikkoy mbudum.¹
Topic Description

Story-this too a rabbit with children-its

SETTING:

Nde-ngu-wári dillago waancaru'-?!
I S VPC VM Co

when it came to go strolling

BODY:

ngu-vii bikkoy maagu'-?!
S V Co

it said [to] children-its

//to-'on-naani, / ngaatee, / ngaatee, / ngaatee, //
I S VPC VP VP VP
Co

"If you hear, Encircle, encircle, encircle,

bikkoy-'am taa kultoree.
S VM VPC

children-my don't fear.

'Andee mi-wartan /
VPC S VPC
Co

Know I will come back.

¹The slash marks minimal clause division; two slashes, clauses which include other clauses.

FREE TRANSLATION

This story is about a rabbit and her children.

Before she went for a walk, she said to her children, "If you hear 'catch it, catch it, catch it,' don't be afraid, my children. You can be sure I'm coming back. But if you hear, 'Bring it so I can see. Oh my what big ears! Let me see it, Oh what big ears!'" She said, "If you hear that, then be afraid. If that is so I would be in someone's hand, they would have caught me."

That is how that story ends.

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