

Wolof

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to the following great women whose unconditional love, help and support in hard times have kept me focused and have enabled me to write this book: *Khady Gningue* (my mother in Ziguinchor, Senegal), *Peggy Sebrowsky* (my mother-in-law in Whitefish, MT), *Joy Jourdonnais* (my American mother in Missoula, MT), and *Mame Diarra Ngom* (my daughter).

Abbreviations

- art. article
- aux. auxiliary verb
- adj. adjective
- adjpos. possessive adjective
- adv. adverb
- comp. complementizer
- cond. conditional
- conj. conjunction
- exw. exclamation word
- f. form
- hpm. human plural marker
- indart. indefinite article
- inf. infinitive
- lit. literally
- n. noun
- neg. negation
- nhpm. non-human plural marker
- obj. object
- p. person
- past. past form marker
- perf. perfective
- pl. plural

- pos. possessive
- pp. preposition
- pr. pronoun
- quant. quantifier
- qw. question word
- relp. relative pronoun
- sg. singular
- subj. subject

Phonetic symbols used

Consonants

- ñ refers to the palatal nasal /ɲ/
- c refers to the voiceless affricate /tʃ/
- j refers to the voiced affricate /dʒ/
- y refers to the palatal glide /j/
- :
- refers to allophonic length
- // refers to phonemic transcription
- [] refers to phonetic transcription

Vowels

- é is the orthography for the mid-close vowel [e]
- e is the orthography for the mid-open vowel [ɛ]
- ë is the orthography for the schwa [ə]
- á indicates that the vowel is stressed
- ó is the orthography for the mid-close vowel [o]
- o is the orthography for the mid-open vowel [ɔ]

Note : The standard Wolof orthography does not mark stress on other vowels

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0. Introduction

Although there are over ten languages spoken in Senegal, officially there are six national languages in the country: Wolof, Seereer, Pulaar, Joolaa, Manding (or Mandinka) and Soninke. As a former French colony, French is the official language of the government. Because of Islam, the religion of over 90% of the Senegalese population, classical Arabic also has strong influences in Senegal. Thus both French and Arabic have influenced Wolof.

Wolof belongs to the West Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo phylum. It is primarily spoken today by over 80% of the 10,000,000 Senegalese people as a first and second language. It is also spoken to some extent in the neighboring countries of The Gambia, Mauritania, Mali and Guinea. The language is related to the other West African languages which belonging to the West Atlantic linguistic family such as Pulaar (the Senegambian variety of Fulani, Fula, Fulfulde or Pulo), Seereer, Joolaa, Manding (or Mandinka) and Soninke. Wolof is considered to be the major lingua franca of Senegal and The Gambia (Senegambia). It is an agglutinating language with a rich noun class system and morphology.

According to Kâ (2001:817), the major hypothesis of the origin of Wolof is that it is the language of the Lebu (also spelled as Lébou in French), who were until the 11th century one of the main ethnic groups who inhabited the banks of Senegal river, along with the Seereer, the Fulani, the Soninke and the Moors. Kâ (2001) argues that these groups established the Tekrur Empire in the 10th century and founded the Jolof Empire toward the end of the 14th century. According to Kâ, the word Jolof comes from the area called Lof when the empire was established. Consequently, the word Wolof was

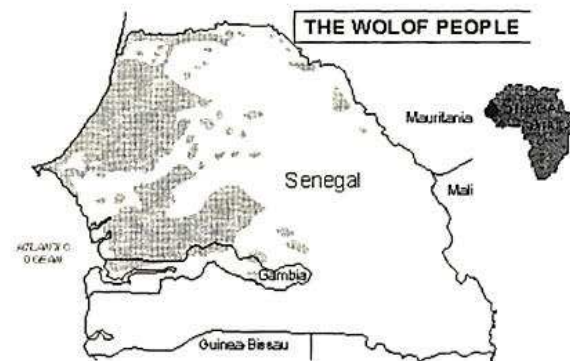
originally used to refer to inhabitants of Lof 'waa-Lof' (Wolof: 'the people of Lof'). Kâ (2001) argues this explains why the Wolof constitute a multi-ethnic society speaking the language of the Lebou.

Wolof expanded rapidly in the Senegambian region before the political independence of Senegal (April 4, 1960) due to four main factors: (1) socio-economic integration; (2) urbanization; (3) inter-ethnic marriages, and (4) the migration of rural populations into the major regional cities to look for work (Bokamba et al., 1987). Furthermore, because of its crucial role in Senegambia as the language of the urban areas, Wolof is often used as the language of the linguistically mixed families in Senegalese cities as children born into such families generally learn Wolof as their first language.

Due to the different geographical locations of Wolof speakers, there are several dialects of the language in the country. Bokamba et al. (1987) identified four major dialects of the language:

- The Northern dialect (including Waalo and Jolof)
- The Central dialect (including Kajoor and Bawol)
- The Western dialect or Cap-Vert dialect (including Lebou)
- The Saalum dialect (including the Gambian dialect).

The differences between these dialects are primarily phonological and lexical. However, despite these minor dialectal differences, the grammar of the language is relatively homogenous across the Wolof speech community.



This book focuses on the Kajor dialect, which is considered by the Senegalese government and scholars as the 'purest' variety of Wolof spoken in the country.

Wolof has borrowed words from languages such as French, Arabic, and English. Arabic words have come into Wolof through Islam. Borrowings from French are the result of language contact during and after the colonial period as the capital of A.O.F. (*Afrique Occidentale Française*, French West Africa) was established in Senegal. French was adopted as the official language of the country after independence in 1960. Loanwords from English into Wolof result from three major sources: (1) The influence of British English through The Gambia, a former British colony, (2) The global impact of the US in the world today, and (3) the Senegalese educational system. Both French and English have strongly influenced Urban Wolof in Senegal today.

Loanwords from these languages into Wolof consist of two types: incorporated loans and unincorporated loans. Incorporated loans are those that have been 'naturalized' in Wolof orthography and phonology, or have undergone semantic changes as the result of their early introduction in the Wolof speech community. Such loans have been in the Wolof speech community for so long that they have become part of Wolof native

speakers' linguistic competence, as most speakers are not aware of their foreign origin. Unincorporated loans on the other hand, are loans that are recently introduced in the language, which have not yet been fully integrated into the Wolof linguistic system.

Wolof has a very rich oral tradition. Some of it was written using the Arabic script known as *Wolofal* during and after the pre-colonial period. Although no research has been conducted on this Arabic-based writing system of Wolof, it is important to note that it is still used by most Wolof speakers illiterate in French, especially older people. The Wolof language has been codified since the 1970s. The orthography of the language is based on the I.P.A (International Phonetic Alphabet). However, despite the fact that the language has been codified since the 1970s, concise descriptive grammars of the language are seriously needed today. Wolof has several renowned thinkers whose ideas go back to the 15th century. Most of their works have been recorded using Latin alphabet.

According to Bokamba et al. (1987), some of the most known Wolof thinkers are the philosopher Kocq Barma, the jurist Majaxate Kala (who translated the *Koran* into Wolof), the story-teller Ndaamal Gosaas, the poet Musaa Kâ (French: Moussa Kâ), the Muslim leader and founder of the Murid (French: Mouride) brotherhood, Seex Ahmadu Bamba (French: Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba), the scientist Seex Anta Jóób (French: Cheikh Anta Diop), who translated the *Theory of Relativity* into Wolof; the political scientist Maxmut Jóób (French: Majmout Diop), translator of Marx's *Das Kapital*; the mathematician Saxiir Caam (French: Sakhir Thiam); the film-maker Usmaan Sembeen (French: Ousmane Sembène), to name only these.

Chapter 1: Phonology

1.1. Consonants

Although standard Wolof alphabet has 29 letters (a, à, b, c, d, è, é, e, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ñ, ñ, o, ó, p, q, r, s, t, u, w, x, and y), the sound system of the language consists of 43 consonantal and 15 vocalic sound units. With the exception of [p:], [d:], [k:], [c:] and [ʔ], all other double consonants have a phonemic value in Wolof. Note that [c] is used to refer to the IPA voiceless affricate [tʃ], [j] refers to the voiced affricate [dʒ], and [ñ] refers to the palatal nasal [ɲ]. The [~:] in the table below refers to allophonic length.

The voiceless glottal consonant /h/ is introduced into the language from Arabic through the extensive borrowings into Wolof. As a result, the glottal /h/ is in free variation with the Wolof voiceless uvular fricative /x/. The consonants consist of single consonants, prenasals and geminates.

Consonantal system

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
	p [-p:]	t [-t:]		k [-k:]		ʔ
Stops	b bb	d dd		g gg	q	
Prenasals	mp mb	nt nd	nj nc	nk ng	nq	
Nasals	m mm	n nn	ɲ ɲɲ	ŋ ŋŋ		
Affricates			c [-c:] j jj			
Fricatives	f	s			x	(h)
Lateral		l ll				
Trill		r				
Glides	w		y			

1.1.1 Single consonants and allophones

Wolof single consonants consist of 7 voiceless and 13 voiced phonemes.

- Voiceless: /p, t, k, c, f, s, x/
- Voiced: /b, d, g, j, r, l, q, m, n, ñ, ŋ, w, y/

Final devoicing is common in Wolof. Thus, voiced consonants such as /b, d, g, j/ tend to be devoiced word-finally, and are perceived respectively as their voiceless counterparts [p, t, k, c]. Consequently, each of the Wolof phonemes /b, d, g, j/ has two allophones: a voiced and a devoiced counterpart.

- /b/ → [b] (word-initially and medially) and [p] (word-finally)
- /d/ → [d] (word-initially and medially) and [t] (word-finally)
- /g/ → [g] (word-initially and medially) and [t] (word-finally)
- /j/ → [j] (word-initially and medially) and [c] (word-finally)

/c, d, k, p/ also have two allophones in complementary distribution: a single voiceless consonant (which usually occurs word-initially and word-medially) and a long consonant (which occurs intervocalically and in word-final position).

- /c/ → [c] (word-initially and medially) and [c:] (intervocalically and finally)
- /d/ → [d] (word-initially and medially) and [d:] (intervocalically and finally)
- /p/ → [p] (word-initially and medially) and [p:] (intervocalically and finally)
- /k/ → [k] (word-initially and medially) and [k:] (intervocalically and finally)

Although length is generally phonemic in Wolof, the duration of the consonants [c:], [d:], [p:] and [k:] is not phonemic since it does not differentiate the meaning of two words compared to geminates (cf. section 1.1.3). Other single consonants such as /f/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /ŋ/, /q/, /r/, /s/, /x/, and the glides /w/ and /y/ do not undergo devoicing word-finally, and

do not have non-phonemic geminates¹. Moreover, while /f/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /ŋ/, /q/, /r/, /s/, and /x/ occur word-initially, medially and finally, the uvular /q/ only occurs at word medial and final position.

1.1.2. Prenasal consonants

There are 9 prenasal phonemes in Wolof:

/mp/, /mb/, /nd/, /nt/, /nj/, /nc/, /nk/, /ng/ and /nq/.

Although each prenasal consonant consists of the combination of a nasal consonant and a stop orthographically, each constitutes a single phonemic unit in the language. While /mb/, /nd/, /nj/, and /ng/ can occur in word-initial, medial and final position, the occurrence of /mp/, /nt/, /nc/, /nk/, and /nq/ is restricted to word medial and final position. Furthermore, the glides /w/ and /y/, the fricatives /f/, /s/ and /x/, the trill /r/, and the lateral /l/, do not have prenasal counterparts.

¹ I differentiate consonantal allophonic length (referred to as long consonants) from consonantal phonemic length (referred to as geminates). Allophonic length of consonants refers to the predictable lengthening of some short Wolof consonants due to their position in the word. Unlike true geminates, such length cannot differentiate the meaning of two words in a minimal pair. I use [:] to refer to allophonic length, and double consonant letters (following the Wolof alphabet) to indicate the phonemic value of geminates.

1.1.3. Phonemic geminates

There are 9 phonemic geminates in Wolof: /bb/, /tt/, /gg/, /mm/, /nn/, /ññ/, /ŋŋ/, /jj/, and /ll/.

Their distribution is restricted to word medial and final positions in Wolof. The consonantal length of these geminates is phonemic in that it can differentiate the meaning of words in a minimal pair in Wolof. Here are minimal pairs that exemplify phonemic contrasts between Wolof short (single) consonants and phonemic geminates.

Phonemic contrast between single consonants and geminates

- /b/ vs. /bb/ /nëb/ (be rotten) vs. /nëbb/ (to hide)
- /t/ vs. /tt/ /fat/ (secure) vs. /fátt/ (to plug)
- /g/ vs. /gg/ /tag/ (land on a tree) vs. /tágg/ (to praise)
- /m/ vs. /mm/ /gëm/ (to believe) vs. /gëmm/ (to close one's eyes)
- /n/ vs. /nn/ /fen/ (to lie) vs. /fënn/ (somewhere, nowhere)
- /ñ/ vs. /ññ/ /woñ/ (to squeeze) vs. /woññ/ (to count)
- /ŋ/ vs. /ŋŋ/ /goŋ/ (gorilla) vs. /goŋŋ/ (a type of wooden bed)
- /j/ vs. /jj/ /dëj/ (funeral) vs. /dëjj/ (vulva)
- /l/ vs. /ll/ /gal/ (white gold) vs. /gáll/ (regurgitate)

These examples show that, in general, the difference in length between single consonants and geminates is not allophonic as in section 1.1.1, but rather phonemic.

1.2. Vowels

Wolof has 15 vowels: 8 short vowels and 7 long vowels. Here is the vowel system of Wolof.

	<u>Short vowels</u>			<u>Long vowels</u>		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u	ii		uu
Mid-close	é		ó	éé		óó
Mid-open	e	ë	o	ee		oo
Low		a			aa	

With the exception of the central vowel schwa (spelled as 'ë' in the Wolof orthography²), all short vowels have long counterparts. Vowel length is also phonemic in the language as illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

- nit (person) vs. niit (to search with a lamp)
- xét (odor) vs. xéét (ethnic group, type, kind)
- res (liver) vs. rees (to digest)
- put (throat) vs. Puut (name of village)
- bóli (throat) vs. bóóli (big dish)

²The Wolof orthography adopted in 1972 used 'ë' to refer to the schwa /ə/, 'é' to refer to the mid-close front vowel /e/, 'e' for the mid-open front vowel /ɛ/, 'ó' for the mid-close back vowel /o/, and 'o' for the mid-open back vowel /ɔ/. The vowel /a/ is usually stressed when it precedes a prenasal or geminates and is written as 'á' in the standard Wolof orthography.

- xol (heart) vs. xool (to look at)
- xar (sheep) vs. xaar (to wait)

Although each vowel can occur word-initially, medially or finally, Wolof vowels overwhelmingly occur word-medially or finally. Their occurrence in word-initial position is limited due to the syllable structure of the language.

1.3. Syllable structure

The typical syllable structure of Wolof is CV(C). The parentheses are indicative of the possible syllable structures in the language. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is often used as an onset in syllables with no consonantal onset. Vowel clusters such as /oi/, /oe/, /ou/, /eu/, /eo/, etc. are not possible in Wolof. Although most Wolof words typically start with a consonant, there are several words, which start with a vowel in the language today due to the extensive borrowings of French, Arabic and English words into Wolof. While all single consonants can occur in word-initial position, geminates and the prenasal consonants /mp/, /nc/, /nk/, /nq/ and /nt/ do not occur in word-initial position.

1.3.1. Phonological changes involving vowels and consonants

The phonotactic constraints of Wolof require vowel clusters (such as /iu/, /eu/, /au/, /ou/, /oc/, /oi/, etc.) to be broken by means of glide insertion, or be simplified through vowel coalescence or deletion as in the following examples.

(A). Glide insertion in vowel clusters

- tukki (travel) + uma (1st person perfective negation morpheme) → tukkiwuma (I have not traveled)
- joge (to come from) + uma (1st person perfective negation morpheme) → jogewuma (I have not come from)

- soxla (need) + -uma (1st person perfective negation morpheme) → soxlawuma (I have not needed)
- xulo (to argue) + uma (1st person perfective negation morpheme) → xulowuma (I have not complained)
- ji (to plant) + -i (directional morpheme³) → jiyi (to go plant)
- fo (to play) + -e (instrumental morpheme) → foye (to play with)
- fo (to play) + -i (directional morpheme) → foyi (to go play)

Glide insertion rule: $\emptyset \rightarrow w, y / V_1 ___ V_2$

(B). Vowel coalescence

- tukki (travel) + am (3rd person possessive morpheme) → tukkeem (his/her travel)
- bale (broom) + am (3rd person possessive morpheme) → baleem (his/her broom)
- kuddu (spoon) + am (3rd person possessive morpheme) → kuddoom (his/her spoon)
- loxo (hand) + am (3rd person possessive morpheme) → loxoom (his/her hand)

Vowel coalescence rules: (a) i/e + am → ee, (b) u/o + am → oo

(C). Vowel deletion word-medially

- tukki (to travel) + al (singular imperative morpheme) → tukki! (travel!)
- bale (to clean/broom) + al (singular imperative morpheme) → bale! (clean/broom!)
- xulo (to argue) + al (singular imperative morpheme) → xulo! (argue!)
- jublu (to face) + al (singular imperative morpheme) → jublu! (face!)

The glide insertion, coalescence and vowel deletion rules are morphologically conditioned as they occur mostly when morphemes such as the negation, possessive or

³ I use 'directional morpheme' to refer to the morpheme which gives verbs the meaning of 'to go do something' and 'instrumental morpheme' to refer to the morpheme that gives verbs the meaning of 'to do something with'.

imperative morphemes, etc. are used. These rules are used to ensure the respect of Wolof phonotactics. There are several other phonological processes triggered by the Wolof phonotactic constraints.

Beside the phonological instances discussed above, Diouf (2001:26) has identified the following processes in Wolof: deletions and contractions. The following examples illustrate these processes.

(D). Vowel deletion word-finally

- *nañu lekk* → *nañ lekk* (lets eat)
- *dínga leen gis* → *dij leen gis* (you will see them)
- *duñu dem* → *duñ dem* (they will not go)
- *ku ñu xam* → *kuñ xam* (someone they know)
- *fu ñu xam* → *fuñ xam* (where do they know)

When vowels are deleted in such monosyllabic words, the remaining consonant is attached to the previous word to form a CV(C) structure favored by the Wolof linguistic system. These deletion rules are triggered by the Wolof syllable structure, which disfavors the occurrence of syllables without a coda consonant. Similarly, syllable deletion (initial, medial or final) is also attested in Wolof, and is usually triggered by the Wolof linguistic system. The following examples illustrate such syllable deletions in Wolof.

(E) Syllable deletions

- *itam* → *tam* or *it* (also)
- *naka nga tudd* → *na nga tudd* (what's your name)
- *basiru* → *bas* (male first name)
- *muhamadu* → *mamadu* (male first name)

Beside these syllable deletions, there are various types of contractions found in Wolof. The following examples show the most common contraction instances in Wolof.

(F) Contractions 1

- *lan nga bëgg* → *loo bëgg* (what do you want?)
- *fan nga joge* → *foo joge* (where do you come from?)
- *ban nga jënd* → *boo jënd* (which one did you buy?)
- *kan ngeen gis* → *koo leen gis* (who did you see, pl.?)
- *ñan ngeen wax* → *noo leen wax* (who did you say, pl.?)

These contractions are triggered by the fact that word sequences that can likely trigger nasal geminates especially in word-initial position is avoided in the language. These types of contractions usually occur in contexts where question words which end with the alveolar nasal consonant /n/ (such as in *lan* 'what', *fan* 'where', *ban* 'which one', *yan* 'which ones', *kan* 'who, sg.', *ñan* 'who, pl.', etc.) are followed by a word that starts with the prenasal consonant /ng/. Here are other contraction forms commonly found in the language.

(G) Contraction 2

- *yow ag nun* → *yaag nun* (you and us)
- *man ag moom* → *maag moom* (me and you)
- *nun ag Falu* → *noog Falu* (us and Fallou)
- *xale yi ag mag yi* → *xale yeeg mag yi* (the children and the older people)

These types of contractions usually involve the Wolof conjunction 'ag' or its variant 'ak' (and), and consist of consonantal deletions and vowel coalescences as indicated by the examples above. Although these contraction forms differ from the ones above in term of the

grammatical category of the words involved, they all share the same linguistic motivation: the creation of structures that do not violate the Wolof canonic syllable structure.

1.4. Stress

Like most West Atlantic languages, Wolof is not a tone language. The language has lexical stress. Stress is not phonemic in Wolof and its place can be determined phonologically. The stress typically falls on the first syllable that contains a long vowel. If the word does not have a long vowel, the stress falls on the first syllable of the word as illustrated in the following examples. The ‘‘ on the vowel indicates the syllable on which the stress falls in the word.

- àlal (wealth)
- sùtura (discretion)
- jámano (time period)
- bàkkan (nose)
- saxàar (smoke, train)
- wàajur (parents)
- waxàat (to speak again)

1.5. The phonology of French, Arabic and English loans

Because French and Arabic have historically influenced the country, these two languages have lent an extensive number of words to Wolof. The influence of English in Wolof is minimal compared to that of French and Arabic. In general, all loans that have been in the language for a long time undergo phonological incorporation processes. The processes can be summarized as follows: 1) phonemic units of loans that do not exist in Wolof are deleted or replaced by their closest Wolof counterparts, 2) vowel and consonant clusters of

loans are simplified to conform to the Wolof phonotactic constraints. The following examples are illustrative of loan incorporation processes in Wolof.

A. Incorporated French loans

Incorporated Items	Origin	Description of changes
(1) [watir] (Wolof: horse cart)	←[vwatyʁ] (French: car)	(a) Semantic restriction (b) Consonant deletion: v → ø/ (c) Vowel unrounding: y → i / ____ (d) Alveolarization: ʁ → r / ____
(2) [alimɛt] (Wolof: matches)	←[alymɛt] (French: matches)	Vowel unrounding: y → i / ____
(3) [sandɛl] (Wolof: candle)	←[ʃādɛl] (French: candle)	(a) Nasal unpacking: [-Cons,+Nasal] → V [+Cons,+Nasal] / __ [+stop] (b) Alveolarization: ʃ → s /
(4) [marse] (Wolof: market)	←[maʁʃe] (French: market)	Alveolarization: (a) ʁ → r / ____ (b) ʃ → s / ____
(5) [feebar] (Wolof: to be sick, any kind)	←[fjɛ:vɛ] (French: fever)	(a) Semantic expansion (b) Deletion: j → ø / #C ____ (c) Closing: ɛ: → e: / ____ (d) Alveolarization: ʁ → r (e) Substitution: v → b / __ [+stop] (f) Epenthesis: ø → a / v __ r

B. Incorporated Arabic loans

Incorporated Items	Origin	Description of changes
(1) [alxuraan] (Wolof: the Koran)	←[alqurʔaan] (Arabic: the Koran)	(a) Glottal stop deletion: ʔ → ø / ____ (b) Consonant substitution: q → x /
(2) [waxtu] (Wolof: time)	←[waqtu] (Arabic: time)	Consonant substitution: q → x /

(3) [malaaka] (Wolof: angel)	←[malaaʔika] (Arabic: angel)	Syllable deletion: ʔi → ø / ____
(4) [aduna] (Wolof: world)	←[aldunja] (Arabic: the world)	Cluster simplification l → ø / __d, j → ø/n__

C. Incorporated English loans

Hybrid Forms	Origins	Description of changes
(1) [rum] (Wolof: the center of the room)	←[rum] (English: room)	(a) Semantic restriction (b) Vowel closing: u → u
(2) [pantere] (Wolof: small sleeping room)	←[pæntri] (English: pantry)	(a) Semantic restriction (b) Vowel opening: æ → a, i → e (c) Vowel copying: ø → Vx / [+cons] __ [+liquid] Vx
(3) [rab] (Wolof: to fold or wrap)	←[ræp] (English: wrap)	(a) Final consonant voicing: p → b (b) Vowel opening: æ → a
(4) [nebedaj] (Wolof: name of a tree)	←[nevədaɪ] (English: never die)	(a) Semantic restriction (b) Lexicalization (c) Labialization: v → b (d) Palatalization: ɪ → j
(5) [kopor] (Wolof: money or wealth)	←[kɒpər] (English: copper)	(a) Semantic shift (b) Vowel closing: ɒ → o, (c) Vowel harmony: e → o

As shown in the examples above, some words also undergo semantic changes. It is worth noting that these fully incorporated loans are part of Wolof speakers' linguistic competence, as most native speakers do not know that such words are foreign. This is due to the fact that they have been introduced into the language for so long that they have lost their foreign phonological traits.

Chapter 2: Nominal Morphology

2.1. Nominal derivation

The noun in Wolof is invariable. Unlike most Indo-European languages, the language does not have morphological suffixes that indicate the plural number of nouns. Wolof has four major types of nouns: 1) Nouns consisting of a single morpheme, 2) those formed through consonantal mutations word-initially, 3) nouns formed through reduplication, and 4) nouns formed through suffixation. The following examples illustrate these types of nouns.

1) Nouns consisting of a single morpheme

- xale → child
- góór → man
- jigéén → woman
- kër → house
- dáll → shoe

2) Nouns formed through consonantal mutations word-initially

These nouns are derived from Wolof verbs through consonantal alternations in word-initial positions as shown in the following examples.

Consonantal mutations	Verbs	Nouns
s → c	sácc (to steal)	cácc (robbery)
f → p	fo (to play)	po (play, game)
g → ng	gëm (to believe)	ngëm (belief)
d → nd	dĩmbale (to help)	ndĩmbal (help)
b → mb	bon (to be bad)	mbon (badness)

j → nj	jaay (to sell)	njaay (sale)
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3) Nouns formed through reduplication

These nouns are derived from verbs through a reduplication of the verb root. The following examples illustrate these types of nouns.

<u>Verbs</u>	<u>Reduplicated forms</u>
jafe (to be difficult)	jafe-jafe (difficulty)
xam (to know)	xam-xam (to know)
dugg (to enter)	dugg-dugg (matter)
bëgg (to want/ like)	bëgg-bëgg (desire)

4) Nouns formed through suffixation

<u>Verbs</u>	<u>Suffixation</u>
jaay (to sell)	jaaykat (seller)
woy (to sing)	woykat (singer)
ñaaw (to be ugly)	ñaawaay (ugliness)
njool (to be tall)	njoolaay (tallness)

The acting morpheme '-kat' is used to form nouns of occupation and is attached to active verbs (i.e., verbs that indicate actions). The morpheme '-aay' is suffixed to stative verbs (i.e., verbs that do not indicate an action, but describe a characteristic or a state of being).

2.2. Noun classes and determiners

Every noun in the language belongs to one of several noun classes. The noun class phenomenon is critical in Wolof grammar since nominal determiners are based on noun classes. There are eight noun classes in Wolof, which are marked by function words placed either after or before the noun. These class-marked words serve as articles (referred to as postnominal and prenominal determiners in this work). Each Wolof substantive can be followed or preceded by one of these nominal determiners (in singular or plural). With the exception of indefinite articles ('ab' → English 'a', and 'ay' → English 'some'), all determiners are derived from noun classes in the language. For instance, a Wolof noun such as 'góór gi' (the man), which takes the postnominal determiner 'gi', belongs to the g-class, and a noun which takes the determiner 'bi' as in 'xale bi' (the child) is part of the b-class, etc.

Wolof has two types of determiners: postnominal determiners (which are derived from noun classes and typically occur after the substantive) and prenominal determiners, which comprise emphatic determiners (derived from noun classes) and indefinite articles (not derived from noun classes).

2.2.1. Postnominal determiners

As already mentioned, each Wolof noun belongs to one of the eight noun classes in the language. Noun classes typically occur after the noun and also serve as definite articles. Here are the eight noun classes in the language:

<u>Noun classes</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. The b- class :	xale bi the child	(sg.)
	xale yi children	(pl.)

2. The g- class:	kër gi	the house	(sg.)
	kër yi	houses	(pl.)
3. The s- class:	suuf si	the sand	(sg.)
	suuf yi	the sands	(pl.)
4. The l- class:	ngelaw li	the wind	(sg.)
	ngelaw yi	the winds	(pl.)
5. The m- class:	réew mi	the country	(sg.)
	réew yi	the countries	(pl.)
6. The j- class:	jigécén ji	the woman	(sg.)
	jigécén ñi	the women	(pl.)
7. The w-class :	waañ wi	the kitchen	(sg.)
	waañ yi	the kitchens	(pl.)
8. The k-class:	nit ki	the person	(sg.)
	nit ñi	the persons	(pl.)

Diouf (2001: 130) indicated that some Wolof words could be used with several noun classes. In such cases, the word undergoes semantic changes as its use with each noun class corresponds to a specific meaning as shown in the following examples:

- ndaw gi the youth
- ndaw li messenger
- ndaw ñi the younger people
- ndaw si a young lady

The k-noun class is primarily a marker of [+human] feature and is used with the noun 'nit' as in 'nit ki' (the person). However, although the k-noun class is primarily used

with 'nit' to indicate [+human] feature, it is also used with the word 'këf' (thing) as in 'këf ki' (the thing).

With respect to nouns in plural, Wolof uses the ñ-class and y-class to differentiate [+human] nouns from [-human] nouns. While human nouns such as 'jigécén' (woman), 'góór' (men), 'gaa' (guy), 'mag' (adult), 'mágget' (older person), 'geer' (noble), 'gor' (honest person) and 'nit' (person) take the plural determiner [+human] (ñ-), all other nouns including 'xale' (child), job titles such as 'jángalekat' (teacher), 'bindkat' (writer) take the plural determiner for [-human] nouns (y-). The following examples are illustrative of this fact.

<u>[+human] plural determiner</u>			<u>[-human] plural determiner</u>		
ñ-:	nit ñi	'the people'	y-:	xale yi	'the children'
	gaa ñi	'the guys'		suuf yi	'the sands'
	góór ñi	'the men'		jángkat yi	'the students'
	jigécén ñi	'the women'		fajkat yi	'the healer'
	mag ñi	'the adults'		muus yi	'the cats'
	mágget ñi	'the older people'		kër yi	'the houses'
	geer ñi	'the nobles'		woto yi	'the cars'
	gor ñi	'the honest people'		dáll yi	'the shoes'

Although it is not easy to systematically predict the noun class of each Wolof word, it is important to note the following:

1. Most nouns beginning with nd-, ng-, c- generally take the determiner -li as in:

- ndaa li the drinking container (made of pottery)
- ndab li the bowl
- ngelaw li the wind
- ngente li naming ceremony
- cin li the cooking pot
- cuuraay li the incense

2. Most nouns beginning with the consonant s- take the determiner -si as in:

- soxna si Madame
- suuf si the sand
- safara si the fire
- soble si the onion

3. Most nouns beginning with k-, g- usually take the determiner -gi as in:

- gan gi the guest
- ganaar gi the chicken
- kër gi the house
- kuddu gi the spoon

4. Most nouns starting with the j-, c- generally take the determiner -ji as in:

- jigéén ji the woman
- jámm ji the peace
- caabi ji the key
- cere ji the couscous

5. Most nouns that start with w-, f-, y- take the postnominal determiner -wi as in

- warga wi the tea

- fas wi the horse
- yoo wi the mosquito

6. Most nouns beginning with the m- and mb- usually take the determiner -mi as in:

- muus mi the cat
- ménn mi the one
- moroom mi the peer
- mbubb mi the shirt
- mbédd mi the street

7. Most human names usually take the determiner -mi as in:

- Falu mi ma gis... (the Falu I saw..)
- Bintu mi nga xam... (the Bintu you know)
- Jim mi ngeen gis.... (the Jim you saw)

8. Country, state and city names usually take the determiner -gi as in:

- Amerik gi ngeen xam... (the America you know...)
- Washington gi nga tam... (the Washington you are familiar with...)
- Senegaal mi nu bëgg (the Senegal we like / want...)
- Dakar gi mu námm (the Dakar s/he misses...)

It is pivotal to remember that these examples are not meant to be reliable or systematic indicators of noun classes in Wolof, as there are several words that do not follow these patterns. The noun class of a word does not necessarily depend on the first letter of the word. These examples are only meant to be indicative of some trends in the Wolof noun class system. Wolof speakers acquire these noun classes as they acquire lexical units of the language. Most words which refer to non-human objects take

the determiner ‘-bi’ in singular and ‘-yi’ in plural. The ‘-bi’ class is the one also used for almost all loanwords in Wolof. For this reason, the postnominal determiner ‘-bi’ is the most common noun class in Wolof.

Furthermore, these postnominal Wolof determiners can also be used with the morphemes ‘-i’ or ‘-a’ to refer to a close object (an object near the speaker) or a distant object (an object remote or far from the speaker), respectively. This view is consonant with Bokamba et al.’s (1987) claim that Wolof speakers differentiate objects, which are close in space or time (from the speaker’s viewpoint) from those that are remote (in space or time). Because the distance indicated by the morphemes ‘-i’ and ‘-a’ depends on speakers’ subjective view, I refer to these two morphemes as the *subjective distance morphemes*. The following examples illustrate these subjective distance morphemes in Wolof.

- kër gi the house here (next to me)
- kër ga the house over there (far from me)
- kër yi the houses here (next to me)
- kër ya the houses over there (far from me)
- góór gi the man here (close to me)
- góór ga the man over there (far from me)
- góór ñi the men here (next to me)
- góór ña the men over there (far from me)

The morphemes ‘-i’ and ‘-a’ can be attached to singular and plural postnominal determiners for both [+human] and [-human] nouns. These two morphemes belong to the Wolof postnominal determiner system.

In sum, noun classes in Wolof serve multiple functions in the language. They serve as singular and plural definite postnominal articles for both [+human] and [-human] nouns, and are also used to indicate the subjective distance between the speaker and the object or the person being referred to.

2.2.2. Demonstratives

Although some postnominal determiners (the subjective distance morphemes) may seem to be demonstratives, they are not actual demonstratives in Wolof, as they do not mean ‘this’ or ‘that’ or their plural forms ‘these or those’. There are three types of demonstratives in Wolof:

1. Those that indicate proximity.
2. Those that indicate distance.
3. Those that refer to something or someone mentioned earlier in a discussion.

2.2.2.1. Proximity demonstratives

In Wolof, demonstratives that indicate proximity are constructed by means of suffixation of one of the two morphemes ‘-ii’ or ‘-ile’ to the noun class consonant. The following examples show how demonstratives of proximity or closeness are constructed in the language.

<u>Noun class +-ii morpheme</u>	<u>Noun class+-ile morpheme</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
kër gịi	kër gịile	this house
kër yịi	kër yịile	these houses
góór gịi	góór gịile	this man
góór ñịi	góór ñịile	these men
xale bịi	xale bịile	this child

xale <u>yii</u>	xale <u>yile</u>	these children
ngelaw <u>lii</u>	ngelaw <u>lile</u>	this wind
ngelaw <u>yii</u>	ngelaw <u>yile</u>	these winds

These two demonstrative morphemes are in free variation in Wolof. There is no apparent semantic difference between the two. However, '-ii' seems to be more commonly used than its counterpart '-ile'. Given the lack of semantic difference between the two morphemes and their phonological similarity, it can be hypothesized that the morpheme '-ii' is derived from '-ile' by means of a phonological simplification. The process may have consisted of the deletion of the liquid followed by a vowel assimilation which raised the [e] to [i], thus resulting in the creation of the long vowel [-ii].

2.2.2.2. Distance demonstratives

Similar to the demonstratives of proximity, distance demonstratives are constructed in Wolof by the suffixation of a morpheme ('-ee' or '-ale') to the consonant of the noun class. The following examples illustrate the construction of distance demonstratives in Wolof.

<u>Noun class+ee morpheme</u>	<u>Noun class+ale morpheme</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
kër <u>gee</u>	kër <u>gale</u>	that house
kër <u>yee</u>	kër <u>yale</u>	those houses
góór <u>gee</u>	góór <u>gale</u>	that man
góór <u>ñee</u>	góór <u>ñale</u>	those men
xale <u>bee</u>	xale <u>bale</u>	that child
xale <u>yee</u>	xale <u>yale</u>	those children

ngelaw <u>lee</u>	ngelaw <u>lale</u>	that wind
ngelaw <u>yee</u>	ngelaw <u>yale</u>	those winds

Similar to the demonstratives of proximity, it can be hypothesized that the '-ee' morpheme is also derived from '-ale'. The simplification process may have consisted of the deletion of the liquid, followed by a vowel assimilation which raised the [a] to [e], thus resulting in the creation of the long vowel [-ee].

It is important to note that although the typical position of Wolof demonstratives is after the noun (as the language is a head-initial language), some demonstratives can occur before the noun to put an emphasis on the noun as shown in the following examples.

<u>Standard postnominal position</u>	<u>Emphatic prenominal position</u>
kër <u>gii</u> (this house)	<u>gii</u> kër (this very specific house)
kër <u>gile</u> (this house)	<u>gile</u> kër (this very specific house)
kër <u>yii</u> (these houses)	<u>yii</u> kër (these very specific houses)
kër <u>yile</u> (these houses)	<u>yile</u> kër (these very specific houses)
kër <u>gee</u> (that house)	<u>gee</u> kër (that very specific house)
kër <u>gale</u> (that house)	<u>gale</u> kër (that very specific house)
kër <u>yee</u> (those houses)	<u>yee</u> kër (those very specific houses)
kër <u>yale</u> (those houses)	<u>yale</u> kër (those very specific houses)

2.2.2.3. Recent and remote past referential demonstratives

Wolof use two types of demonstratives to refer to something or someone referred to before in a discussion. 1) The language uses the following structure to refer to someone or something that has recently been talked about (recent past): noun class consonant + ‘-oo-’ + noun class consonant + ‘-u’ or ‘-ule’. 2) It uses the following structure to refer to someone or something mentioned sometime ago (remote past): noun class consonant + ‘-oo-’+ noun class consonant + ‘-a’ or ‘-ale’. Although the morphemes ‘-u’ and ‘-a’ are more commonly used than their counterparts ‘-ule’ and ‘-ale’, their use does not involve any semantic difference in Wolof. The following examples illustrate the use of these demonstratives in Wolof.

<u>Recent past referential demonstratives</u>	<u>Remote past referential demonstratives</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ kër <u>googu</u> / kër <u>googule</u> (that house mentioned recently) □ kër <u>yooyu</u> / kër <u>yooyule</u> (those houses mentioned recently) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ kër <u>googa</u> / kër <u>googale</u> (that house mentioned a while ago) □ kër <u>yooya</u> / kër <u>yooyale</u> (those houses mentioned a while ago)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ góór <u>googu</u> / góór <u>googule</u> (that man mentioned recently) □ góór <u>ñoonu</u> / góór <u>ñoonuule</u> (those men mentioned recently) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ góór <u>googa</u> / góór <u>googale</u> (that man mentioned a while ago) □ góór <u>ñoona</u> / góór <u>ñoonale</u> (those men mentioned a while ago)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ xale <u>boobu</u> / xale <u>boobule</u> (that child mentioned recently) □ xale <u>yooyu</u> / xale <u>yooyule</u> (those children mentioned recently) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ xale <u>booba</u> / xale <u>boobale</u> (that child mentioned a while ago) □ xale <u>yooya</u> / xale <u>yooyale</u> (those children mentioned a while ago)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ ngelaw <u>loolu</u> / ngelaw <u>loolule</u> (that wind mentioned recently) □ ngelaw <u>yooyu</u> / ngelaw <u>yooyule</u> (those winds mentioned recently) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ ngelaw <u>loola</u> / ngelaw <u>loolale</u> (that wind mentioned a while ago) □ ngelaw <u>yooya</u> / ngelaw <u>yooyale</u> (those winds mentioned a while ago)
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In some contexts the structure ‘noun class consonant + ‘-oo-’ + noun class consonant + ‘u’ is also used to refer to someone or something next to a speaker. For example, the following sentences can have dual interpretations in Wolof.

góór <u>googu</u> baax na lool	(that man mentioned recently is very good) (that man next to you is very good)
xale <u>boobu</u> yaru na lool	(that child mentioned recently is very polite) (that child next to you is very polite)

These postnominal determiners contrast with the prenominal determiners, which serve as indefinite articles in Wolof as in section 2.3.

2.2.2.4. Quantitative determiners

A. One and another

Wolof uses two suffixes and noun classes to form quantitative determiners. The morpheme ‘-énn’ is attached to a noun class consonant to indicate ‘one’ and ‘-eneen’ is suffixed to a noun class to refer to ‘another’ as shown in the following examples.

<u>One</u>	<u>Another</u>
<u>b-noun class [-human]</u>	

xale b+énn → bénn xale (one child)	xale b+eneen → beneen xale (another child)
xale y+énn → yénn xale (some children)	xale y+eneen → yeneen xale (other children)
<u>k-noun class [+human]</u>	
nit k+énn → kénn (nit) (one person)	nit k+eneen → keneen (nit) (another person)
nit ñ+énn → ñénn (nit) (some people)	nit ñ+eneen → ñeneen (nit) (other people)
<u>g-noun class [+human]</u>	
góór g+énn → génn góór (one man)	góór g+eneen → geneen góór (another man)
góór ñ+énn → ñénn góór (some men)	góór ñ+eneen → ñeneen góór (other men)

It is important to note that 'bénn' (one) and 'beneen' (another) and their plural counterparts 'yénn' and 'yeneen' are prominently used in Urban Wolof today in lieu of other quantitative determiners. This is due to the ongoing simplification of the Wolof noun class systems (especially in urban areas) as a consequence of the extensive borrowing of foreign words into Wolof in such areas. Thus, in Urban Wolof all noun classes (especially [-human] nouns classes) are usually replaced with b- class. This simplification of the Wolof noun class system distinguishes actual native speakers from non-native speakers. Since 'kénn and keneen' and their plural forms 'ñénn and ñeneen' are always used to refer to people, native speakers of Wolof often delete the noun 'nit'. Consequently, the use of 'nit' in quantitative demonstratives is a marker of 'non-nativeness' as it is used to separate native speakers from non-native speakers of Wolof. 'kénn, keneen' and 'ñénn, ñeneen' typically modify [+human] nouns 'nit' (person), gaa (guy), góór (man), jigéén (woman) and 'yénn, yeneen' (modifying all other nouns). The parentheses between 'nit' in the examples above and below indicate that native speakers

delete the word.

The typical position of these quantitative determiners is the prenominal position. Nouns modified by quantitative determiners can in turn be modified by any other determiner (i.e., definite and indefinite articles, demonstratives, possessives, etc.). These determiners will occur at their typical positions. The following examples illustrate such constructions.

kénn (nit) <u>ki</u> → the one person	keneen (nit) <u>ki</u> → the other person
kénn (nit) <u>kii</u> → this one person	keneen (nit) <u>kii</u> → this other person
kénn (nit) <u>ka</u> → that one person	keneen (nit) <u>ka</u> → that other person
kénn (nit) <u>kooku</u> → the one person just mentioned	keneen (nit) <u>kooku</u> → the other person just mentioned
kénn (nit) <u>kooka</u> → that one person mentioned a while ago	keneen (nit) <u>kooka</u> → that other person mentioned a while ago
<u>sama</u> kénn (nit) ki → my one person	<u>sama</u> keneen (nit) ki → my other person

Note that while 'beneen' (another) and 'yeneen' (others) are used to refer to denumerable elements, 'leneen' which is possibly derived from 'lëf' (something) or 'lan' (what) is primarily used to refer to an abstract concept as exemplified by the following sentences.

- jënd naa leneen (I bought something)
- jënd naa beneen (I bought another (thing))
- jënd naa yeneen (I bought others (things))
- leneen la Falu jënd (Falu bought something)

- feneen laa demon (I went somewhere)

'feneen' (somewhere) which is derived from the 'fan' (where) or 'fi' (here) is used with the morpheme '-eneen' to function as a pronoun in Wolof.

B. Every and all

Wolof uses the suffix '-épp' and a noun class consonant to form the quantitative determiner 'every'. Thus, when the morpheme '-épp' is attached to a noun class consonant, the word occurs before the noun and means 'every' in singular. Its plural form, however, occurs after the nouns and means 'all' as shown in the following examples.

<u>b-noun class [-human]</u> xale b+épp → bépp xale (every child) xale y+épp → xale yépp (all children)	<u>w-noun class [-human]</u> fas w+épp → wépp fas (every horse) fas y+épp → fas yépp (all horses)
<u>k-noun class [+human]</u> nit k+épp → képp (nit) (every person) nit ñ+épp → ñépp (nit) (all people)	<u>m-noun class [-human]</u> muus m+épp → mépp muus (every cat) muus y+épp → muus yépp (all cats)
<u>g-noun class [+human]</u> góór g+épp → gépp góór (every man) góór ñ+épp → góór ñépp (all men)	<u>j-noun class [-human]</u> jaan j+épp → jépp jaan (every snake) jaan y+épp → jaan yépp (all snakes)

In Wolof, 'ñépp' (all for [+human] nouns) is used for 'nit, góór (man), jigéen (woman), gaa (guy), mag (older sibling), mágget (old person)' and 'yépp' is used for all other [-human] nouns. Also note that 'lépp' ('everything' for non-countable things) is

used for abstract things and concepts, and 'bépp' is used for everything countable. While the typical position of the singular quantifier is the prenominal position, the plural forms always occur postnominally.

Furthermore, in Urban Wolof, 'bépp' ('every' for countable things) is used with almost all singular nouns, and its plural form 'yépp' is also used with almost all plural countable nouns (including [+human] and [-human] nouns). This use of these quantifiers results from the ongoing simplification of the Wolof noun class system, which is also a marker of 'non-nativeness' as it distinguishes true native-speakers from speakers of Wolof as a second or third language. It is also worth noting that 'fépp'(anywhere) which is derived from the locative 'fi' (here) is also very commonly used in Wolof.

2.3. Prenominal determiners

While definite articles (postnominal determiners) occur after the noun, indefinite determiners precede the noun as shown in the following examples:

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
□ ab kër	(a house)	ay kër	(houses or some houses)	
□ ab jigéen	(a woman)	ay jigéen	(women, or some women)	
□ ab góór	(a man)	ay góór	(men or some men)	
□ ab dëkk	(a city)	ay dëkk	(cities or some cities)	
□ ab woto	(a car)	ay woto	(cars or some cars)	
□ ab tánk	(a leg/foot)	ay tánk	(legs/feet or some legs/feet)	
□ ab muus	(a cat)	ay muus	(cats or some cats)	

These pronominal determiners often undergo contraction in Wolof as in the following examples.

- jox naa ko ab xar → jox naa kob xar (I gave him a sheep)
- jox naa ko ay xar → jox naa koy xar (I gave him (some) sheep)
- soxla nga ab xarit → soxla ngab xarit (you need a friend)
- soxla nga ay xarit → soxla ngay xarit (you need (some) friends)
- gis ngeen ay nit → gis ngeeny nit (you, pl. saw (some) people)
- gis ngeen ab nit → gis ngeenab nit (you pl. saw a person)
- jënd nanu ab kër → jënd nanub kër (we bought a house)
- jënd nanu ay → jënd nanuy kër (we bought (some) houses)
- jaay nañu ab woto → jaay nañu**ub** woto (they sold a car)
- jaay nañu ay woto → jaay nañu**uy** woto (they sold (some) cars)

In addition to these pronominal determiners, Wolof utilizes the pronominal determiner 'as' to downgrade the semantic value of a word. The following examples illustrate this fact.

- ab kër (a house) as kër (a small house)
- ab jigéen (a woman) as jigéen (a small woman)
- ab góór (a man) as góór (a small man)
- ab dëkk (a city) as dëkk (a small city)
- ab woto (a car) as woto (a small car)
- ab tánk (a leg) as tánk (a small leg)
- ab muus (a cat) as muus (a small cat)

These indefinite articles and the emphatic demonstratives (section 2.2.2.3) are the only pronominal determiners in the language. All other determiners primarily occur postnominally.

2.4. Interrogative pronouns and question words

Wolof uses different demonstrative pronouns and question words to ask about someone's identity or specific information about something. The demonstratives 'kii' (this person here) and 'kooku' (that person just mentioned) are often used to refer to [+human] nouns in singular. 'ñii' (these people here) and 'ñooñu' (those people just mentioned) are used to refer [-human] nouns in plural. 'lii' (this thing here) and 'looju' (that thing just mentioned) are used to refer to [-human] nouns in plural. 'fii' (this place here) and 'foofu' (that place just mentioned) are locatives (used to refer to a place). The following examples illustrate the use of these pronouns in Wolof.

<u>[+human]</u>	
<u>kii</u> kan la?	who is this (person here)?
<u>kii</u> Falu la.	this (person here) is Falu.
<u>kooku</u> kan la?	who is that (person just mentioned)?
<u>kooku</u> Falu la.	that (person just mentioned) is Falu.
<u>ñii</u> ñan lañu?	who are these (people here)?
<u>ñii</u> समय xarit lañu.	these (people here) are my friends.
<u>ñooñu</u> ñan lañu?	who are those (people just mentioned)?
<u>ñooñu</u> समय xarit lañu.	those (people just mentioned) are my friends.

<u>-human</u>	
<u>l</u> ii <u>lan</u> la?	what is this (thing here)?
<u>l</u> ii ab woto la.	this (thing here) is a car.
<u>loo</u> lu lan la?	what is that (thing just mentioned)?
<u>loo</u> lu ab woto la.	that thing (just mentioned) is a car.
<u>f</u> ii <u>fan</u> la?	where is this (place here)?
<u>f</u> ii Senegaal la.	this place here is Senegal.
<u>fo</u> ofu <u>fan</u> la?	where is that (place just mentioned)?
<u>fo</u> ofu Senegaal la.	that (place just mentioned) is Senegal.
<u>b</u> ii <u>ban</u> la?	which one is this?
<u>b</u> ii sama-bos la	this one is mine.
<u>bo</u> obu <u>ban</u> la?	which one is that one?
<u>bo</u> obu sama-bos la.	that one is mine.
<u>y</u> ii <u>yan</u> lañu?	which ones are these?
<u>y</u> ii sama-bos lañu.	these ones are mine.
<u>yo</u> oyu <u>yan</u> lañu?	which ones are those?
<u>yo</u> oyu sama-bos lañu.	those ones are mine.

There is an agreement (in singular and plural) between the pronouns and the question words that follow them (kii/kooku ← kan 'who, sg.', ñii/ñooñu ← ñan 'who, pl.', lii ← lan 'what', fii/foofu ← fan 'where', bii/boobu ← ban 'which one' and yii/yooyu ← yan 'which ones'. However, when Wolof speakers inquiry about someone's gender, occupation, national origin, ethnicity or race, there is no such agreement as the question

word 'lan' (what) is used after the [+human] demonstratives 'kii/kooku' or 'ñii/ñooñu'. Consequently, the following questions can have multiple interpretations and answers in Wolof.

- kii lan la? can mean: what is this person's gender, occupation, ethnicity, etc.?
- kooku lan la? can mean: what is that person's gender, occupation, ethnicity, etc.?
- ñii lan lañu ? can mean: what are these people's gender, occupation, ethnicity, etc.?
- ñooñu lan lañu? can mean: what are those people's gender, occupation, ethnicity, etc.?

Because these demonstratives function as emphatic pronouns in Wolof, they usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. It is important to note that Wolof has some question words, which do not have demonstrative counterparts. Here are the most common ones:

- nan 'how'
- kañ 'when'
- ñaata 'how much, how many'
- ana 'where is, where are'
- naka 'how is, how are'

While all questions require a verb or a focus form (section 3.1.2) to be in the sentence before which they occur, 'ana' and 'naka' do not have such requirements. 'ana' and 'naka' are formulaic phrases, which typically occur before a noun or particular pronouns (referred to in this study as descriptive pronouns). The following examples illustrate the use of these question words in Wolof.

- ana say xarit? (where are your friends?)

- ana sa xarit? (where is your friend?)
- ana mu? (where is s/he?)
- ana ngeen? (where are you all?)
- ana ñu? (where are they?)
- naka Falu ag Mbaye? (how is Falu and Mbaye (doing)?)
- naka Falu? (how is Falu?)
- naka mu? (how is s/he/it doing?)
- naka ñu? (how are they doing?)

Descriptive pronouns consist of a set of pronouns primarily used to depict, describe or narrate an event in various contexts. They are generally used with the verb 'ne' (to say) as in the following examples.

- 1st person singular → ma ne (I say)
- 2nd person singular → nga ne (you say)
- 3rd person singular → mu ne (s/he say)
- 1st person plural → nu ne (we say)
- 2nd person plural → ngeen ne (you say, pl.)
- 3rd person plural → ñu ne (they say)

Although these pronouns are prominently used with the Wolof verb 'ne' (to say), they can be used with all verbs in the language. However, with the exception of the verb 'ne', when these pronouns are used with other verbs, especially in the 2nd person plural, the sentence can be interpreted as the English question 'Should + subject pronoun+verb + (object)?' or as an invitation form such as 'let us +verb+ (object).' The following examples illustrate this fact.

- nu lekk ceeb bi? (should we eat the rice?)
- nu lekk ceeb bi! (let us eat the rice!)

Note that while the typical position of these pronouns is the preverbal position, when they are used with the question words 'ana' and 'naka', they occur after the verb.

Wolof also uses 'mbaa', 'xanaa' and 'ndax' to ask questions. Both 'mbaa' and 'xanaa' are used to trigger a positive answer. 'mbaa' can be interpreted as 'I hope' and is usually answered with a positive response. With respect to 'xanaa', although it is designed to trigger positive answers, speakers can use a positive or a negative answer in answering questions with 'xanaa'. 'ndax' is a neutral question word, which does not have such semantic expectations with respect to speakers' response. The following examples show how these question words are used in Wolof and the possible answers for each.

<u>mbaa</u>	<u>Possible answers</u>
mbaa yaa ngiy jáng? (I hope you are studying)	waaw, maa ngiy jáng. (yes, I am studying)

Xanaa	
xanaa Wolof nga? (are you really Wolof?)	waaw, Wolof laa . (yes, I am Wolof) déédéét, duma Wolof. (no, I am not Wolof)
Ndax	
ndax yaa ngiy jáng? (are you studying?)	waaw, maa ngiy jáng. (yes, I am studying) déédéét, jánguma. (no, I am not studying)

While 'mbaa' and 'xanaa' can occur either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence without any semantic ambiguity, 'ndax' is always used at the beginning of a sentence. It is important to note that 'ndax' or its variant 'ndaxte' can also function as a sentential conjunction and is interpreted as 'because' or 'so that' as in:

- maa ngiy jáng Wolof ndax bëgg naa liggéy ci Senegaal
(I am studying Wolof because I want to work in Senegal)

2.5. Locatives 'fi' and 'fa'

The locatives 'fi 'here' and 'fa 'there' and their variants 'file' 'right here' and 'fale' 'over there' can be used with all focus forms (cf. section 3.1.2) and occur before the verb in all forms except the NA form as shown in the following examples.

- tukki naa fa (I traveled there)
- dinaa fa tukki (I will travel there)

- dama fiy tukki (I am traveling here)
- tukki naa fi (I traveled here)
- dama foy tukki suba (I am traveling there tomorrow)

Note that the imperfective marker '-y' can be suffixed to the locatives as shown by the examples above.

2.6. Personal pronouns

Wolof is a pro-drop language. Thus, personal pronouns can be omitted from a sentence without affecting the meaning. Consequently, personal pronouns are generally used for emphatic purposes in the language. For these reasons, they are also referred to as independent or emphatic pronouns. These Wolof pronouns are:

<u>Personal pronouns</u>	<u>Examples</u>
man (1 st person singular)	man, Dakar laa joge (I come from Dakar)
yow (2 nd person singular)	yow, Dakar nga joge (you come from Dakar)
moom (3 rd person singular, neutral)	moom, Dakar la joge (s/he/it comes from Dakar)
nun (1 st person plural)	nun, Dakar lanu joge (we come from Dakar)
yeen (2 nd person plural)	yeen Dakar ngeen joge (you come from Dakar)
ñoom (3 rd person plural)	ñoom Dakar lañu joge (they come from Dakar)

In urban areas, 'nun' and 'ñun' are in free variation. Wolof does not differentiate males from females in its personal pronouns. Gender is expressed by the use of lexical units 'jigéen' (woman) or 'góór' (man). Because these pronouns are optional, they do not have a standard occurrence position in the language. They can be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence or omitted as shown in the following examples.

<u>Pronouns at sentence initial position</u>	<u>Pronouns at sentence final position</u>	<u>Omitted pronouns</u>
<u>man</u> , Dakar laa joge. (I come from Dakar)	Dakar laa joge, <u>man</u> . (I come from Dakar)	Dakar laa joge. (I come from Dakar)
<u>yow</u> , Dakar nga joge. (you come from Dakar)	Dakar nga joge, <u>yow</u> . (you come from Dakar)	Dakar nga joge. (you come from Dakar)
<u>moom</u> , Dakar la joge. (s/he/it comes from Dakar)	Dakar la joge, <u>moom</u> . (s/he/it comes from Dakar)	Dakar la joge. (s/he/it comes from Dakar)
<u>nun</u> , Dakar lanu joge. (we come from Dakar)	Dakar lanu joge, <u>nun</u> . (we come from Dakar)	Dakar lanu joge. (we come from Dakar)
<u>yeen</u> , Dakar ngeen joge. (you come from Dakar)	Dakar ngeen joge, <u>yeen</u> . (you come from Dakar)	Dakar ngeen joge. (you come from Dakar)
<u>ñoom</u> , Dakar lañu joge. (they come from Dakar)	Dakar lañu joge, <u>ñoom</u> . (they come from Dakar)	Dakar lañu joge. (they come from Dakar)

As shown in these examples, sentences with the personal pronouns (placed either before or after the sentence) have the same emphatic meaning. They emphasize the subject of the sentence. However, these pronouns cannot immediately precede the VP (verb phrase) or be inserted into it. For example, a sentence such as *Dakar laa, man, joge* (I come from Dakar) is ungrammatical.

Note the agreement between the pronouns and the focus forms man/laa, yow/nga, moom/la, yeen/ngeen, ñoom/lañu in the examples above. The agreement in the NA, LA, DA, NGI and DI forms are thoroughly discussed in section 3.1.3. These forms bear the

marks of person, tense and aspect in Wolof.

2.7. Object pronouns

Wolof object pronouns are distinct from the emphatic pronouns discussed above.

Object pronouns in the language are summarized in the following table:

1 st person singular	ma 'me'
2 nd person singular	la 'you'
3 rd person singular	ko 'him / her/it'
1 st person plural	nu 'us'
2 nd person plural	leen 'you'
3 rd person plural	leen 'them'

Noted that 'leen' has two functions: 1) third person plural object pronoun, and 2) second person plural object pronoun. The distinction and interpretation of these two object pronouns is entirely dependent on communication contexts. These object pronouns always follow the verb in the NA form in Wolof as exemplified by the following examples.

- jángal na ma Wolof → s/he taught me Wolof.
- jángal na la Wolof → s/he taught you Wolof.
- jángal na ko Wolof → s/he taught him/her/it Wolof.
- jángal na nu Wolof → s/he taught us Wolof.
- jángal na leen Wolof → s/he taught you Wolof.
- jángal na leen Wolof → s/he taught them Wolof.

However, in the NGI, LA, A, DA, DI forms (cf. section 3.1.3, etc.), the object pronoun move from the post-verbal position to the pre-verbal position as in the following examples.

<u>NGI form</u> yeena ngiy jáng <u>Wolof</u> . (you are studying Wolof)	<u>NGI form</u> yeena ngi <u>koy</u> jáng. (you are studying it)
<u>LA form</u> tey laa wax <u>Falu</u> . (I told Falu today)	<u>LA form</u> tey laa <u>ko</u> wax. (I told him today)
<u>DI form</u> dinanu jaay woto <u>yi</u> . (we will sell the car)	<u>DI form</u> dinanu <u>leen</u> jaay. (we will sell them)
<u>DA form</u> dafay gis <u>ay gaynde</u> . (s/he is seeing lions)	<u>DA form</u> dafa <u>leen di</u> gis. (s/he is seeing them)

Note that the imperfective morpheme '-y' is attached to the object pronoun after it moves to the preverbal position if the pronoun ends with a vowel, and '-di' is attached to pronouns that end with a consonant. The movement of object pronouns to the preverbal position (adjacent to the finite forms of NGI, LA, DA, A and DI) is evidence of 'clitic-climbing' in Wolof. The finite forms of the LA, DA, DI, A and NGI forms trigger this linguistic process. A similar process occurs with locative 'fi' (here) and 'fa' (there) as shown in the following examples.

<u>NGI form</u> yeena ngiy jáng <u>ci Senegaal</u> . (you are studying in Senegal)	<u>NGI form</u> yeena ngi <u>fay</u> jáng. (you are studying there) yeena ngi <u>fiy</u> jáng. (you are studying here)
<u>LA form</u> dëmb lanu tukki <u>ci Senegaal</u> . (we traveled to Senegal yesterday)	<u>LA form</u> dëmb lanu <u>fa</u> tukki. (we traveled there yesterday) dëmb lanu <u>fi</u> tukki. (we traveled here yesterday)

2.8. Numerals

Wolof has two types of numbers: cardinal and ordinal numbers. The following nine numbers are the basic cardinal numbers of the language.

2.8.1. Wolof primary numbers

- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| 1. bénn | 'one' |
| 2. ñaar | 'two' |
| 3. ñett | 'three' |
| 4. ñent | 'four' |
| 5. juróóm | 'five' |
| 6. fukk | 'ten' |
| 7. fanweer | 'thirty' |
| 8. tééméér | 'one hundred' |

9. junni 'one thousand'

Beside these numbers, the language has borrowed 'milyon' from French 'million' and 'milyaar' from French 'milliard' (billion), and 'dërëm' from Arabic 'dirham'. These borrowings are particularly used in the financial register. All other numbers (whether cardinal or ordinal) are constructed from the nine primary numbers. Numbers from 6 to 9 are formed by using the number 5 followed by 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively as shown in the following examples.

2.8.2. One digit numbers

□ juróóm bénn	5-1	'six'
□ juróóm ñaar	5-2	'seven'
□ juróóm ñett	5-3	'eight'
□ juróóm ñent	5-4	'nine'

Note that the '-' sign between numbers is not meant to be the sign for subtraction, but it is designed to separate the two numbers. For numbers beyond 10, the Wolof word 'fukk' (ten) is followed by Wolof 'ag' (and or plus), followed by 1, 2, 3, etc. The number ten (Wolof: fukk) always precedes the lower number as shown in the following examples.

2.8.3. Two digit numbers

□ fukk	10	'ten'
□ fukk ag bénn	10+1	'eleven'
□ fukk ag ñaar	10+2	'twelve'
□ fukk ag juróóm	10+5	'fifteen'
□ fukk ag juróóm bénn	10+6	'sixteen'
□ fukk ag juróóm ñent	10+9	'nineteen'

This same pattern is used to form numbers with three and four digit numbers in the language as indicated in the following examples.

2.8.4. Three digit numbers

□ tééméér	(100)	'one hundred'
□ tééméér ag bénn	(100+1)	'one hundred and one'
□ tééméér ag juróóm ñett	(100+8)	'one hundred and eight'
□ tééméér ag fukk	(100+10)	'one hundred and ten'
□ tééméér ag fukk ag bénn	(100+11)	'one hundred and eleven'
□ tééméér ag fukk ag juróóm ñent	(100+19)	'one hundred and nineteen'

2.8.5. Four digit numbers

□ junni	(1,000)	'one thousand'
□ junni ag ñett	(1,000+3)	'one thousand and three'
□ junni ag juróóm ñaar	(1,000+7)	'one thousand and seven'
□ ñaari junni ag juróóm ñett fukk	(2000+80)	'two thousand eighty'

'junni ag' is often pronounced as [junneeg]. This results from a vowel coalescence process similar to those discussed earlier (cf. section 1.3.1).

2.8.6. Ordinal numbers

With the exception of 'first', Wolof suffixes the morpheme '-eel' to cardinal numbers to form ordinal numbers as illustrated in the following examples.

□ ñaar+eel	→	ñaaeel	'second'
□ ñett + eel	→	ñetteel	'third'
□ ñent+eel	→	ñenteel	'fourth'
□ juróóm+eel	→	juróomeel	'fifth'

□ juróóm bénn+eel	→	juróóm béneel	'sixth'
□ juróóm ñaar+eel	→	juróóm ñaareel	'seventh'
□ juróóm ñett+eel	→	juróóm ñetteel	'eighth'
□ juróóm ñent+eel	→	juróóm ñenteel	'ninth'
□ fukk+eel	→	fukkeel	'tenth'
□ fukk ag bénn+eel	→	fukk ag béneel	'eleventh'
□ fukk ag ñaar+eel	→	fukk ag ñaareel	'twelveth'

'njëkk' (Wolof: 'first' which corresponds to 'bénn' (one)) is the only exception to this rule. Both cardinal and ordinal numbers in Wolof can modify nouns. When numbers modify a plural noun in Wolof, the plural marker '-i' is attached to the number adjacent to the noun and not to the noun. The following examples illustrate this fact.

□ bénn xarit	'one friend'
□ ñaar _i xarit	'two friends'
□ ñent _i nit	'four people'
□ juróóm ñett _i xar	'eight sheep'
□ tééméér _i nit	'one hundred people'
□ junni _i xarit	'one thousand friends'

Because 'junni' (1000) already ends with an '-i', the word does not need the plural suffix '-i' when it modifies a noun. With the exception of njëkk (first), Wolof suffixes the morpheme '-u' to ordinal numbers modifying a singular noun and '-i' to those modifying a plural noun. The following examples illustrate this process.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
□ ñaarelu xarit bi (the second friend)	□ ñaareeli xarit yi (the second friend)
□ fukkeelu fas wi (the tenth horse)	□ fukkeeli fas yi (the tenth horses)
□ ñetteelu réew mi (the third country)	□ ñetteeli réew yi (the third countries)

The '-u' or '-i' morphemes cannot be attached to the Wolof ordinal number 'njëkk' (first). To indicate the number of the noun modified by 'njëkk', Wolof use the structure: modified noun + noun class consonant+ 'u' + njëkk. The following examples illustrate this type of construction in Wolof. Note that 'yu njëkk' is used for [-human] plural nouns, and 'ñu njëkk' for [+human] plural nouns.

<u>Singular: noun class+ 'u'</u>	<u>Plural: noun class+ 'u'</u>
□ jigéen <u>ju</u> njëkk (first woman)	□ jigéen <u>ñu</u> njëkk (first women)
□ xale <u>bu</u> njëkk (first child)	□ xale <u>yu</u> njëkk (first children)
□ fas <u>wu</u> njëkk (first horse)	□ fas <u>yu</u> njëkk (first horses)
□ nit <u>ku</u> njëkk (first person)	□ nit <u>ñu</u> njëkk (first people)

A similar type of construction is used to form adjectives in Wolof. The next section examines adjectival constructions in Wolof in detail.

2.8.7. Adjectival constructions

The part of speech that modifies a noun or other substantive by limiting, qualifying, or specifying and distinguished in English morphologically by one of several suffixes (-able, -ous, -er, and -est) or syntactically by position directly preceding a noun or nominal phrase referred to as adjective does not exist in Wolof. Because Wolof does

not have adjectives as a separate part of speech, verbs (especially stative verbs) are used in short relative clauses to express adjectival functions in the language.

In other words, given that the language has no class of words called ‘adjectives’, a relative clause is used to describe, modify or qualify a substantive or NP (noun phrase). Similar to the examples with ‘njëkk’ above, adjectival clauses are constructed based on the noun class of the words. Wolof uses the structure modified noun + noun class consonant+ ‘u’ + verb to form adjectival clauses. The following examples illustrate this fact.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
jigéén <u>ju</u> rafet. (pretty woman, lit. woman who is pretty)	jigéén <u>ñu</u> rafet. (pretty women, lit. women who are pretty)
góór <u>gu</u> njool. (tall man, lit. woman who is tall)	góór <u>ñu</u> njool. (tall men, lit. men who are tall)
xale <u>bu</u> baax. (good child, lit. child who is good)	xale <u>yu</u> baax. (good children, lit. children who are good)
fas <u>wu</u> rëy. (big horse, lit. horse which is big)	fas <u>yu</u> rëy. (big horses, lit. horses which are big)

These short relative clauses have the equivalent semantic value as adjectives in Wolof. The verb of these adjectival clauses does not carry any grammatical marker (tense, aspect, person, or number). The adjectival clause can be modified by any determiner (articles, demonstratives, possessives, etc.) or another adjectival clause as in the following examples.

<u>Definite article: ji</u>	jigéén <u>ju</u> rafet <u>ji</u> (the pretty woman, lit. the woman who is pretty)
<u>Indefinite article: ab</u>	<u>ab</u> jigéén <u>ju</u> rafet (a pretty woman, lit. a woman who is pretty)
<u>Demonstratives: jii</u>	jigéén <u>ju</u> rafet <u>jii</u> (this pretty woman, lit. this woman who is pretty)
<u>Possessives: sama</u>	<u>sama</u> jigéén <u>ju</u> rafet (my pretty woman, lit. my woman who is pretty)
<u>Adjectival clause</u>	jigéén <u>ju</u> rafet <u>ju njool</u> (tall pretty woman, lit. woman who is pretty who is tall)

Note that in the 3rd person singular possessive, the ‘-am’ morpheme is attached to the substantive as in: ‘jigéénam ju rafet ’ (his/her pretty woman). If the noun ends with a vowel, the vowel assimilation rules (discussed in section 2.9.1 possessives) also apply. Also note the agreement between the noun class consonant of the relative pronoun and the noun class consonant of the determiner.

2.8.8. The adjective and the pronoun ‘each’

Similar to the adjectival clauses, Wolof uses relative clauses to express the adjective ‘each’ as in *Each person has a right* and the pronoun ‘each’ as in *Each cost \$ 2*. The adjective ‘each’ (which modifies a noun) in Wolof is based upon the singular noun class consonants of the noun it modifies and the Wolof verb ‘nekk’ (to be). In other words, there are eight such adjectives in Wolof since the language has eight noun classes. The pronoun ‘each’, however, has only two variants: ‘ku nekk’ (for all [+human] nouns)

and 'bu nekk' (for all [-human] nouns). The following examples illustrate the formation of the adjective and the pronoun 'each' in Wolof.

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Corresponding pronouns</u>
k-class: nit <u>ku</u> nekk (each person)	□ ku nekk (each) → for [+human]
j-class: jigéen <u>ju</u> nekk (each woman)	□ ku nekk (each) → for [+human]
g-class: góór <u>gu</u> nekk (each man)	□ ku nekk (each) → for [+human]
b-class: xale <u>bu</u> nekk (each child)	□ bu nekk (each) → [-human]
w-class: fas <u>wu</u> nekk (each horse)	□ bu nekk (each) → [-human]
l-class: ngelaw <u>lu</u> nekk (each wind)	□ bu nekk (each) → [-human]
m-class: muus <u>mu</u> nekk (each cat)	□ bu nekk (each) → [-human]
s-class: suuf <u>su</u> nekk (each land)	□ bu nekk (each) → [-human]

'xale' as well as nouns referring to professions are part of the [-human] nouns in Wolof. This accounts for why the pronoun referring to 'xale' in the examples above is

'bu nekk'.

Moreover, it is worth noting that 'bu nekk' is used to refer to countable items, while 'lu nekk' (anything) is used to refer to items that cannot be counted. Furthermore, 'fu nekk' which is derived from the locative 'fi' (here) is used to mean 'anywhere/wherever' in Wolof.

2.8.9. Verb-free gender clause

Wolof does not have female and male pronouns as indicated earlier. Unlike many Indo-European languages, which use pronominal distinctions (eg. s/he → nominative case, and her/him → accusative case) to indicate gender differences, Wolof uses two lexical items 'jigéen' (woman) and 'góór' (man) to differentiate males from females. The language uses a relative clause with no verb to indicate gender distinctions (hence, the term *verb-free gender clause*). The structure of the clause is as follows: noun+noun class consonant+ 'u' + (góór: man) or (jigéen: woman). Notice that the relative clause in Wolof is formed by the suffixation of the morpheme '-u' to a noun class consonant. This construction is the equivalent of the English clauses 'who is / which is' and their plural counterparts 'who are / which are'. The following examples illustrate Wolof gender distinctions.

<u>Nouns + singular and plural definite articles</u>	<u>Female gender clause with definite articles</u>	<u>Male gender clause with definite articles</u>
□ xale <u>bi</u> : the child	□ xale <u>bu</u> jigéen <u>bi</u> : the girl	□ xale <u>bu</u> góór <u>bi</u> : the boy
□ xale <u>yi</u> : the children	□ xale <u>yu</u> jigéen <u>yi</u> : the girls	□ xale <u>yu</u> góór <u>yi</u> : the boys

□ maam <u>ji</u> : the grandparent	□ maam <u>ju</u> jigéén <u>ji</u> : the grandmother	□ maam <u>ju</u> góór <u>ji</u> : the grandfather
□ maam <u>yi</u> :the grandparents	□ maam <u>yu</u> jigéén <u>yi</u> : the grandmothers	□ maam <u>yu</u> góór <u>yi</u> : the grandfathers

Similar to adjectival clauses, these verb-free gender clauses can be modified by any determiner (articles, demonstratives, possessives, etc.) or another adjectival clause. Also, note the agreement between the noun class consonant of the relative pronoun and the consonant of the definite articles.

2.8.10. Single and lexicalized relative pronouns

Wolof has two types of relative pronouns: 1) single relative pronouns and 2) lexicalized relative pronouns. These pronouns are interpreted as ‘who, which and that’ in English. They have singular and plural forms in Wolof. Single relative pronouns consist of a noun class consonant with the suffix ‘-u’. Consequently, each Wolof substantive has its own relative pronoun. Because the language has eight noun classes, it also has eight single relative pronouns in singular and two in plural (for [+human] and [-human] nouns). ‘*wu, bu, ju, ku, su, mu, lu, gu*’ are used for singular nouns, ‘*yu*’ for [-human] plural nouns and ‘*ñu*’ for [+human] plural nouns. Lexicalized relative pronouns are frozen phrases used as relative pronouns. The structure of these lexicalized relative pronouns is as follows: noun class consonant + ‘oo’ + the phrase ‘xam-ne’ (‘xam’, English: to know + ‘ne’, complementizer ‘that’). The language has eight singular lexicalized relative pronouns (‘*woo-xam-ne, boo-xam-ne, joo-am-ne, koo-xam-ne, soo-xam-ne, moo-xam-ne, loo-xam-ne, goo-xam-ne*’) and two plural lexicalized pronouns (‘*yoo-xam-ne*’ for [-human

nouns] and ‘*ñoo-xam-ne*’ for [+human nouns]). Note that the first words of these lexicalized relative pronouns (*woo, boo, koo, etc.*) literally mean ‘that / who / which you’ and result from the contraction forms of single relative pronouns and the 2nd person descriptive pronouns ‘*nga*’ (cf. section 2.4.). The following examples illustrate the use of single and lexicalized relative pronouns in the language.

Single relative pronouns

- fas wu lekkoon ñax mi reer na.
(the horse which had eaten the grass is lost).
- fas wu lekkulwoon ñax mi reer na.
(the horse which had not eaten the grass is lost)
- fas yu lekkoon ñax mi reer ñaŋu.
(the horses which had eaten the grass are lost)
- fas yu lekkulwoon ñax mi reer ñaŋu.
(the horses which had not eaten the rice are lost).
- jigéén ju jël téére bi Fatu la tudd.
(the woman who has taken the book is called Fatu)
- jigéén ju jëlul téére bi Fatu la tudd.
(the woman who has not taken the book is called Fatu)
- jigéén ñu jël téére bi Fatu laŋu tudd.
(the women who have taken the book are called Fatu).
- jigéén ñu jëlul téére bi Fatu laŋu tudd.
(the women who have not taken the book are called Fatu)

Although the verb adjacent to the relative pronoun can be suffixed with the remote past morpheme ‘-oo/woon’ or the 3rd person perfective negative morpheme ‘-ul’, none of the focus forms discussed in Chapter 3 can be used in clauses with a single relative pronoun. Also note that, the only possible negation form for the verb in the relative clause is the 3rd person singular perfective negation ‘-ul’, regardless of whether the subject of the clause is singular or plural.

Lexicalized relative pronouns

- fas woo-xam-ne lekkoon na ñax mi reer na.
(the horse which had eaten the grass is lost)
- fas woo-xam-ne lekkuwoon ñax mi reer na.
(the horse which had not eaten the grass is lost)
- fas yoo-xam-ne lekkoon ñañu ñax mi reer ñañu.
(the horses which had eaten the grass are lost)
- fas yoo-xam-ne lekkuñañuwoon ñax mi reer ñañu.
(the horses which had not eaten the rice are lost)
- jigéen joo-xam-ne jël na téére bi Fatu la tudd.
(the woman who has taken the book is called Fatu)
- jigéen joo-xam-ne jëlul téére bi Fatu la tudd.
(the woman who has not taken the book is called Fatu)
- jigéen ño-xam-ne jëlloon ñañu téére bi Fatu lañu tudd.
(the women who have taken the book are called Fatu)
- jigéen ño-xam-ne jëluwoon téére bi Fatu lañu tudd.
(the women who have not taken the book are called Fatu)

Contrary to clauses with single relative pronouns, those with lexicalized relative pronouns can take any of the focus forms (LA, DA, A, NGI, and NA), and the verb in such clauses can take the past form morpheme ‘-oon/woon’, and agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause as shown in the examples above.

2.9. Possessives

Wolof distinguishes possessive adjectives modifying a noun from possessive pronouns, which replace nouns. It also uses genitival constructions to indicate the possessive relationships between two nouns.

2.9.1. Possessive adjectives

Wolof uses the following system to express possession.

- sama (my) → 1st person singular possessive adjective
- sa (your) → 2nd person singular possessive adjective
- -am (his/her/its) → 3rd person singular possessive morpheme
- sunu (our) → 1st person plural possessive pronoun
- seen (your) → 2nd person plural possessive adjective
- seen (their) → 3rd person plural possessive adjective

The 3rd person singular possessive morpheme ‘-am’ is suffixed to nouns. Thus, unlike other possessive adjectives, which occur before the noun, the 3rd person possessive is the only morpheme suffixed to the noun. Note that given the 2nd person plural from the 3rd person plural possessive adjectives have the same form, the context of communication is used to differentiate their meanings. Because Wolof nouns do not carry the plural morpheme, the plural marker of nouns is carried by the possessive adjectives. Consequently, if the noun modified by the possessive ends with

a vowel and is in plural, the morpheme '-y' is suffixed to the possessive adjectives. If the modified noun ends with a consonant, '-i' is suffixed to possessive adjectives, and 'yi' is placed after the noun if it is modified by the 3rd person possessive morpheme '-am' in plural. The following examples illustrate the use of these possessives in Wolof.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
□ sama xarit (my friend)	□ samay xarit (my friends)
□ sa xarit (your friend)	□ say xarit (your friends)
□ xaritam (his/her/its friend)	□ (ay) xaritam yi (his/her/its friends)
□ sunu xarit (our friend)	□ sunuy xarit (our friends)
□ seen xarit (your friend)	□ seeni xarit (your friends)
□ seen xarit (their friend)	□ seeni xarit (their friends)

The suffix '-am' is added to the noun ending with a consonant to convey the idea of possession in the 3rd person singular (Example: xaritam 'his/her/its friend'). To convey the same idea of possession in plural, the plural marker 'yi' is placed after the noun with the suffix '-am' (Example: xaritam yi 'his/her/its friends'). 'ay' (Wolof: some) can also be placed before a noun with a suffix '-am' to express possession (Example: ay xaritam 'some of his/her/its/ friends').

Three vowel assimilation rules are triggered in the 3rd person possessive, if the modified noun ending with a vowel is suffixed with the possessive morpheme '-am'.

1. $i/e + \text{suffix } -am \rightarrow eem$

Examples:

- tukki (travel) + am → tukkeem (his/her/its travel)
- xale (child) + am → xaleem (his/her/its child)

2. $u/o + \text{suffix } -am \rightarrow oom$

Examples:

- káddu (word) + am → káddoom (his/her/its word)
- loxo (hand/arm) + am → loxoom (his/her/its hand/arm)

3. $a + \text{suffix } -am \rightarrow -aam$

Examples:

- soxla (need) + am → soxlaam (his/her/its need)
- sutura (discretion) + am → suturaam (his/her/its discretion)

2.9.2. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are formed based on possessive adjectives and the morpheme 'bos'. Here is the inventory of the singular and plural possessive pronouns in Wolof.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
□ sama-bos → mine	□ samay-bos → mine
□ sa-bos → yours	□ say-bos → yours
□ bosam → his/hers/its	□ (ay) bosam yi → his/hers
□ sunu-bos → ours	□ sunuy-bos → ours
□ seen-bos → yours	□ seeni-bos → yours
□ seen-bos → theirs	□ seeni-bos → theirs

2.9.3. Genitive constructions

Wolof suffixes the morpheme ‘-u’ (singular) and ‘-i’ (plural) to the first noun ending with a consonant to indicate the possessive relationship between two nouns. These morphemes are also used to show the relationship between a number and a noun (cf. section 2.8.6). The following examples illustrate the use of genitives with nouns ending with a consonant in Wolof.

Genitives for nouns ending with a consonant

<u>Singular: suffixation of ‘-u’</u>	<u>Plural: suffixation of ‘-i’</u>
këru Mbaye (Mbaye’s house)	këri Mbaye (Mbaye’s houses)
xaritu Mbaye (Mbaye’s friend)	xariti Mbaye (Mbaye’s friends)
rakkū (Mbaye’s younger sibling)	rakkī Mbaye (Mbaye’s younger siblings)
magu Mbaye (Mbaye’s older sibling)	magi Mbaye (Mbaye’s older siblings)

If the noun does not end with a consonant, the singular genitive morpheme ‘-u’ is deleted, and the plural genitive morpheme ‘-i’ is replaced by ‘-y’ as in the following examples.

Genitives for nouns ending with a vowel

<u>Singular: deletion of ‘-u’</u>	<u>Plural: suffixation of ‘-y’</u>
káddu Mbaye (Mbaye’s word)	káddy Mbaye (Mbaye’s words)
loxo Mbaye (Mbaye’s hand/arm)	loxy Mbaye (Mbaye’s hands/arms)
soxla Mbaye (Mbaye’s need)	soxlay Mbaye (Mbaye’s needs)

2.9.4. Adverbs

Wolof has two types of adverbs: 1) simple lexical units and 2) prepositional adverbs. Prepositional adverbs are formed with the generic preposition ‘ci’ (in, from, to on, at). Adverbs typically occur at the end of sentences in Wolof. Here are the most commonly used adverbs in the language.

- leegi (now) → maa ngi jáng Wolof leegi.
(I am studying Wolof now)
- leegi-leegi (right now) → maa ngi jángi Wolof leegi-leegi .
(I am going to study Wolof right now)
- ci lu gaaw (rapidly) → defar naa ko ci lu gaaw.
(I fixed it rapidly)
- ci dëgg-dëgg (truly, really) → Falu baax na ci dëgg-dëgg.
(Falu is truly, really good)
- ci lu gëna bari (generally) → Falu baax na ci lu gëna bari.
(Falu is generally good)
- lool (very, a lot) → Falu baax na lool.
(Falu is very good)
- tuuti (a little) → Falu baax na tuuti.
(Falu is a little good)

Chapter 3: Verbal morphology

3.1. Verbs

Wolof verbs fall into three groups: active, stative and auxiliary verbs. Active verbs are those that denote action or movement. Stative verbs are those that refer to states, describe an event, someone, or something. Auxiliary verbs are used with other main verbs. Here are examples of Wolof active, stative and auxiliary verbs in Wolof.

<u>Active verbs</u>	<u>Stative verbs</u>	<u>Auxiliary verbs</u>
□ jáng (to study)	□ baax (to be good)	□ war (must, to have to)
□ lekk (to eat)	□ bon (to be bad)	□ mën (can, to be able to)
□ wax (to speak)	□ rafet (to be pretty)	□ faral (to often do something)
□ dox (to walk)	□ ñaaw (to be ugly)	□ mës (to have done something once)
□ daw (to run)	□ gátt (to be short)	□ támm (to be used to)
□ fécc (to dance)	□ njool (to be tall)	□ daan (used to)
□ dimbale (to help)	□ am (to have)	□ doon (was doing something)
□ jaay (to sell)	□ nekk (to be)	
□ jángale (to teach)	□ ñuul (to be black)	
□ tukki (to travel)	□ weex (to be white)	

In Wolof 'am' (to have) and 'nekk' (to be) are full verbs. They cannot be used as auxiliary verbs. Wolof also uses an auxiliary marker (the suffix '-a') to differentiate main verbs from secondary verbs in a sentence. When two verbs are adjacent in Wolof, the auxiliary suffix '-a' is attached to the first verb which is usually the secondary verb of the sentence as in the following examples.

- Ci Senegaal laa bëgga tukki. (I want to travel to Senegal)

- dama bëgga tukki ci Senegaal. (I want to travel to Senegal)
- maa bëgga tukki ci Senegaal. (I want to travel to Senegal)
- maa ngi bëgga tukki ci Senegaal. (I want to travel to Senegal)
- dinaa bëgga tukki ci Senegaal. (I will want to travel to Senegal)

3.1.1. Verbal derivations

Wolof uses several suffixes to form new verbs. The most common suffixes used to derive new Wolof verbs are: 1) '-aat' morpheme (to do something again), 2) '-andoo' morpheme (to do something together), 3) '-antu' (to do something unseriously), 4) '-i' (to go to do something), 5) '-al' (to do something for someone), 6) 'loo' (to make someone do something), 7) '-si' (to come and do something), 8) '-ante' (to do something reciprocally), 9) '-aale' (to do something at the same time), 10) '-e' (instrumental morpheme, to do something with) and 11) '-ji' (to go and do something). While there are other morphemes, which can be suffixed to verbs to create new ones in Wolof, these are the most commonly used ones. The following examples show how such verbal derivations work in Wolof.

<u>Root verbs</u>	<u>Verbal derivations</u>
jáng (to study)	1) jáng <u>aat</u> (to study again)
jáng (to study)	2) jáng <u>andoo</u> (to study together)
jáng (to study)	3) jáng <u>antu</u> (to study unseriously)
jáng (to study)	4) jáng <u>i</u> (to go to study)
jaay (to sell)	5) jaay <u>al</u> (to sell for someone)
jáng (to study)	6) jáng <u>loo</u> (to make someone study)
jáng (to study)	7) jáng <u>si</u> (to come to study)

jáng (to study)	8) jángante (to study one another)
jáng (to study)	9) jángaale (to study while doing something)
jáng (to study)	10) jánge (to study with)
jáng (to study)	11) jángiji (to go and study)

3.1.2. Tense, aspect and focus forms

Similar to Wolof nouns, verbs are invariable. The language has several particles that indicate person, aspect, tense and the element being emphasized in the sentence (referred to as emphatic particles in this study). There are two major aspectual divisions in Wolof: imperfective and perfective. The imperfective aspect comprises incomplete and on-going actions (i.e., future and present progressive). The perfective aspect is used to refer to completed actions (i.e., present tense, present perfect, past perfect, preterit). The morpheme 'di-' (marker of future) and '-y' (marker of on-going actions) are used to signal the imperfective aspect in Wolof. Consequently, verbs without these two morphemes are usually perfective. The following examples illustrate the use of these aspects in Wolof.

<u>Imperfective aspect</u>	<u>Perfective aspect</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ <u>d</u>inaa jáng Wolof. (I will study Wolof) □ <u>damay</u> jáng Wolof (I am studying Wolof) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ jáng naa Wolof (I have studied Wolof/ I studied Wolof) □ jángoon naa Wolof (I had studied Wolof)

3.1.3. Emphatic forms

Unlike in most Indo-European languages, every element in the sentence in Wolof (the subject, the verb, the object, or the entire sentence) can be emphasized independently by means of particular emphatic particles. These emphatic forms show the person, the aspect, the part of speech being emphasized, and the tense of the verb. Here are the focus forms used to emphasize elements in a Wolof sentence.

- No emphasis on anything → Na form
- Emphasis on the object → LA form
- Emphasis on the subject → A form
- Emphasis on the Verb → DA form
- Emphasis on the entire sentence → NGI form

These emphatic particles have different forms for verbs conjugated in singular and plural.

3.1.3.1. The NA form: No focus form

<u>Examples</u>	<u>NA forms</u>
lekk <u>naa</u> ceeb (I have eaten rice)	naa → 1 st person singular subject, perf.
lekk <u>nga</u> ceeb (you have eaten rice)	nga → 2 nd person singular subject, perf.
lekk <u>na</u> ceeb (s/he/it/ has eaten rice)	na → 3 rd person singular subject, perf.
lekk <u>nanu</u> ceeb (we have eaten rice)	nanu → 1 st person plural subject, perf.
lekk <u>ngeen</u> ceeb (you have eaten rice)	ngeen → 2 nd person plural subject, perf.
lekk <u>nañu</u> ceeb (they have eaten rice)	nañu → 3 rd person plural subject, perf.

'nanu' and 'nañu' are used interchangeably in Urban Wolof today.

The 'NA' forms in these sentences express several pieces of grammatical

information: person, number, and aspect (perfective in this case). Each of these sentences has three possible interpretations: present tense, present perfect or preterit. When the NA form is used with stative verbs, the sentence can be interpreted as present tense in English as in: 'Falu njool na' (Falu is tall). However, when the NA form is used with active verbs, the appropriate interpretations are present perfect or preterit as in the examples above. Because, the focus forms carry grammatical information such as person and number, personal pronouns (discussed earlier) may not be used. The NA form occurs after the verb it modifies. It is important to note that this is the only form that cannot be used with the imperfective markers 'di-' or '-y'. This is due to the fact that the imperfective aspect requires that one element in the sentence be emphasized; a grammatical requirement that the NA form does not meet. If the subject of the sentence is a noun, the position of the NA particle does not change as it always follows the verb as shown in the following examples:

- lekk na ceeb bi.
(s/he/it eat or has eaten the rice)
- Falu lekk na ceeb bi.
(Falu eat or has eaten the rice)
- Falu ag Mbaye lekk nañu ceebi bi.
(Falu and Mbaye eat or have eaten the rice)

The structure of sentences with the NA form is as follows:

subject + verb + NA form+object.

In order to construct past perfect sentences with the NA form, the remote past morpheme '-oon' is attached to the main verb if the verb ends with a consonant. '-woon'

is suffixed to the verb if the verb ends with a vowel as in the following examples.

Examples of sentences with '-oon' remote past marker

□ lekk <u>oon</u> naa ceeb.	□ (I had eaten rice)
□ lekk <u>oon</u> nga ceeb.	□ (you had eaten rice)
□ lekk <u>oon</u> na ceeb.	□ (s/he/it/ had eaten rice)
□ lekk <u>oon</u> nanu ceeb.	□ (we had eaten rice)
□ lekk <u>oon</u> ngeen ceeb.	□ (you had eaten rice)
□ lekk <u>oon</u> nañu ceeb.	□ (they had eaten rice)

Examples of sentences with '-woon' remote past marker

□ tukki <u>woon</u> naa ci Senegaal.	□ (I had traveled to Senegal)
□ tukki <u>woon</u> nga ci Senegaal.	□ (you had traveled to Senegal)
□ tukki <u>woon</u> na ci Senegaal.	□ (s/he had traveled to Senegal)
□ tukki <u>woon</u> nanu ci Senegaal.	□ (we had traveled to Senegal)
□ tukki <u>woon</u> ngeen ci Senegaal.	□ (you had traveled to Senegal)
□ tukki <u>woon</u> nañu ci Senegaal.	□ (they had traveled to Senegal)

3.1.3.2. The LA form: Focus on objects

Unlike the NA form, the LA form is used to emphasize the object of a sentence. While the NA form follows the verb, the LA form cannot follow a verb. It always follows a noun, an independent pronoun or a question word that is emphasized. In opposition to the NA form and other forms, the LA form is the only focus particle that does not require a verb in a sentence. In such instances, the LA form is interpreted as the English copula

verb "to be ". The following examples show the different forms of the LA form as well as the two use of the form (with and without a verb) in Wolof.

<u>LA form with verb:</u> <u>Object+LA form+ Verb</u>	<u>LA form without a verb:</u> <u>Object + LA form</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>laa</u> jáng. (Wolof is what I have studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>laa</u> . (I am Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>nga</u> jáng (Wolof is what you have studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>nga</u> . (you are Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>la</u> jáng (Wolof is what s/he/it has studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>la</u> . (s/he/it is Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lanu</u> jáng (Wolof is what we have studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lanu</u> . (we are Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>ngeen</u> jáng (Wolof is what you have studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>ngeen</u> . (you are Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lañu</u> jáng. (Wolof is what they have studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lañu</u> . (they are Wolof)

'lanu' and 'lañu' are used interchangeably in Urban Wolof today.

As shown in the examples above, in the singular and plural, LA takes different forms (laa → 1st person singular perfective, nga → 2nd person singular, perfective, la → 3rd person singular perfective, lanu → 1st person plural perfective, ngeen → 2nd person plural perfective, and lañu → 3rd person plural perfective).

In order to construct past perfect sentences with the LA form, the morpheme '-oon' is also attached to the main verb (if the sentence has a verb), and '-woon' is attached to the LA form if it does not have a verb. When '-woon' is attached to the LA

form without a verb, the sentence is interpreted as a preterite sentence in English. The following examples illustrate the use of the remote past morpheme '-oon' with the LA form.

<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof laa <u>jángoön</u> . (Wolof is what I had studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>laawoon</u> . (I was Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof nga <u>jángoön</u> . (Wolof is what you had studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>ngawoon</u> . (you were Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof la <u>jángoön</u> . (Wolof is what s/he/it had studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lawoon</u> . (s/he/it was Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof lanu <u>jángoön</u> . (Wolof is what we had studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lanuwoon</u> . (we were Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof ngeen <u>jángoön</u> . (Wolof is what you had studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>ngeenwoon</u> . (you were Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof lañu <u>jángoön</u> . (Wolof is what they had studied)	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lañuwoon</u> . (they were Wolof)

Unlike the NA form, the LA form can be used in the imperfective aspect because it emphasizes (at least) one element in the sentence. Thus, the progressive morpheme '-y' can be attached to the LA form in all persons except to the 2nd person plural as shown in the following examples.

<u>LA form with verb:</u> <u>Object+LA form+ v+ Verb</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>laay</u> jáng.	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof is what I am studying.

<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>ngay</u> jáng.	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof is what you are studying.
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lay</u> jáng.	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof is what s/he/it is studying.
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lanuy</u> jáng.	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof is what we are studying.
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>ngeen di</u> jáng.	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof is what you are studying.
<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof <u>lañuy</u> jáng.	<input type="checkbox"/> Wolof is what they are studying.

It is important to underscore that the past morpheme ‘-oon’ cannot be used in sentences in the imperfective aspect in the language. Its use is solely restricted to perfective sentences. Note that in the 2nd person plural, ‘di-’ is used instead of the ‘y-’ morpheme due to the fact that the LA form in the 2nd person plural ‘ngeen’ ends with a consonant. The typical structure of the LA form is the following:

Object+LA form +(Imperfective Aspect) + (Verb).

The parentheses indicate optional elements. An object can be a noun, proper names, a personal pronoun or a question word such as ‘fan?’ (where?), ‘nan/naka?’ (how?), ‘kañ?’ (when?), ‘kan?’ (who, singular?), ‘ñan’ (who, plural), ‘ban’ (which one), ‘yan’ (which ones), etc.

3.1.3.3. The A form: Focus on subjects

In order to emphasize the subject of the sentence, Wolof uses the A form. This form puts a particular emphasis on the subject as opposed to the LA form, which emphasizes the object of a sentence. The following examples show the different forms of the A focus form in the perfective aspect.

- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <u>maa</u> lekk ceeb.

(I am the one that eat or has eaten rice) |
|---|

<input type="checkbox"/> <u>yaa</u> lekk ceeb. (you are the one that eat or has eaten rice)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>moo</u> lekk ceeb. (s/he/it/ is the one that eat or has eaten rice)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>noo</u> lekk ceeb. (we are the ones that eat or have eaten rice)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>yeena</u> lekk ceeb. (you are the ones that eat or have eaten rice)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>ñoo</u> lekk ceeb. (they are the ones that eat or have eaten rice)

‘noo’ and ‘ñoo’ are interchangeably used in Urban Wolof today.

These examples show that each of forms carries grammatical information such as: person, number, aspect and focus.

<input type="checkbox"/> maa → 1 st person singular, perfective, and focus on subject
<input type="checkbox"/> yaa → 2 nd person singular, perfective, and focus on subject
<input type="checkbox"/> moo → 3 rd person singular, perfective, and focus on subject
<input type="checkbox"/> noo → 1 st person plural, perfective, and focus on subject
<input type="checkbox"/> yeena → 2 nd person plural, perfective, and focus on subject
<input type="checkbox"/> ñoo → 3 rd person plural, perfective and focus on subject

In the imperfective aspect, the ‘-y’ progressive imperfective morpheme is attached the A forms as in the following examples.

- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <u>maay</u> lekk ceeb. |
|---|

(I am the one that is eating rice)

□ yaay lekk ceeb.

(you are the one that is eating rice)

□ mooy lekk ceeb.

(s/he/it/ is the one that is eating rice)

□ nooy lekk ceeb.

(we are the ones that are eating rice)

□ yeenay lekk ceeb.

(you are the ones that are eating rice)

□ ñooy lekk ceeb.

(they are the ones that are eating rice)

Here are the major A form structures in Wolof.

- A form + Verb+ Object: *maa jáng Wolof* (I am the one who has studied Wolof)
- A form + Verb: *maa lekk*. (I am the one who has eaten)
- A form + Imperfective+ Verb: *maay jáng* (I am the one who is studying)
- A form + Imperfective + Object: *maay njiit bi* (I am the one who is the leader)
- Subject + A form + Verb+ Object: *Falu moo jáng Wolof* (Falu is the one who has studied Wolof)
- Subject +A form + Imperfective+ Object: *Falu mooy jáng Wolof* (Falu is the one who is studying Wolof)

To construct past perfect sentences with the A form, the remote past morpheme 'oon' is also attached to the main verb. Similar to the NA and the LA forms, only

sentences in the the perfective aspect can be used with the remote past morpheme as shown in the following examples.

Examples

□ *maa lekkoon* ceeb.

(I am the one who had eaten rice)

□ *yaa lekkoon* ceeb.

(you are the one who had eaten rice)

□ *moo lekkoon* ceeb.

(s/he/it/ is the one who had eaten rice)

□ *noo lekkoon* ceeb.

(we are the ones who had eaten rice)

□ *yeena lekkoon* ceeb.

(you are the ones who had eaten rice)

□ *ñoo lekkoon* ceeb.

(they are the ones who had eaten rice)

If the subject of the sentence is a noun, the 3rd person singular (moo) and the 3rd

person plural (ñoo) can be replaced by the morpheme '-a' as in the following examples.

Examples

□ *Mareem moo njool* → *Mareem a njool*

(Mareem (is the one who) is tall)

□ *Falu ag Mareem ñoo njool* → *Falu ag Mareem a njool*

(Falu and Mareem are (the ones who are) tall)

If the morpheme '-a' follows a word ending with a vowel, coalescence rules are

triggered. Here are the three major coalescence processes found in such instances:

1) $i/e \rightarrow ee$ when the subject ending with ‘-i’ or ‘-e’ is followed by the vowel ‘-a’

- Mari a njool Maree njool ‘Mari (is the one who) is tall’
- Kolle a dem Kollee njool ‘Kolle (is the one who) is tall’

2) $u/o \rightarrow oo$ when subject ending with ‘-u’ or ‘-o’ is followed by ‘-a’

- Modu a ñaaw Modoo ñaaw ‘Modu (is the one who) is ugly’
- xulo a bon xuloo bon ‘Disputing is bad’

3) $a \rightarrow aa$ when subject ending with ‘-a’ is followed by ‘-a’

- Musa a ñuul Musaa ñuul. ‘Musa (is the one who) is black’
- Yaaya a jiite Yaayaa jiite ‘Yaaya (is the one who) is leading’

3.1.3.4. The DA form: Focus on verbs

In order to emphasize the verb of a sentence, Wolof uses the DA form. Similarly to the LA, and A form, the DA form does not have an exact equivalent form in most-Indo-European languages. The best way to express the idea conveyed through the DA form in English is to put a particular intonational emphasis on the verb. The following examples show the different forms of the DA particle as well as their use in Wolof.

Examples	DA forms
□ dama jáng Wolof. (I have studied Wolof)	dama → 1 st person singular, perfective, focus on the verb
□ danga jáng Wolof. (you have studied Wolof)	danga → 2 nd person singular, perfective, focus on the verb
□ dafa jáng Wolof.	dafa → 3 rd person singular, perfective,

(s/he/it has studied Wolof)	focus on the verb
□ danu jáng Wolof. (we have studied Wolof)	danu → 1 st person plural, perfective, focus on the verb
□ dangeen jáng Wolof. (you have studied Wolof)	dangeen → 2 nd person plural, perfective, focus on the verb
□ dañu jáng Wolof. (they have studied Wolof)	dañu → 3 rd person plural, perfective, focus on the verb

‘danu’ and ‘dañu’ are interchangeable in Urban Wolof.

To turn the DA form into the imperfective aspect, the morpheme ‘-y’ is suffixed to all DA forms except the 2nd person plural ‘ngeen’ which ends with a consonant as in the following examples.

Examples

- damay jáng Wolof. (I am studying Wolof)
- dangay jáng Wolof. (you are studying Wolof)
- dafay jáng Wolof. (s/he/it is studying Wolof)
- danuy jáng Wolof. (we are studying Wolof)
- dangeen di jáng Wolof. (you are studying Wolof)
- dañuy jáng Wolof. (they are studying Wolof)

The canonical structure of the DA form is: **DA form + (Imperfective)+ Verb + (Object)**. The parentheses indicate optional elements in DA form constructions. In addition, to construct past perfect sentences, the past morpheme ‘-oon’ is suffixed to the main verb as in the following examples.

<input type="checkbox"/> <u>dama jángoon</u> Wolof.
<input type="checkbox"/> (I had studied Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>danga jángoon</u> Wolof.
<input type="checkbox"/> (you had studied Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>dafa jángoon</u> Wolof.
<input type="checkbox"/> (s/he/it had studied Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>danu jángoon</u> Wolof.
<input type="checkbox"/> (we had studied Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>dangeen jángoon</u> Wolof.
<input type="checkbox"/> (you had studied Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>dañu jángoon</u> Wolof.
<input type="checkbox"/> (they had studied Wolof)

3.1.3.5. The NGI form: Focus on the sentence

In order to emphasize the entire sentence, Wolof uses the NGI form. Similar to the LA, A and DA forms, the NGI form does not have an exact grammatical equivalent form in most Indo-European languages. When the NGI form is in the perfective aspect, the sentence is interpreted as present tense in English. When it is used in the imperfective aspect, the sentence is interpreted as present progressive. The following examples show the different forms of the NGI particle and its use in Wolof.

<u>NGI form in the perfective aspect</u>	<u>NGI forms in the imperfective aspect</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>maa ngi</u> ci jámm. (I am in peace)	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>maa ngiy jáng</u> Wolof. (I am studing Wolof)

<input type="checkbox"/> <u>yaa ngi</u> ci jámm. (you are in peace)	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>yaa ngiy jáng</u> Wolof. (you are studying Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>moo/mu ngi</u> ci jámm. (s/he is in peace)	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>moo/mu ngiy jáng</u> Wolof. (s/he is studying Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>noo/nu ngi</u> ci jámm. (we are in peace)	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>noo/nu ngiy jáng</u> Wolof. (we are studing Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>yeena ngi</u> ci jámm. (you are in peace)	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>yeena ngiy jáng</u> Wolof. (you are studying Wolof)
<input type="checkbox"/> <u>ñoo ngi</u> ci jámm. (they are in peace)	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>ñoo ngiy jáng</u> Wolof. (they are studying Wolof)

The 1st person plural 'noo' and 'nu' are interchangeable. Similarly, 'noo' and 'ñoo' are also interchangeable in Urban Wolof.

The NGI form in the perfective aspect is rarely used with stative verbs, and is not used with active verbs. It is generally used with prepositional objects (such as 'ci jámm', (Wolof: in peace) or locatives (such as 'fi' (Wolof: here), 'fa' (Wolof: there), 'foofu' (Wolof: over there), etc. The common phrase in Wolof greeting system 'maa ngi fi rekk' (Literally: *I am here only*, English: *I am alright*) is based on the NGI form in the perfective aspect.

In contrast, if the NGI form is in the perfective aspect, the sentence does not require a verb. However, when the NGI form is used in the imperfective aspect, a verb is required in the sentence as illustrated in the examples above. In order to construct sentences in the remote past with the NGI form, a main verb is required as the '-oon' morpheme must be affixed to the main verb. Here are examples of the NGI form with the remote past morpheme '-oon'.

□ maa ngi jángoön Wolof.

(I had studied Wolof)

□ yaa ngi jángoön Wolof.

(you had studied Wolof)

□ moo/mu ngi jángoön Wolof.

(s/he had studied Wolof)

□ noo/nu ngi jángoön Wolof.

(we had studied Wolof)

□ yeena ngi jángoön Wolof.

(you had studied Wolof)

□ ñoo ngi jángoön Wolof.

(they had studied Wolof)

The basic structure of sentences with the NGI form is: **NGI form+ (Imperfective)**

+Verb + (Object). The parentheses indicate optional elements in NGI form constructions.

3.1.4. The DI form: Future

Wolof uses the DI form to express futurity. The following examples illustrate the use of future in Wolof.

Examples	Translation	Persons, Number, Aspect
dinaa jáng Wolof.	(I will study Wolof)	dinaa → 1 st pers.sg.imp.
dinga jáng Wolof.	(you will study Wolof)	dinga → 2 nd pers. sg.imp.
dina jáng Wolof.	(s/he/it will study Wolof)	dina → 3 rd pers. sg.imp.
dinanu jáng Wolof.	(we will study Wolof)	dinanu → 1 st pers.pl.imp.
dingeen jáng Wolof.	(you will study Wolof)	dingeen → 2 nd pers.pl.imp.

dinañu jáng Wolof.	(they will study Wolof)	dinañu → 3 rd pers.pl.imp.
--------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------------------

The 1st person plural 'dinanu' and the 3rd person plural 'dinañu' are used interchangeably in Urban Wolof.

The typical structure of future tense in Wolof is: **DI form + Verb + (Object)**.

3.1.5. Habitual and imperfect past: 'daan' and 'doon'

Wolof uses two auxiliary verbs 'daan' (used to) and 'doon' (was doing something) to express habitual and past imperfect. Both auxiliary verbs occur before the verb they modify. The following examples illustrate the use of these auxiliary verbs in Wolof.

Habitual past: 'daan'	Imperfective past: 'doon'
□ <u>daan</u> naa jáng Wolof. (I used to study Wolof)	□ <u>doon</u> naa jáng Wolof. (I was studying Wolof)
□ <u>daan</u> nga jáng Wolof. (you used to study Wolof)	□ <u>doon</u> nga jáng Wolof. (you were studying Wolof)
□ <u>daan</u> na jáng Wolof. (s/he used to study Wolof)	□ <u>doon</u> na jáng Wolof. (s/he was studying Wolof)
□ <u>daan</u> nanu jáng Wolof. (we used to study Wolof)	□ <u>doon</u> nanu jáng Wolof. (we were studying Wolof)
□ <u>daan</u> ngeen jáng Wolof. (you used to study Wolof)	□ <u>doon</u> ngeen jáng Wolof. (you were studying Wolof)
□ <u>daan</u> nañu jáng Wolof. (they used to study Wolof)	□ <u>doon</u> nañu jáng Wolof. (they were studying Wolof)

These auxiliary verbs can be suffixed with the morpheme '-oon' to indicate

remote past in the language as shown in the following examples.

□ daan naa jáng Wolof. (I used to study Wolof)	□ daanoon naa jáng Wolof. (I used to study Wolof a while ago)
□ doon naa jáng Wolof. (I was studying Wolof)	□ doonoon naa jáng Wolof. (I was studying Wolof a while ago)

‘daan’ and ‘doon’ are used with the LA, DA, A and NGI focus forms in Wolof.

The following examples illustrate the use of ‘daan’ and ‘doon’.

<u>Daan</u>	<u>Doon</u>
<u>LA: focus on object</u> Wolof laa daan jáng. (Wolof is what I used to study)	<u>LA: focus on object</u> Wolof laa doon jáng. (Wolof is what I was studying)
<u>DA: focus on verb</u> dama daan jáng Wolof. (I used to study Wolof)	<u>DA: focus on verb</u> dama doon jáng Wolof. (I was studying Wolof)
<u>A: focus on subject</u> maa daan jáng Wolof. (I am the one that used to study Wolof)	<u>A: focus on subject</u> maa doon jáng Wolof. (I am the one that was studying Wolof)
<u>NGI: focus on sentence</u> maa ngi daan jáng Wolof. (I used to study Wolof)	<u>NGI: focus on sentence</u> maa ngiy doon jáng Wolof. (I was studying Wolof)

The 1st person plural of the NA form (nanu), LA form (lanu), DA form (danu), A

form (noo), NGI form (noo ngi/nu ngi), and Di form (dinanu) are interchangeable with their 3rd person plural counterparts ‘lañu’, ‘dañu’, ‘ñoo’, ‘ñoo ngi’ and ‘dinañu’ in Urban Wolof. In other words, the phonemic difference between the alveolar nasal /n/ and the palatal nasal /ñ/ is neutralized in such cases. Contextual information is generally used to determine the person referred to in such cases.

3.1.6. Imperative constructions

Wolof uses two verbal suffixes ‘-al’ (singular) and ‘-leen’ (plural) to form imperative sentences. The morpheme ‘-al’ is suffixed to verbs that end with a consonant. If ‘-al’ is suffixed to a monosyllabic verb ending with a vowel, the glide ‘w’ is inserted between the two vowels to break the vowel cluster. If the verb has more than one syllable, the vowel in the singular imperative morpheme ‘-al’ is deleted. The following examples illustrate Wolof imperative constructions.

<u>Infinitive verbs</u>	<u>Singular imperatives</u>	<u>Plural imperatives</u>
□ dem (to go)	□ demal (go!)	□ demleen (go!)
□ jáng (to study)	□ jángal (study!)	□ jángleen (study!)
□ ji (to plant)	□ jiwal (plant!)	□ jileen (plant!)
□ fo (to play)	□ fowal (play!)	□ foleen (play!)
□ jángale (to teach)	□ jángalel (teach!)	□ jángaleleen (teach!)
□ xultu (to complain)	□ xultul (complain!)	□ xultuleen (complain!)

If the verb is followed by an object pronoun, the singular imperative morpheme is deleted. With respect to the plural imperative morpheme ‘-leen’, it is not deleted in similar circumstances but occurs before object pronouns. The following examples

illustrate the use of imperatives with object pronouns.

<u>Imperative sentences with no object</u>	<u>Imperative sentences with object</u>
<u>pronoun</u>	<u>pronouns</u>
jángal téére bi (study the book!)	jáng ko (study it!) → singular
jángleen téére bi (study the book!)	jángleen ko (study it!) → plural
jángal téére yi (study the books!)	jáng leen (study them!) → singular imp.
jángleen téére yi (study the books!)	jángleen leen (study them!) → plural imp.

Wolof also uses lexical units such as 'kaay!' (come do something), 'ayca, aywa!' (let us do something), and 'am!' (here you are ! or take!) to express commands. While these words cannot be suffixed with the singular imperative morpheme '-al', they do take the plural imperative morphemes '-leen'. The following examples illustrate how these lexical units are used to express commands in Wolof.

- kaay! (come!) → singular imperative
- kaay lekk! (come eat!) → singular imperative
- kaayleen lekk (come eat!) → plural imperative
- kaay nu lekk! (come eat with us!) → singular imperative
- kaayleen nu lekk (come eat with us!) → plural imperative
- ayca nu lekk (let us eat!) → singular imperative
- aycaleen nu lekk (let us eat!) → plural imperative
- aywa nu lekk (let us eat!) → singular imperative
- aywaleen nu lekk (let us eat!) → plural imperative
- ayca ci añ bi (let us eat the lunch!) → singular imperative

- aycaleen ci añ bi (let us eat the lunch!) → plural imperative

Note that while 'kaay' can be immediately followed by an infinitive verb, 'ayca' and 'aywa' cannot be adjacent to an infinitive verb. Thus, structures such as 'ayca lekk!' or 'aywa lekk!' are uncommon in Wolof. The verb and the lexical units 'ayca' and 'aywa' have to be separated by a pronoun or a preposition.

3.1.7. Present conditional: 'su ma / bu ma' form

Wolof has three conditional tenses: present conditional, recent past conditional and remote past conditional. The present past conditional is constructed by using the structure Su ma or Bu ma form + verb ending with a consonant + 'ee'. The two forms 'su ma' and 'bu ma' and their respective variants are interchangeable in the present conditional tense as shown in the following examples.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| □ su ma or bu ma + verb + ee | → 1 st person singular (if or when I) |
| □ soo or boo + verb + ee | → 2 nd person singular (if or when you) |
| □ su or bu + verb + ee | → 3 rd person singular (if or when s/he/ it) |
| □ su nu or bu nu + verb + ee | → 1 st person plural (if or when we) |
| □ soo leen or boo leen + verb + ee | → 2 nd person plural (if or when you) |
| □ su ñu or bu ñu + verb + ee | → 3 rd person plural (if or when they) |

The 1st person singular and the 3rd person plural are also interchangeable in Urban Wolof.

The 2nd person plural 'soo leen' and 'boo leen' are also in free variations with their counterparts 'su ngeen' and 'bu ngeen' respectively. 'su ma / bu ma' have two semantic interpretations in Wolof: temporal 'when' and hypothetical 'if'. Note that the '-ee' morpheme is typically suffixed to verbs that end with a consonant. With respect to verbs that end with a vowel, the final vowel undergoes a vowel coalescence process. The

following examples show the use of the present conditional tense with verbs ending with a consonant and those ending with a vowel.

Verbs ending with a consonant

<u>Verb: lekk (to eat)</u>	<u>Translations</u>
<u>bu ma</u> lekkee yápp, <u>dinaa</u> suur.	(if I eat meat , I will be full)
<u>boo</u> lekkee yápp, <u>dinga</u> suur.	(if you eat meat, you will be full)
<u>bu</u> lekkee yápp, <u>dina</u> suur.	(if s/he/it eats meat, s/he/it will be full)
<u>bu nu</u> lekkee yápp, <u>dinanu</u> suur.	(if we eat meat, we will be full)
<u>boo leen</u> lekkee yápp, <u>dingeen</u> suur.	(if you eat meat, you will be full)
<u>bu ñu</u> lekkee yápp, <u>dinañu</u> suur.	(if they eat meat, they will be full)

Note the agreement between the subjects of the conditional clauses and the future forms in the secondary clauses. The ‘di-’ in the future forms may be deleted without affecting the meaning of the sentence. The deletion of the ‘di-’ morpheme does not affect the meaning of the sentence, because the fact that leftover ‘-naa’ would still occur before the verb of the clause [naa suur] showing that the tense referred to is the future tense, and not the NA form which typically occurs after the verb. However, when the entire future marker (‘dinaa’ or its variants) is deleted, the future tense of the secondary clause is suggested by the primary conditional clause, since it goes without saying that conditional clauses are typically followed by future subordinate clauses in Wolof.

Various focus forms can be used in the secondary clause in the conditional tense in Wolof. If the NA, DA, LA, A forms are used in the secondary clause the meanings of the sentences are slightly affected as shown in the following examples.

Future with: ‘di-’ deleted

- buñu lekkee yápp, nañu suur (if they eat meat, they will be full)
- bu ma jángee, naa am xam-xam (if I study I will have knowledge)

NA form in the conditional tense

- buñu lekkee yápp, suur nañu (if they eat meat, they are full)
- bu ma jángee Latin, am naa xam-xam (if I study Latin, I have knowledge)

DA form in the conditional tense

- buñu lekkee yápp, dañu suur (if they eat meat, they are full)
- bu ma jángee Latin, dama am xam-xam (if I study Latin, I have knowledge)

LA form in the conditional tense

- buñu lekkee yápp, lañu suur (if they eat meat, they are full)
- bu ma jángee Latin, laa am xam-xam (if I study Latin, I have knowledge)

A form in the conditional tense

- buñu lekkee yápp, ñoo suur (if they eat meat, they are full)
- bu ma jángee Latin, maa am xam-xam (if I study Latin, I have knowledge)

The imperfective aspect (future ‘di-’ and the progressive ‘-y’) is typically used in the subordinate clause in conditional constructions in Wolof. The ‘-y’ progressive morpheme can be suffixed to the future marker or used with the LA, DA, A, focus forms. If the progressive form ‘-y’ is suffixed to the future morphemes (example: ‘bu ma lekkee yápp, dinaay suur’), the sentence is interpreted as ‘when I eat meat, I am often full.’ If it is attached to the other focus forms (Example: ‘bu ma lekkee yápp, laay suur’ → If I eat meat, I am going to be full), the secondary clause is interpreted as a result. These types of

clauses will be referred to as resultive clauses in this work

Verbs ending with the vowel -i/e

When the conditional marker '-ee' is suffixed to verbs that end with a vowel, vowel assimilation rules are triggered. The rules can be described as follows:

$i/e+ee \rightarrow ee$.

Examples

<u>Verb: báyyi (to quit)</u>	<u>Verb: jángale (to teach)</u>
bu ma báyyee tux, dinaa dénc xaa ^{lis} . (if I quit quit smoking, I will save money)	bu jángalee Wolof, dina am xaa ^{lis} (if s/he teaches Wolof, s/he will have money)

The underline sets off the particle from the verb in these examples.

Verbs ending with the vowel -a

When the conditional marker '-ee' is suffixed to verbs that end with the vowel -a, the resulting vowel is: -aa. The rule can be described as follows: $a+ee \rightarrow aa$.

Examples

<u>Verb: Soxla</u>
boo leen soxlaa xaa ^{lis} , war ngeen liggéy. (if you need money, you must work)
bu ma soxlaa nelaw, duma naan kafe. (if I want to sleep, I will not drink coffee)

Verbs ending with the vowel -o/u

With respect to verbs that end with the vowel '-u' or '-o', when attached to the morpheme '-ee', the resulting vowel is the long vowel: '-oo'. The rule can be described as follows: $o/u + ee \rightarrow oo$.

Examples

<u>Verb: xultu (to complain)</u>	<u>Verb: xulo (to argue)</u>
bu ñu xultoo, dinañu am ay jafe-jafe (if they complain, they will have some problems)	bu ma xuloo ag Falu, du mer. (if I argue with Falu, he will not be angry)

3.1.8. Recent and remote past conditional markers: 'bi ma' and 'ba ma'

Wolof distinguishes recent from remote conditional actions. Similar to the '-i' and '-a' morphemes in postnominal determiners in section 2.2.2.1 (used to refer to close and distance objects), the two vowels in 'bi ma' and 'ba ma' forms are also used in the conditional tense to indicate recent and remote actions. The recent and remote past conditional tenses are based on the same structure as that of the present conditional tense 'su ma / bu ma' discussed above with the only difference that they use 'b+i/b+a' rather than 'b+u': 'bi ma' (lit. when I... recently) or 'ba ma' (lit.: when I

...a while ago) +Verb+ 'ee'. However, while the present conditional tense has variants ('su ma' and 'bu ma'), the recent and remote past conditional forms do not have such variants. The following examples illustrate the use of these past conditional tenses in Wolof.

Recent conditional: 'bi ma' form	Remote conditional: 'ba ma' form
<u>bi ma demee</u> Senegaal, gis naa Falu. (when I went to Senegal, I saw Falu)	<u>Ba ma demee</u> Senegaal, gis naa Falu. (when I went to Senegal, I saw Falu)
<u>bi nga demee</u> Senegaal, gis nga Falu. (when you went to Senegal, you saw Falu)	<u>ba nga demee</u> Senegaal, gis nga Falu. (when you went to Senegal, you saw Falu)
<u>bi mu demee</u> Senegaal, gis na Falu. (when s/he went to Senegal, s/he saw Falu)	<u>ba mu demee</u> Senegaal, gis na Falu. (when s/he went to Senegal, s/he saw Falu)
<u>bi nu demee</u> Senegaal, gis nanu Falu. (when we went to Senegal, we saw Falu)	<u>ba nu demee</u> Senegaal, gis nanu Falu. (when we went to Senegal, we saw Falu)
<u>bi ngeen demee</u> Senegaal, gis ngeen Falu. (when you went to Senegal, you saw Falu)	<u>ba ngeen demee</u> Senegaal, gis ngeen Falu. (when you went to Senegal, you saw Falu)
<u>bi ñu demee</u> Senegaal, gis nañu Falu. (when they went to Senegal, they saw Falu)	<u>ba ñu demee</u> Senegaal, gis nañu Falu. (when they went to Senegal, they saw Falu)

Although these two forms have the same translation in English, the appropriate translation in Wolof is to add to the English translations the adverb 'recently' for 'bi ma' sentences and 'long time ago or a while ago' for 'ba ma' sentences. In such constructions, the secondary clauses are perfective. All focus forms (including the past morpheme '-oon') in the perfective can be used in secondary clauses of recent and remote conditional tenses in Wolof. It entirely depends on speakers' communicative needs.

3.1.9. Expressing wishes: 'bu ma sañee' and 'bu ma sañoon'

Wolof distinguishes two types of wishes: current wishes and past wishes. The language uses the verb 'sañ' (to wish, to dare), the conditional morpheme '-ce', the remote past morpheme '-oon', and the 'bu ma' form to express wishes. To express current wishes, the language uses the following structure: 'bu ma' form + sañ+ee + Verb in imperfective or infinitive. To express past wishes, Wolof uses the following structure: 'bu ma' form + sañ+oon+Verb in imperfective or infinitive. The following examples illustrate current and past wishes in Wolof.

Expressing recent wishes	Expressing past wishes
<u>bu ma sañee</u> , (dinaa) tukki ci Senegaal. (I wish to travel to Senegal)	<u>bu ma sañoon</u> , (dinaa) tukki ci Senegaal. (I wished to travel to Senegal)
<u>boo sañee</u> , (dinga) tukki ci Senegaal. (you wish to travel to Senegal)	<u>boo sañoon</u> , (dinga) tukki ci Senegaal. (you wished to travel to Senegal)
<u>bu sañee</u> , (dina) tukki ci Senegaal. (s/he wishes to travel to Senegal)	<u>bu sañoon</u> , (dina) tukki ci Senegaal. (s/he wished to travel to Senegal)
<u>bu nu sañee</u> , (dinanu) tukki ci Senegaal. (we wish to travel to Senegal)	<u>bu nu sañoon</u> , (dinanu) tukki ci Senegaal. (we wished to travel to Senegal)
<u>boo leen sañee</u> , (dingeen) tukki ci Senegaal. (you wish to travel to Senegal)	<u>boo leen sañoon</u> , (dingeen) tukki ci Senegaal. (you wished to travel to Senegal)
<u>bu ñu sañee</u> , (dinañu) tukki ci Senegaal. (they wish to travel to Senegal)	<u>bu ñu sañoon</u> , (dinañu) tukki ci Senegaal. (they wished to travel to Senegal)

Note that the parentheses between the future markers (Di forms) indicate that 'di-'

or the entire future forms 'dinaa, digna, dina, etc.' may be omitted without affecting the meaning of the sentence similar to the present conditional sentences. In such constructions, all secondary clauses have to be imperfective (i.e., they have to be either in the future form 'di-' or the progressive form '-y').

Chapter 4: Verbal negations: 'duma' and '-uma' forms

Wolof uses two types of negation forms: the 'duma' form and the '-uma' form. 'duma' is a single morpheme and occurs before the verb, and '-uma' is suffixed to the verb it negates. The 'duma' form is primarily used to negate three types of sentences: 1) sentences in the Di form (future), 2) resultive sentences (progressive sentences with '-y' morpheme referring to upcoming outcomes), and 3) sentences with LA form with no verb (cf. section 3.1.5). The '-uma' negation form is used to negate all other sentences (including progressive sentences with the '-y' morpheme referring to ongoing actions). 'duma' and '-uma' take different forms depending on the person and number of the subjects as illustrated below.

<u>'duma' negation forms for imperfective+LA form with no verb.</u>	<u>'-uma' negation form for all perfective verbs</u>
duma → 1 st person singular	-uma → 1 st person singular
doo → 2 nd person singular	-uloo → 2 nd person singular
du → 3 rd person singular	-ul → 3 rd person singular
dunu → 1 st person plural	-unu → 1 st person plural
dungeen/dooleen → 2 nd person singular	-uleen → 2 nd person plural
duñu → 3 rd person plural	-uñu → 3 rd person plural

The 2nd person plural of the 'duma' form has two variants. The first person plural and 3rd person plural forms are interchangeable in Urban Wolof. The following examples illustrate how the 'duma' form is used to negate future and resultive sentences as well sentences with the LA form without a verb.

<u>Examples</u>	<u>Corresponding negative forms with 'duma'</u>
<u>Sentences in future</u> dinaa jáng Wolof suba. (I will study Wolof tomorrow)	duma jáng Wolof suba. (I will not study Wolof tomorrow)
<u>LA forms with no verb</u> Wolof lañu. (they are Wolof) moom la. (it is him/her)	duñu Wolof. (they are not Wolof) du moom. (it is not him)
<u>Resultive sentences with '-v' form</u> damay jángi Wolof suba. (I am going to study Wolof tomorrow)	duma jángi Wolof suba. (I will not study Wolof tomorrow)

To negate sentences with the LA focus form in the past, Wolof suffixes the morpheme 'woon' to the 'duma' forms as in the following examples.

<u>LA form in the past</u>	<u>Corresponding negative forms</u>
Wolof laawoon (I was Wolof)	dumawoon Wolof (I was not Wolof)
Wolof ngawoon (you were Wolof)	doowoon Wolof (you were not Wolof)
Wolof lawoon (s/he was Wolof)	duwoon Wolof (s/he was not Wolof)
Wolof lanuwoon (we were Wolof)	dunuwoon Wolof (we were not Wolof)
Wolof ngeenwoon (you were Wolof)	dungeenwoon Wolof (you were not Wolof)

Wolof lañuwoon (they were Wolof)	duñuwoon Wolof (they were not Wolof)
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The 'duma' negation form typically occurs before a noun, an independent pronoun or a verb. In contrast, the '-uma' form is always suffixed to a verb as shown in the following examples.

<u>Examples</u>	<u>Corresponding negation forms with '-uma' form</u>
□ Wolof laa jáng. (I have studied Wolof)	□ jánguma Wolof. (I have not studied Wolof)
□ Wolof laay jáng. (I am studying Wolof)	□ jánguma Wolof. (I am not studying Wolof)
□ dama jáng Wolof. (I have studied Wolof)	□ jánguma Wolof. (I have not studied Wolof)
□ damay jáng Wolof. (I am studying Wolof)	□ jánguma Wolof. (I am not studying Wolof)
□ maa jáng Wolof. (I have studied Wolof)	□ jánguma Wolof. (I have not studied Wolof)
□ maa ngiy jáng Wolof. (I am studying Wolof)	□ jánguma Wolof. (I am not studying Wolof)

Negative sentences with this form have two interpretations (past-preterit or present perfect-- and progressive) as shown in the examples above because this form is primarily used to negate perfective verbs as well as imperfective verbs referring to

ongoing actions. Consequently, sentences with the 'uma' negation forms can be translated differently in English depending on the context. For instance, 'jánguma Wolof' can have the following interpretations: 'I have not studied Wolof', 'I did not study Wolof', or 'I am not studying Wolof'. If the verb ends with a vowel, the glide '-w' is inserted between the verb and the negative morpheme as in the examples below.

- Falu tukki na ci Bellingham. (Falu has traveled to Bellingham)
- Falu tukkiwul ci Bellingham. (Falu has not traveled to Bellingham)

In the 3rd person singular, the final '-l' in the negative morpheme '-ul' is deleted, if it is followed by an object pronoun or the locatives 'fi' (here) or 'fa' (there) as in the following examples.

- Falu tukkiwul Bellingham. → Falu tukkiwu fa.
(Falu did not travel to Bellingham)
- joxul Mbaye téére bi. → joxu ko téére bi.
(s/he did not give him the book)

These final consonantal deletions create grammatical difficulties to distinguish constructions with the object pronouns 'ma' (1st person singular object pronoun), 'nu' (1st person plural object pronoun), 'leen' (2nd person plural object pronoun) and 'leen' (2nd and 3rd person plural object pronouns) from the '-uma' negation morphemes which have identical phonological forms as shown in the following examples.

<u>Constructions with '-uma' forms</u>	<u>Constructions with object pronouns</u>
joxu <u>ma</u> xaa <u>li</u> su Falu. (I did not give Falu's money)	joxu <u>ma</u> xaa <u>li</u> su Falu. (s/he did not give Falu's money)

joxu <u>nu</u> xaa <u>li</u> bi. (we did not give the money)	joxu <u>nu</u> xaa <u>li</u> bi. (s/he did not give us the money)
joxu <u>leen</u> xaa <u>li</u> bi. (you pl. did not give the money)	joxu <u>leen</u> xaa <u>li</u> bi. (s/he did not give you pl. the money) or (s/he did not give them the money)

The '-uma' form is also used to negate remote past sentences (with the '-oon' morpheme). In such cases, the morpheme '-woon' is suffixed to the negated verb. The following examples illustrate '-uma' negation constructions with the remote past morphemes '-oon/woon' in Wolof.

Example of negative constructions with verbs ending with a consonant

<u>Remote past sentences</u>	<u>Negated Sentences</u>
lekk <u>oon</u> naa ceeb daaw. (I had eaten rice last year)	lekkum <u>woon</u> ceeb daaw. (I had not eaten rice last year)
lekk <u>oon</u> nga ceeb daaw. (you had eaten rice last year)	lekkulo <u>woon</u> ceeb daaw. (you had not eaten rice last year)
lekk <u>oon</u> na ceeb daaw. (s/he had eaten rice last year)	lekkul <u>woon</u> ceeb daaw. (s/he had not eaten rice last year)
lekk <u>oon</u> nanu ceeb daaw. (we had eaten rice last year)	lekkunu <u>woon</u> ceeb daaw. (we had not eaten rice last year)
lekk <u>oon</u> ngeen ceeb daaw. (you had eaten rice last year)	lekkuleen <u>woon</u> ceeb daaw. (you had not eaten rice last year)
lekk <u>oon</u> nañu ceeb daaw.	lekkuñu <u>woon</u> ceeb daaw.

(they had eaten rice last year)	(they had not eaten rice last year)
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If there is a direct object pronoun in remote past constructions, the object pronoun moves closer to the negated finite verb. As a result, the object pronoun is inserted between the verb already in the '-uma' negation form and the morpheme 'woon'. This process was discussed earlier in section 2.7, and was referred to as Wolof clitic-climbing. The following examples illustrate the clitic-climbing phenomenon in remote negation constructions in Wolof.

<u>Remote past sentences with no object pronoun</u>	<u>Corresponding sentences with object pronouns</u>
lekkumawoon ceeb daaw. (I had not eaten rice last year)	lekkuma ko woon. (I had not eaten <u>it</u>)
gisoon naa la. (I had seen you)	gisuma la woon. (I had not seen <u>you</u>)
lekkumawoon ceeb ag yapp. (I had not eaten rice and meat)	lekkuma leen woon. (I had not eaten <u>them</u>)

Note that the clitic-climbing phenomenon also occurs with the locatives 'fi' (here) and 'fa' (there) as in the following examples.

lekkoon naa ceeb fi. (I had eaten rice here)	lekkoon naa fi woon ceeb. (I had eaten rice here)
gisoon naa fa. (I had seen there)	gisuma fa woon. (I had not seen there)

lekkumawoon ceeb fi. (I had not eaten rice here)	lekkuma fi woon ceeb. (I had not eaten rice here)
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4.1. Negation of conditional sentences with 'su ma/ bu ma'

To negate present conditional sentences, Wolof substitutes the conditional morpheme '-ee' in the primary clause with the 3rd person negation morpheme '-ul' (for verbs ending with a consonant) and '-wul' (for those that end with a vowel), and uses the 'duma' negation form in the secondary clause. The following examples illustrate the negation forms of present conditional sentences in Wolof.

Verbs ending with a consonant

<u>Verb: lekk (to eat)</u>	<u>Translations</u>
bu ma lekkul yápp, <u>duma</u> suur.	(if I do not eat meat, I will not be full)
boo lekkul yápp, <u>doo</u> suur.	(if you do eat meat, you will not be full)
bu lekkul yápp, <u>du</u> suur.	(if s/he does not eat meat, s/he will not be full)
bu nu lekkul yápp, <u>dunu</u> suur.	(if we do not eat meat, we will not be full)
boo leen lekkul yápp, <u>dooleen</u> suur.	(if you do not eat meat, you will not be full)
bu ñu lekkul yápp, <u>duñu</u> suur.	(If they do not eat meat, they will not be full)

Verbs ending with a vowel

<u>Verb: xultu (to complain)</u>	<u>Translation</u>
bu ma xultuwul, <u>duma</u> begg.	(if I do not complain, I will not be happy)
boo xultuwul, <u>doo</u> begg.	(if you do not complain, you will not be happy)
bu xultuwul, <u>du</u> begg.	(if s/he does not complain, s/he will not be happy)

<u>bu nu</u> xultuwul, <u>dunu</u> begg.	(if we do not complain, we will not be happy)
<u>boo leen</u> xultuwul, <u>dooleen</u> begg.	(if you do not complain, you will not be happy)
<u>bu ñu</u> xultuwul, <u>duñu</u> begg.	(if they do not complain, they will not be happy)

While the 'duma' form in the secondary clause can vary depending on the the speaker, the negated verb in the main clause remains invariable as the only morpheme that can be suffixed to it is the 3rd person singular negation morpheme '-ul' and its variant '-wul'.

4.2. Negation of imperatives

In order to negate imperative sentences, Wolof uses the morphemes 'bul' (singular imperative negation marker) and 'buleen' (plural imperative negation marker). These morphemes occur before the verb as shown in the following examples.

<u>Imperative sentences</u>	<u>Corresponding negative sentences</u>
lekkal ceeb bi! ((eat the rice!)->singular	bul lekk! (do not eat!) → singular
lekkleen ceeb bi! (eat the rice!)->plural	buleen lekk! (do not eat!) → plural
fowal fale! (play over there!)-> singular	bul fo!(do not play! → singular
foleen fale! (play over there!) → plural	buleen fo!(do not play! → plural

4.3. Other forms of negation

Wolof also uses three other morphemes to construct negative sentences: '-aguma' (not to do something yet), '-atuma' (not to do something anymore), 'dootuma' (will not do something anymore). '-aguma' and '-atuma' are suffixed to verbs ending with a consonant. Vowel coalescences occur with the '-aguma' and 'atuma', if they are

suffixed to a verb that ends with a vowel. With respect to 'dootuma', it is a single morpheme which occurs at the preverbal position. The following examples show how these negation forms are constructed in Wolof.

1. Verbs ending with a consonant

A. 'aguma' form

- jángaguma (I have not studied yet) → 1st person singular
- jángaguloo (you have not studied yet) → 2nd person singular
- jángagul (s/he has not studied yet) → 3rd person singular
- jángagunu (we have not studied yet) → 1st person plural
- jángaguleen (you have not studied yet) → 2nd person plural
- jángaguñu (they have not studied yet) → 3rd person plural

B. '-atuma' form

- jángatuma (I have not studied anymore) → 1st person singular
- jángatuloo (you have not studied anymore) → 2nd person singular
- jángatul (s/he has not studied anymore) → 3rd person singular
- jángatunu (we have not studied anymore) → 1st person plural
- jángatuleen (you have not studied anymore) → 2nd person plural
- jángatuñu (they have not studied anymore) → 3rd person plural

C. 'dootuma' form

- dootuma jáng (I will not study anymore) → 1st person singular
- dootuloo jáng (you will not study anymore) → 2nd person singular
- dootul jáng (s/he will not study anymore) → 3rd person singular
- dootunu jáng (we will not study anymore) → 1st person plural

- dootuleen jáng (you will not study anymore) → 2nd person plural
- dootuñu jáng (they will not study anymore) → 3rd person plural

2. Verbs ending with a vowel

<u>'-aguma' form</u>	<u>'-atuma' form</u>
<p><u>Verb: tukki (to travel)</u></p> <p>tukkeeguma (I have not traveled yet)</p> <p>tukkeeguloo (you have not traveled yet)</p> <p>tukkeegul (s/he has not traveled yet)</p> <p>tukkeegunu (we have not traveled yet)</p> <p>tukkeeguleen (you have not traveled yet)</p> <p>tukkeeguñu (they have not traveled yet)</p>	<p><u>Verb: tukki (to travel)</u></p> <p>tukkeetuma (I have not traveled anymore)</p> <p>tukkeetuloo (you have not traveled anymore)</p> <p>tukkeetul (s/he has not traveled anymore)</p> <p>tukkeetunu (we have not traveled anymore)</p> <p>tukkeetuleen (you have not traveled anymore)</p> <p>tukkeetuñu (they have not traveled anymore)</p>
<p><u>Verb: mave (to give)</u></p> <p>mayeeguma (I have not given yet)</p> <p>mayeeguloo (you have not given yet)</p> <p>mayeegul (s/he has not given yet)</p> <p>mayeegunu (we have not given yet)</p> <p>mayeeguleen (you have not given yet)</p> <p>mayeeguñu (they have not given yet)</p>	<p><u>Verb: mave (to give)</u></p> <p>mayeetuma (I have not given anymore)</p> <p>mayeetuloo (you have not given anymore)</p> <p>mayeetul (s/he has not given anymore)</p> <p>mayeetunu (we have not given anymore)</p> <p>mayeetuleen (you have not given anymore)</p> <p>mayeetuñu (they have not given anymore)</p>
<p><u>Verb: soxla (to need)</u></p> <p>soxlaaguma (I have not needed yet)</p> <p>soxlaaguloo (you have not needed yet)</p> <p>soxlaagul (s/he has not needed yet)</p> <p>soxlaagunu (we have not needed yet)</p>	<p><u>Verb: soxla (to need)</u></p> <p>soxalaatuma (I have not needed anymore)</p> <p>soxalaatuloo (you have not needed anymore)</p> <p>soxlaatul (s/he has not needed anymore)</p> <p>soxlaatunu (we have not needed anymore)</p>

<p>soxlaaguleen (you have not needed yet)</p> <p>soxlaaguñu (they have not needed yet)</p>	<p>soxlaatuleen (you have not needed anymore)</p> <p>soxlaatuñu (they have not needed anymore)</p>
<p><u>Verb: xultu (complained)</u></p> <p>xultooguma (I have not complained yet)</p> <p>xultooguloo (you have not complained yet)</p> <p>xultoogul (s/he has not complained yet)</p> <p>xultoogunu (we have not complained yet)</p> <p>xultooguleen (you have not complained yet)</p> <p>xultooguñu (they have not complained yet)</p>	<p><u>Verb: xultu (to complain)</u></p> <p>xultootuma (I have not complained anymore)</p> <p>xultootuloo (you have not complained anymore)</p> <p>xultootul (s/he has not complained anymore)</p> <p>xultootunu (we have not complained anymore)</p> <p>xultootuleen (you have not complained anymore)</p> <p>xultootuñu (they have not complained anymore)</p>
<p><u>Verb: xulo (to argue)</u></p> <p>xulooguma (I have not argued yet)</p> <p>xulooguloo (you have not argued yet)</p> <p>xuloogul (s/he has not argued yet)</p> <p>xuloogunu (we have not argued yet)</p> <p>xulooguleen (you have not argued yet)</p> <p>xulooguñu (they have not argued yet)</p>	<p><u>Verb: xulo (to argue)</u></p> <p>xulootuma (I have not argued anymore)</p> <p>xulootuloo (you have not argued anymore)</p> <p>xulootul (s/he has not argued anymore)</p> <p>xulootunu (we have not argued anymore)</p> <p>xulootuleen (you have not argued anymore)</p> <p>xulootuñu (they have not argued anymore)</p>

When the morphemes '-aguma' and '-atuma' are suffixed to verbs ending with the front vowels '-i' or '-e', the resulting vowel is: '-ee'. When verbs ending with the back rounded vowels '-u' or '-o' are suffixed with the same morphemes, the resulting vowel is: '-oo'. When verbs ending with the vowel '-a' are suffixed with the two morphemes, the resulting vowel is: '-aa'.

Chapter 5: Basic syntax

Wolof has two major types of sentences: 1) simple sentences and 2) complex sentences. The language also distinguishes affirmative sentences from interrogative, imperative and exclamative sentences. Unlike affirmative sentences and imperative sentences, Wolof interrogative sentences can be identified based on question words such as 'xanaa', 'ndax', 'mbaa', 'fan', 'kan', 'lan', 'ban', 'yan', etc.

According to Diouf (2001:41), if the interrogative sentence does not have question words, the sentence starts with a high intonation which falls abruptly on the last syllable of the sentence. In contrast, affirmative and imperative sentences have a uniform melody. Exclamative sentences are usually introduced by the exclamative particle 'aka' or 'ndaw' placed before a sentence, a verb-phrase, a noun-phrase or an adjectival phrase as in the following examples: 'aka baax!' (what a good person!), 'aka am xaalis!' (what a rich person!) 'ndaw ku baax!' (what a good person!), 'ndaw liggéykat!' (what a worker!). The basic syntactic structure of the language is: SVO. However, because of the various focus forms in the language and the fact that it is a pro-drop language, VSO, OSV structures are used in the language.

5.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences typically consist of a verb, a focus form (imperfective or perfective NA, LA, A, DA or NGI form) with or without an object. The following examples illustrate the types of sentences in Wolof.

- nun, jáng nanu Wolof. (we study Wolof)
1p.pr.-verb. to study-1p.pl.NA f.perf.-obj. Wolof.
- dama bëgg xaalis. (I like want money)
1p.sg.DA f.subj.perf.-verb.to want-obj.money.

- Wolof ngeen jáng. (you study Wolof)
obj.Wolof-2p.pl.LA f.subj.perf.-verb. to study.
- nooy jáng. (they are studying Wolof)
2p.pl.A f.subj.imp.-verb. to study.
- dina jáng Wolof lool. (s/he will study Wolof a lot)
3p.sg.DI f.subj.imp.-verb. to study-obj. Wolof-adv. a lot.
- moo ngiy jáng Wolof ci Senegaal. (s/he is studying Wolof in Senegal)
3p.sg.NGI f.subj.imp.-verb. to study-obj. Wolof in Senegal.
- xanaa Falu jángale na Wolof? (did Falu teach Wolof?)
qw. -Falu.subj.-verb. to teach-NA f.perf.-obj. Wolof.
- aka am xaalis! (what a rich man!)
exw.-verb. inf. to have money.

5.2. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of two types: 1) coordinated sentences, and 2) subordinated sentences. Wolof has several coordination and subordination conjunctions. The most common ones are: 'wante /waaye' (but), 'walla'(or), 'ndax, ndaxte' (because, so that), 'ag' or 'ak' (and, with), 'te' (and), 'te-itam' (and also), 'bu / su (if, when: conditional markers), 'bi / ba' (when, while), 'ngir' (in order for, to), 'ne' (complementizer 'that'), 'balaa' (before), etc. The following examples illustrate how coordinated and subordinated sentences are constructed in Wolof.

5.2.1.Coordination

- Mbaye jángalewul Wolof waaye linguistics lay jángale.
(Mbaye does not teach Wolof, but he is teaching linguistics)
Mbaye. subj.-verb. to teach.3.p.sg.neg.perf.-obj.Wolof.-conj.but.-obj. linguistics.-LA

f.3p.sg.imp.-verb. to teach.

- samay xarit dañu bëgg xaalis te bëgguñu liggéy.

(my friends want money, and do not want to work)

1p.adjpos.pl.-n.friend.subj.-DA f.3p.pl.perf.-verb.to want-obj.money-conj.and-

verb.3p.pl.neg.perf.-obj.to work.

- dafay liggéy lool ndax bëgg na jënd ab kër.

(s/he is working a lot because s/he wants to buy a house)

3p.sg.DA f.imp.subj.-verb.to work-adv. a lot. conj. because-verb.to want.Naf.3p.sg.perf.-

obj.verb.inf.to buy.inf.indart.a.n.house.

Note that the conjunctions ‘waaye’ (but), ‘te’ (and) and ‘ndax’ (because) have variants in Wolof. ‘waaye’ and ‘wante’, ‘ndax’ and ‘ndaxte’ are interchangeable. With respect to ‘te’, it is not interchangeable with its counterpart ‘ag’ (and). ‘te’ is specifically used to conjoin sentences and clauses, while its counterpart ‘ag’ is used to join two substantives, pronouns and nominalized phrases.

5.2.2. Subordination

The most common subordination conjunctions in Wolof are: ‘bu/su’, ‘ngir’, ‘ndax/ndaxte’, ‘ne’ and ‘balaa’. The following examples illustrate how these conjunctions are used in the language.

- yaakaar naa ne war naa liggéy lool bu ma bëggee tekki ci sama dund).

(I think that I must work a lot if I want to succeed in my life)

verb.to think.NA f.1p.sg.perf.subj.-comp.that.-aux.must.NA f.1p.sg.perf.subj.-verb.work.-adv.

a lot.cond.1p.sg.verb.to want.cond.-obj.verb.to succeed.pp.in.1p.pos.sg.-n.life.

- dinaa jáng Wolof lool balaa maay tukki ci Senegaal ngir mëna waxtaan ag nit ñi.

(I will study Wolof a lot before I travel to Senegal in order to be able to discuss with

the people.)

DI f.1p.sg.subj.imp.-verb. to study-obj.Wolof.adv. a lot.-conj.before.-A f.1p.sg.imp.verb.to travel.obj.pp.to.n. Senegal.-conj. in order to. aux. to be able to.verb.inf.to discuss.pp. with. n.person.hpm.

- bu ma sañoon adduna bi am jámm ndax ñépp begg ngir xale yépp mëna dund ci jámm.

(I wished the world to have peace so that everybody is happy in order for all children to be able to live in peace)

cond.1.sg.verb.to wish.past.n.world.art.the.-verb.inf.to have.obj.n.peace.-conj.so

that.quant.hpm.subj.everybody.-verb. to be happy. conj. in order for.-n.child.nhpm.-aux. to be able to.verb.inf.to live.pp.in.n.peace.

5.2.3. Interjections

Wolof has several interjections. Some consist of single words and others consist of larger ‘frozen’ units. The most commonly used ones are the followings:

- woy! (expression of pain ‘ouch!’)
- woy sama ndey! (oh my god!)
- cim, cimbaye, cam! (expression of disgust ‘urrrgh!’)
- ndeysaan! (‘I am sorry for you!’ or ‘how nice!’ or ‘how cute!’)
- massa! (expression of empathy)
- xam! (disrespectful ‘that’s none of your business!’)
- duul! (more disrespectful ‘that’s not of your business!’)
- ayca, aywa! (‘go on!’)
- dééd, déédwaay! (‘no, stop!’ or ‘stop please!’)
- yalla tere! (‘never ever!’)

- nga ne! ('what!' or 'my goodness!')
- su boxul ma la, toskare!(depreciation: 'damn you!' or 'you little brat!')
- eskey, dëggit! (confirmation of a truthful statement: 'that's true!')
- doomu xaj! (lit. child of a dog: 'bastard!' or 'son of a bitch!')
- doomu xaraam! (lit. child of sin: 'bastard!' or 'son of a bitch!')

6. Wolof text with interlinear translation

Teranga (Hospitality)

'Teranga' nekk na baat bu siw ci réewu Senegaal. '*Hospitality*' is a famous word in the country of Senegal. Baatu 'teranga' mu ngi báyyeeko ci 'teral gan'. The word 'teranga' originates from 'to treat strangers well'. Bokk na itam ci melokaani Senegaal yu gëna siw. It is also part of the characteristics of Senegal which are more famous. Gan dañu ko wara teral lool, ndax bu ñibbee, mu mënna nettali lu baax ci réew mi. A stranger must be treated well, so that when s/he goes back home, s/he can tell what is good in the country. Ci Senegaal, ñépp maase nañu and ci ne teral gan melokaanu waa-réew mi la. In Senegaal, everybody equally agree that treating strangers well is a characteristic of the people of the country. Kon, teral gan bokk na ci warugali bépp doomu Senegaal. Therefore, to treat strangers well is part of the duties of every child of Senegal. Boo yeggee Senegaal, te nga nekk gan, baat bu ngay njëkka dégg mooy 'teranga'. If you arrive in Senegal, and you are a stranger, the first word you are going to hear is 'teranga'. Teranga moo wutale Senegaal ag yeneen réew yu ko seq. Hospitality differentiates Senegal from other countries which border it. Maanaam, fu la añ walla réér fekk ci Senegaal, dinga lekk ba regg ndax baatu 'teranga'. For example, wherever lunch or dinner finds you in Senegal, you will eat until you are full because of the word 'hospitality'. Waaye, boo demee ci réew yu jege Senegaal, kénn du la tal boo nekkee gan. But, if you go to countries which are close to Senegal, nobody will care about you if you are a stranger. Kon, mën naa wax ne teranga bokk na ci cosaanu Senegaal te itam moo wutale réewu Senegaal ag yeneen réew yu ko seq. Therefore, I can say that

hospitality is part of the Senegalese culture and also it is what differentiates Senegal from other countries which border it.

Note that the word 'gan' means both 'stranger' and 'guest' in Wolof.

Conclusion

This book shows that Wolof is an agglutinative language with a rich noun class system and morphology. Its noun class system is key to understanding the Wolof grammar as various grammatical patterns (determiners, adjectival clauses, relative clauses, etc.) are based on the eight noun classes of the language. Among other things, the book also shows that Wolof distinguishes two major aspects (imperfective and perfective) and uses various focus forms (NA, LA, DA, A, NGI) to emphasize different elements in a sentence. These focus forms carry tense, person, and aspectual information.

Nowadays, Wolof noun class system is undergoing changes due to the extensive borrowings from French and Arabic in urban areas in Senegal. Although the plural distinction between [+human] and [-human] nouns is still maintained in many urban areas, borrowings (especially from French and Arabic) have triggered the simplification of the eight singular noun classes into one class: the [-human] singular 'b-'. This is due to the fact that the singular noun class 'b-' is used for all singular loans in the language, regardless whether they refer to [+human] or [-human] nouns.

In Senegal today, Wolof and other five national languages are taught in rural areas to illiterate people by both governmental and non-governmental organizations. The new Senegalese (President Abdoulaye Wade) has put a strong emphasis on the need to teach Wolof and other Senegalese languages, and the government is currently planning to introduce Wolof and other languages in the educational system of the country.

Moreover, today the study and the teaching of Wolof in Senegal and abroad is a growing field of interest for many scholars. Despite the work of various scholars in C.L.A.D. (*Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar*) and abroad, the efforts of the Senegalese

Ministry of Literacy, and the current interest of American and European institutions in the study and teaching of Wolof, the language is still in need of a sound and concise reference grammar. It is my hope that this book will modestly help to fill this gap, and will prove equally useful for both linguists and non-linguists interested in the language.

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