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Introduction

About Pular

Pular is in the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Other languages in the Atlantic branch are Wolof, Serer, Köy, Bâga, Landuma, and Kissi. The Mandé branch is also in the Niger-Congo family, and includes Maninka, Susu, Jakanje, Jalonke, and Soninke.

The dialect taught in this book, known as **Pular Fuuta**, is spoken in the area that once comprised the theocratic kingdom of the Fuuta Jallon (most of which is in modern-day Guinea). Other dialects in the area are **Fulakunda**, spoken in Casamance (southern Senegal) and parts of Guinea-Bissau and Gambia; and **Pulaar**, the language of the Tororo (Toure) in Northern and southeastern Senegal and southern Mauritania (as well as in Dinguiraye in Guinea). Other forms of Pular are spoken in Niger, Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Cameroon. Linguists sometimes refer to Pular and its first cousins by the generic name of **Fulfulde**.

It is a useful language in West Africa, not only because it has relatives in so many different countries, but also because the Fulbe-Fuuta are everywhere. As a result of large emigration movements over the last 50-60 years, every West African capital has a colony of Fulbe traders, merchants, etc. Today there are over 2.5 million speakers of the Fuuta Jallon dialect, out of around 14 million Pular speakers total.

A brief history of the Fuuta-Jallon Fulbe

You may hear a lot of stories about the origin of the Fulbe¹: they came from Ethiopia, they came from Australia, they’re the lost tribe of Israel, and so on. There are several causes for this speculation: The French wondered about their light skin and fine features, and their language seemed unrelated to any of the surrounding languages; add to this the fact that there are credible historical sightings of the Fulbe as far east as Libya and Egypt. And the Fulbe themselves like the idea that they are somehow mysterious, different from (and perhaps superior to) their neighbors.

More recent research in anthropology and linguistics lends support to the following story: The Fulbe originated north of the Senegal river, in what is now Mauritania. They traveled widely; some wandered east, where they were islamicized by Arabs or Berbers, and eventually returned west.

The Fuuta Jallon was settled by the Fulbe in two waves: the first, possibly as early as the 13th century, consisted of pagan (non-Islamic) Fulbe, known as **Pulli**. The second began in the 16th century and consisted of Moslem Fulbe from Macina in what is now the republic of Mali.

This clan of Fulbe originally shared the Fuuta Jallon with its other inhabitants, non-Muslim Fulbe and Jallonke. Sometime in the 17th century, though, they became fed up with the pagans’ drinking and dancing, and declared holy war. This **jihad** was long and bloody and featured a number of atrocities, if the Fulbe’s own oral history is to be believed. When the dust settled (around 1725), the Muslim Fulbe had established a federal theocracy under Islamic law, with a central ruler in Timbo (near present-day Mamou), a holy city.

¹ Also known as the **Peuhl** (the Wolof word for them) or the **Fula** (the Hausa word for them). **Fulbe** is what they call themselves (**Pullu** in the singular).
in Fougoumba, and seven other provinces (diwe) with a certain amount of autonomy. Labe quickly became the wealthiest and most powerful of these, expanding its borders to the north and west until it encompassed an area nearly as long as the rest of the kingdom put together.

From the outset this kingdom was plagued by power struggles. The descendants of the first Almaami (Imam/king) quickly split into two houses, the Alfaya and the Soriya, which fought more or less incessantly throughout the history of the kingdom.

For a while a system of bicaphalism was formalized, in which there were always two Almaamis, one from each house, who would trade off power every two years. In practice this didn't work out very well, as one might expect; and reigning Almaamis stood a good chance of having their heads cut off and delivered in a gourd to the Almaami-in-waiting.

The French were able to establish themselves in all the surrounding areas long before they made any headway in the Fuuta. They were finally able to capitalize on internal power struggles, and on Labe's hopes for greater autonomy. In 1896, at the battle of Pore-Daka, the French, along with the armies of Alfa Yaya, chief of Labe, defeated the last Almaami, Buubakar Biro.

The colonial authorities moved quickly to consolidate their power over the area, putting puppet chiefs in place, dividing the Fuuta in order to strengthen leaders favorable to them, and little by little diluting the role of the Almaami. As Alfa Yaya watched his authority slip away, he tried to organize an uprising against the colonists; but his plot was discovered, and he was sent into exile. He died in a prison colony in Mauritania.

How to use this book

This book was written to complement and support an intensive 3-month training for Peace Corps volunteers. It is primarily intended to be used alongside daily classes led by an instructor who is a native speaker of Pular. It is also designed to serve as a reference and study tool for the volunteer once at site, whether or not they received extensive language training beforehand.

The vocabulary, texts, and examples draw heavily from the experience of volunteers, and the competences reflect the communications needs of someone living and working in a village or town in the Fuuta Jallon.

Having said all that, there is no reason why this book couldn't be used by someone learning entirely on their own, or by someone with needs different from those of a PCV. We hope that travelers, researchers, development workers, missionaries, and others might find this guide useful.

The book is divided into two parts: 9 competence-based chapters, based on cartoon dialogues, which can be covered in three months of training; and 4 chapters based on texts, intended for independent study at site. These texts are considerably more difficult than the dialogues given in the competences; they are raw excerpts from documents written by and for native speakers, and have not been simplified for the learner. They offer a variety of writing styles and illustrate some more advanced grammatical structures.

Each chapter includes one or more dialogues or texts, a vocabulary list, one or more points of grammar, cultural notes, and exercises. For those using this book to study independently, we suggest the following approach to each chapter:

1. Read the dialogues or text, trying to figure out words you don’t understand from the pictures or the context, before peeking at the vocabulary list. In the vocabulary lists, we’ve tried to be comprehensive; don’t be intimidated. The lists are intended to serve as a reference, and you shouldn’t feel that you need to memorize every word right away. Sometimes the essential beginners’ vocabulary is highlighted; focus on this, then learn more of the vocabulary when you can.

2. Review the grammar points, looking back to the dialogue or text for examples. Don’t be intimidated by the grammar either; it is there for your reference. Just read through it once, then refer back to it when necessary. These explanations are here to help answer any questions you may have about the way the language works, not to make you feel like you don’t speak Pular until you master all the rules.

3. Work the exercises, then have a native speaker help you correct your work (see below for more about working with an informant). Do them in pencil and fix any errors, so that the worked exercises themselves provide a useful resource.

Tips on learning Pular at post

Not everyone has the benefit of months of intensive language training before arriving at
post; even if you did have this training, you will need to continue to put effort into learning the language on your own once you’re at your site.

Perhaps this goes without saying, but we’ll say it anyway: this book should not be the focus of your self-directed language study. You will learn Pular from Pular speakers, not from a book; this manual is just a crutch, a reference to help answer your questions, a shortcut to understanding how the language works.

You need to spend a lot of time just listening to Pular being spoken, but you also need time focused on studying the language. Hire a tutor/informant, make a schedule, and keep to it.

Much of the following advice is summarized from Learning a Field Language by Robbins Burling (Ann Arbor: U. Michigan Press, 1984), which is full of helpful hints and takes about an hour to read cover to cover. It is a small green paperback; Peace Corps has many copies.

Focus on comprehension rather than production. Once you can understand a certain percentage of what is being said, you will begin to make much more rapid progress. You will come to speak correctly without having to think about the grammar involved, because you already have an ear for what “sounds right.”

When you do speak Pular, don’t be afraid to make mistakes. Focus on getting out whatever message it is you want to communicate. In fact, it is better if your Pular is a little broken, because this indicates that you are learning, and prompts the other person to speak slowly and be patient with you.

Focus on vocabulary rather than grammar. Your priority is to communicate, not to speak elegantly. You can get by with a minimum of grammar; “me want water” is understandable and unambiguous. Without vocabulary, you can neither speak nor understand.

Use mnemonic tricks to learn many words quickly: associate a Pular word with a similar-sounding English word, and then make up a visual association between the two concepts, no matter how far-fetched. Dogugol means “to run”; so picture a dog running. Ngesa means “field”; so picture a flock of geese sitting in a field.

Working with an informant

If you hire someone to help you learn Pular, you should not think of them as your teacher or tutor. Very few Fulåe have ever needed to think about how Pular grammar works or have been trained to teach Pular as a second language. If they are educated, they may try to shoehorn Pular into French grammatical structures they have studied.

You should think of this person as an informant, a natural source of authentic Pular speech. This book should be able to answer your grammatical questions. Your informant is there to provide you with spontaneous spoken language to learn from, and to help you build your vocabulary.

You will need to take the lead in giving structure to sessions with your informant; decide what you want to learn, and how you want to go about it.

More advice:

- Use a tape recorder. Give your tutor a topic and have them speak for three-five minutes into the tape recorder; even better, record a conversation between two people. Transcribe the recording with their help. Afterwards listen to the recording over and over until you can understand everything that is said without referring back to your notes. Completing this exercise just once can push your ability to understand spoken Pular to a new level.

- Don’t start from French. Don’t ask, “How do you say X in Pular?” This forces your informant to grope for a Pular equivalent to a French word, when such an equivalent may not really exist, or where several different words could be used in different contexts. Rather, have your informant generate speech, and then attempt to understand the words he or she has spontaneously used.

- Dedicate a lot of time to learning the language when you first arrive at post, particularly if you are a health or NRM volunteer and don’t have a lot to do at first. This is the time you should spend getting to know your community, and learning Pular is an integral part of that process. Research shows that the more hours a day you spend studying a language, the more you get out of each hour; in other words, you get more from studying four hours a day for a week than from studying one hour a day for four weeks. This investment in time will serve you well once you shift into a more active role in your community.

About mixing Pular and French

Pular borrows promiscuously from other languages—and this dialect does so more than
others. For obvious reasons, most religious and legal terminology comes from Arabic; and huge amounts of French vocabulary have made their way into everyday conversation. There are also words from English, Portuguese, Malinke, Susu, Wolof, and others.

Every learner of Pular will need to strike a balance between using French words when appropriate, and speaking as pure a Pular as possible without using French as a crutch. On the one hand, if a French word is more widely used and understood than the “pure” Pular equivalent, then it makes more sense to use the borrowed term; for instance, *fuleer* (from *fleur*) is more widely used to say “flower” than *pindi* (the correct Pular word). And it makes little sense to make up words in Pular when there is already a French word being used; thus we prefer *soferjo* (from *chauffeur*) for “driver,” rather than the contrived *doginooowo* (“one who causes to run”). We don’t tell you how to tell clock time in Pular because no one ever does so; everyone either uses the French words (or the Arabic prayer times).

On the other hand, one can easily get into the lazy habit of lapsing into French when the Pular word doesn’t come to mind; in fact, many educated Fulɓe speak this way. The danger is that this reliance on French may prevent you from expanding your vocabulary and refining your Pular.

In this book we try to teach Pular as it is spoken today by the average Pullo who speaks little or no French; if you are learning Pular, it is presumably in order to communicate with this person. This still includes borrowed vocabulary, but only those words that have been absorbed into the language and are universally understood by the Fulɓe.

Depending on a given word’s degree of assimilation into the Pular language, we either render it in the Pular orthography (*dwaagol*, to need to, from *doit*) or in its original French spelling, in italics (*huit heures trente,*).**

**Other Pular resources**

This manual is intended to give an introduction to the basics of the Pular language. There is a great deal that has been deliberately left out or simplified to keep things accessible and friendly. The learner who wishes to study the language seriously on their own may find that this book doesn’t go deep enough or that some of the complexities of the language have been smoothed over.

The Protestant missionaries in Labe and Conakry, some of whom are trained linguists working to translate the Bible into Pular, are the best source of Pular learning materials. The Peace Corps resource centers in Conakry and Labe also have a variety of documents. Here are some of the most useful resources for continued study.

**Evans, Barrie. **Teaching Grammar of Pular (Christian Reformed World Missions). This is the most complete and reliable Pular grammar around, and most of the grammatical explanations in this book are based on it. It was written by a missionary linguist, and some may find the technical language and occasional forays into obscure points of linguistics intimidating; but this is the definitive guide to the language and there are few grammatical questions it doesn’t answer. It is available at cost from the missionaries in Labe. Fuzzy copies of an older draft version are floating around Peace Corps as well.

**Evans, Barrie. Dictionnaire Pular-Français-Anglais** (Christian Reformed World Missions). This companion volume to the *Teaching Grammar* is the most thorough dictionary we know of. Although it is officially still a work in progress, the missionaries in Labe may provide you a copy of the most recent version for the cost of reproducing it.

**Fagerberg-Diallo, Sonja, Ph.D. Pular: A Guide for the Dialect of Fuuta Jallon (Guinea) (Joint Christian Mission to West Africa).** Written by a linguist who has studied a number of Fulfé dialects, this book complements Evans in some ways: it provides a wealth of cultural and historical background, and a number of useful annotated texts; and it puts this dialect in the context of its near relatives. However, some of the grammar explanations are just wrong, and a number of phrases from other dialects—which would be incomprehensible to most Fulɓe Fuuta—have crept in; so use with care, and with the help of a local informant. Peace Corps has a number of red, hard-bound copies.

**Pular texts**

You may find written texts a useful tool for learning the language. One way to obtain large quantities of text to work with is to record *radio rurale* broadcasts (*Contes et légendes en langue Pular* or *Tinndi e Taali e Haala Pular*, Wednesdays at 11:00 p.m. is often good). Even better, give people a topic and have them talk into a tape recorder; and
then transcribe (see “Tips on learning Pular at post,” above)

Here are some other sources of text:

- **Diallo, Abdalla. Taali**. These 19 folk tales were compiled as a masters’ thesis at Kankan University. They provide a wealth of raw material, and the stories provide an interesting look at the Pullo imagination at work. Peace Corps has a few copies, and so do the missionaries in Labe.

- **Diallo, Al-Hajji Malaaðo Baame-Kuree. Taarixa Fil Afsilaamaaku (History of the Islamic State)**. This is a transcription made by Barrie Evans of an oral history of the Islamic state of the Fuuta Jallon. The English translation is included, which makes it a very useful study tool; and the story itself is fascinating.

- **Diallo, Aliou et Abdourahmane Diallo (trans.) Anndugol fii Danndugol: Savoir Pour Sauver en Pular (Service National d’Alphabétisation, 1995)**. This 90-page guide to basic health care is particularly useful for health volunteers. There are chapters on birth control, childhood diseases, AIDS, etc.

   There are a few publishers in Conakry, such as Editions Ganndal, producing Pular-language books—mostly poetry and songs. These can be found in bookstores around Conakry. The poetry is interesting but often the vocabulary is so elevated and the language so stylized that even native speakers end up scratching their heads trying to decipher them.

   There are also a number of Pular texts available on the Internet; just type “Pular” into a search engine and see what turns up. Another good starting point is [www.fuuta-jaloo.org](http://www.fuuta-jaloo.org).

### About this edition

This is the second edition of this book. The first was written by Alfa Oumar Kona Baldé, with technical assistance and supervision from Mane Sylla of the CHP/Peace Corps training center in Thies, Senegal, in 1998. This second edition was produced by Herb Caudill (PCV Guinea 1997-99) and Ousmane Besseko Diallo.

We have attempted to add in this edition:
- the perspective of recent learners of Pular on how to approach the language;
- volunteers’ views on what language (grammar, vocabulary) is most useful;
- enough substance to be useful as a reference at post;
- a functional and compact layout and design to lower reproduction costs; and
- a sense of humor to keep the learner interested and to make the whole process of learning a strange tongue a little more bearable.

We suggest that this approach—collaboration between a Peace Corps volunteer who has learned the language and a trainer who speaks it as his or her mother tongue—is the best way to come up with a manual that is relevant, useful, and user-friendly for volunteers, while remaining accurate.

This is a work in progress, and we welcome advice and criticism from all sides: trainers, trainees, volunteers, Peace Corps staff, and others. This manual is available online at [www.ibamba.net/pular](http://www.ibamba.net/pular); the authors’ email addresses are given below.

Herb Caudill thanks Ibrahima Barry, Oumar Diallo, Ousmane Besseko Diallo and Mamadou Ciré Pellal Diallo, as well as the people of Maali-Yamberen and surrounding villages, for teaching him Pular before, during, and after his service as a volunteer.

In addition the authors thank those who have looked over the first drafts of this document and who have suggested improvements: in particular, Becky Furth and Beverly Roberts.

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*Conakry, Guinea, July 2000*
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<td>Fii nafa jeyeede.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>USEFUL ADVICE</td>
<td>Ko beyngure kala haani andude fil laabal.</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ORAL HISTORY</td>
<td>Almaami sakkitoro on.</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No wa’i?
(What’s up?)

Salminagol mawbe (Greeting an old person)

On jaraama.  On jaraama.  
Tanna alaa?  Beygure nden no e jam?  
Jam tun.  Jam tun.  
Awa, en jango.  En jango, si Alla jabi.

Salminagol sukaajo (Greeting a young person)

A jaraama.  A jaraama.  
Jam tun.  No wa’i?  
No marsude?  Hii’hi, no marsude fota.  
Golle den no marsude?  No marsude seeda.  
Awa, en ontuma, naani?  Awa, o-o!

In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Basic greetings
- Questions to which “Jam tun” is the correct answer
- Alternatives to “Jam tun”
- Taking leave
- Polite words
- Useful phrases for the beginner

Grammar
- Spelling and pronunciation

Cultural Notes
- Respect
- Women and Islam
- Body language
- Greetings during prayertime
- The Will of God
- Living up to your predecessor
VOCABULARY

This is a rather complete list of greetings. Do not think you need to know all of these at first; focus on the basics.

Basic greetings

A jaraama. I greet you.
On jaraama. I greet you. [plural or respectful]
Tanna alaa? Is there no evil?
Jam tun. Peace only.
No wa’i? What’s up?
No marsude? Ça marche?
No marsude seeda. Ça marche un peu.
No marsude fota. Ça marche bien.

Questions to which “Jam tun” is the correct answer

Tanna alaa ton? Is there no evil there? 1
Tanna alaa gaa? Is there no evil here? 2
Beyngure nden no e jam? Is the family well?
Faybe ben no e jam? Are the children well?
Boobo on no selli? Is your baby healthy?
Honno beyngu maa wadi? How is your wife doing?
Golle ðen? [And your] work?
Paykoy koy? [And] the children?
A walli e jam? Did you sleep in peace?
On belike e jam? Did you sleep in peace? [respectful]
On halli e jam? Have you spent the day in peace?
On hiri e jam? Have you spent the evening in peace?
Hida e jam? Are you well?
Kori hidon e jam? I hope you are well? [respectful]
Onon le? And you?

Alternatives to “Jam tun”

Hibe e jam. They are well.
Ko y’ettude Alla. Thanks be to God.
Alhamdullilahi. Thanks be to God.

Taking leave

Oo-o 3  Bye!
En jango. See you tomorrow.
En bimi. See you in the morning.
En ontuma. See you later.
En ñalorma. See you later today.
En kilkiide. See you this afternoon.
En jemma. See you tonight.
Si Alla jaab. God willing.
A jaraama, naani? Thanks, hear?
Ñallen e jam. Let’s pass the day in peace.
Hiiren e jam. Let’s pass the evening in peace.
Waalen e jam. Let us sleep well.
Beloden e jam. Let us sleep well. [respectful]

Polite words

Hii-hi. Yes.
Eyyo. 4 Yes.
O’o. No.
O’owooye. No.
A jaraama. Thank you.
Awa. OK.
Acce hakkee. Please excuse me.

Useful phrases for the beginner

Pular an lannii! That’s all the Pular I know!
Mi waawataa Pular by. I don’t speak much Pular.
Mido waaw Pular seeda tun. I speak Pular small-small.
Mi faamaali. I don’t understand.
Mido ekitaade. I am learning.

Respect

As in French, older people, authority figures, and strangers are referred to in the plural. In Pular this also applies when referring to someone in the third person; when referring to your father, for instance, you would say respectfully “they are sleeping” rather than “he is sleeping.”

That’s the easy part. To complicate things further, there is a special vocabulary of respect—verbs like “to come” or “to sleep” or nouns like “head” or “hand” have completely different forms when applied to someone of status.

1 Said to s/o at a distance or coming from elsewhere.
2 Said upon arriving at s/o’s home or place of work.
3 Have a native speaker say o’o (no) and then oo-o (goodbye) to see the difference in intonation.
4 Northern Fuuta Jallon; Senegal.
**Spelling and pronunciation**

Pular is written the way it is pronounced. The orthography used in this book was adopted in 1966 at a UNESCO conference in Bamako, and abides by the principle of one symbol/one sound.

Speakers of Spanish or Italian should find Pular pronunciation easy; the five vowel sounds are the same as in those languages (a, e, i, o, u). There are only three sounds in Pular that are completely unfamiliar: these are the implosive consonants b, d, and y (also known as funky b, funky d, and funky y).

The velar n sound (which is like the ng in “sing”) as well as the mb, ng, nj, and nd combinations all exist in English, but may seem a bit strange at the beginning of a word. The palatal å is pronounced ny, just like in Spanish.1

Two more things: c is actually a ch sound like in Italian (“cello”); and the r is rolled like in Spanish.

Double vowels (aa, ee, etc.) indicate a long vowel; double consonants (bb, cc, etc.) indicate a stressed consonant. These differences are very important in Pular and can be frustratingly subtle for the beginner.

You should not worry too much about pronouncing all these sounds exactly right; getting rid of a foreign accent can take years, and isn’t really necessary; it is possible to be fluent in a language and still have a heavy accent. You do, however, need to learn to differentiate between contrasting sounds, both when listening and when speaking. From the beginning, you should exaggerate the difference between similar sounds—b vs. b, a vs. a, t vs. t. Make the long vowels really long, and the short vowels very, very short, and so on. It may feel silly at first, but it will help you fix the differences in your mind and it will help you make yourself understood. The drills at the end of the chapter, worked with a patient informant, can help get you off to a good start.

We suggest here a somewhat unorthodox handwritten form of the harmonized alphabet, which we find easier to write and highlights the differences between “regular” and “funky” consonants.

There are other writing systems for Pular in use; the correspondences are listed in the above table. Most Fulbe use a form of Arabic script to write Pular; if you need to communicate in writing with people, and feel up to a challenge, have someone teach you the letters. It’s not that hard and it can earn you a lot of respect.

---

1The palatal å is usually written ñ; this is the glyph adopted by the Bamako conference. We have chosen to go against convention here for three reasons: because American learners are more likely to be familiar with the ñ already, from Spanish; because we find it easier to write by hand; and because we always get ñ mixed up with ñ.
A. Sounds like…

- Have someone pronounce the following sets of words; notice the stressed/non-stressed consonants (b/bb, etc.) long/short vowels (a/aa, etc.), and normal/funky consonants (b/å, etc.). Then try to pronounce the words yourself, and see if your helper understands which word you are saying. (Don’t worry about the meaning of the words, just their pronunciation.)

1. habbagol (to wait)
   habbagol (to tie o.s. up)
2. tutlugol (to spit)
   tuutugol (to vomit)
   tutugol (to plant a tree)
3. haååagol (to be spicy)
   haðugol (to prevent)
4. sokugol (to lock)
   sokkugol (to eat a lot)
5. bullal (thorn)
   bullal (swelling)
6. Alla (God)
   aala (tool)
   alaa (there is none)
7. no woðði (it’s far)
   no woodi (it exists)
8. hubbugol (to light)
   hufugol (to sprain)
   huubugol (to surround)
9. yaawugol (to be fast)
   yawugol (to despise)
   ýawugol (to climb)
10. moyya (well [adv.])
    moyyaa (bad [adj.])
11. yet tugol (to greet)
    yet tugol (to take)
12. duudugol (to be numerous)
    duudegol (to long for)
13. wallugol (to help)
    waalugol (to pass the night)
14. faatagol (to die)
    fattagol (to seek refuge)
15. sellugol (to be healthy)
    selugol (to turn)
    see lugol (to cut into strips)
16. sì’ugol (to leak)
    siwugol (to pour)
17. raddagol (to go in single file)
    radagol (to chase away)
18. hulugol (to be afraid of)
    huulugol (to take aim)
19. ililugol (to sneeze)
    ilugol (to flow)
20. jaabagol (to reply)
    jaååagol (to welcome)
21. habugol (to fight)
    haabugol (to be fed up)
22. finugol (to wake up)
    fiinugol (to flower)
23. lubugol (to lend)
    luubugol (to stink)

B. Matching

- Match each Pular sentence with its closest English equivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- a How’s the family?
- b Did you sleep well?
- c What’s up?
- d See you later.
- e Yes.
- f Have you spent the day in peace?
- g Peace only.
- h God willing.
- i Is everything OK?
- j See you in the morning.
C. Translation drill

1. Good morning.  
   **On belike e jam?**

2. See you later.  
   **On belike e jam?**

3. How is work going?  
   **On belike e jam?**

4. Thanks be to God.  
   **On belike e jam?**

5. How’s it going?  
   **On belike e jam?**

6. See you tonight.  
   **On belike e jam?**

7. Thanks.  
   **On belike e jam?**

8. Is the baby well?  
   **On belike e jam?**

9. How are the kids?  
   **On belike e jam?**

    **On belike e jam?**

D. Fill in the blanks

A jaraama.

Tanaa _ _ _ _ ?

An le?

CULTURAL NOTES

The Will of God

Si Alla jaåi means “God willing” (literally, “If God accepts”) and is a common response to “see you tomorrow” or other assertions about the future. Even the firmest of arrangements with someone will always have this caveat.

Living up to your predecessor

If you replace another volunteer, you will soon learn what a remarkable human being they were. In particular, you will be told that they spoke Pular like a native-born Pullo, even if all they could say was jaraama. Here are some appropriate responses to the question “Why don’t you speak Pular?”

**Mi neebaali gaa.**  
I just got here.

**Mido ekitaade.**  
I’m learning.

**Muñño, neebata mi waawa.**  
Be patient, I’ll learn soon.

**Mido ekitaade haala Faransi taho.**  
I need to learn French first.
E. Write your own

Come up with an exchange of greetings between the following pairs:

Binnta  Moodi  Aliu

Bobo  Susan

CULTURAL NOTES

Women and Islam

The Fulae are not as strict with women as other Islamic societies; women are not segregated from men in day-to-day life, and they are not required to cover their heads or faces.

In general, in the Futa as in most of the world, women have a harder time than men getting respect and being taken seriously outside traditional feminine roles. Although white women receive more respect simply for being white, and in some cases are treated as honorary men, they will still likely find that they are accorded less respect than their male peers.
Competence 2 [ INTRODUCTIONS ]

Wonaa mi Faranseejo, dey!
(No, I’m not French!)

Ka diskotek (At the dance club)

Ko honno innetedá?
Ko Susan mi innete.

An, ko a Faranseejo?
O’wooye. Min, ko mi Amerikenjo.

Ko a jannoowo?
Hi! Hi. Ko mi jannoowo Matematik.

Ka gaar watir (At the taxi park)

Ko honno innetedá?
Ko Salyu mi innete.

Min ko Ousmane Diallo mi innete. Ko mo a honto?

Ko Bah mi yetettee. An le?

Yettoore maa?

Ko mo mi Labe. An, ko honto iwudaa?

Min, ko Timbo mi iwudaa?

Ko honto e Timbo?

Tigi tigi, ko Besseko mi iwudaa.

Awa. Tanna alaa ton?

Jam tun. Tanna alaa?

Ko mi jannoowo Anglee. An kadi, ko a jannoowo?

Ko yettúde Alla. Ko hondun gollataa?

O’o, ko mi njulaajo.

In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Occupations
- Nationalities & ethnicities
- Social roles
- Phrasebook: Introductions
- A couple of handy words
- C’est madame … ou mademoiselle?

Grammar
- Personal pronouns

Cultural Notes
- Will you marry me?
- Last name games

Key Words
- ko – wonaa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Social roles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SINGULAR</strong></td>
<td><strong>PLURAL</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td>jannoowo</td>
<td>jannoobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>jangoobe</td>
</tr>
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<td>lekkolbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>dofturbe</td>
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<td>lambe</td>
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<td>wolonteerbe</td>
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<td>tutoobe leede</td>
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<td>volonteere cellal</td>
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<td>yimoobe</td>
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<td>fijoowo</td>
<td>fijoobe</td>
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<td>dogoowo</td>
<td>dogoobe</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationalities &amp; ethnicities</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>SINGULAR</strong></td>
<td><strong>PLURAL</strong></td>
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<td>pullo</td>
<td>fulbe</td>
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<td>pullo-fuuta</td>
<td>fulbe-fuuta</td>
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<td>faranseebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senegaleejo</td>
<td>senegaleebe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Phrasebook: Introductions**

- **Ko honno inneteða?** What is your name?
- **Ko honno wi'eteða?** What is your last name?
- **Innde maa?** Your name?
- **Yettoore maa?** Your last name?
- **Ko hono ìwudaa?** Where do you come from?
- **Ko Amerik mi iwi.** I come from America.
- **Ko mo a bonto?** Where are you from?
- **Ko mo mi Dakar.** I'm from Dakar.
- **Ko hondo houdaaw?** Where do you live?
- **Ko Maamu mi hoði.** I live in Mamou.
- **An le?** And you?

**A couple of handy words**

- **kadi** also
- **tigi tigi** truly, specifically

**C'est madame ... ou mademoiselle?**

- **MEN** | **WOMEN**
  - A jombii? | A jombaama? Are you married?
  - O'o, wonaa o Amerikenjo. | I'm not married.
  - Ko Amerikenjo? | Is he an American?
  - Ko o Faranseego. | He is French.
  - The particle **ko** fills in for the verb "to be" in these sentences. The negation of **ko** is **wonaa** (also pronounced **wanaa**, **hinaa**, or just **naa**

---

If you come to the village of the blind, close an eye until you leave.
Personal pronouns

We will introduce two types of personal pronouns now: the subject and the independent. (We give the French here because the independent pronoun is used similarly in Pular).

Min, ko mi jannoowo. \(\text{Moi, je suis professeur.} \) \text{Me, I am a teacher.}

An, ko a jangoowo. \(\text{Toi, tu es élève.} \) \text{You, you are a student.}

Two differences between pronouns in English and in Pular: First, there are no masculine or feminine terms: o can mean “he” or “she”.

Second, there are two ways to say “we”: If the person being spoken to is included, you use en; if the person being spoken to is not included, you use men (see sidebar).

Note that the plural pronouns also serve to denote respect, as they do in French.

\text{A jaraama. Hello (familiar)}

\text{On jaraama. Hello. (respectful)}

\text{On jaraama. Hello. (to two or more people)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST PERSON</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND PERSON</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD PERSON</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST PERSON EXCLUSIVE</td>
<td>we excluding the listener</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST PERSON INCLUSIVE</td>
<td>we including the listener</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND PERSON</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD PERSON</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Getting to know you

- Complete the following dialogue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ko honno inneteða?</th>
<th>\text{Ko a jannoowo?}</th>
<th>\text{Ko a Amerikenjo?}</th>
<th>0’o, wonaa mi jannowo. Ko mi dofturjo. A jombaama?</th>
<th>Hii-hi, ____________?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\text{________________________?}</td>
<td>\text{O’o, ___________}</td>
<td>\text{Hii-hi, ____________}</td>
<td>\text{O’o, __________.}</td>
<td>\text{An le, a jombi?}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Complete the following dialogue.

\text{Ko Alfa mi innete.}
Will you marry me?

Female volunteers will likely deal with marriage proposals on a nearly daily basis. This is almost always done in a joking manner, and the best response is to not take things too seriously; play along with the joke. If someone really wants to propose, they will do it privately or through someone else.

The proposal:

**Miðo faala jombude ma.**
I want to marry you.

How to “accept”:

**Awa, mi salataako.**
OK, that’s fine.

**Ko honto tege an woni?**
Where’s my dowry?

**Dun no fandi.**
That’s not adequate.

You’ll have to give my folks ten cows.

Some gentle refusals:

**Miðo mari moodi.**
I have a husband.

**Mi yettaama.**
I’m already taken.

**Mi andaa maa.**
I don’t know you.

**Mi falaska jombeede.**
I don’t want to get married.

**Mi hewtaali jombeede taho.**
I’m not old enough to marry.

Some not-so-gentle refusals (use with care):

**Mi falaska maa.**
I don’t like you.

**Hida kaani.**
You’re ugly.

**Hida fandi.**
You’re small.

**Ko sagata mi faala.**
I want a young man.

**Ko mawðo mi faala.**
I want an old man.

---

**B. Who are you?**

Answer in the affirmative, then in the negative. Be sure to use the right pronoun in the response.

1. An, ko a Gine’enjo?
   
   **yes:** Hi’i, ko mi Gine’enjo.
   
   **no:** O’o, wanna mi Gine’enjo. Ko mi Senegaleejo.

2. Kanko, ko o jannoowo Angle?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

3. An, ko a Pullo-Fuuta?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

4. Kamåe, ko åe Senegaleeåe?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

5. Onon, ko on Amerikenåe?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

6. Menen, ko men Fulåe?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

7. An, ko a landø?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

8. Kanko, ko o almaamiljo?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

9. Kamåe, ko åe yeeyooåe?
   
   **yes:**
   
   **no:**

10. An, ko a mawðo?
    
    **yes:**
    
    **no:**

11. Min, ko mi jiwo?
    
    **yes:**
    
    **no:**

12. Kanåe, ko åe rewåe?
    
    **yes:**
    
    **no:**

13. An, ko a debbo?
    
    **yes:**
    
    **no:**

14. Onon, ko on sukaaåe?
    
    **yes:**
    
    **no:**

15. An, ko a lekkoljo?
    
    **yes:**
    
    **no:**

---

**CULTURAL NOTES**

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**Ko sagata mi faala.**
I want a young man.

**Ko mawðo mi faala.**
I want an old man.

---
C. Name that profession

- Write the Pular word for each of the following characters’ profession.

**CULTURAL NOTES**

**Last name games**

An interesting custom in the Fusta is *sanakuyaagal* or joking between clans. Here’s how it works: the Diallos tease the Baldes (or Baahs) and the Sows joke with the Barrys. These are the four “noble” last names of the Fulbe-Fuuta; people with humbler last names (who are often descendants of slaves from other ethnic groups) don’t get to play.

For example, a Barry might call a Sow a thief (*gujo*) or a slave (*maccudo*) and otherwise ridicule their character and lineage, all in good fun. The cross-cousins don’t have to know each other well to start play-insulting each other.

Some portos take a Pullo last name and jump into the *sana-kuyaagal* game with enthusiasm; this is usually good for laughs. Others are uncomfortable making jokes about slavery and the Fulbe social hierarchy.
D. Me, Me, Me

- Write a paragraph in which you introduce yourself.

---

E. Matching

- Connect the question with the answer:

---

F. Translation drill

- Put the following into Pular:

---

G. Write your own

- Write a dialog between these three people.
Beyngure nden no e jam?
(Is your family well?)

Miñan an Bubakar (My little brother Bubakar)

Ko hombo nii?
Ko miñan an nii.
Ko honno o innetee?
Ko Buubakar o innete. Ko men neenegotooibe.
Ko duubi jelu o mari?
Ko duubi nogay o mari.
Ko honðun o gollata?
Ko o jannoowo.
Ko miñiraabe njelo marudaa?
Ko miñiraabe tato mi mari.

Beyngure an (My family)

In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Family Members
- Phrasebook: Introductions
- Numbers (Up to 99)

Grammar
- Possessive pronouns

Cultural Notes
- Family terminology
- Polygamy
- Age

Key Words
- woo
Family terminology

The words brother, father, mother, uncle, etc. are applied loosely in Fulbe society; Aamadu’s “brother” may in fact be his half-brother, cousin, a distant relative, someone from the same village, or just a good buddy. “Father” can mean uncle or grandfather; my “child” could be my son, daughter, nephew, grandchild, etc.

If you want to establish the exact genealogical relationship, you need to ask specific questions: Do you have the same mother? Is he your mother’s older brother?
**Vocabulary**

### Family Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Word</strong></th>
<th><strong>Meaning</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baaba</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neene</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ben</td>
<td>father (respectful)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuuma</td>
<td>mother (respectful)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ben mawdo</td>
<td>father's older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miinan</td>
<td>younger brother or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koto</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaaja</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaawu</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamma</td>
<td>father's younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaaye</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soro</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beyngu</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moodi</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keynan</td>
<td>older sister's husband OR wife's younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esiraawo</td>
<td>in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neenegooto</td>
<td>full sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baabagooto</td>
<td>half sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siinaa</td>
<td>co-wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taanira</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawbe</td>
<td>parents, older relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biddo</td>
<td>child (son, daughter, nephew, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goreejo</td>
<td>age-mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beynguure</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musidal</td>
<td>extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musiddo</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaati</td>
<td>friend OR lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gido</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Numbers (Up to 99)

When counting people instead of things or animals, the numbers are slightly different.

- Amerikente tato three Americans
- duubi tati three years

Similarly, the words for “how many” are different.

- Amerikente njelo how many Americans
- duubi jelu how many years

### Phrasebook: Introductions

(The grammar behind these structures is explained on page 36).

- **Ko hombo nii?** Who is that?
- **Ko Saliu nii.** That is Saliou.
- **Ko koto an nii.** That is my older brother.
- **Ko miirahay njelo maruda?** How many younger siblings do you have?
- **Ko miirahay tato mi mari.** I have three younger siblings.
- **Ko duubi jelu maruda?** How old are you?
- **Ko duubi nogay e jeetati mi mari.** I am twenty-eight years old.
- **Ko duubi jelu o mari?** How old is he?
- **Ko duubi sappo e goo o mari.** He is eleven years old.
- **Adama Hawa ko jaaja an.** Adama Hawa is my older sister.
- **Jariatu ko beyngu Yunuusa.** Jariatou is Younoussa’s wife.

**ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE**

Wata boobotihun harvjan gala; ko ko kun maydaa.

The calf shouldn’t be in a hurry to grow horns; he’ll have them until he dies.

---

1 The word “one” has many different forms; this is the counting form. If there is a noun attached to the number “one” (one sheep, one rock) there is a different form for each noun class. See page 92 for details.
GRAMMAR

Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronoun follows the noun:

Ko baaba an nii.    That is my father.

It can be replaced by a person’s name:

Ko baaba Aamadu nii.    That is Amadou’s father.

The table to the right shows all the pronouns we’ve seen so far.

The pronouns an, maa, men, and amen are particularly hard to keep straight because they sound like other pronouns.

Two of these pronouns, men and mon, have lengthened forms as well, which are perhaps more insistent: me’en and mo’on, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>maa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>kanko</td>
<td>makko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl)</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>enen</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl)</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>menen</td>
<td>amen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>onon</td>
<td>mo’on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>kanbe</td>
<td>mabbe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Fun with numbers, part 1

Write out the following numbers in Pular.

1. 33  
2. twelve  
3. 43  
4. twenty-nine  
5. 2  
6. fifteen  
7. 34  
8. seventy  
9. 85  
10. 20  
11. fifty-nine  
12. ten  
13. 13  
14. sixty-five  
15. 7  
16. 22

The little word woo has a number of uses. One is to precede reported speech.

Andy to Binta:  
Mi waawataa Pular.  
I don’t speak Pular.

Binta to Cerno:  
Woo, o wawataa Pular.  
(He says) he doesn’t speak Pular.

The original speaker may be definite; or, it may be vague, as in “they say” or “I heard”.

Woo himo mari biibbe nogayo.  
They say he has twenty children.

We’ll see other uses of woo later.

key words

woo

The little word woo has a number of uses. One is to precede reported speech.

Andy to Binta:  
Mi waawataa Pular.  
I don’t speak Pular.

Binta to Cerno:  
Woo, o wawataa Pular.  
(He says) he doesn’t speak Pular.

The original speaker may be definite; or, it may be vague, as in “they say” or “I heard”.

Woo himo mari biibbe nogayo.  
They say he has twenty children.

We’ll see other uses of woo later.
B. How's the wife and kids?

Write out greetings based on the following model, then translate into English. Be sure to use the appropriate pronoun (himo or hibe) based on the level of respect.

1. beyngu maa
   A: Honno beyngu maa wadi? (How is your wife doing?)
   B: Himo e jam. (She is well)

2. mawfe maa
   A: 
   B: 

3. miñan maa
   A: 
   B: 

4. Ayssatu
   A: 
   B: 

5. neene Sulayman
   A: 
   B: 

6. beyenguure maa
   A: 
   B: 

7. kotiraabe an
   A: 
   B: 

8. faybe maa
   A: 
   B: 

9. moodi maa
   A: 
   B: 

10. baaba men
    A: 
    B: 

C. Field work

1. Ask someone (preferably someone in your homestay household) to describe their family. Sketch a family tree. Take note of new words you hear. Report the answers you get in class.

2. Show someone pictures of your family. Tell them what everyone does and how they’re related to you.

Cultural Notes

Polygamy

Many men have two, three or four wives. This complicates family relationships from a westerner’s point of view—co-wives, half-brothers, etc. are new concepts.
D. Family ties

- Use the vocabulary on page 15 to fill in the blanks.

1. Aliu ko ___________ Binta.
4. Fatumata ko ___________ Jariatu.
5. Issa e Aysata ko ___________ Mamadu.
6. Hawa ko ___________ Usman.
7. Cerno ko ___________ Saliu.
8. Saliu ko ___________ Cerno.
10. Issa ko ___________ Aliu.
11. Aliu ko ___________ Aysata.
12. Issa ko ___________ Ibrahima.
15. Ibrahima ko ___________ Jariatu.
17. Binta ko ___________ Aliu.
18. Fatumata ko ___________ Binta.
E. Questions & answers

Answer the following questions in complete sentences, based on the family tree above.

1. Cerno, ko kotiraabe njelo mari?
   Ko kotiraho gotto o mari.

2. Mamadu, ko rewbe njelo mari?

3. Aysata, ko bibbe njelo mari?

4. Mamadu, ko bibbe njelo mari?

5. Issa, ko rewbe njelo mari?

6. Hawa, ko miniraabe njelo mari?

7. Cerno, ko baabagootooabe njelo mari?

F. Fun with numbers, part 2

Write the following numbers in ciphers.

1. nogay e jeenay 25
2. gooto
3. cappande tati e jeetati
4. nogay e jeetati
5. sappo
6. cappande jeetati e tati
7. nogay
8. cappande jeenay e jeenayo
9. tati
10. sappo e jeenay
11. jeefidi
12. cappande jeefidi
13. cappande jeetati e go'o
14. cappande nay e dido
15. jeenay
16. cappande jowi

CULTURAL NOTES

Age

Traditionally, the Fulbe don’t make a big deal out of birth-dates, and it is not unusual for someone not to be sure exactly how old they are.
G. How many of them are there?

Write this sentence with each of the numbers given; keep in mind that these are people being counted.

1. four Ko åe nayo. (There are four of them)
2. three
3. ten
4. one
5. seven
6. nine
7. twenty
8. fifty
9. thirty-five
10. fourteen

H. Fill in the blanks

Complete the following dialogue:

A: Ko ________________ ben maa innetee?
B: Ben an ___________________.
A: Ko honno neene ___________ innetee?
B: Yumma ____________________.
A: __________ kotiraabe __________ marudaa?
B: __________________________ gooto.
A: _______________ gollataa?
B: __________________________ remoowo.

I. Put the family back together

Reconstruct a family tree based on the following information:

Aliu e Harissatu ko mawбе Kajatu.
Mamudu ko soro Alfa e Sellu.
Kajatu e Baata ko miњiraabe Jan.
Samba ko baaba Sori.
Alfa e Idrissa ko baabagotooбе
Idrissa ko taanira Assiatu.
Sori ko denđan Sellu.
Aњaa e Bataa ko siinaabe.
Sellu e Alfa ko blибе Bataa.
Jan ko kaawu Sellu.
Habi ko neene Sori.
Moodi Baata ko biddo Assiatu.
Baaba moodi Habi ko Mamudu.
Salu ko bappa Idrissa.
Miњan Kajatu ko beyngu Sajo.
Moodi Habi ko miњan Salu.
Moodi Aњaa ko koto Samba.
J. Translation drill

- Put the following into Pular.

1. How many (younger) brothers and sisters do you have?
   Ko miñiraa'te njelo maniðaa?

2. How old are you?

3. I have three (older) sisters.

4. He is fifty-three years old.

5. This is his younger brother.

6. How old is their father?

7. Who is that?

8. Karim’s mother is a cook.

9. His grandmother is Susu.

10. My father has four wives.

11. I am twenty-eight years old.

12. Saliu is Ablaye’s older brother.

13. What is his big sister’s name?

14. My maternal uncle is a carpenter.

15. My grandfather’s name is Cerno Aliu.
K. Describe this family

- Give them names and occupations, and tell how they are related.
Competence 4 [ PLACES & THINGS ]

Ko hondun nii?  
*(What’s this?)*

**Leemuneere nden, deftere nden, e caabije den** *(The orange, the book, and the keys)*

Leemuneere nden no ka hoore deftere.

Deftere nden no ka ley karambol.

Caabije den no ka takko deftere.

**Ko honto Fatu woni?** *(Where is Fatu?)*

Ko honto Fatu woni?  
Fatu no takko Susan.

Ko honto Susan woni?  
Fatu no hakkunde Sajo e Fatu.

Ko honto Sajo woni?  
*Sajo no ka ley taabal ngal.*  
Ko honto Fatu woni?  
*Fatu no ka dow taabal ngal.*

**Mawbe maa ben no gaa?** *(Are your parents here?)*

Mawbe maa ben no gaa?  
*O’o, be alaa gaa.*

Ko honto be woni?  
*Hiibe ka saare.*

Awa, jonnu ndee deftere ben maa en.  
*Awa, on jaraama.*

---

**In this chapter**

**Vocabulary**
- Some good interjections to know
- Nouns: A starter kit
- Verbs: A starter kit
- Prepositions
- Phrasebook: Places & Things
- More useful lines for the beginner

**Grammar**
- Plurals
- Generic noun forms
- Nouns: An overview of the class system
- Articles
- Verbs: An overview
- The imperative
- Prolocatives
Nouns: A starter kit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saaku on</td>
<td>saakuuji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danki kin</td>
<td>dande den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tablo on</td>
<td>tablooji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deftere nden</td>
<td>defe den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyon on</td>
<td>siyonje den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jullere nden</td>
<td>jakreeje den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakre on</td>
<td>lambre den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagge ngen</td>
<td>na’i din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baafal ngal</td>
<td>baaf den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeewa mban</td>
<td>be’i din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labi kin</td>
<td>ladde den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayee on</td>
<td>kayeeji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karambol ngol</td>
<td>karambi din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiifa on</td>
<td>jiifajji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatai ngal</td>
<td>gate den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suudu ndun</td>
<td>cuudi din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekkol ngol</td>
<td>lekkoji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baali ngi</td>
<td>baali din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wudere nden</td>
<td>gude den</td>
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<tr>
<td>dolokke on</td>
<td>dolokkaajji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padal ngal</td>
<td>pade den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboddi ndin</td>
<td>boile den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saabunde nden</td>
<td>ca’e den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saare nden</td>
<td>leede den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leggal ngal</td>
<td>maadiji din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadi ndin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs: A starter kit

| yahugol          | go          |
| arugol           | come        |
| jonrugol         | give        |
| yettugol         | take        |
| wattugol         | put         |
| daragol          | stand       |
| joodaligol       | sit         |
| yawugol          | climb       |
| cippagol         | get down    |
| ombugol          | close       |
| udditugol        | open        |
| yaltugol         | leave       |
| naatugol         | enter       |

Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ley</th>
<th>below, under</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baawo</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dow</td>
<td>above, over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nder</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoore</td>
<td>on top of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakkunde</td>
<td>between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takko</td>
<td>beside, next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaasi</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeeso</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phrasebook: Places & Things

Ko honðun nii?
What is this?

Ko karambol nii.
This is a pen.

Ko honto Saajo woni?
Where is Saajo?

Saajo no Maamun.
Saajo is in Mamou.

Saajo no ka maakiti.
Saajo is at the market.

Some good interjections to know

Most of these need to be heard to be used correctly.

kaa?            | Isn’t that so? Ou bien? |
nee?            | Right?                |
nee!            | Is that a fact?       |
jakal           | Well! I declare!      |
naamu?          | Yes? (answer when one’s name is called) |
naamu.          | (fills in the pauses in someone else’s speech) |
Ee,allah.       | (mild oath; literally, “Oh, good.”) |
Laa illaaha illallah. | (stronger oath; literally, “There is no god but Allah.”) |
pellet.         | Truly.                |

ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE

Laåi lesataa falawal mun.
A knife can’t carve its own handle.

pellet.         | Truly.                |
Plurals

In English, most plurals are formed by adding an s to the end of the word (one cat, two cats). There are a few rules beyond that (one penny, two pennies) and a handful of irregularities (one mouse, two mice).

In Pular, plurals are very irregular; the whole word changes, and there are no easy rules—although there are patterns that will soon become apparent. Our advice is just to memorize the plural form of each noun along with the singular, and eventually you’ll get the hang of it.

The table to the right gives a sampler of plural forms.

### Some Sample Plurals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pullo on</td>
<td>fulbe ben</td>
<td>Pullo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fello ngon</td>
<td>pelle den</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodo on</td>
<td>hobbe ben</td>
<td>guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboddi ndin</td>
<td>bolle den</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lewru ndun</td>
<td>lebbi din</td>
<td>month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finkaari ndin</td>
<td>pinkaaje den</td>
<td>rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otowal ngal</td>
<td>otooje den</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolokke nden</td>
<td>dolakaaji din</td>
<td>shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karambol ngol</td>
<td>karambi din</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngesa miban</td>
<td>gese den</td>
<td>field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paykun kun</td>
<td>paykoy koy</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generic noun forms

Here’s another twist: In addition to the singular and plural noun forms, there is often a generic noun form that is neither singular nor plural.

Some English nouns are essentially generic: “corn,” as in “corn is good for you,” refers to the grain in a general sense. You don’t say “one corn” or “two corns”; to discuss individual items, in this case, you say “one ear of corn.”

In Pular, you would say kaaba (corn), kaabawal (ear of corn), or kaabaaje (ears of corn). The following table gives some examples of nouns with generic, singular, and plural forms.

### Some Generic Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bareeru ndun</td>
<td>bareeji din</td>
<td>bare on</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biiniiri ndin</td>
<td>biniije den</td>
<td>biini on</td>
<td>bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otowal ngal</td>
<td>otooje den</td>
<td>oto on</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñariiri ndun</td>
<td>ñariiji din</td>
<td>ñaari on</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareeru ndun</td>
<td>bareeji din</td>
<td>bare on</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saabiwal ngal</td>
<td>caabije den</td>
<td>saabi on</td>
<td>key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotraawo on</td>
<td>kotiraaɓe ben</td>
<td>koto on</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leemunneere nden</td>
<td>leemunneeje den</td>
<td>leemunne on</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bireediwal ngal</td>
<td>bireediije den</td>
<td>bireedi on</td>
<td>bread</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Often the generic form is the most commonly heard, and the singular is only used to emphasize that a single item is being referred to.

The generic always takes the on article (leemune on) regardless of the class of the singular (leemunneere nden).

Nouns: An overview of the class system

English has no noun class system. French has two classes: masculine and feminine. Every noun falls into one class or the other, and words that modify the noun must agree with its class: articles (le livre, la table), adjectives (un bon livre, une bonne table), demonstratives (ce livre, cette table) and so on.
Pular has 24 classes. This sounds scary, but it’s not really that complicated: as with French, with a little practice it’s easy to guess what class a noun belongs to. While some classes are associated with certain meanings, it’s often easier to learn noun classes by the sound of the words. Let’s look at some of the most important classes (an exhaustive summary is on page 114).

- **on, ben**

  The **on** class is used for singular human nouns:

  - gorko **on** the man
  - portooj **on** the white person

  Most words borrowed from other languages also fall into this class.

  - Bik **on** the pen
  - makaal **on** the market

  Generic terms (as opposed to plural or singular, see above) are also in this class.

  - kaaba **on** the com

  The **ben** class is used for plural human nouns exclusively.

  - worbe **ben** the men
  - portoo-be **ben** the white people

- **den, din**

  Almost all other plurals fall into either the **den** class or the **din** class.

  - defte **den** the books
  - bareeje **din** the dogs

  All plurals ending in **e** take **den**; all plurals ending in **i** take **din**.

- **kun, koy**

  The **kun** class is used for diminutives.

  - paykun **kun** the (small) child
  - pootihun **kun** the little jar

  The **koy** class is used for the plurals of nouns in the **kun** class.

  - paykoy **koy** the small children
  - pootihoy **koy** the small jars

- **Other classes**

  The remaining classes aren’t as easy to categorize semantically or grammatically, so you’ll just have to learn what words go in which class, and train your ear as you go along. The above table gives an example for each of the remaining classes.

**Articles**

In all of the above examples we have given the word with its definite article (equivalent to the in English or le/la in French). There is no indefinite article in Pular (equivalent to a in English or un/une in French).

- gorko a man
- gorko **on** the man

The article can be used in addition to the possessive pronoun.

- Deftere makko no ka suudu. A book of his is in the house.
- Deftere makko **nden** no ka suudu. His book is in the house.
**Verbs: An overview**

To make up for its complex noun system, Pular has a very straightforward, 99% predictable verb system.

There are three infinitive endings: -ugol, -agol, and -egol. A verb can have three different forms: one in which the action is performed on something/someone else by the subject (-ugol, transitive), one in which it is performed on the subject by the subject (-agol, reflexive), one in which it is performed on the subject by someone/something else (-egol, passive).

**THREE TYPES OF VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFINITIVE</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>yahugol</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>joodagol</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-egol</td>
<td>faalegol</td>
<td>to want</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSITIVE**
- lootugol to wash (something or someone)
**REFLEXIVE**
- lootagol to wash oneself
**PASSIVE**
- lootegol to be washed (by someone else)

Each type of verb has its own set of endings. A complete table is on page 109. There are no irregular verbs, and verbs are not conjugated.

**The imperative**

The verb endings for the imperative are given below.

**IMPERATIVE VERB ENDINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;ND&lt;/sup&gt; PERSON SINGULAR</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;ND&lt;/sup&gt; PERSON PLURAL</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;ST&lt;/sup&gt; PERSON PLURAL (INCLUSIVE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you (an)</td>
<td>you all (onon)</td>
<td>we (enen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-egol</td>
<td></td>
<td>-oden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive verbs have no imperative form.

Here are some examples:

- arugol Aru! Come! (said to one person)
- naatugol Naatee ka suudu. Come into the house. (to several people or to a person of status)
- yahugol Yahen! Let’s go!
- joodagol Joodo! Sit!
- cippagol Cippoden ka oto. Let’s get down from the car.

**Prolocatives**

In English, we use two prolocatives: here and there. In Pular there are quite a few; we’ll look at the basic ones here.

- gaa here (used for a place where one lives or works)
- doo here (used in a more general sense)
- too over yonder
- ton there

**ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULÅE**

Leggal, ko waalii ka ndiyaa wo, wontataa noora.

No matter how long it sits in the water, a log doesn’t turn into a crocodile.
A. Where the heck...

Give reasonable answers to the following questions. Change the pronouns as appropriate.

1. Ko honto neene maa woni?
   Neene an no Konakiri.

2. Ko honto dëftëre nden woni?
   Dëftëre nden no ka nëder sakë an.

3. Ko honto bëba men woni?

4. Ko honto dëftëre maa woni?

5. Ko honto suudu mo’on woni?

6. Ko honto moodi an woni?

7. Ko honto faybe makko woni?

B. Where the heck… (part two)

Give a reasonable question for each of the following answers.

1. Oto amen no ka garasë.
   Ko honto oto mo’on woni?

2. Goreejo an no ka lekkol.


4. Heyngu maa no ka saare.

5. Lakre on no ka ley taabal ngal.

6. Bareeru mo’on no ka burure.

C. Fun with nouns

Find out the meaning and class of each of the following words, then write a simple sentence with each one.

1. caabije
   Caabije den no ka nëder jëfë aë.

2. hodo

3. danki

4. burure

Compeæene 4 [ PLACES & THINGS ]
D. One goat, many goats

Change the noun in the subject of each of the following sentences to plural (be sure to change the article to plural as well), then translate the sentence.

1. Karambol ngol no ka taabal.
   
   **Karamb policen no ka taabal.**
   
   The pens are on the table.

2. Mbeeawa mban no ka ngesa
   
   **Mbeeawawen mban no ka ngesa.**

3. Lekkoljo on no ka nder suudu.


5. Nariiru ndun no ka dow maadi.

7 Kodo an ko Faransejo.

8 Siyo on no ka yaasi.

9 Paykun kun no ka hoore leggal.

10 Danki kin no ka takko maadi ndin.

E. He’s not here

Contradict the following statements, then translate.

1 Moodi an no ka suudu.
   Moodi an alaa ka suudu.
   My husband is not at home.

2 Beyngu maa no ka an.

3 Bareeru ndun alaa ka ley taabal.

4 Himo ka makko.

5 Na’i maa dîn alaa ka buruure.

6 Hîbe Pita.

7 Paykoy koy alaa ka an.

8 Be alaa ka suudu.

9 Cerno no Maamu.

10 Fatumata alaa Labe.
F. Give me a break

- Give the closest Pular equivalent to the following expressions:

1. I don’t speak much Pular.

2. Slow down.

3. I don’t understand.

4. What is this called in Pular?

5. What does “silfadere” mean?

6. Repeat, please.

7. “How do you say “go away” in Pular?

8. That’s all the Pular I know.

9. I’m learning.

10. I speak only a little Pular.

G. Fun with prepositions

- Write a sentence or two for each of the following pictures, describing the relative positions of the orange, the book, and the keys.
H. You’re the “patron”

Write the following orders in Pular, first in the familiar, then with respect.

1. Close the door.
   Ombu baatfar ngal.
   Ombée baatfar ngal.

2. Bring the knife.

3. Open the book.

4. Sit on the table.

5. Look at the board.

6. Climb on top of the table.

7. Leave the room.

8. Write on the blackboard.

9. Get down from the wall.

10. Wait.

11. Come in.

CULTURAL NOTES

Sending kids on errands

In most African cultures, an adult can ask any child to run an errand for them, regardless of whether or not the child is related to them, or whether they know the child at all. “Child” in this context means “petit”—anyone younger and/or clearly lower in status than oneself.

In the absence of telephones, vehicles, etc. this is often the most effective way to send a message, obtain candles or sugar at the last minute, transport heavy objects, etc. A reward of some sort (100F, a piece of candy, a page from Newsweek) may be appropriate but is not obligatory.
Competence 5 [ FOOD ]

Beydu seeda!  
(Eat a little more!)

Ka Bappa Abdul (At Uncle Abdul’s Place)

A jaraama!  
Ko tool! Naatu.

On jaraama,  
Bappa Abdul.

Aru, soyyen!  
Joodol!

Awa, albarika.  
Mido weela!

Hida andi mafe tiga?  
Hii-hi, mido yidi  
mafe tiga buy!

ñiiiri ndin no weel haa! Ko hombo defi?

Ko beyngu an Aysatu defi.  
Himo waawi defugol, kaa?

Himo waawi, dey!

Beydu seeda!

Albarika!

Barka’alla.

Ka Otel (At the Restaurant)

Mido weela.  
ñiiiri no woodi?

Hihi, ñiiiri e mafe suppu  
no woodi. Lacciri e kosan  
kadi no woodi.

Foññe no woodi?  
Mido yidi foññe e  
mafe suppu.

Awa, addu lacciri e kosan.

Awa, addu landan?

O’o, foññe alaa. Ko  
ñiiiri maaro tun mi defi.

O’o, addu sukkar tun.

In this chapter

Vocabulary

- Some stative verbs
- Some active verbs
- Some adjectives  
and adverbs
- Food nouns
- Essential everyday objects
- Asking questions
- Phrasebook: Food, drink &  
basic needs

Grammar

- The stative
- Stative pronouns and the no  
particle
- The focused perfective
- Intensifiers

Key Words

- yo – wata

Cultural Notes

- Fasting and Ramadan
- Dinner’s almost ready
### VOCABULARY

#### Some stative verbs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anðugol</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buendugol</td>
<td>be ripe or ready</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buubugol</td>
<td>be cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dondegoł</td>
<td>be thirsty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faalegol</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawjugol</td>
<td>be in a hurry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeyugol</td>
<td>own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jogagol</td>
<td>hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leetugol</td>
<td>be late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méyýugol</td>
<td>be good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moýýugol</td>
<td>be sleepy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øoøugol</td>
<td>be sleepy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ronkugol</td>
<td>be tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waawugol</td>
<td>be able to (do something well)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weelelegol</td>
<td>be hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welugol</td>
<td>taste good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonugol</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulugol</td>
<td>be hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yidugol</td>
<td>be huge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yonugol</td>
<td>be enough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Some active verbs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beydugol</td>
<td>add, increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defugol</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haarugol</td>
<td>be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hebugol</td>
<td>obtain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hirtagol</td>
<td>eat dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiwragol</td>
<td>greet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodugol</td>
<td>live (somewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ittagol</td>
<td>eat breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwugol</td>
<td>come from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lootagol</td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñamugol</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soýýugol</td>
<td>eat lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarugol</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ýakkugol</td>
<td>munch, bite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Some adjectives and adverbs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moýýa</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seeda</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tun</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Food nouns
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bantara on</td>
<td>cassava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basalle on</td>
<td>onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biraadan dan</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bireedi on</td>
<td>bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boofo on</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buudi on</td>
<td>papaya or squash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerto on</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jakatu on</td>
<td>bitter eggplant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaba on</td>
<td>corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaccu on</td>
<td>lemon/lime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobokobo on</td>
<td>eggplant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosan dan</td>
<td>sour milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laccirì ndin</td>
<td>corn couscous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landan dan</td>
<td>salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leemune on</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liýýi diin</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maafe kon</td>
<td>sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maafe haako</td>
<td>leaf sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maafe suppu</td>
<td>&quot;soup&quot; sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maafe tiga</td>
<td>peanut sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaro kon</td>
<td>uncooked rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mebeewa mbane</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñamaka on</td>
<td>hot pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndiyen dan</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nebban dan</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñiiri ndin</td>
<td>cooked grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piya on</td>
<td>avocado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powabar on</td>
<td>pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pompiteeri on</td>
<td>potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pute on</td>
<td>sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salaadi on</td>
<td>lettuce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suu on</td>
<td>cabbage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukkar on</td>
<td>sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taku on</td>
<td>okra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamaati on</td>
<td>tomato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teew ngun</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiga on</td>
<td>peanut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Asking questions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>honðun</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hombo</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fii honðun</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honde tuma</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jelu</td>
<td>how many/many (objects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njelo</td>
<td>how many (people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honto</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Phrasebook: Food, drink & basic needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ñiiri no woodi?</td>
<td>Is there any food?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ñiiri no woodi.</td>
<td>There is food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaa.</td>
<td>There is none.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ñiiri alaa.</td>
<td>There is no food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo mi addu ñiiri?</td>
<td>Shall I bring food?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekkoran ñiiri.</td>
<td>Let me have some food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekkoran ndiyan mi yara.</td>
<td>Let me have water to drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bismillahi!</td>
<td>Welcome! (In God’s name.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko tooli!</td>
<td>Welcome! (Be seated.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albarka.</td>
<td>Thank you. (God bless you.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barks’alla.</td>
<td>You are welcome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No weli!</td>
<td>It tastes good!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welaa!</td>
<td>It tastes bad!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi haari.</td>
<td>I’m full.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miðo faala…</td>
<td>I want…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi falaaka…</td>
<td>I don’t want…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi weela.</td>
<td>I’m hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi welaaka.</td>
<td>I’m not hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi donda.</td>
<td>I’m thirsty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi dondaaka.</td>
<td>I’m not thirsty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi faala yahude ka hurgo.</td>
<td>I need to go to the bathroom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE

Bingawal no andi ko acci e fayande.

The spoon knows what it left in the pot.

**PLEASE NOTE**

For many of these food items, we give the generic form, which takes the on class (tiga on); these words often have separate singular (tigaare ñen) and plural (tigaaje ñen) forms. See page 25 for more details.
The stative

In English, we usually use adjectives to express qualities.

I am hungry.
The food is bad.

In Pular, we often use stative verbs instead of adjectives; instead of expressing qualities, they express states.

Mido weela. I am hungry. (from weelegol, to be hungry)
Nĩiri ndin no metti. The food tastes bad. (from mettugol, to taste bad)

The table below shows the verb endings we've seen so far. A comprehensive table is on page 109. Here are some examples with the stative endings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>STATIVE ENDING</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They like peanut sauce.</td>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The door is open.</td>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you want to eat?</td>
<td>-egol</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some examples with the negative stative endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>STATIVE ENDING</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I don't know Bubakar.</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The door is not shut.</td>
<td>-aaki</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He doesn't want meat.</td>
<td>-odef</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stative pronouns and the no particle

We have already seen one type of subject pronoun: we now add a second type, the stative, and to differentiate we'll call the first the active pronoun. The stative pronoun is used with stative verbs.

When using a noun (like Bubakar or Portojo on) instead of a pronoun in a stative sentence, you need the particle no.

Himo waawi Pular. He can speak Pular.
Bubakar no waawi Pular. Bubakar can speak Pular.
Mido weela. I am hungry.
Portojo on no weela. The Porto is hungry.

Or you can leave out the noun/pronoun altogether, leaving the sentence vague as to what is being referred to.

No moyfïl. (That's) good!

Negative sentences take the active pronoun, and don’t need the no.

Maafekon welaa. The sauce is not good.
Mĩ weelaaka. I am not hungry.
Moyfãal. (That's) not good!
The focused perfective

In English, the sentence “I went to the market today” could be the answer to several different questions:

- **Who** went to the market today?  
  *I went to the market today.*

- **Where** did you go today?  
  *I went to the market today.*

- **When** did you go to the market?  
  *I went to the market today.*

In English we emphasize one part of the sentence or another by stress or intonation; the word order doesn’t necessarily change. In Pular, the sentence gets rearranged to highlight, or focus on the new information being presented. Here are the same questions and answers in Pular:

- **Who** went to the market today?  
  *Ko hombo yahi ka maakiti hande.*

- **Where** did you go today?  
  *Ko honto yahuda hande.*

- **When** did you go to the market?  
  *Ko honde tuma yahuda ka maakiti?*

The focus form takes the active (short) pronoun (see page 35). The verb endings for the focused perfective are the same as for the stative (above), with one twist: When the pronoun is a, en, or on, a funny little inversion takes place.

**FOCUSED PERFECTIVE ENDINGS (WITH INVERSIONS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ugol</th>
<th>-agol</th>
<th>-egol</th>
<th>EXAMPLE (yahugol)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mi ... -i</td>
<td>mi ... -ii</td>
<td>mi ... -aa</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti mi yahi it is to the market I went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>... -uda</td>
<td>... -ida</td>
<td>... -ada</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti yahuda it is to the market you went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>o ... -i</td>
<td>o ... -ii</td>
<td>o ... -aa</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti o yahi it is to the market she went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl)</td>
<td>... -uden</td>
<td>... -iden</td>
<td>... -aden</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti yahuden it is to the market we went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl)</td>
<td>men ... -i</td>
<td>men ... -ii</td>
<td>men ... -aa</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti men yahi it is to the market we went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>... -udon</td>
<td>... -idon</td>
<td>... -adon</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti yahudon it is to the market you went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>be ... -i</td>
<td>be ... -ii</td>
<td>be ... -aa</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti be yahi it is to the market they went</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most questions are asked and answered in focus form. Here are some examples.

- **Who** cooked the food?  
  *KO hombo defi riiri ndin?*  
  *Who cooked the food?*

- **My wife cooked it.**  
  *KO beynuyu an defi.*

- **When did we arrive?**  
  *KO honde tuma hevudon?*  
  *We arrived at ten o’clock.*

- **We want water.**  
  *KO e diix-heures hevudon.*

- **Where did you sit?**  
  *KO honto jou dna?*  
  *I sat here.*

- **What do you want?**  
  *KO dhonu faaladon?*  
  *We want water.*

*KO ndiyon men faalaa.*

Why is this called the *perfective* focus form? We’ll get into that when we talk about the *imperfective*, next chapter. For now, you should know that this form applies to questions and answers concerning *completed* (past) actions and *stated* states or qualities; it does not apply to actions that are happening in the present or in the future.

**CULTURAL NOTES**

**Fasting and Ramadan**

During the month of *Sumayee* (which falls at different times of the year, since the Islamic calendar is lunar), Muslim adults fast during the day and eat only at night. To fast is *hoorugol.*

Some Portos choose to fast for one or several days, as a gesture of solidarity. If you’re not fasting, be as discrete as possible about eating or drinking during the day. If you can’t help eating in front of others, here are a few responses to the inevitable *Enee, Porto, a hoorataa?* (“Hey, Porto, aren’t you fasting?”):

- **Mi alaa hoorude.**  
  *I’m not fasting.*

- **Mi wawaal.**  
  *I couldn’t hack it.*

- **Wonaa mi juldo.**  
  *I’m not Muslim.*
Intensifiers

There are about a hundred ways to say “very” or “totally” in Pular; many stative verbs have their very own intensifiers.

- Mi haari tef! I am totally full!
- Hida kaani kas! You are very ugly!
- Dan ndiyan no woji cos! That water is totally red!

There’s a lot of regional variation—for instance, some say Mi haari tew. Most intensifiers are used with one and only one stative verb: cos can only be used with wojjugol, “to be red.” Others can be used with a handful of related words: tef can be used with words having to do with fullness, like haarugol (to have one’s stomach full) and hewugol (to be full).

- Oto on no heewi tef! The car is completely full!

A few other common intensifiers are given in the table to the right. There are dozens more; ask around if you’re interested. You don’t really need to know these, but the ability to use a few of these correctly impresses people far out of proportion to the difficulty of learning to do so.

---

**EXERCISES**

**A. Questions & answers**

1. Ko hombo yahi ka saare? (my big brother)
   
   Ko koto an yahi ka saare.

2. Ko honðun faalaadá ñaamugol? (rice and peanut sauce)

3. Ko honto faalaðon yahugol? (Dakar)

4. Ko hombo mari deftere an nden? (him)

5. Ko fii honðun aruada Laginee? (to teach)

6. Ko honto hoduda? (next to the school)

7. Ko hombo woni feyngu makko? (Amadu’s little sister)

8. Ko honto be iwi? (Senegal)

9. Ko honto be yahi? (Alfa’s place)

10. Ko hombo woni lando Amerik? (Bill Clinton)

11. Ko hombo addi ñiiri ndin? (Ablaye’s wife)

12. Ko honto faalaadá hodugol? (Fuuta Jallon)

13. Ko honðun jogida ka jiifa? (a pen and a knife)

---

**SOME INTENSIFIERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>åendi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laabi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yof bi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rawri</td>
<td>very white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feewi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wauli</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selli</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuuri</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luuåi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åuuåi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åawli</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KEY WORDS**

- yo + imperatives
  - Yo åe aru! They must come! (I want them to come!)
  - Yo mi addu ndiyan? Shall I bring water?
  - Himo faala yo a looto. He wants you to bathe.
  - Woo yo a yahu. (She said) you should go.

The construction yo + imperative is called the desiderative and has no direct equivalent in English. It extends the imperative so that it can be used with any person (me, you, them, us, him, etc.)

- wata is the opposite of yo; it tells someone not to do something. It can be applied to any person as well.

- Wata be aru! They must not come! Let them not come!

It is often used in proverbs.

- Wata gerto yaw ko hoccata. A chicken shouldn’t sneer at what it gathers. (“Beggars can’t be choosers.”)
14 Ko honđun woni ka nder suudu maa? (just a bed)

15 Ko hombo jey ndee defere? (your teacher)

16 Ko hombo jogii saabiwal ngal? (the white woman)

B. More practice giving orders

Write the singular, plural, and negative forms of the imperative for each of the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 arugol</td>
<td>aru!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wata a aru!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aree!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wata on aru!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 waalagol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yahugol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 jooðagol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 naatugol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 cippagol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 lootagol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 wallugol lan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 wonugol ton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ðowtugol mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Answers & questions

Provide questions to which the following could be answers.

1 Ko min jey gertogal ngal.
   Ko hombo jey gertogal ngal?

2 Ko hande mi ari.

3 Ko åeyngu an woni jannoowo anglee.

4 Ko ka hoore fello o hoði.

5 Ko ðuuåi nogay o mari.

6 Ko kamɓe faalaal yarugol.

7 Ko Baaba an tuti ngal leggal.
8 Ko ka saare men yahi.
9 Ko kosan mi faala yarugol.
10 Ko fii hiwragol moodi maa mi ari.
11 Ko min jogii deftere makko.
12 Ko Amadu piki boobo on.
13 Ko maafe haako mi defi.
14 Ko ka Aliu men hirtii.
15 Ko lakree mi wadi ka taabal.
16 Ko fii ŋaamugol tun fe yahi ka makko.
17 Ko kaawu Idrissa jey suudu ndun.
18 Ko Cerno Aliu woni moodi makko.
19 Ko ka suudu fe woni.
20 Ko miiiraaɓe tato o mari.

D. No, it’s not

Negate the following sentences.
1 Portojo on no andi buruure nden.
   Portojo on andaa buruure nden.
2 Mi welaaka.
   Miɗo weelaa.
3 Faatu no yiɗi amugol.
4 Miɗo faala yahugol ton.
5 Himo mari kaalisi buy.
6 Baafal ngal no ombii.
7 Hife dondaa.
8 Portobe ben no faala ŋaamugol.
9 Maafe suppu no weli.
10 On andaa laawol ngol.

11 Feneeter on udditaaki.

12 Aliu no faala yarugol leemune.

13 Bareeru maa ndun falaaka yarugol.

14 Himo yidi baabagotooøe makko.

15 No moyiø.

16 Men falaaka jangugol hande.

17 Janooowo an no andi matematiik.

18 En maraa neban buy.

19 Miñan maa no mari coonci buy.

20 Leemuneeere nden welaa.

---

E. Baby please don’t go

Contradict the following commands, then translate.

1 Yahu ka maakiti.

Wata a yahu ka maakiti.

DON’T GO TO THE MARKET.

2 Wata en jangu hande.

Jangen hande.

LET’S STUDY TODAY.

3 Yahee fijugol ka yaasi.

4 Wata on udditu defte den.

5 Wata en yahu amugol.

6 Joodo takko an doo.

7 Habboden Saluu.
F. Where the heck?

Answer the following questions in complete sentences, using the stative pronoun and the responses provided; then negate the resulting sentence.

1. Ko honto miñan maa woni? (America)
   *Himo Ameriki.*

2. Ko honto beyngu maa woni? (Binta’s place)
   *O alla Ameriki.*

3. Ko honto biddo makk woni? (school)

4. Ko honto yeeyoowo leemune on woni? (over there)

5. Ko honto Directer on woni? (at home)

6. Ko honto ben maa woni? (here)
In this chapter

**Vocabulary**
- Nouns: Gore and disease
- Verbs: Sickness and pestilence
- Possibility
- Body parts: Things you only have one of
- Body parts: Things you have two or more of
- Phrasebook: Describing people
- Phrasebook: Health
- Physical traits

**Grammar**
- Object pronouns
- Time vs. aspect
- The focused imperfective
- The progressive

**Cultural Notes**
- Visiting the sick
- Are you better?
- Attitudes towards the body

**Key Words**
- waawugol
- wonugol

---

**Competence 6 [ BODY ]**

No butti seeda?
(Are you feeling better?)

**Mido nawni seeda** (I’m a little sick)

**Hino Mamadu e Ali** (Meet Mamadu and Ali)

Mamadu no fandi, no dolni.
Mamadu no mari hakkil.
Himo welti.
Mamadu no moyyi.

Aliu no juuti, no lo’i, no sewi.
Ali no njandi hoore.
Himo monii.
Ali moyaa.

**Hoore nden** (The head)

**Bandu ndun** (The body)
VOCABULARY

**Nouns:** Gore and disease

- nawnaare: sickness
- ñawndooowu: healer, doctor
- cell: health
- labutaani: hospital
- lekki: medicine
- pikir: shot
- palu: malaria
- jonte: malaria
- jalbi: worms
- ñaw giggol: sexually transmitted illness
- feti: measles
- puýe: bumps
- dogu reedu: diarrhea
- muusu: pain
- durma: cold
- barme: wound
- åullal: abscess

- ñawnaare: sickness
- ñawndoowo: healer, doctor
- cell: health
- labutaani: hospital
- lekki: medicine
- pikir: shot
- palu: malaria
- jonte: malaria
- jalbi: worms
- ñaw giggol: sexually transmitted illness
- feti: measles
- puýe: bumps
- dogu reedu: diarrhea
- muusu: pain
- durma: cold
- barme: wound
- åullal: abscess

**Possibility**

- Wonna ko jonte. Maybe it’s malaria.
- No gasa ko dun. Maybe that’s it.

**Body parts:** Things you only have one of

- hoore nden: head
- reedu ndun: stomach
- daande nden: throat, neck
- yeeso ngon: face
- sukkundudu ndun: back of neck
- bernde ndun: heart
- heyre nden: liver
- yíyán dan: blood
- gurii ngii: skin
- dattrsu ndun: back of neck
- åullal: abscess
- helugol: break
- ñaabegol: have pinkeye
- durmegol: have a cold
- soofugol: urinate
- bu’ugol: defecate
- tustugol: vomit
- maaayugol: die
doijjugol: cough
- qatugol: bite (mosquito, snake)

**Body parts:** Things you have two or more of

- | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
- | --- | --- |
- yíitere | gítete |
- jungo | juude |
- hondu | kollí |
- fowre | nobi |
- ñiire | niíye |
- howru | kóppi |
- ñiire | niíye |
- teppere | teppe |
- tonndu | tóni |

**Phrasebook:**

**Describing people**

- Ko hono o wa’i’? What is he/she like?
- Enee, himo njandi? Is he/she tall?
- Himo juuti. He is tall.
- O juutaa. He is not tall.
- Himo mari hakkil. He is smart.
- O maraa hakkil few. He has no brain at all.
- Himo njandi hoore. He has a big head.

- Ko honondo muusay maa? What hurts you?
- Ko hono muusay maa? Where does it hurt?
- Ko hono wadu maa? What’s wrong with you?
- Ko hoore nden muusata lan. It’s my head that hurts.
- Hoore an nden no muusade lan. My head is hurting me.
- Ko honondo nangu maa? What do you have? (LIT. What caught you?)
- Ko jonte nangu lan. I’ve got malaria.
- Mido wondi e jalbi. I have worms.
- Goddun qatii lan. Something bit me.
- Bandu an ndun no wuli. I have a fever. (LIT. My body is hot.)
- No butti seeda? Are you better?
- No ndikki seeda? Are you better?
- A jayti seeda? Are you better?
- Yo Alla åeydu aafiya. May God bring you peace.

- rawnugol: be light-skinned
- bawlugol: be dark-skinned
- sewugol: be thin
- sembugol: be fat
- juutugol: be tall
- rabbidugol: be short
- hawrugol: be average
- labegol: be beautiful
- kaanugol: be ugly
- nawyugol: be old
- weltagol: be happy
- komidugol: be stupid
- yöyugol: be clever
- moñyugol: be good
- bonugol: be bad
- dolnugol: be strong
- loñugol: be weak
- arsíkegol: be lucky
- njandugol: be big
- fandugol: be small

**Phrasebook:**

Two women pounding at the same pestle shouldn’t try to hide their armpits from each other.

**ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULÅE**

Unidoode ddo wata sunondondi ley nolki.

Yo Alla åeydu aafiya. May God bring you peace.
Object pronouns

In English we use different pronouns to talk about the person who does an action (the subject of the verb) as opposed to the person who undergoes the action (the object of the verb).

*I* gave it to John.  (*I* is a subject pronoun)

John gave it to *me*. (*me* is an object pronoun)

In Pular, the object pronouns are different only in the singular. Here are all of our pronouns to date:

**OBJECT PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>ACTIVE (SHORT)</th>
<th>STATIVE (LONG)</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mido</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>hida</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>himo</td>
<td>kanko</td>
<td>makko</td>
<td>mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl)</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>hiden</td>
<td>enen</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl)</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>meden</td>
<td>menen</td>
<td>amen</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>hidon</td>
<td>onon</td>
<td>mo’on</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>hibe</td>
<td>kanbe</td>
<td>mafoe</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some examples:

Hoore nden no muusude lan.  *My* head is hurting *me*.

Ko hombo jonni ma dun?  *Who* gave you that?

Junnu mo lekkı kin.  Give him that.

Ko kanko ñawndata men.  *He* will heal *us*.

To make up for the fact that we only have three new pronouns, we have a number of irregular forms to deal with; we’ll only look at the two most common ones here.

Exception O -u + lan = -an (imperative)

wrong:  Jonnu lan
right:  Jonnan!
    Give it to me!

wrong:  Okkoru lan ndiyin mi yara.
right:  Okkoran ndiyin mi yara.  Pass me some water to drink.

Exception O -ay + ma = -ete (future: see page 57)

wrong:  Mi piyay ma!
right:  Mi piyete!  *I* will beat you!

Time vs. aspect

Verb forms in English and French are organized around tense—past, present, and future actions. In Pular, they are organized around aspect—complete and incomplete actions.

Very roughly, the past is described with perfective verb forms, while the future is described with imperfective verb forms. But it’s not quite that simple. Here is an overview of the basic verb forms in Pular. (Keep in mind that the translations given here are approximate; again, the Pular sentences are not as unambiguous about time as the English equivalents given. There are ways to specify the time of an action more precisely; see pages 82 and 98.)
Perfective (complete actions):

- Himo yahi ka saare.  
  He *is gone* to town.  
  (stative)

- O yahi ka saare.  
  He *went* to town.  
  (narrative)

- O yahii ka saare.  
  He *did go* to town.  
  (asserted)

- O yahaali ka saare.  
  He *didn’t go* to town.  
  (negative)

- Ko ka saare o yahi.  
  It’s to town that he *went*.  
  (focused)

Imperfective (incomplete actions):

- Himo yahude ka saare.  
  He *is going* to town.  
  (progressive)

- Himo yaha ka saare.  
  He *goes* to town.  
  (simple/habitual)

- O yahay ka saare.  
  He *will go* to town.  
  (future)

- O yahataa ka saare.  
  He *won’t go* to town.  
  (negative)

- Ko ka saare o yahata.  
  It’s to town that he *will go*.  
  (focused)

- Yahu ka saare.  
  Go to town.  
  (imperative)

Note that the pronoun form used (long, as in *himo yahi*; or short as in *o yahi*) changes the meaning of the verb form. A complete table of endings is given on page 109.

We’ve already seen the focused perfective and the stative; now we’ll look at the focused imperfective and the progressive.

The focused imperfective

The imperfective focus form is used to discuss incomplete actions—generally taking place now or in the future—and not states or complete (past) actions.

- Ko honto o yahata?  
  Where is he going? OR  
  Where will he go?

- Ko ka saare o yahata.  
  It is to town that he *will go*.  
  It is to town that he will go.

As with the focused perfective, when the pronoun is *a*, *on*, or *en* there is an inversion.

FOCUSED IMPERFECTIVE ENDINGS (WITH INVERSIONS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ugol</th>
<th>-agol</th>
<th>-egol</th>
<th>EXAMPLE (yahugol)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>mi … -ata</td>
<td>mi … -oto</td>
<td>mi … -ete</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti mi yahata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>I will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>… -ataa</td>
<td>… -otoça</td>
<td>… -etoça</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti yahataa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>you will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>o … -ata</td>
<td>o … -oto</td>
<td>o … -ete</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti o yahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>she will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl)</td>
<td>… -aten</td>
<td>… -otočen</td>
<td>… -etoden</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti yahaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>we will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl)</td>
<td>men … -ata</td>
<td>men … -oto</td>
<td>men … -ete</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti men yahata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>we will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>… -aton</td>
<td>… -otočon</td>
<td>… -etodon</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti yahaton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>you will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>be … -ata</td>
<td>be … -oto</td>
<td>be … -ete</td>
<td>ko ka maakiti be yahata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it is to the market <em>they will go</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, questions are asked and answered in the focus form.
Ko honđun musata ma? What hurts you?
Ko reedu ndun musata lan. My stomach hurts me.
Ko honto hitotoda? Where will you eat supper?
Ko ka Cerno Aliu mi hito. I’ll eat supper at Cerno Aliu’s.
Ko hono innete? What are you called?
Ko Mamadu Aliu mi innete. I am called Mamadu Aliu.

The progressive

The progressive is used to denote an action which is currently underway.

Mido ñaamude. I am eating.

Notice that it takes the long (stative) pronoun in the affirmative. The negative of the progressive uses the short pronoun + alaa.

Mi alaa ñaamude. I am not eating.

Here is the progressive in the context of all the verb endings we’ve learned so far:

### PROGRESSIVE VERB ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFINITIVE</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FOCUS/STATIVE</td>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-aaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-egol</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>-aaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some more examples:

Mido soođude bireedi. I am buying bread.
Himo lootaade. He is washing himself.
Men alaa cippade ka oto. We’re not getting out of the car.
Himo moořeede ton. She is having her hair braided there.

The progressive form of the verb is technically another infinitive form:

yahugol to go (infinitive/verbal noun)
yahude going (infinitive/progressive)

Both infinitives can be used following helper verbs:

Mido faala yahude. I want to go.
Mido faala yahugol. I want to go.

While both of these are acceptable, some speakers prefer one over the other.
EXERCISES

A. Drawing time
- Draw a person and label all the body parts you know.

B. Where there is no doctor
- Give a reasonable response to teach of the following questions.

1. Ko honďun woni e muusude maa?
   Ko hoore an nden woni e muusude lan.
2. Ko honďun yettudaa?
3. Ko yonte nangumaa?
4. Ko hoore nden muusay maa?
5. Ko honďun nangumaa?
6. No āuuti seeďa?
7. Yo Alla beydu aafiya.
8. Bandu maa no wu środowiskach?
10. Hida wondi e jalbi?

CULTURAL NOTES

Visiting the sick
The Fulbe, like most people, like to be visited when they are sick. It is nice to bring food or other gifts. In case of an extended illness involving an hospital stay and/or the purchase of medicine, a gift of money is appropriate.
C. Oh, dear, what could the matter be?

- Write a sentence or two describing the condition of each of the following unhappy individuals.

Susan no nawni.
Bandu makko no wuli.

**CULTURAL NOTES**

Are you better?

When you tell someone you’re sick, they will ask you: “Are you feeling better?” (**No buuti seeda?**) If you answer that well, no, you’re not better at all yet, they will respond: “OK. But are you feeling better?”

The correct answer is “Yes”, regardless of how you feel. They are wishing you well, not really inquiring as to your health. By saying “Yes” you are really saying “If God wills it I will soon be better.”
D. Matching

Match the singular body part with its plural. Write the English word next to the singular.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>hondu</td>
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<td>howru</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Jungo</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>koyngal</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>newre</td>
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<td>nowru</td>
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<td>nìire</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>teppere</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>tonndu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>walbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>yì'al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>yìitere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Boring grammar drill, part one

Put the following sentences into the progressive:

1  Ko ka saare o yahata.
   Himo yahude ka saare.

2  Ko reedu makko muusata mo.

3  Ko ka buruure mi hayloto.

4  Ko mafe hakko mi ñaaamata.

5  Ko koto makko piyete.

6  Ko ka labutaani mi gollata.

F. Questions, questions

Give reasonable answers to the following.

1  Ko honto be ñaaamata?
   Ko ka nyatigude mabbe be ñaaamata.

2  Ko honto be yahata?

3  Ko honde tuma yahaten?

4  Ko hombo addata nìiri din?

5  Ko hombo woni e yimude?

6  Ko honðun habbotoden?
G. Boring grammar drill, part two

- Focus the underlined word using woni.

1. Miðo yahude Labe.
   Ko Labe mi woni e yahude.

2. Miñan an faalaaka arde.
   Ko minyan an woni faalaaka arde.


4. Hiåe darnude lekkol ton.

5. Baaba an yidaa mafe haako.


7. Miðo ñaamude lacciri e kosan.
H. Object pronouns

Translate the following into Pular using the appropriate object pronoun. The verb to use is given.

1. They are thrashing him. (beppingol)
   Hiibe beppinde mo.

2. What did he tell you? (innugol)

3. Take us along to town. (naborgol)

4. May God save us. (dandugol)

5. Show me the money. (holugol)

6. He wants them to release us. (accitugol)

7. His knee is hurting him. (muusugol)

8. Don’t bite me. (ýakkingol)

9. Give me the rice. (okkorgol)

10. Give them their books. (jomugol)

11. Can you cure me? (ñawndugol)

I. Boring grammar drill, part 3

Put these perfective focus sentences into the imperfective, then translate the resulting sentence.

1. Ko ka saare o yahi.
   Ko ka saare o yahata. (HE IS GOING TO TOWN.)

2. Ko honðun wi’udaa?

3. Ko ka hakkunde be woni.

4. Ko ndiyan tun o faala.

5. Ko takko an o joodii.


7. Ko honde tuma artudaa?

8. Ko honto yahudon?
J. It takes all kinds...

- Write a sentence or two describing each of the following individuals.

1. Hadja

2. Cerno Iburahima

3. Binta

4. Lamin

5. Lamarana

K. Opposites

- Fill in the blanks with the opposite of the verbs used in the sentence.

1. Njaatigi an no njandi; koto makko no ..............

2. Amadu no dolni; Ali .................

3. Umar no sembi; goreejo makko on .................

4. Hiåe weltii; njaatigi mafbe .................

5. Ali no moyyy, kono Amadu .................

L. Field work

- Ask someone about their health or about the health of a family member. Take notes; report back to class.

- Describe a relative or friend to someone else. Ask them to describe someone they know. Look for new words.

CULTURAL NOTES

Attitudes towards the body

Some random observations:

- Picking one’s nose in public is OK.
- Holding hands is not sexual; men hold hands with men, women with women, men with women, all in a friendly manner.
- Breasts are not erotic.
- Fat = prosperous, healthy, attractive.
- Skinny = poor, sick, ugly.
- Every illness is probably malaria.
- Contagion is not understood.

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In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Merchandise
- Verbs
- Nouns
- Numbers over 100
- Measures
- Phrasebook: Food, drink, & basic needs

Grammar
- The asserted perfective and imperfective
- Active verbs, stative verbs
- Demonstratives

Cultural Notes
- Cewdi alaa!
- How to bargain
- When not to bargain

Key Words
- kaa – maa
- marugol – jogagol – hebugol
- jejugol – jon

Competence 7 [ SHOPPING ]

Duuytu seeda!
(Come down a little!)

Soodugol bagi (Buying cloth)

On jaraama!
Hidon mari leppi?

Leppi alaa. Ko mbsan e waksi tun mi mari.
Addu oo mbsan mi ndaara.

On jaraama!
Leppi alaa.

On jaraama!
Komplee on ko guluji sappo.

Awa, addu guluji jeenay e temmedde jewi.
Awa, addu guluji jeenay, mi sooday.

Ee! No satti. Duuytu seeda.
Accu guluji jeenay, mi sooday.

Ee! No satti. Duuytu seeda.
Awa, a jaraama, naani!

Soodugol siyo (Buying a bucket)

A jaraama, Porto!
On jaraama, mawbe. Oo siyon ko jelu?

Oo doo ko guluji jewi.
Oo daa ko guluji tati.

On jaraama, mawbe. Oo siyon ko jelu?

On jaraama, mawbe. Oo siyon ko jelu?

Oo doo ko faaladaa, kaa ko oo daa?
Komplee on ko jelu?

On jaraama, mawbe. Oo siyon ko jelu?

On jaraama, mawbe. Oo siyon ko jelu?

Fii sooðugol ko guluji tati e temmedde jeetati.

Fii sooðugol ko guluji tati e temmedde jeetati.

Fii sooðugol ko guluji tati e temmedde jeetati.

On duytataa seeda?

Awa, yobu guluji nayi e temmedde jewi.

Awa, on jaraama.

On duytataa seeda?

Awa, on jaraama.

On duytataa seeda?
**VOCABULARY**

### Merchandise
- **almeeti** on
- **buusii** on
- **wureere** nden
- **loonde** nden
- **fayande** nden
- **bagi** on
- **leppi** din
- **mbasan** on
- **waksi** on
- **sudaare** nden

### Measures
- **horde** nden
- **korun** kun
- **pooti** on
- **kilo** on
- **meeter** on
- **liitar** on
- **sariyaare** nden
- **habbere** nden
- **sadaare** nden

### Verbs
- **soodugol**
- **yeeyugol**
- **ndaarugol**
- **sattugol**
- **duytugol**
- **fandugol**
- **subagol**
- **marugol**
- **jogagol**
- **ñawlagol**
- **yoåugol**
- **sensugol**
- **landagol**
- **haldugol**
- **termugol**

### Nouns
- **yeeyoowo** on
- **soodoowo** on
- **maakiti** on
- **luumo** ngon
- **bitiki** on
- **coggu** ngun
- **mbHudi** ndin
- **kaalisi** on
- **cewdi** din

### Numbers over 100
- **teemedere**
- **teemedde jowi**
- **wuluure**
- **guluji jowi**
- **guluji didi e temedde**
- **jueddi e cappande jowi**

### Phrasebook: Food, drink, & basic needs
- **Tamaati on ko jelu?**
- **Mido faala soodude tamaati.**
- **Ko basaale mi faala.**
- **No satti.**
- **Fii soodugol ko jelu?**
- **Duytanan seeda.**
- **On duytataa seeda?**
- **Åeydu seeda.**
- **No moýýi.**
- **Mi maraa cewdi wuluure?**
- **Maaro no woodi?**
- **Maaro aiaa.**
- **Hiðon jogii saabunde?**
- **Mi maraa pompiteeri.**
- **Hidon mari pompiteeri?**
- **Hidon mi heboto farin?**

---

**ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULÅE**

Poverty doesn't kill, but it is rather unpleasant.

**KEY WORDS**

- **kaa - maa**

There are two ways to say “or” in Pular. **kaa** is used in questions; **maa** is used in statements.

- **ko kosan faaladaa, kaa ko biraadan?**
  - Do you want sour milk, or do you want fresh milk?

- **Mido faala nebban tiga maa nebban ture.**
  - I want either peanut oil or palm oil.

---

**56 Competence 7 [ SHOPPING ]**
The asserted perfective and imperfective

We have seen how to use the focused verb forms to emphasize various parts of a sentence. If the action itself is what is being emphasized, we use the asserted verb endings. These new endings are in the shaded columns in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASSERTED VERB ENDINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INFINITIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASSERTED</strong>(PAST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-egol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are all active verb forms, as opposed to stative; so they always take the short pronoun (mi, a, o, etc.) and never the long pronoun (miðo, hiða, himo, etc.) Some examples:

- O soodii bireedi. He did buy bread.
- O sooday bireedi. He will buy bread.
- Mi subike oo bagi doo. I chose that cloth there.
- Mi subeto oo bagi doo. I will choose that cloth there.
- Be lootaaama. They were washed.
- Be lootete. They will be washed.

Let’s see the negation of each of the above examples:

- O soodaali bireedi. He didn’t buy bread.
- O sodataa bireedi. He won’t buy bread.
- Mi subsaaki oo bagi doo. I didn’t choose that cloth there.
- Mi subsotaako oo bagi doo. I won’t choose that cloth there.
- Be lootaka. They weren’t washed.
- Be lootetaake. They won’t be washed.

We’ve already seen most of the negative endings in the perfective: The negative past (active) endings are the same as the negative stative endings (see page 35), except for -ugol verbs, which take -aali for the past negative and -aa for the stative negative.

- **static**
  - Himo and.: He knows
  - O anda: He doesn’t know

- **past (active)**
  - O yahii: He went
  - O yahaaali: He didn’t go.

The asserted imperfective endings (ay, oto, ete) are also used with woni to form a sort of progressive:

- Mi yah ay woni ka saare. I am going to town.
- Mi yah oto woni ka saare. He will be going to town.
- Mi yah ete woni ka saare. They will be going to town.

The English verb “to have” is expressed by three different words in Pular, each with its own distinct usage.

- **Marugol** means to possess, keep, save, or have stored away.
  - Hida mari iiiti? Do you have rice?
  - Himo mari biibbe buy. He has many children.

- **Maranaa seedaa!** Save me some!

- **Jogagol** means to have on one’s person or to hold.
  - Himo jogii labi. He has a knife (on him).
  - Joganolan nden deftere. Hold this book for me.

The most common way to negate marugol and jogagol is alaa.

- **Mi alaa kaalisi.** I don’t have any money.
  - Mi suå aaki oo bagi ðoo. I didn’t choose that cloth there.
- **Mi maraa kaalisi.** I don’t have any money.
  - Mi jogaaki laåi. He doesn’t have a knife.

But you can also use the verb’s own stative negative form:

- **Mi maraa kaalisi.** I don’t have any money.
  - Mi jogaaki laåi. He doesn’t have a knife (on him).

- **Hebugol** means to obtain or to get. It also means to have as in to have a child. Unlike marugol and jogagol, it is not a stative verb (see page 35).
  - Mi hebaali teew. I didn’t get any meat.
  - O kebii boobo gorko. She had a boy.

This uses the benefactive infix -an-. See page 89.
Active verbs, stative verbs

We’ve discussed stative verb endings, and we’ve just seen the active past endings. Some verbs are naturally stative, which means that they describe the nature or current condition of a person or thing.

Himo kaani. He is ugly.
Mido weela. I am hungry.

These take the long (stative) pronoun and the stative verb endings (see page 35).

Other verbs are naturally active, which means that they describe an action, something that happens.

O yahii ka saare. He went to town.
Mi jangji. I studied.

These take the short (active) pronoun and the asserted verb endings (see page 57).

Now, an active verb can be used statively, indicating someone/something’s current condition:

Himo yahii ka saare. He is gone to town.
Mido jangji. I am educated.

And a stative verb can be used actively, indicating that something/someone became a certain way:

O kaanti. She became ugly.
Mi weelaama. I’ve become hungry.

Demonstratives

The English words this, that, and those are demonstratives. In Pular, each noun class has its own demonstrative.

deftere nden the book
ndee deftere this book

Here are the rules for forming the demonstrative:

- It goes before the noun, instead of after, as the article does
- If the article ends in n (nden, kin) drop the n and double the vowel (ndee, kil).
- If the article doesn’t end in n (ngal, koy) then the demonstrative is identical (ngal, koy).

The dan class is the only exception to this rule.

nebban dan the oil
dan nebban this oil
ndyann dan the water
dan ndyann this water

A complete list of demonstrative forms is in the table on page 116.

To distinguish between two things being pointed to, use the prolocatives doo and daa (more about prolocatives on page 27).

Ko ngal biree diwaal doo faaladaa, kaa ko ngal daa? Do you want that loaf of bread, or that one?
Oo doo ko Cerno innetee; oo daa, ko Sellu. This one is named Cerno; this other one is Sellu.
## EXERCISES

### A. Numbers over 100

Write out the following numbers.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>temnedere e nogay e tasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>750</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>6,150</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### B. Plural demonstratives

Put the appropriate demonstrative in front of each of the following, then translate.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>dii</td>
<td>dolokkeji</td>
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<td></td>
<td>mawbe</td>
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<td>pelle</td>
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<td>ca’e</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>pade</td>
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<td>maafejji</td>
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<td>gertoode</td>
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<td>yimbe</td>
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<td>cuudi</td>
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<td>paykoy</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>lekkolbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>bolle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>leemuneej</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Complete the dialogue

Fill in the blanks in the following conversation.

Ee! No satti.

Oo pantalon ________?

Pantalon on ko guluji jowi.

Mi ________
guluji tati.

________________

Dun doo no landi.

________
guluji nayi.

Awa, ________
guluji nayi.

Awa, a jaraama, naani!

D. Ownership

Translate the following using jon or jeyugol.

1 Where’s the peanut vendor?

Ko honto jon tiga on woni?

2 Whose keys are these?

Ko hombo jey deec saabiije?

3 He’s a rich man.

4 Where’s the shopkeeper?

5 That car is mine.

6 Those are Amadu’s fields.

7 Whose chicken is this?

8 Saliu is a smart guy.

9 Who owns that cloth there?

10 Moodi Bubakar is my landlord.
E. Possession

- Translate the following using marugol, hebugol, jogagol, or alaa.

1. She says she has no onions.
   "Woo o jogagol basalle.

2. I only have 500 francs on me.

3. Do you have any sons?

4. I don’t have a pen on me.

5. Were you able to get water?

6. He has no brain.

7. I don’t have change.

8. Where could I get tomatoes?

9. Do you have the key with you?

10. She had a girl.

F. Assert yourself

- Rewrite the following sentences using the asserted (perfective or imperfective) forms; then translate.

1. Ko min soodata nden fayande.
   Mi sooday nden fayande. (I WILL BUY THAT POT.)

2. Ko ka maakiti mi yahi.
   Mi yahii ka maakiti. (I WENT TO THE MARKET.)

3. Ko jango mi yeeyata mban mbeewa.

4. Ko kanbe joodoto e dee julle.

5. Ko ka luumo mi soodata basalle.


7. Ko min subii oo dolokke.

8. Ko bee doo sensi mbuddi wuluure an.


10. Ko guluuji jowi mi yobi.

Cultural Notes

Cewdi alaa!

There are not enough small bills to go around. No one ever has change. Even a commerçant in his store may well be unable to take a 5000F bill for a 1000F item. It’s worse in the market, where even a 1000F or 500F bill can be hard to break.
G. Make up your mind

- Write sentences based on the following model.

1. deftere
2. gertogal
3. suudu
4. leemuneere
5. labi
6. gorko
7. poothun
8. buufi
9. maaro
10. mbeewa
11. pade
12. oto
13. jullere
14. bireediwal
15. naarihoy

H. Blast from the past

- Put into the past, then translate.

1. Kun paykun cippotaako ka leggal. (THAT KID DIDN'T COME DOWN FROM THE TREE.)
2. Mi yaray biraadän.
3. Be yahay ka esiraæe maæbe.
4. O ñawloto lan kaalisi.
5. Be nabataa ñiri.
6. Mi suæoto jiwo.

I. Back to the future

- Put the following into the future, then translate.

1. Mi soodii gerto. (I WILL BUY A CHICKEN.)
2. On yi'ii Portooæe ka maææi.
3. Mi yahii Mamou.
4. Mi ittii kooje ka gaar watiir.
5. Men hiwraæi be.
Mi piyamaa ka laawol.

Be faamii leson on.

Mi hebaali basalle.

Mi yobii guluuij sappo.

En haraali.

J. Mixed demonstratives

Write a simple sentence with each of the following words and the appropriate demonstrative.

1. ngal gatal no njandi
2. leemuneere
3. rewbe
4. paykun
5. kosan
6. bagi
7. yeeyoowo
8. wureere
9. siyooru
10. gertogal
11. leppi
12. gatal

K. No, you didn’t

Negate the following sentences, then translate.

1. Mi yahay Labe jango.
   Mi yahataa Labe jango. (I WON’T GO TO LABÉ TOMORROW.)

2. Mi yahii hanki jemma.

3. O lootike ka caangol.

4. En habbaama hanki.

5. On lubike mo labi kin.


7. Mi haarii.

8. Kun paykun lootete.

CULTURAL NOTES

How to bargain

- When you are quoted a starting price that is two or three times the normal price for the item, don’t get angry and assume the vendor is trying to rip you off. The first price is usually high.
- Before the bargaining starts it helps if you know what the item is supposed to cost (ask around) and what it’s worth to you.
- Take into account what your time and energy is worth to you. Is it really worth a half hour of arguing to get from 11,000F to 10,500F?
- Walking away is the surest way to find out if the vendor really can’t come down any further.
- Don’t start bargaining unless you’re serious about buying the item.
- Go shopping with a Pullo and see how it’s done.
- Take it easy. Keep it friendly and fun. It doesn’t have to be adversarial.

L. Yes, you did

Put the following sentences into the affirmative, then translate.

1. Mi weelaaka.
   *Mido weelaan.* *(I AM HUNGRY.)*

2. Mi faalaaka yahugol ka maakiti.

3. Dun moyyaa.

4. Mi ñamataa teew.

5. O ñawlaaki lan mbuddi.


7. Mi yidaa kobo-kobo.

8. Coggu maa ngun sattaa.


10. Mi yeeyataa mban ngesa.

11. Mi faamaali.

12. Mi soodataa dii liyiyi.

13. Mi joodaaki takko makko.

14. Mi waawataa defude.

15. Mi hirtoto ka makko.

16. Mi yaray ndiyana ka fulawa.

17. Ndiyan soodete ka saare.
M. Alternate progressive form

Rewrite the following progressive sentences using the –ay woni construction, then translate.

1. Miðo ñaamude.
   Mi ñ a a m y w o n i . (I AM EATING.)

2. Hiåe fijude.

3. Miðo ndaarude tun.


5. Miðo landaade maa.


8. Miðo haylaade tun.


11. Miðo subaade bagi.

N. Passive sentences

Rewrite the following sentences in the passive, then translate the result.

1. Åe wujjii siyo men.
   Siy o m e n  w u j j a a m a . (OUR BUCKET WAS STOLEN.)

2. Goddo piyilimo ka saare.

3. O wuppay conci din.

4. Baaba an yeeyay ngee nagge.

5. Hay gotoo wujaali deftere maa.

6. O lootay boobo makko.

7. Polisiijo on nangii gujjo on.

8. Mi ýoogaali ndiyan dan taho.

CULTURAL NOTES

When not to bargain

You must bargain for some things, but not for everything. You don’t bargain for:

- anything costing 500F or less
- items already grouped into little piles
- most items in a store (mayonnaise, sardines, Coca-Cola)
- cooked food
- Other items that have generally agreed-upon prices (rice, salt, sugar, powdered milk, meat, bread, etc.)

It is generally appropriate to bargain for:

- tourist items and handicrafts
- large quantities of anything
- big, expensive things (buckets, pots, other housewares)
- someone’s services
9 Mi defataa ṅiiri ndin.

10 O tayay bagi on.

0. **Write your own**

- Imagine a dialogue between the volunteer and the vendor.
Enee, Porto! A majju?
(Hey, white boy! Are you lost?)

Ka fulawa (In the countryside)

Ee! A jaraama, Porto! Ko honto yahataa?
Ko Seetare mi yahata.
Ko laawol Seetare nii?

Hi-hi, ko ni. Jokko ngol laawol
doo haa ka date cele, seliru ka
nano. A rewyar Larewel, ontuma a
hewtay Seetare.

Awa. Yo Alla wehuu laawol ngol.
(Laa ilahi ilallahu, Porto
hayloty ka fulawa? E, e, e...)

Awa, on jaraama,
naani?

Awa, on jaraama,
naani!

On jaraama.

On jaraama.

On jaraama.

On jaraama!

Mahni!

Ka saare (In the big city)

Jaraama! Ko Conakry yahata?
Hino taksy Conakry.

Wonaa Conakry mi faalaa.
Ko Yemberen.

Taksi Yemberen alaa doo.
Yahu ka gaar watiir Daka.

Awa. Ko honto dun
woniri?

Yahu ka labutaani doo,
seulu ka sengo ñaamo.
Daka no yeeso ton.

No woddi?

Awa. Ko gaar watiir Daka nii?

Alla jaraama.

Ko don nii.

Ee, Porto! A tampii
hande, homoo?

In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Verbs
- Adverbs
- Directions
- Phrasebook: Lost and found
- Places
- Everybody talks about the weather...
- Phrasebook: Weather
- At the taxi park
- Phrasebook: Traveling

Grammar
- Introduction to infixes
- The incremental infix -it-
- The manner infix -ir-
- Adverbs and modal verbs
- Comparisons

Cultural Notes
- Gifts and village hospitality
- What'd you bring me?
- Bush-taxi travel

Key Words
- duudugol
- suusugol – hulugol
# VOCABULARY

## Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>selugol</td>
<td>turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heurtugol</td>
<td>arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dovugol</td>
<td>guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jokkugol</td>
<td>follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rewuugol</td>
<td>pass (by)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taýitugol</td>
<td>cut across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dowtugol</td>
<td>be far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badagol</td>
<td>be near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiltagol</td>
<td>turn back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumbugol</td>
<td>cross (river, village)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doy</td>
<td>slowly, carefully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinna</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karahan</td>
<td>with difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisan</td>
<td>immediately</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Directions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nano</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñaamo</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telen</td>
<td>towards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bururu</td>
<td>bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falawa</td>
<td>countryside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traawo</td>
<td>public road (from &quot;travaux publiques&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laawol</td>
<td>road, path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datal</td>
<td>path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodo</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fello</td>
<td>hill, mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caangol</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jurnde</td>
<td>waterfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maayo</td>
<td>large river, ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaami'u</td>
<td>mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juulirde</td>
<td>mosque</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most places in a city are called by their French names.

- farmasii on pharmacy
- garwatiir on taxi park
- restoran on restaurant
  etc.

## Everybody talks about the weather...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buubugol</td>
<td>be cold or wet (said of the weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaangegol</td>
<td>be cold (said of a person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulugol</td>
<td>be hot (said of a person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngulegol</td>
<td>be hot (said of a person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakkegol</td>
<td>be sweaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibbugol</td>
<td>be dark (or late in the day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naange ngen</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hendu</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndiyan dan</td>
<td>rain or water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaangol</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguleendi</td>
<td>heat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Phrasebook: Lost and found

- Ko Tensira mi faalaa yahude. I want to go to Tensira.
- Ko honno mi yahirta Tensira? How do I get to Tensira?
- Mido dabbitude laawol Tensira. I’m looking for the road to Tensira.
- No woddi? Is it far?
- No woddi. It is far.
- Woddaa. It is not far.
- Ko haa honto? To what point?
- Jokku ngol laawol doo. Follow this road here.
- Selir ka ñaamo. Turn right.
- Selir ka nano. Turn left.
- Yahu hara a selaali. Go without turning.
- Ko honno doo innetee? What is this place called?
- Ko honto nii? Where am I?
- Mi majji. I’ve gotten lost.
- Yo Alla welnu laawol ngol. May God make your path easy.

## Phrasebook: Weather

- Mido jaanga. I’m cold.
- Hande no buubi. It’s cold today.
- Mido ngulaa. I’m hot.
- Hendu no wadi. The wind is blowing.
- Naange ngen no wuli. The sun is hot.
- No nibbili. It’s dark.
- Ndiyan aray hande. It will rain today. (LIT. water will come today)
- Jaangol no ton. It’s cold there.
At the taxi park

For obvious reasons, most taxi-park vocabulary is borrowed from French.

paasi  fare
aparanti  driver’s helper
bagaasi  baggage
pilaasi  seat
kilyan  passenger

Here are some useful verbs to know:
wayaasugol  to travel
yaawugol  to be quick
neeåugol  to take a long time
keldugol  to be solid or in good condition
paanugol  to break down (car, etc.)
muiññagol  to be patient
tampugol  to suffer

Phrasebook: Traveling

Ko oto hombo woni e yahude Labe?
Which car is going to Labe?
Ko Labe mi yahata.
I’m going to Labe.
Mi yobay pilaasi difi.
I’ll pay for two seats.
Oto on beowi?
Is the car full?
On siwaa yahude?
Will it be a while before you leave?
Ko kilyanåe njelo manki?
How many more passengers do you need?
En yahay kisan?
Will we leave immediately?
Mi hoolaaki ðun.
Yeah, right.
Paasi on ko jelu?
How much is the fare?
Kun sakun yoåetaake.
I shouldn’t have to pay for that little bag.
Ko ka haakunde mi wonata.
I’ll sit in the middle.
Mahen.
Let’s go.

GRAMMAR

Introduction to infixes

In English we have prefixes (particles that attach to the beginning of a word) and suffixes (particles that go after a word). Verbs in particular can take a variety of prefixes with predictable results: we have tie and untie (reversative); do and redo (repetitive); and so on.

In Pular, verbs can take a number of infixes or verbal extensions that fit inside the verb, between the root and the ending. Here are a few examples:

soodugol  buy
soodangi  buy for  (BENEFACTIVE)
soodoygol  go and buy  (DISTANTIVE)
yahugol  go
yaaugol  go with  (ASSOCIATIVE)
yaarugol  go in a certain manner  (MANNER)
yahitugol  go again  (REPETITIVE)
yahangol  go for  (BENEFACTIVE)
andugol  know
andingol  inform  (CAUSATIVE)
andangol  sympathize with  (BENEFACTIVE)
andindingol  know each other  (RECPROCATIVE)
anditugol  remember  (REPETITIVE)
andintingol  remind  (REPETITIVE + CAUSATIVE)
andinkingol  pretend to know  (SIMULATIVE)

We’ll look at a few of these infixes as they come up in the following chapters. There are two reasons to learn the system of infixes: 1. They are often obligatory in grammatical situations; certain ideas (I went with her, he bought it for me, I cut it with a knife) can’t be expressed in any other way. 2. One can sometimes figure out the meaning of a word by recognizing its infixes (weldugol = to be sweet together = to be friends; jalnugol = to cause to laugh = to be funny).
Having said that, sometimes it makes more sense to simply learn a word's meaning and usage without trying to deconstruct the root and the infixes it contains. By way of analogy, you couldn't figure out the meaning of *research* by breaking it into *re + search*.

**The incremental infix -it-**

This infix can have a repetitive function:

- yahugol → go again
- andugol → remember
- arugol → return

It can also have a reversative function:

- liitugol → bring in from the sun
- udditugol → open

Its function is subtler and harder to generalize in other cases; these should just be learned as they come up.

**The manner infix -ir-**

This infix is used to indicate how an action takes place; it often accompanies an adverb.

- wadugol → do slowly or carefully
- faamugol → understand with difficulty

It can have an instrumental function as well—that is, it can indicate the means or instrument used to perform an action.

- tayugol → cut with a knife
- yahugol → go by car

It can also have a locative function, in which it indicates a direction or location and fills in for the English prepositions at, from, to, or towards.

- selugol → turn towards
- iwugol → come from
- artugol → return from

There is an example in the text:

*Ko honto ðun won?*

*Whereabouts is that?*

You will notice that the weak vowels *i* and *u* are often swallowed when a verb receives an infix:

- iwugol → Æ iwirugol
- selugol → Æ selirugol

**EXCEPTION:** When the manner infix is used with a reflexive (-agol) verb it takes the form -or- instead of -ir-; and the verb becomes active (-ugol).

*Marugol* means to save or keep; *marangol* is to save something for someone—i.e., food. The above responses are appropriate to the question *“Ko hondun marandaal lan?”*  

**Adverbs and modal verbs**

Adverbs modify verbs. There are very few true adverbs in Pular. Here are the most common ones:

- moýȳa → well
- tinna → quickly
- kisan → immediately
- karahan → with difficulty
- doy → slowly, carefully
- Oo doo defay moýȳa. → He cooks well.
- Yahu tinna! → Go quickly!
- O yalti kisan → He left immediately.
- Ko karahan mi laawori. → I barely escaped.
- Wadu doy! → Be careful!
A Pular speaker is more likely to use a modal verb than an adverb to modify a verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaawugol</td>
<td>to be quick</td>
<td>O yaawii faamude. She understood quickly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayrugol</td>
<td>to be a long time since</td>
<td>Mi wayrii maa yi'ude. I haven't seen you for a while.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duugugol</td>
<td>to be frequent, numerous</td>
<td>Himo duudi yahude. He goes often.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juutugol</td>
<td>to be long</td>
<td>Mi juutii daanaade. I slept for a long time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This structure does not come easily to speakers of European languages; but it is worth your while to get the hang of it to make your Pular sound natural.

Comparisons

The verb *burugol* is used to make comparisons. By itself, it means "to be better."

- Taksi no *buri* kaar. | A taxi is *better* than a bus.
- Lagine no *buri* Senegal. | Guinea is *better* than Senegal.
- Sellu no *buri* Aliu. | Cellou is *better* than Aliou.

These are all rather vague sentences. To be more precise, we use *burugol* as a modal verb, which makes another verb comparative.

- Taksi no *buri* kaar *sattude*. | A taxi is *more expensive* than a bus.
- Lagine no *buri* Senegal *laaåeede*. | Guinea is *more beautiful* than Senegal.
- Sellu no *buri* Aliu *kaanude*. | Cellou is *uglier* than Aliou.

These structures also work:

- Taksi no *satti buri* kaar. | A taxi is *more expensive* than a bus.
- Ko taksi *buri* kaar *saatude*. | A taxi is *more expensive* than a bus.

This last form is more emphatic and would be used, for example, to contradict something that had been said.

The word *burugol* is also used for superlatives:

- Ko an *buri* stajeerbe ben *fow labeeede*. | You are the *prettiest* trainee. (literally, "You are prettier than all the trainees.")

The word *fotugol* is used to express equality. In this context it always takes the habitual form.

- Hibe *fota*. | They're the same.

This word can also be used as a modal verb to indicate in what way two items are the same.

- Fatu e Binta no *fota juutude*. | Fatu is *as tall as* Binta.

Notice two differences between the usage of *fotugol* and *burugol*: 1. *fotugol* always takes the habitual form (*no fot* and not the stative (*no åuri*)); and 2. with *fotugol*, the items being compared are all in the subject (you *don't* say *Fatu no fot Binta juutude*).

---

**EXERCISES**

**A. Comparisons, Part 1**

- Write a comparative sentence using *burugol* or *fotugol* with each of the following set of words, then translate.
  1. taksi/kaar; yaawugol
     - Taksi no *buri* kaar *yaawude*. (A TAXI IS QUICKER THAN A BUS.)
  2. Kankan/Kissidougou; woddugol
  3. Umar/Ali; jangugol
Bush-taxi travel

No amount of advice here could properly prepare you for the experience of traveling in Guinea. Here are a few basic pointers:

- Your options are minibuses (minibus, kaar, makbana), small cars (berliin) and station wagons (familial). The minibuses are cheaper; the taxis are faster and marginally more comfortable.

- Most taxi parks have a syndicate of drivers that controls which car leaves first. Unless you want to hire an entire car you can’t choose between cars. The exception is on heavily traveled routes, such as Conakry-Labé, where there is a separate syndicate for each type of vehicle, so you have three choices.

- All vehicles leave only when full (and we do mean full). There are no fixed schedules.

- Most vehicles are old and poorly maintained; breakdowns are the rule, not the exception. The worst roads get the worst taxis.

- As a rule, fares are fixed. You will, however, need to bargain with the boys in the gare voiture who handle your bags, on the price for oversized or unusual luggage (e.g. bikes). A single reasonably-sized bag should cost nothing.

B. Comparisons, Part 2

- Render these sentences in Pular.

1. I am taller than you are.

2. Who is thinner, Umar or Makan?

3. Does Michael Jackson sing better than James Brown?

4. Mike Tyson is stronger than I am.

5. Faatu is prettier than your sister.

6. A cat is quicker than a dog.

7. This car is faster than that one.

8. He speaks English best of all my students.
C. Taxi-park essentials

- Translate into Pular:
  1. Which car is going to Kundaara?
  2. I’m going to Pita.
  3. How much is the fare to Maali?
  4. Will it be a while before we leave?
  5. Is the car full yet?
  6. I’ll pay for three seats; let’s just go.

D. Fear & loathing in the Fuuta

- Translate the following using suusugol or hulugol.
  1. I can’t stand that road.
  2. They shouldn’t be afraid, there are no snakes here.
  3. That baby’s afraid of white people.
  4. He’s afraid his head will be cut off.
  5. Your kid’s a scaredy-cat.
  6. I hate okra.
  7. I’m scared of your wife.
  8. Don’t be afraid, we won’t have an accident.
  9. I’m afraid he’ll steal my money.

E. Taxi-park small talk

- Answer the following questions:
  1. A neefii Lagine?

  Mi neebanni buy.

  2. A neefay doo?

  3. Hida andi Pita?

  4. A yahay Konakiri?

---

**KEY WORDS**

**suusugol** ↔ **hulugol**

Suusugol means the opposite of “to be afraid,” and so could be translated “to dare” or “to be brave with regards to.”

Himo suusi mboddi.
He’s not afraid of snakes.

It is mostly used in the negative, though:

O suusataa bareeru maa.
He’s afraid of your dog.

Mi suusataa vitesse.
I’m afraid of high speeds.

Mi suusataa basalle.
I can’t stand onions.

Hulugol means “to fear” or “to be afraid of.”

Wata a hulu, mi yokkataa ma.
Don’t be afraid, I won’t bite you.

Himo huli wata be piyu mo.
He is afraid they’ll beat him.

We also have

Himo suusi reedu.
She is brave.

Himo huli reedu.
He is a coward.
5. Hida waawi Pular?

6. A gollii Amerik?

7. A naboraa lan Amerik?

8. Hida mari beyngu?

F. Giving directions: Part 1

The following map shows the countryside in the area of Maali-Ville. Give directions in Pular for someone wanting to go:

1. From Maali to Fello Luura
2. From Dirmoli to Siligeme

G. Incremental infix

Ask a native Pular speaker to explain the difference in nuance between the following words with and without the -it- infix:

1. dafbugol to look for (something one doesn't have)
dafbitugol to look for (something one had and lost)
2. wallugol to help
wallitagol
3. dondegol to be thirsty
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donditugol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 lannugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lannitagol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 miijagol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miijitagol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tayugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayitugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 beydugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beyditugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 wonugol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wontugol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**H. Fun with pronouns**

- Write out this sentence for each person, then its negative.

1. mi
   - Miðo waawi Pular.
   - Mi wawataa Pular.

2. a

3. men

4. be

5. en

6. on

7. o

Again.

1. o
   - Himo faala yahude.
   - O faalaaka yahude.

2. a

3. mi

4. men

5. be

6. en

7. on

**I. Translation drill: ðuuðugol**

- Translate the following using ðuuðugol.

1. There are too many people at the well.
   - Yimbe na ðuddu ka woyndu

2. You have a lot of work.

3. You don’t go to school very often.

4. He’s not very bright. (hint: hakkil = intelligence)

5. There are a lot of white people in Conakry.
J. Giving directions: Part 2

The following map shows some of the highlights of the city of Labe. Give directions in Pular for someone wanting to go:

1. From the Peace Corps house to the Bicigui office
2. From the market to the hospital

K. Using instruments

Rewrite the following sentences using the manner infix -ir- and adding the instrument given in parentheses; then translate.

1. Mi tayii bireedi on.
   Mi tayii bireedi on kii laåi. (I cut the bread with this knife.)

2. Mi yahay Labe.
   Mi yahay Labe. (otowal)

3. Mi sooday mafeeji.
   Mi sooday mafeeji. (mbuudi)

4. O hooti.
   O hooti. (velo)

Cultural Notes

Gifts and village hospitality

Gifts are an important part of hospitality—on both ends: the guest may bring gifts with them to present on arrival (neldugol: the gift is neldaare nden), and the host may offer the departing visitor a gift to take home with them (fundugol: the gift is fand-daare nden).

Mi neldii on bireedi e sukkar.
I brought you bread and sugar.

Be fandii lan gertogal.
They gave me a chicken (to take home).

If you are going from a town to a village, take items that aren’t readily available in the fulawa: bread, tea, sugar, kola nuts, candy. Sardines and other canned things are well received; so is cash. In return you may be given peanuts, fonio, rice, or even a chicken or a goat if they really like you.

Teddingol is literally “to make heavy” and means to take seriously, to respect, or to honor. Teddungal ngal is the corresponding noun, meaning “respect” or “honor”.

A useful phrase to indicate that a gift is made in the spirit of friendship and respect, and not as a payment or commercial transaction, is Ko teddungal mo’on.
Out of respect to you.

You can always give thanks by saying on jaraama buy: there are more effusive ways as well.

Albarka.
God bless. (used to thank s/o for food or gifts)

Mi weltike åuy.
I’m very pleased.

Ko min weltike.
It is I who is pleased.

Mido jarni on.
I thank you.

Min kadi, mido jarni on.
I also thank you.

Competence 8 [ TRAVEL & DIRECTIONS ]
L. Review of imperatives

Contradict the following phrases, then translate.

1. Wata a jokku ngol laawol.
   *jokku ngol laawol* (FOLLOW THIS ROAD).

2. Yahu ka maakiti.

3. Yo be aru.

4. Yahen ka makko jango.

5. Wata on cippo ka oto.

6. Jonnu mo kaalisi on.

7. Wata be okkor mo ndiyaa.

8. Nafooree lan Labe.


10. Fowto.

M. Another way to give instructions

Imperatives can be implied using the future tense. Follow the example given.

1. Dowtu oo Portojo haa ka saare.
   *A dowtay oo Portojo haa ka saare.* (YOU WILL ACCOMPANY THIS PORTO INTO TOWN).

2. Artir e oto an on.

3. Addu mbuudi makko jango.

4. Joodo takko jiwo an on.

5. Lootu suudu ndun fow.
Hunde kala e saa’i mun.
(Everything in its own time.)

Susan ko janoowo (Susan is a teacher)

Susan ko jannoowo. Himo hodi Maamu. Bimbi kala, himo fina law,
o lootoo,
o itta kooye,

On åelike e jam?

Ko honto lakre woni?

Proviseur on araali taho.

o salmina kawtal makko, si o fokkita golle.

Ka lekkoł ton, si o hewtti, himo yewtida e goreebé makko don doo e golle den fuddaade.

Si golle lannii, kenen himo soyya ka lekkol ton si o hoota ka suudu.

An, a wawataa siwude attaya, dey!

Kikkide kala si o hootii ka suudu himo yara attaya si o hirtike.

Jemma woo, himo waaloo law.

In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Verbs
- Phrasebook: Time
- Days of the week
- Prayer times
- Nouns
- Time words

Grammar
- The simple imperfective
- Saying “when”
- Putting things into sequence
- The distantive infix -oy-
- The associative infix -id-

Cultural Notes
- Clock time
- Synchronize your watches
VOCABULARY

Verbs

leetugol  
be late

ñallugol  
be late in the day; do something all day

nibbugol  
be dark; be late at night

hawjugol  
be in a hurry

finugol  
wake up

immagol  
get up

salmingol  
greet

fokkitugol  
start off

heåulagol  
get ready

salmingol  
greet

fokkitugol  
start off

Nouns

waqtu  
on

saa'i  
on

ñalaande  
nden

yontere  
nden

lewwru  
ndun

hitaande  
nden

Prayer times

subaka  
sunrise

fanaa  
early afternoon

alansara  
late afternoon

futuroo  
sunset

geeýe  
nighttime

Time words

hande  
today

jango  
tomorrow

faddi-jango  
day after tomorrow

hanki  
yesterday

hecci-hanki  
day before yesterday

ontuma  
then; at that time

woo  
each; every

kala  
each; every

ado  
before

doo e…  
between now and...

si  
if, when, before

tuma  
when (habitual; future)

nde  
when (future)

fewndo  
sometimes

wonde wonde  
sometimes

saa'i goo  
sometimes

tuma goo  
sometimes

soono woo  
sometimes

kenen  
often

si tawii…  
if it turns out that...

si adii kon…  
first of all...

si dun feyfi…  
after that happens...

kisan  
immediately

don e don  
immediately

jooni jooni  
very soon

Days of the week

Alat  
Sunday

Tenen  
Monday

Talata  
Tuesday

Alarba  
Wednesday

Alkamisa  
Thursday

Juma  
Friday

Asewe  
Saturday

Phrasebook: Time

Ko leer hombo nii?  
What time is it?

Ko saa'í hombo nii?  
What time is it?

Ko waqtu hombo arataa?  
What time will you come?

Ko e subaka mi arata.  
I will come at dawn.

Mi artay e nder balde nayi.  
I'll come back within four days.

A hebule?  
Are you ready?

Clock time

Clock time is always given in French.
Ko leer hombo nii?  
Ko huit heures trente.

However the prayer times (subaka, fanaa, alansara, futuroo, geeýe) are more often used to refer to time when precision is not necessary.

Findinaa piyaa, bonnuno si daaani.
The simple imperfective

The simple imperfective verb form (-a, -oo, -ee) plays a number of roles. We will see the three most common ones now.

### SIMPLE IMPERFECTIVE VERB ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFINITIVE</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ASSERTED</td>
<td>FOCUS/STATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>-ii</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>-ike</td>
<td>-ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-egol</td>
<td>-aama</td>
<td>-aa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- First of all, it is used to express habitual actions. In this role it takes the long (stative) subject pronoun (miðo, hiða, etc).

**Himo** janga Pular ŋaande wu ŋaande. He studies Pular every day.
**Hibe** yaha Labe lewrul kala. They go to Labe every month.

Note that the asserted imperfective (“future”) verb form (-ay, -oto, -ete; see page 57) can also be used to express habitual actions. In this case short pronouns are used (mi, a, etc).

**O** jangay Pular ŋaande wu ŋaande. He studies Pular every day.
**Be** yahay Labe lewrul kala. They go to Labe every month.

The simple imperfective broadly corresponds to the simple present in English:

**Himo** naana Pular. He understands Pular.
**Mido** hiwo mawæe maa. I greet your parents.

- Second, the simple imperfective is used in a sequence of linked actions.

**O** yahay, o soodoy a maafejey, o atra, o defa. She will go and buy vegetables and come back and cook.

This is an interesting structure: notice that the first verb is asserted (-ay), and the rest are simple (-a).

Anytime you have two or more verbs in sequence, you will see this pattern. The same applies for sequences of actions in the imperative.

**Addu**, mi n'daraa. Bring it so I can look at it.
**Okkoran ndyan mi yara.** Give me water to drink.

- Third, the simple imperfective functions as a sort of subjunctive. We translate into French here since English lacks a proper subjunctive.

**Habbo haa** mi looto. Attends jusqu’à ce que je me lave. (Wait until I bathe.)
**O** jabataa mi naata. Il n’accepte pas que j’entre. (He won’t let me come in.)
**Bee** mi yaha kisan. Il faut que j’aille tout de suite. (I must go immediately.)

In other cases the subjunctive in French would be translated by the desiderative (yo + imperative; see page 37).

**Himo faalaa yo a yahu.** Il veut que tu ailles. (He wants you to go.)

CULTURAL NOTES

**Synchronize your watches**

Punctuality is not a particularly important concept in African society. Nevertheless you will find people in the remotest villages who set their watches obsessively with the short-wave radio, and who are fascinated with comparing the time on their watch with the time on other people’s watches.
Saying “when”

The word “when” is not simple to render in Pular. There is a different set of words for talking about past (perfective) events (“When I arrived…”) and future or habitual (imperfective) events (“When I get home…”). We will look at the imperfective forms now; the perfective forms can wait until the next chapter.

The word *si* means both “when” and “if”:

\[ Si \text{ mi hewtoyi, mi ŋamay.} \quad \text{When I get there, I'll eat.} \]

The word *tuma* also means “when” in the future. It takes the focused perfective verb form.

\[ Tuma \text{ hewtoðaa, yahu ka makko.} \quad \text{When you get there, go to his place.} \]

The word *nde* can be used in the same way:

\[ Nde \text{ o arli mi piyay mo.} \quad \text{When he comes back I'll beat him.} \]

The construction *tuma ... woo* means “whenever”:

\[ Tuma \text{ faaladaa yaade woo, mi naåete.} \quad \text{Whenever you want to go, I'll take you.} \]

Putting things into sequence

In Pular, a series of statements in the simple imperfective are assumed to take place in sequence (see above).

\[ Himo \text{ fina law, o lootoo, o itta kooye, o salminaa kawtal.} \quad \text{She gets up early, (then) she bathes, (then) she eats breakfast, (then) she greets her neighbors.} \]

There are several ways to emphasize that one event takes place before another. First, we have the word *si* again:

\[ Mi ŋamay \text{ si mi hoota.} \quad \text{I'll eat before going home.} \]

The word *ado* means “before” as well. It goes with the short progressive verb form (short pronoun + progressive).

\[ Ênaame \text{ ado o arde.} \quad \text{Let's eat before he gets here.} \]
\[ Mi yahay Maamun \text{ ado Tabaski.} \quad \text{I'll go to Mamou between now and Tabaski.} \]

The construction *doo e ...* is used in the same way.

\[ Ênaame \text{ doo e o arde.} \quad \text{Let's eat before he gets here.} \]
\[ Mi yahay Maamun \text{ doo e Tabaski.} \quad \text{I'll go to Mamou between now and Tabaski.} \]

The distantive infix -*oy-*

The distantive infix is different from the other infixes in several respects:

1. It doesn't affect the basic meaning of the verb.
2. It doesn't change the number or type of arguments the verb takes.
3. It can apply, in theory, to any verb.

The -*oy-* infix indicates that the action requires prior physical movement; it can translate the English construction “to go and ...” do something.

\[ O \text{ soodoyi maañeji.} \quad \text{She went and bought vegetables.} \]
\[ Mi jaamooyay Conakry. \quad \text{I'll go to Conakry to teach.} \]
The associative infix -id-

This infix fills in for the words “with” or “together.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Verb</th>
<th>Infixed Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yewtugol</td>
<td>yew'idugol</td>
<td>discuss together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonugol</td>
<td>won'dugol</td>
<td>be with; be together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haalugol</td>
<td>haal'dugol</td>
<td>talk together; negotiate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi'ugol</td>
<td>yi'idugol</td>
<td>see each other; meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahugol</td>
<td>yaadugol</td>
<td>go together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodugol</td>
<td>hod'dugol</td>
<td>live together</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You will notice that the infix often affects the form of the root verb.

**EXCEPTION:** As with the -ir- infix (page 70), the -id- infix takes a different form, -od-, when applied to a reflexive (-agol) verb; the verb then becomes active (-ugol).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Verb</th>
<th>Infixed Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hirtagol</td>
<td>hirt'odugol</td>
<td>eat dinner together</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**EXERCISES**

**A. Name that prayertime.**

- Write the prayertime associated with each picture.

---

**B. Pular → English translation**

- Give English equivalents for the following sentences.

1. En yahay nde Alansara on juulaa.  
   We’ll go as soon as the mid-afternoon prayers are done.

2. O yi’ay mo tuma o yahi ton.

3. Habbo haa mi arta.

4. Muñño haa jango si yahden.

5. Mi jangay si mi waaloo.


7. En artay doo e Futuroo yonude.

8. Naamen doo si naatoyen.

9. Si beyngu an arii, mi ñaamay.
C. They call it stormy Monday...
Write a sentence telling what you do on each day of the week.

1. Sunday
Alat mi do yaha ka luumo.

2. Monday

3. Tuesday

4. Wednesday

5. Thursday

6. Friday

7. Saturday

D. …but Tuesday’s just as bad.
Fill in the blank with the appropriate day of the week.

1. Hande ko Alarba.
   Faddi-jango ko Juma.
   Hanki ko Juma.
   Jango ko Talata.
   Hecci-hanki ko Talata.

2. Hanki ko Juma.
   Hande ko Juma.
   Hecci-hanki ko Juma.
   Jango ko Juma.
   Faddi-jango ko Juma.

   Hande ko Talata.
   Hanki ko Talata.
   Hecci-hanki ko Talata.
   Faddi-jango ko Talata.
E. Your turn to draw the funny pictures

- Illustrate Kajatu’s daily activities.

### Kajatu ko jom suudu (Kajatu is a housewife)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kajatu ko jom suudu.</th>
<th>o julla Subaka,</th>
<th>o ýooga ka woyndu,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Himo hoði Telimele.</td>
<td>o defa ñiiri soyýaari si o dawa maakiti.</td>
<td>Ka maakiti ton, himo yeeya maafeeji, o yewtida e goreeåe makko don.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| o wulnana ndiyan ittirdi kooyé beyngure makko, | o defa ñiiri soyýaari si o dawa maakiti. | Ka maakiti ton, himo yeeya maafeeji, o yewtida e goreeåe makko don. |

F. English → Pular translation

- Render these into Pular as best you can, using the words and structures given in this chapter.

1. She’ll come around dusk and cook.
   - O aray telen Futuroo, o defa.

2. He understands Susu.

3. Say hello to your wife for me.

4. He won’t permit me to go to Labe.

5. He runs every afternoon.

6. Let’s wait until Bubakar gets here.

7. Let me pass.

8. Bring me some rice to eat.

9. He sells cloth in town.
10 Let me talk.

11 Let’s finish before going home.

12 He wants you to eat.

13 Wait until I’ve finished eating.

14 I’ll go to sleep as soon as he leaves.

15 Whenever he comes, he asks for something.

16 Whenever you want to go to Labe, let me know.

G. Togetherness

Rewrite the following sentences using a plural pronoun and the associative infix -id-; then translate.

1 Mi yahii Pita.
   Men yaadii Pita. (WE WENT TOGETHER TO PITA.)

2 O jangli ka lye’e.

3 Miño golla ka labutaani.

4 Ko min ari Maamu.

5 Ko kanko hodi ka takko lekkol.

H. Translation drill

Translate the following sentences into Pular using the words accugol (to allow) or jauggol (to accept) along with the simple imperfective.

1 Let me in!
   Accu mi naat’a.

2 She won’t let him go.

3 Let him eat.

4 They didn’t let them cross the border.

5 He won’t let them sit down.

6 He will let us sleep at his place.
Text 1 [ CEREMONIES ]

Dennaboo, dewgal, faatunde.
(Naming ceremonies, weddings, and funerals.)

Dennaboo

Ko yontere ka debbo on jibini, dennaboo on wadetee. Gila o jibini, o yaltataa. Debbo on no don haa ñande boobo on fembaa. Nden yontere fow, boobo on ko “sanfa” innetee. Musidal ngal e toolodal ngal fow hollitete ko ñalaande honde woni dennaboo on.

Jooni non, ko hande yonti. Hanki kiikiide, rewbe kawtal ngal fow moobondiri fii hebulanagol dennaboo on. Cobbal unaa, ñi’e defaa.

Jooni saa’i on fewndike. Futuube ben e musibbe ben fow hewti. Almaami juulirde nden ari.

Ko baalii maa mbeewa hirsetee fii innugol boobo on.


Si boobo on innaama, ñi’e den sendee ñamee, goro on e cobbal ngal senndee.

Arooøe dennaboo ben adda gude maa kaalisi maa saabunde. Dun doo fow ko fii yumma boobo on e ben boobo on.

Si fow lannii, futuube gorko on yaha ka musibbe debbo on nañugol innde boobo on. Be adda teewu e kaalisi e goro, be teddinira be innde nden.

In this chapter

Vocabulary
- Phrasebook: Naming ceremonies
- Phrasebook: Weddings
- Phrasebook: Funerals
- Phrasebook: Holidays

Grammar
- The benefactive infix -an-
- The causative infix -in-
- Participles
- The true adjectives
- Subordination

Cultural Notes
- Gifts at ceremonies

Key Words
- goddo – goo
- gooto
- jibingol – give birth
- gila – from the time
- fembugol – shave
- sanfa – unnamed baby
- toolodal – community
- hollitugol – inform
- yontugol – complete a week
- kawtal – neighborhood
- moobondigol – gather together
- hebulagol – get ready
- cobbal – treat made of rice and honey
- ñiiri (pl. ñi’e) – cooked grain
- feñndagol – be present
- futuube – relatives on one side
- feññinoowo – announcer
- hunagol – explain one’s reason for coming
- innitirgol – name after
- sendugol – divide up
- goro – kola nuts
- wudere (pl. gude) – sheet of cloth
- teddingol – respect, honor
Dewgal

Ko adii kon ko fii yamal. Fii yamal, ko musibbe gorko on torotoo musibbe debbo on. Si be jabi goro e boggi e landan nabee. Si neebii seeda, be humpitoon fii makko. Ontuma dewgal ngal habbee hakkunde mabbe.

Si tawi tiggugol ngol heyttii, futuube ben addora wudere haddeteende e dolokke daneero e tigaare raneere e dadorgol. Fow aray ka suudu yaye maa ka suudu yumma jombaajo on.

Be loota jomba on, be borna mo, be fawa tigaare nden ka hoore makko. Tuma jombaajo on addaa haa ka dambugal, musibbe gorko on yetta jombaajo on, bamba mo.

Tuma jombaajo on yaltarinaa, be dowta mo ka galle gorko makko on. Si heyttii ton, be fia, be naama.

Si jombaajo on naatii ka suudu moodi makko, be fella loowande. Bimbi, si ko o jiwo, futuube ben ama be weltoo. Be inna, “O hersinaali mawwe ben.”

Be addida jombaajo on e conci e kanne e kaalis e miranji e piiji buy. Si dun feyyi, be dowtita mo ka galle moodi makko.

Faatunde

Si maybe waddii e galle, ko ko yimbe ben wullata kon noddata kawtal ngal. Si maybe waddi wanaa haaju beynguure nden tun, ko haaju hoddiibe ben e saare nden fow. Yimbe ben iway nokkeeli din fow. Si yimbe ben arii, ko mawbe ben lootata furee on. Si ko debbo maayi ko rewbe ben lootata. Ko worbe ben jasata qaburu on ka berde. Si qaburu on gaynana jaseede, furee on juule doo yo o surre.
**Vocabulary**

**Phrasebook: Naming ceremonies**

- **Yo Alla wurnu boobo on barkina.**
  May the baby live long and be blessed.
- **Yo Alla wadumo mawdoo.**
  May (s)he grow to be old.
- **Yo Alla wadumo nafoowoo.**
  May (s)he be useful.
- **Yo Alla feunumo.**
  May (s)he be upright.
- **Kori a hettike e jam?**
  Did you deliver without difficulty?
- **Kori a tampaali fota?**
  I hope you didn’t suffer much?
- **Kori boobo on no e jam?**
  I hope the baby is well?
- **Kori neene boobo on no e jam?**
  I hope the mother is well?

**Phrasebook: Weddings**

- **Yo Alla tawu ko jom balde torii jom balde.**
  May God make us witness for years to come.
- **Yo Alla jodinirbe jiidi e jawdi.**
  May God provide children and wealth.

**Phrasebook: Funerals**

- **Men torike on muññagol.**
  We beg you to hold up.
- **Kori on muññike?**
  Are you holding up?
- **No yurmi!**
  It’s sad!
- **Yo Alla hinn mo yaafoo.**
  May God forgive her/him.
- **Yo Alla okku mo aljanna.**
  May (s)he be accepted into heaven.
- **Yo on booyu mo sakkanaade.**
  May you live long to offer sacrifices for her/him.
- **Yo Alla dandu en wano mun.**
  May God protect us from such a thing.

**Phrasebook: Holidays**

- **Kori on juuli e jam?**
  Did you pray in peace?
- **Alla tawnii en hikka, yo Alla tawnu en ko arata.**
  God saw us through to this year, may he see us through to the next.

---

**Grammar**

**The benefactive infix -an-**

This infix often takes the place of the word “for” in English.

- **Mi yoobay mo.**
  I will pay him.
- **Mi yoobanay mo.**
  I will pay for him.
- **Mi yahay ton.**
  I’ll go there.
- **Mi yahannay mo ton.**
  I’ll go for him there. (I’ll go get him).
- **Mido gollude.**
  I am working.
- **Mido goollande mo.**
  I am working for him.

The object is usually, but not always, human.

- **Aamn deftere maa.**
  Come get your book.

It is often used with verbs of communication.

- **haalugol** talk  **haalangol goodo** talk to someone
- **windugol** write  **windangol goodo** write to someone
The causative infix -in-

This infix is very widely used. It turns an idle, intransitive verb into a causative one.

- andugol to know andingol to inform someone (to cause someone to know)
- wulugol to be hot wulugol to heat something (to cause something to be hot)
- hubdugol to be on fire hubdugol to light something on fire
- waalagol to lie down wallingol to lay something down
- hersugol to be ashamed hersingol to shame or embarrass someone
- yobugol to pay yobingol to charge someone money

It is often used figuratively.

- feelugol to appear feelugol to announce
- teddugol to be happy teddugol to accord respect
- feewugol to be straight feewugol to bring up correctly

It is not always easy to recognize the causative infix, as it often messes with the verb root:

- hulugol to fear hulbingol to frighten
- jangugol to study jangingol to teach
- heewugol to be full heebingol to fill
- sumugol to burn (oneself) sumingol to burn something

In can also create a stative verb from an active one.

- jalugol to laugh Himo jal Hima is funny.
- aanugol to worry No aan It's worrying.

Participles

A participle is a noun or adjective made by tacking a noun class ending onto a verb form. Consider the word juutugol, “one who is tall” (from juutugol, “to be tall”). As an adjective, it can modify a noun:

Ko o debbo juutuðo She is a tall woman.

Or it can stand alone as a noun:

Ko o jutudo. She is tall (person).

The form of the participle depends on the type of the verb (-ugol, -agol, -egol).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>-ado</td>
<td>-ooowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>-ield</td>
<td>-otooyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-egol</td>
<td>-aado</td>
<td>-etoodo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are for the on class.

CULTURAL NOTES

Gifts at ceremonies

You should bring a gift to naming ceremonies, weddings, funerals, etc. Cash is usually your best bet: it’s easy to carry, it’s always welcome, and you don’t have to worry about unintended symbolism. A thousand francs or two is usually appropriate.

Text 1 [ CEREMONIES ]
The words for many occupations are participles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Related Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jangugol</td>
<td>jangoowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeeyugol</td>
<td>yeeyoowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ano’ugol</td>
<td>ano’oowo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The true adjectives

Most adjectives in Pular are participles of a verb (juutudo, etc.) as we have just seen. There are a handful of adjectives, however, that do not come from any verb; rather, the associated verb—if there is one—seems to be derived from the adjective. Some common ones are listed to the right.

Unlike participles, which are regular and predictable in form, adjectives vary unpredictably from class to class: not only does the ending change, but the initial consonant as well. Let’s look at the adjective gooto (“one”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Related Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>golloowo</td>
<td>one worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareru wooturu</td>
<td>one dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gertogal gootal</td>
<td>one chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danki wooti</td>
<td>one bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And here’s the adjective keso (“new”).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Related Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jannooowo keso</td>
<td>new teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deltere heyre</td>
<td>new book</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karambol kesol</td>
<td>new pen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No problem, right? This is what they mean when they say “Le Pular est très riche.” Maybe after you’ve spent ten years or so in the Fuuta you’ll have them all figured out. If you’re interested there’s an exhaustive table, with all forms for several common adjectives, on page 117.

Subordination

As we’ve just seen, a participle in Pular can stand in for a whole subordinate clause in English.

bareeru humaandu ndun the dog that was tied up

In a more complex clause, the participle and the article (e.g. humaandu … ndun) can bracket additional information.

bareeru humaandu gaa ndun the dog that was tied up here

bareeru humaandu gaat hanki ndun the dog that was tied up here yesterday

There is no such thing as a negative participle. We use a pronoun and the article (ndu … ndun) to bracket the clause.

bareeru ndu humaaka ndun the dog that wasn’t tied up

For nouns in the on class, the form is mo … on.

debbo mo yahaali on the woman who didn’t go

For some classes the pronoun and the article bracketing the phrase are identical (see page 58).

gertogal ngal hirsaka ngal the chicken that wasn’t slaughtered

ndiyen dan hibbaali dan the water that didn’t spill

The same structure is used when the clause has its own subject (notice that in this case the verb is in focus form).

bareeru ndu Yaya humi ndun the dog that Yaya tied up

gerto ngal be hirsata jango ngal the chicken that they will slaughter tomorrow

Ancient Wisdom of the Fulbe

Fenaande ñappay kono ñuwataa.

A lie builds a roof that gives no shade.
If the clause refers to something that is not specified, we don’t know its class so we use ko … kon as brackets.

**Ko** o soodi **kon** moyyaa.  
*What he bought is no good.*

If the clause refers to a place or a time, we use ka … don or ka … ton.

**Ka** o yahi **ton** no woddi.  
*Where he went to is far away.*

**Mi** andaa saa’i **ka** o hewti **don**.  
*I don’t know the time he arrived.*

The end bracket (or definite article) is left off if the sentence is indefinite.

Bareeru **humaandum** nagataa waandu.  
*A tied-up dog catches no monkeys.*

Wata a hanaamu teew **ngu** defaka.  
*Don’t eat meat that hasn’t been cooked*.

Wata gerto yaw **ko** hocata.  
*A chicken shouldn’t sneer at what it gathers.*

**Mi** andaa **ka** be wod.  
*I don’t know where they are.*

Neebii **ka** mi fini.  
*It’s been a while since I woke up.*

---

**EXERCISES**

---

**A. Matching, part 1**

Next to each of the following expressions, write **F** for faatunde (funeral), **D** for dennaboo (naming ceremony), or **P** for peera (wedding), according to the ceremony to which it is appropriate.

1. Yo Alla hinno mo yaafoo.  
2. Kori boobo on no e jam?  
3. Kori neene boobo on no e jam?  
4. Yo Alla joddfinirbe jiidi e jawdi.  
5. Kori a tampaaal fota?  
6. Yo Alla okku mo aljanna.  
7. Kori on munñike?  
8. Yo on booyu mo sakkanaade.  
9. Men torike on munñagol.  
10. Yo Alla tawu ko jom balde torii jom balde.  
11. Yo Alla wadumo nafoowo.  
12. No yurmi!  
14. Yo Alla wurnu boobo on barkina.  
15. Kori a hettike e jam?
B. Participles and adjectives

Write the following in Pular.

1. happy man  
   gorks meltidö

2. fat woman

3. ugly dog

4. tall Portos

5. solid car

6. good driver

7. black dog

8. new teacher

9. big candle

10. short woman

11. white kitten

12. little jar

13. hungry girl

14. old clothes

15. skinny child

C. Matching, part 2

Match the Pular phrase with its English equivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coonci wonndi ka siyon din</td>
<td>cuudi ñappiradit hudo din</td>
<td>debbo arnoodo gaa on</td>
<td>galle daridade ka tumfo saare den</td>
<td>laawol yahangol Labe ngol</td>
<td>mbeewa humaamba ka yaasi mban</td>
<td>nagge hirsetenjına jango ngen</td>
<td>ndiyän wonndän ka woyndu dan</td>
<td>ñiiri wonndi ka neder fayande din</td>
<td>payane waðorde naseele den</td>
<td>paykoy yahynookoy ka saare koy</td>
<td>paykun piyaakun ka lekkol kun</td>
<td>suka wujjudo kaalisi an on</td>
<td>yimbe yahaybe Dalaba ñen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>the children who were going to town</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>the child who was beaten at school</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>the clothes in the bucket</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>the cow to be slaughtered tomorrow</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>the goat tied up outside</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>the house built in the middle of town</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>the huts with thatch roofs</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>the kid who stole my money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>the teacher who will come next year</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>the trail to Somba</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>the children playing under the tree</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>the oil in the bottle</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>the sauce in the kitchen</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>the road to Labe</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>the water in the well</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>the men sitting outside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Translation drill, part 1

Now follow the same pattern to translate the following into Pular.

1. the dog that bit me  
   bareen yakku noorundu la ñaandu

2. the teacher who will come next year

3. the trail to Somba

4. the children playing under the tree

5. the oil in the bottle

6. the sauce in the kitchen

7. the men sitting outside
E. Matching, part 3

Match the Pular phrase with its English equivalent.

1. boggol ngol mi humirno mbeewa mban ngol
   - a. the kid I kicked out of class

2. debbo mo aaraali hanki on
   - b. the book I gave you

3. debbo mo mi jaáñnyoono Conakry on
   - c. the story I heard on the radio

4. deftere nde hoolunodommi nden
   - d. the student that didn’t get up

5. deftere nde mi jonnuma nden
   - e. the water you washed the house with

6. dontoñal ngal hirsaska ngal
   - f. The woman I was to meet in Conakry

7. goreebe an be mi wonduno ka lycée ben
   - g. the book you showed me

8. jiwo mo jonunuoomi deftere on
   - h. the cow you brought us

9. kaalisi mo mi hawlunoona on
   - i. the friends I went to lycée with

10. kaydi ndi jonnunoomi ndin
    - j. the stick I beat the dog with

11. labarki ki mi fembortono kin
    - k. the girl I gave the book to

12. lekkoñal mo immaaki on
    - l. the money I lent you

13. nagge nge addannodon men ngen
    - m. the monkey that didn’t die

14. ndiyan dan lootirða suudu ndun dan
    - n. the paper you gave me

15. paykun kun mi yaltini ka klaas kun
    - o. the razor I used to shave with

16. sawru ndu mi piiruno bareeru ndun ndun
    - p. the rooster that wasn’t slaughtered

17. taalol ngol mi hedin ka radio ngol
    - q. the rope I had tied the goat up with

18. waandu ndu mayaali ndun
    - r. the woman that didn’t come yesterday

F. Substitution drill

Write new sentences based on the model, changing only the noun given (and its class markers).

1. deftere
deftere nde mi jonnuna nden

2. gertogal
gertogal ngal mi jonnuna ngal

3. dolokke

4. kaalisi

5. barehun

6. mangoore

7. lekki

8. nebban

9. karambol

10. tiga

Again.

1. leemuneere
leemuneere nde okkudammi nden

2. labi
labi ki okkudammi kin

3. jiwo

4. naariiru

5. fiiri

6. bagi

7. pade

8. basalle

9. nagge

10. maaro
### G. My one and only

Write the correct form of **gooto** ("one" or "the same") for each noun and then write a possible English meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Correct Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bareeru</td>
<td><em>bareeru</em></td>
<td>ONE DOG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ndiyan</td>
<td><em>ndiyan</em></td>
<td>THE SAME WATER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>coggu</td>
<td><em>coggu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>hände</td>
<td><em>hände</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>woofonde</td>
<td><em>woofonde</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>gertogal</td>
<td><em>gertogal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>faybe</td>
<td><em>faybe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sariya</td>
<td><em>sariya</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>paykun</td>
<td><em>paykun</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>golle</td>
<td><em>golle</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>bireediwal</td>
<td><em>bireediwal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>deftere</td>
<td><em>deftere</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>neene</td>
<td><em>neene</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>lekkol</td>
<td><em>lekkol</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>jiwo</td>
<td><em>jiwo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>nebban</td>
<td><em>nebban</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>yontere</td>
<td><em>yontere</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>lafi</td>
<td><em>lafi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>nagge</td>
<td><em>nagge</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>rewbe</td>
<td><em>rewbe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>barehoy</td>
<td><em>barehoy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>caangol</td>
<td><em>caangol</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>ńariiru</td>
<td><em>ńariiru</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>fello</td>
<td><em>fello</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>beyngu</td>
<td><em>beyngu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>cuurun</td>
<td><em>cuurun</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>jullere</td>
<td><em>jullere</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>feetudo</td>
<td><em>feetudo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>suudu</td>
<td><em>suudu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>naange</td>
<td><em>naange</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### H. Translation drill, part 2

Translate the following into Pular.

1. They don't speak the same language.

2. The same dogs killed both of these goats.

3. I caught one rooster.

4. There’s not a single stream between Maali and Larewel.

5. They come from the same village.
6 I only have one mouth.

7 We drink the same water as you.

8 They slept in the same bed.

9 We dreamt the same dream last night.

10 We all live in the same house.
Fii nafa jeyeede.
(The advantages of being owned.)

This is an example of a taalol—a fable or tall tale, often involving animals, and often concluding with a moral. The moral of this story is that being someone’s property is not such a bad thing. One wonders if the Fulbe nobility told this story to their maccube (slaves) to lift their spirits.

Abdalla Diallo has compiled nineteen taali, which make an excellent study tool (see page iv). This story was taken from Sitta Nde Dawi Wowti Jamnde, a literacy manual in Pular (Labe: Mission Protestante, 1992).

Ko sari e nagge yeddondirnoo fii jeyeede e angal jeyeede ko hondun buri. Ko wonno sabu dun, ko sari arnoo tawi ka nge saanaa don hudo duu daa, kadi haako ko nge addananoo kon lannii.


Nagge ngen hayli hoore, inni: “En fotti goy. Kono jooni yahu tun. Min non, mido siki sitta jeyeede edii angal jeyeede, kono a faamoyay ontuma.”


Tawi kure buy naatii e mayre: godde ka baawo, godde ka koyngal baawoval. Nagge ngen inni: “Si hida jeyanoo, goddo suusataano fellude ma.”

Talking about the past

We have seen that verb forms in Pular are not as unambiguous about time as they are in English. Now we will look at two ways to situate an action firmly in the past.

1. The simplest way to do this is to place the function word hari before the verb form. This is particularly useful with stative, locative, and progressive sentences:

   hari miðo weltii.  I was happy.
   hari hibe gaa.     They were here.
   hari miðo jangude. I was studying.

   Hari can be used with other verbs forms to indicate that the action takes place prior to a subsequent event, or has been superseded by a later event, or has no connection to the present.

   hari o araali.    He hadn't come (yet).
   hari himo ara ñande woo. He used to come every day.
   hari ko kanko yahata. It was he that would have gone.
   hari ko andaa ðun. I didn't know that.

   The word tawi (see page 104) is similar in use to hari:

   tawi o alaa ton. (As it turns out) he wasn't there.
   tawi o alaa ton. (We found that) he wasn't there.

   The difference is subtle: with tawi, an observer is implied, whereas with hari a simple statement of fact is being made.

2. Another way to move events into the past is to use the preterite verb forms with the -no- marker.

   Most verb forms we have can be marked for past this way; we'll look at a few constructions that require this marker. For the rest, it is easier to use hari.

   The -no- marker is often used with time words:

   Hande mi yahuno ka saare.  I've gone to town today.
   Mi yahuno Conakry hikka.     I haven't gone to Conakry this year.

   Questions involving recently completed actions use it:

   Ko honto o yahuno? Where had she gone?

   (The implication is that she is back.)

   The no marker is also necessary to talk about things that could have happened, but didn't—along with their consequences. (There is also an example of this in the text.)

   Si mi arano, mi y'ataano ma. If I hadn't come, I wouldn't have seen you.
   Si o yahiino, o soodayno bireedi. If he had gone, he would have bought bread.
Class pronouns

We have learned to use the class appropriate articles (bareeru ndun) and demonstratives (nduu bareeru). Every pronoun form we have seen for people (possessive, independent, etc.) also has a set of forms appropriate to each class. This means that there are an awful lot of different pronoun forms out there (see the table on page 116). Don’t let this worry you, though; if you can master all the forms for one frequently-used noun class—say, for ndun or ngal—the rest will come more naturally.

The following examples are all in the ndun class and could refer, for instance, to a dog (bareeru).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ON CLASS</th>
<th>NDUN CLASS</th>
<th>EXAMPLE (NDUN CLASS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVE SUBJECT PRONOUN</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>ndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT PRONOUN</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>ndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATIVE SUBJECT PRONOUN</td>
<td>himo</td>
<td>hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERROGATIVE</td>
<td>hombo</td>
<td>hondu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>kanko</td>
<td>kayru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSIVE</td>
<td>makko</td>
<td>mayru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The aliative pronoun

The aliative pronoun (from the Latin alius, “other”) is used when two items are being discussed, and one has already been referred to, to refer to the second one. It roughly means “the other one.”

Aliu no gaa kono oya araali taho. Aliou is here but the other guy hasn’t come yet.
Mi nangii ngal gertogal doo, kono ngala laawike. I caught this chicken, but the other one got away.
Ko dama ndiyin buri laabude. That other water is cleaner.

In the plural, it refers to a group of items.

Ko honto koya ñaarìhi hoy woni? Where are the other kittens?

It can be used when someone or something’s name doesn’t come to mind.

Ko honto oya woni? Where’s what’s-his-face?
Mi yejitiì duma an ka taxi. I left my whatchamacallit in the taxi.

Duma, the aliative pronoun in the dun class, is an interesting case; it can stand in for any noun. It is so useful that it has taken on a life of its own: it has its own plural (dumaaji) and diminutives (dumahun, dumahoy). It has also produced a verb, dumanagol, which can stand in for any verb that doesn’t come to mind. The question duma dumanie? can be maddeningly vague, or it can be absolutely unambiguous, depending on the situation.

The narrative verb form

The narrative uses the same verb endings (-i, -ii, -aa) we learned for the stative (where they take a long pronoun, as in himo sembi) and for the focus (where they go with ko and a short pronoun, as in ko ka saare o yahi). The narrative takes the short pronoun.

Nge yahì seeda nii… (The cow) went a little ways…
Lifted out of the context of the story, the same sentence would be in the asserted.

Nge yahìi seeda nii. (The cow) went a little ways.

For -ugol verbs, the difference between the narrative (nge yahì) and the asserted (nge yahìi) is not very noticeable; it is clearer for -agol verbs (nge haynìi instead of nge haynìe) and -egol verbs (nge faalaa instead of nge faalaaama).

The narrative and the asserted perfective are both used to describe past events; the narrative, as the name suggests, is used in telling a story or recounting a sequence of events.
A. I think I can

- Write the following sentences in Pular, using the verb **sikkugol** (to think).

1. I think he'll come tomorrow.
   Mi sikkugol ko jango o arata.

2. Do you think I'm an idiot?

3. I doubt if they'll go.

4. Please forgive me, I thought you were French.

5. He thinks he's smart.

6. You'd think he was born here.

7. I thought she wasn't married.

8. Perhaps you're working?

9. He says he'll pay me tomorrow, but I doubt it.

10. You'd think he was at his own house.
B. The other one

- Write the correct alitative pronoun (oya, etc.) before each word. If you’re really into it, give a simple Pular sentence for each word and give its meaning.

1. nduya bareeru
   - Nduya bareeru ýakkii lan. (THE OTHER DOG BIT ME.)

2. teew
   - 

3. fayande
   - 

4. baaafal
   - 

5. jiwbe
   - 

6. maakiti
   - 

7. lemuneere
   - 

8. otowal
   - 

9. ngesa
   - 

10. koyngal
    - 

11. debbo
    - 

12. cofun
    - 

13. ndiyán
    - 

14. saabiwal
    - 

15. golloofe
    - 

16. juulirde
    - 

17. paykoy
    - 

18. karamoko
    - 

19. galle
    - 

20. taalol
    - 

C. Class pronouns

- Replace the underlined words with the appropriate class pronoun (subject/object, stative, independent, or possessive).

1. Mi yi’ali bareeru maa hande.
   - Mi yi’aali ndu hande.

2. Ko nduu bareeru ýaaki lan.
   - Ko kayr u ýa k k i l an.

3. Bareeru maa no kaani.
   - Hindu kaani.

4. Jom bareeru piyii ndu.
   - Jom mayr u piyii ndu.

5. Ngal ðatal yahataa Silgeme.


7. Ko ngal gertogal be neldi lan.

8. Ko honto ñaariru ndun yahi?

9. Dan ndiyán no wojji cos.
D. Passive sentences

Remove the following sentence to the past using either hari or the -no- marker. Give the English for both sentences.

1. Miðo yahude ka fulawa.
   Hari miðo yahude ka fulawa.
   I AM GOING TO THE COUNTRY.
   I WAS GOING TO THE COUNTRY.

2. O sikkaa si o yahay.
   O sikkano si o yahay.
   HE'S NOT SURE HE'LL GO.
   HE WASN'T SURE HE WOULD GO.

3. Himo duudi arsike.

4. Mi wawataa Pular.

5. Mi sikk ko a Faransejo.

6. Duma dumanike?

7. Ko honto yahuđaa?

8. Hibe mari jawle buy.


10. Ko min jogii saabiwal ngal.

11. Miðo lootoo ñande woo ñande.

12. O sooday sukkar.
Ko beyngure kala haani andude fii laabal.

*(What every family should know about hygiene.)*

This text is from the Pular version of *Savoir pour Sauver*, a basic health manual that has been translated into several local languages. *Andugol fii Dunugol* (trans. Aliou Diallo and Abdourahmane Diallo. Conakry: Service National d’Alphabetisation, 1995)

Soodorgol ndiyan e saabunde waray mikoroobuuni gasaydi maraade e bandu ndun. Ko dun hadata di wonde e ñaametee e naatugol majji ka hunduko. Beyngure kala no haani jogaade ndiyan laabudan e saabunde fii no fow lootira juude e mun.

No hitti fota ka juude dën soodoree ndiyan e saabunde, nde ooitigi iwitiri ka hurgo maa ado o ñaamude e kadi nde ooitig gayniri labbingol paykun maa boobo resiido. No hitti kadi ka ooitig loota juude mun si o meemii ñaameteeji di defaka.

Feere burne mooyände, danda beyngure fii hebugol mikoroobuuni dën, ko hawkovygo resaajì di ka haani ton. Yimbe ñen no waawi ñennude koy kulloy si koy hewtii ka ndiyan, ka ñaametee, ka juude, e ka defetee don.

Beyngure nden no haani loowugol ndiyan yareetedan dën e ndere miran laabudo ombotoodo.

Hay si ndiyan dën no laabi, e kene hiddan ara wondude e mikoroobuuni. Ndiyan burdan laabude dën ko ndiyan iwdan e pompi. Si hawrii ko ka candì maa ka boyli dën wi, ko hassi kon haray hiddan wondi e mokoroobu.

Ko fatingol ndiyan dën warata mikoroobuuni dën. Ko yo dën fatine, dan buttinee, woni ko e caangol, maa e woyndu, maa e pompi dën yooga.

Ñaameteeji di defaka dìn, kenen haray no wondi e mikoroobuuni. Haray bee di lootee maa di defee.

The short question form

A subordinate clause (see page 91) can stand alone as a question.

Mi andaa ka o yahi. I don't know where she went. (CLAUSE)
Ka o yahi? Where'd she go? (QUESTION)

This is perhaps a more brusque way of asking a question; in this case Ko hont o yahi? is possibly a more polite way.

Ko faalada? What do you want?
Ko hadunoda arde? Why didn't you come? (literally, What prevented you from coming?)
Ka yahunoda? Where'd you go?

Haray and Hara

As we have seen (page 98), hari can be used to situate a clause firmly in the past. A related word, haray, is used to make predictions, although it doesn’t mark the future as unambiguously as hari marks the past. Perhaps it is best translated as “probably.”

Haray mi artaali. I probably won't have returned
Haray himo ton. He is probably there.
Haray himo jangude. He is probably studying.

Harayno is used to mark things that could have happened, but didn’t.

Si a yahano, harayno moýýaa. If you hadn’t gone, it would have been bad.

Hara can indicate two things happening at once:

O yahi hara himo andi åe alaa ton. She went knowing they weren’t there.

Or, if the following clause is negative, it can indicate something happening without something else taking place.

Addu ndiyan, hara a hibbaali ðan. Bring the water without spilling it.

It can also be used to say “but” or “however” in the place of kono.

Mi yahay hara wonaa hande. I’ll go, but not today.

EXERCISES

A. Don’t get short with me

Rewrite the following questions using the short question form. Translate the question if you want.

1. Ko honto yahataa?
   Ka yahataa? (WHERE ARE YOU GOING?)

2. Ko honto Usmani woni?

3. Ko hondun wi’umoda?

---

1 In rapid speech, you will hear Ko hannoda arde?
4 Ko honfùn wonuda e ñaamuđe?

5 Ko fii honfùn a halanaali lan?

6 Ko honto iwruđaa?

B. Review: Strange plurals

The following words are all plurals. Match each plural with its corresponding singular below, and note the English meaning to the left of the singular word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pete</th>
<th>galeeji</th>
<th>taali</th>
<th>cuudi</th>
<th>hobbe</th>
<th>bolle</th>
<th>budde</th>
<th>wuybe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca'e</td>
<td>jonte</td>
<td>kaaki</td>
<td>be'i</td>
<td>ybbe</td>
<td>kaafa</td>
<td>beygauli</td>
<td>gese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelle</td>
<td>payane</td>
<td>lebbi</td>
<td>laawi</td>
<td>date</td>
<td>lambe</td>
<td>kodooli</td>
<td>candi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cofey</td>
<td>nippi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**STORY**


**KEY WORDS**

**bee / maa**

**haanugol / fotugol**

In English, we have a number of ways to say something is obligatory or desirable: “I must,” “I have to,” “I need to,” “I should,” “I ought to,” etc.

In Pular there are also several choices. The following are ordered from strongest to weakest obligation.

**Bee** and **maa** are interchangeable, and express strong obligation.

**Bee mi yaha.**
I must go.

**Maa mi lootoo.**
I must wash.

Notice that the verb is in the simple imperfective (-a, -oo, -ee; see page 81).

**Haanugol** means to be normal or appropriate.

**Mido haanu yiyaade.**
I should go.

**Woo a haanu tiggude njatigi maa.**
They say you shouldn’t marry your girlfriend.

**Hiđa haanunoo daraade.**
You should have stopped.

**Fotugol** means “nice” or “pretty,” and also “appropriate.”

**Mido foti yiyaade.**
I ought to go.

**Hiđa fotunoo daraade.**
You ought to have stopped.

**Faalegol** (“to want,” can also mean “to need.”

**Mi faaalaama yiyaade.**
I need to go.

The imperative can be turned on oneself as well.

**Yo mi yahu.**
I should go.
C. Obligations

Translate the following into Pular.

1. I have to go home.

   Be mi hosta.

2. You shouldn’t have said that.

3. They say we should plant corn now.

4. You should have talked to me.

5. I need to eat.

6. He should have gone to Conakry.

7. You ought to pay him back.

8. A man shouldn’t beat his wife.

D. Translation drill

Use haray and hara to translate the following.

1. It’s probably the wind.

2. When ou get back I’ll be gone.

3. I went to Labe without passing by Yamberen.

4. If you hadn’t gone, he would have been angry.

5. He went by without greeting me.

6. You probably can’t.

7. He’s probably at school.

8. He bought it without talking to me.

9. He went to Fougou carrying a bundle on his head.

10. You left without saying goodbye.
Almaami sakkitoro on.
(The last Almaami.)

The Fulbe have a strong tradition of oral history. Accounts of the history of the Fuuta Jallon theocracy are remarkably consistent over time and from one end of the Fuuta to the other.

This text, taken from Alhajji Malaaðo Baame Kuree’s oral history of the Fuuta Jallon, recounts how Buubakar Biro, the last Almaami, came to power. The reigning Almaami had just died; the chiefs of the nine provinces favored Buubakar Biro’s half-brother, Mammadu Paate, who was weaker and would have likely let them do as they pleased. Buubakar Biro bullied the elders into crowning him anyway, he then defeated Mammadu Paate’s armies in Timbo, the capital, and hunted down his own brother and killed him.

His victory was short-lived, though; the provincial chiefs conspired with the French against him, defeating him at Poredaka in 1896. Of course, they found before long that they had given away the kingdom to a far less accommodating power.

Almaami Donjol Feelaa faatii e 1889. Lontagol be satti fota ka Soriyaa. Tawi ko gedalbe Almaami Umaru ben lontotoo.

Moodi Mamadu Paate e Abdulaahi Dookire mo mabbe, hawri ko yumma gooto. Buubakar Biro ko mo neene feere. Tawi yumma ondon ko taaraajo inneteed Jaarii’u.

No Fuuta surrino Almaami Donjol Feelaa, lambe diiwe den e mawbe Timbo ben tumbindiri gedalbe Almaami Umaru ben. Be inni yo be fottu, be suboo goddo e mabbe ko lontoo. Be andintini be non wonde Moodi Mamadu Paate ko kañun woni mawdo on.

Bayti tawi kambe, ko Moodi Mamadu Paate burani be, bayti si ko on laamii, ko ko be faalaa ko dun be huuwata e nder Fuuta.

Buubakar Biro andini be le wonde kanko doo, himo faalaa laamu ngun. Be inni yo o accan koto makko, kanko o wona miññiraawo Almaami on. O jaabii wonde kanko o accantaa hay gooto laamu, kanko e koto makko hiibe fota e laamu ngun, ko sahindingo e oo laamoto.

Tawi non, Fuuta fow no andi Buubakar Biro. Himo woowi yaadude e baaba en makko ka jihaadi. Himo nandi e ngayuuri ka tagudi; si o wadiino hito, a innay kanji unsii.


Almaami Buubakar Biro wonti Timbo. Fuuta fow huli, rewi be.
Reference Tables

Table 1. Comprehensive chart of verb endings

This table may seem complicated, but it's a lot simpler than, say, the book *501 French Verbs*. The verbal system in Pular has no irregular verbs and no conjugation; so these endings are the only ones you ever need to learn. And most of what you need to know is in the top half of the table (“standard endings”).

If this table seems a little abstract, compare it to the next few pages, where we give examples in Pular and English of every usage of every verb form here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USE</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INFINITIVE</td>
<td>ASSERTED</td>
<td>SIMPLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with active pronoun (mi, a, etc.)</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>focal; narrative</td>
<td>contextual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with stative pronoun (mido, hida, etc.)</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Inverted and imperative forms are given for the pronouns “you” singular (a), “we” inclusive (en), and “you” plural (on), in that order.

2. Verbs ending in -ugol have separate negative forms for the stative (-aa as in o mojíaa) and for the active perfective (-aali as in o yahaaali). For -agol and -egol verbs there is no difference between the stative and active negative forms.
### Table 2. Examples of the most common verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOSRM</th>
<th>USE</th>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>REFLEXIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>-egol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFINITIVE</td>
<td>verbal/noun</td>
<td>yahugol</td>
<td>lootagol</td>
<td>piyegol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSERTED</td>
<td>active (past)</td>
<td>o yahili</td>
<td>o lootike</td>
<td>o piyamaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMPLE</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>himo yahi</td>
<td>himo lootii</td>
<td>himo piyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka saare o yahi</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootii</td>
<td>ko ka lekkol o piyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sequential (narrative)</td>
<td>o imike, o yahi</td>
<td>o imike, o lootii</td>
<td>o imike, o piyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>o yahaali</td>
<td>o lootaaaki</td>
<td>o piyaaaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERFECTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERFECTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOCUS</td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka saare o yahata</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o loototoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekkol o piyette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it's to town that she'll go</td>
<td>it's at home that she's washing herself</td>
<td>it's at school that he'll be beaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it's to town that she's going</td>
<td>it's at home that she's washing herself</td>
<td>it's at school that he is beaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>o yahataaa</td>
<td>o lootataakoo</td>
<td>o piyetaakoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>yahu!</td>
<td>lootoo!</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIDERATIVE</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
<td>woo yo o yahu</td>
<td>woo yo o lootoo</td>
<td>woo yo o piye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Active verbs; standard endings**
### Examples of the most common verb forms (continued)

#### Active verbs; preterite endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>USE</th>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>REFLEXIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ugol</td>
<td>-agol</td>
<td>-egol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFINITIVE</td>
<td>verbal</td>
<td>yahugol</td>
<td>lootagol</td>
<td>piyegol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>to wash oneself</td>
<td>to be beaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSERTED</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>o yahĩno</td>
<td>o lootinooke</td>
<td>o piyanooma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(past)</td>
<td>she had gone</td>
<td>she had washed herself</td>
<td>he had been beaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMPLE</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>himo yahunoo</td>
<td>himo lootinoo</td>
<td>himo piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko ka saare o yahunoo</td>
<td>it was to town that she’d gone</td>
<td>it was at home that she’d washed herself</td>
<td>it was at school that he’d been beaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko ka suudu o lootinoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
<td>ko ka lekke o piyanoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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#### REFERENCE TABLES 111
### Examples of the most common verb forms (continued)

#### Stative verbs; standard endings

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### Stative verbs; preterite endings

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¹ An alternate form for miðo is hilan.
² An alternate form for meden is himen. (These alternate forms are rather less common.)
### Table 4. Class system summary

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### Class system summary, continued

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<td>hunduko, karaho</td>
<td>the mouth</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maafe</td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>nebbal, di’al, lankal</td>
<td>diminutive of dan class</td>
<td>-al</td>
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<tr>
<td>kol</td>
<td>boobotihol, dammol, Ṿalahlol</td>
<td>livestock (highly restricted)</td>
<td>-ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kun</td>
<td>paykun, barehun, pootihun</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
<td>-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koy</td>
<td>paykoy, barehoy, pootihoy</td>
<td>plural of diminutive kun class</td>
<td>-oy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan</td>
<td>ndiyen, biraadan, nebban</td>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>landan, nguurmdan</td>
<td>(other)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dun</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(catch-all class; “that”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Class pronouns

These forms are explained on page 99. No one expects you to master these; just learn the more frequently used ones (for the on and ben classes), and learn to recognize the others when you hear them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITE ARTICLE</th>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE</th>
<th>ACTIVE SUBJECT/OBJECT</th>
<th>STATIVE SUBJECT</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE</th>
<th>INTERROGATIVE</th>
<th>ALIATIVE</th>
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<td>be</td>
<td>hife</td>
<td>kambbe</td>
<td>mabbe</td>
<td>hombe</td>
<td>beya</td>
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<tr>
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<td>dee</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>kanje</td>
<td>majje</td>
<td>honde</td>
<td>deya</td>
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<td>díi</td>
<td>dí</td>
<td>hidí</td>
<td>kanji</td>
<td>majji</td>
<td>hondí</td>
<td>diya</td>
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<td>mayre</td>
<td>honde</td>
<td>ndeya</td>
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<td>ndii</td>
<td>ndi</td>
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<td>kayri</td>
<td>mayri</td>
<td>hondi</td>
<td>ndiya</td>
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<td>kankoy</td>
<td>makkoy</td>
<td>honkoy</td>
<td>koya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hifan</td>
<td>kanjan</td>
<td>majjan</td>
<td>hondan</td>
<td>dama</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>kafun</td>
<td>mun</td>
<td>hondun</td>
<td>duma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In the on class, the active subject pronoun is o (as in “o yí’i lan”); the object pronoun is mo (as in “mi yí’i mo”). For all other classes, the active subject and object pronouns have the same form (“be yí’i lan”, “mi yí’i be”). See “Object pronouns,” page 45.

2 In some classes (ngal, ngel, etc.) the definite article, the demonstrative, and the active subject/object pronoun all have the same form. For example, we say “gertogal ngal”, “ngal gertogal”, and “mi hirsay ngal”, whereas we would say “gorko on”, “oo gorko”, and “mi hirsay mo”. See “Demonstratives,” page 58.

3 There is no stative pronoun for the dun class; one must say “dun no moyyi”, whereas in other classes we would say “himo moyyi”, “hingal moyyi”, etc.
Table 6. Some common irregular adjectives

See “The true adjectives,” page 91. Irregular adjectives such as these are one of the hardest aspects of Pular to learn; as with plurals, not only the ending changes, but the initial consonant alternates unpredictably. As with the previous table, no one expects you to master these; just learn the more frequently used ones (for the on and ben classes), and learn to recognize the others when you hear them.

Other irregular adjectives include kiddo (old), bajjo (unique), baaso (poor), dabbo (short), bodeejo (red), baleejo (black), daneejo (white), nayeejo (old), arano (first), and tosooko (small).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITE ARTICLE</th>
<th>big</th>
<th>new</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>one</th>
<th>someone/another one¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>njano</td>
<td>keso</td>
<td>moyyo</td>
<td>gooto</td>
<td>goddo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>njandube</td>
<td>heybe</td>
<td>moyyube</td>
<td>woote</td>
<td>wobbe</td>
</tr>
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<td>moyye</td>
<td>goote</td>
<td>godde</td>
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<td>mooyii</td>
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<td>gootun</td>
<td>goddun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This is not technically an adjective but a pronoun; we include it here to contrast with the forms of the word “one”, with which it could be easily confused. See pages 92 and 93.