

# *Peace Corps*

*Learner's guide  
To  
Pular (Fuuta Jallon)*



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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, Koñagi, Baga, Landuma, and Kissi. The Mandé branch is also in the Niger-Congo family, and includes Maninka, Susu, Jakanke, 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 Toroobe (Toucouleur) 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 Fulbe<sup>1</sup>: 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.

<sup>1</sup> Also known as the **Peulh** (the Wolof word for them) or the **Fula** (the Hausa word for them). **Fulbe** is what they call themselves (**Pullo** in the singular).



Approximate extent of the Islamic kingdom of the Fuuta Jallon, 19th century. Towns established or made important by the French are in parentheses.

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 13<sup>th</sup> century, consisted of pagan (non-Islamic) Fulbe, known as **Pulli**. The second began in the 16<sup>th</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> century, though, they became fed up with the pagans' drinking and dancing, and declared holy war. This **jihād** 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

## MARGINALIA



### ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE

A **tindol** is a proverb or pithy saying. We've featured a few of our favorites more or less at random throughout the chapters.



### KEY WORDS

Pular is a lot more different from English than, say, Spanish or French. This means that many concepts are expressed in fundamentally different ways. Throughout this book we try to explain common words that may have no direct equivalent in English, but which are essential to the way the Fulbe express themselves.



### CULTURAL NOTES

No language exists in a vacuum; it is impossible to understand Pular without understanding the culture of the Fulbe. Each chapter includes cultural notes to provide context for the language and to prepare the learner for life in the Fuuta. Many of these notes include set phrases that are useful in certain situations. The grammar or vocabulary presented in these phrases may not be covered until later in the book.

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 *bicephalism* 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 en-

tirely 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; "we 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

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If you hire someone to help you learn Pular, you should not think of them as your teacher or tutor. Very few Fulbe have ever needed to think about how Pular grammar works or have been trained to teach Pular as a second language. If they are edu-

cated, 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

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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 **doginoowo** (“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 Fulbe 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 Fulbe.

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

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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 Ffulde 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 Fulbe 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

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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 Fullo imagination at work. Peace Corps has a few copies, and so do the missionaries in Labe.

■ **Diallo, Al-Hajji Malaado Baame-Kuree. *Taarixa Fii Alsilaamaaku*** (*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*

# Overview

		VOCABULARY	GRAMMAR	CULTURAL NOTES	KEY WORDS
S E C N E T E P M O C	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic greetings</li> <li>Questions to which “Jam tun” is the correct answer</li> <li>Alternatives to “Jam tun”</li> <li>Taking leave</li> <li>Polite words</li> <li>Useful phrases for the beginner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spelling and pronunciation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Respect</li> <li>Women and Islam</li> <li>Body language</li> <li>Greetings during prayertime</li> <li>The Will of God</li> <li>Living up to your predecessor</li> </ul>	
	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Occupations</li> <li>Nationalities &amp; ethnicities</li> <li>Social roles</li> <li>Phrasebook: Introductions</li> <li>A couple of handy words</li> <li>C'est madame ...ou mademoiselle?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Personal pronouns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Will you marry me?</li> <li>Last name games</li> </ul>	<b>ko wonaa</b>
	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Family Members</li> <li>Phrasebook: Introductions</li> <li>Numbers (Up to 99)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Possessive pronouns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Family terminology</li> <li>Polygamy</li> <li>Age</li> </ul>	<b>woo</b>
	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some good interjections to know</li> <li>Nouns: A starter kit</li> <li>Verbs: A starter kit</li> <li>Prepositions</li> <li>Phrasebook: Places &amp; Things</li> <li>More useful lines for the beginner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plurals</li> <li>Generic noun forms</li> <li>Nouns: An overview of the class system</li> <li>Articles</li> <li>Verbs: An overview</li> <li>The imperative</li> <li>Prolocatives</li> </ul>		
	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some stative verbs</li> <li>Some active verbs</li> <li>Some adjectives and adverbs</li> <li>Food nouns</li> <li>Essential everyday objects</li> <li>Asking questions</li> <li>Phrasebook: Food, drink &amp; basic needs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The stative</li> <li>Stative pronouns and the no particle</li> <li>The focused perfective</li> <li>Intensifiers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fasting and Ramadan</li> <li>Dinner's almost ready</li> </ul>	<b>yo wata</b>
	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nouns: Gore and disease</li> <li>Verbs: Sickness and pestilence</li> <li>Possibility</li> <li>Body parts: Things you only have one of</li> <li>Body parts: Things you have two or more of</li> <li>Phrasebook: Describing people</li> <li>Phrasebook: Health</li> <li>Physical traits</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Object pronouns</li> <li>Time vs. aspect</li> <li>The focused imperfective</li> <li>The progressive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Visiting the sick</li> <li>Are you better?</li> <li>Attitudes towards the body</li> </ul>	<b>waawugol wonugol</b>
	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Merchandise</li> <li>Verbs</li> <li>Nouns</li> <li>Numbers over 100</li> <li>Measures</li> <li>Phrasebook: Food, drink, &amp; basic needs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The asserted perfective and imperfective</li> <li>Active verbs, stative verbs</li> <li>Demonstratives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cewdi alaa!</li> <li>How to bargain</li> <li>When not to bargain</li> </ul>	<b>kaa maa marugol jogagol hebugol jeyugol, jon</b>
	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Verbs</li> <li>Adverbs</li> <li>Directions</li> <li>Phrasebook: Lost and found</li> <li>Places</li> <li>Everybody talks about the weather ...</li> <li>Phrasebook: Weather</li> <li>At the taxi park</li> <li>Phrasebook: Traveling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introduction to infixes</li> <li>The incremental infix -it-</li> <li>The manner infix -ir-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gifts and village hospitality</li> <li>Bush-taxi travel</li> </ul>	<b>duudugol suusugol hulugol</b>
	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Verbs</li> <li>Phrasebook: Time</li> <li>Days of the week</li> <li>Prayer times</li> <li>Nouns</li> <li>Time words</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The simple imperfective</li> <li>Saying “when”</li> <li>Putting things into sequence</li> <li>The distative infix -oy-</li> <li>The associative infix -id-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Clock time</li> <li>Synchronize your watches</li> </ul>	
T E X T	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Phrasebook: Naming ceremonies</li> <li>Phrasebook: Weddings</li> <li>Phrasebook: Funerals</li> <li>Phrasebook: Holidays</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The benefactive infix -an-</li> <li>The causative infix -in-</li> <li>Participles</li> <li>The true adjectives</li> <li>Subordination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gifts at ceremonies</li> </ul>	<b>goddo goo gooto</b>
	2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Talking about the past</li> <li>Class pronouns</li> <li>The aliative pronoun</li> <li>The narrative verb form</li> </ul>		<b>sikkugol</b>
	3		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The short question form</li> <li>Haray and Hara</li> </ul>		<b>tawugol bee, maa haanugol fotugol</b>
	4				



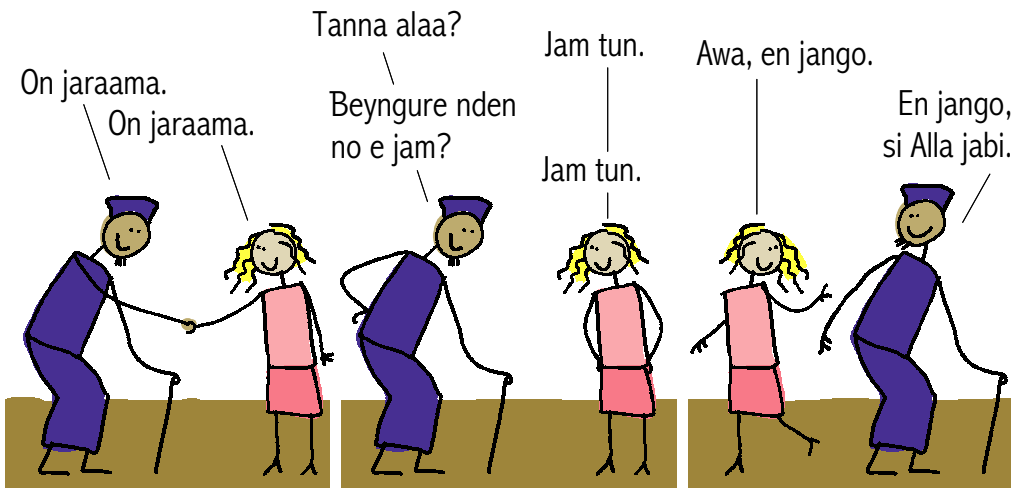
		THEME	TITLE	PAGE	
C O M M U N I T Y	①	GREETINGS	No wa'i?	<i>What's up?</i>	1
	②	INTRODUCTIONS	Wonaa mi Faranseejo, deyi!	<i>No, I'm not French!</i>	7
	③	FAMILY	Beyngure nden no e jam?	<i>How's the family?</i>	13
	④	PLACES & THINGS	Ko hondun nii?	<i>What's this?</i>	23
	⑤	FOOD	Beydu seeda!	<i>Eat some more!</i>	33
	⑥	BODY	No butti seeda?	<i>Are you better?</i>	43
	⑦	SHOPPING	Duytu seeda!	<i>Come down a little.</i>	55
	⑧	TRAVEL & DIRECTIONS	Enee, Porto! A majju?	<i>Hey, white boy, you lost?</i>	67
	⑨	DAILY ACTIVITIES	Hunde kala e saa'i mun.	<i>Everything in its own time.</i>	79
T E X T S	①	CEREMONIES	Dennaboo, dewgal, faatunde.	<i>Naming ceremonies, weddings, funerals.</i>	87
	②	FABLE	Fii nafa jeyeede.	<i>The advantages of being owned.</i>	97
	③	USEFUL ADVICE	Ko beyngure kala haani andude fii laabal.	<i>What every family should know about hygiene.</i>	103
	④	ORAL HISTORY	Almaami sakkitoro on.	<i>The last Almaami.</i>	107



# No wa'i?

(What's up?)

## Salminagol mawbe (Greeting an old person)



## Salminagol sukaajo (Greeting a young person)



## 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

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- Spelling and pronunciation

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



## ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE

Lekkuñ ñee e  
dowkal mun.

Every little tree gives its  
little bit of shade.



## CULTURAL NOTES

### 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.

# 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

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

## Questions to which “Jam tun” is the correct answer

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

## Alternatives to “Jam tun”

<b>Hibe e jam.</b>	<i>They are well.</i>
<b>Ko yettude Alla.</b>	<i>Thanks be to God.</i>
<b>Alhamdullilahi.</b>	<i>Thanks be to God.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Said to s/o at a distance or coming from elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Said upon arriving at s/o’s home or place of work.

## Taking leave

<b>Oo-o!</b> <sup>3</sup>	<i>Bye!</i>
<b>En jango.</b>	<i>See you tomorrow.</i>
<b>En bimbi.</b>	<i>See you in the morning.</i>
<b>En ontuma.</b>	<i>See you later.</i>
<b>En ñalorma.</b>	<i>See you later today.</i>
<b>En kiikiide.</b>	<i>See you this afternoon.</i>
<b>En jemma.</b>	<i>See you tonight.</i>
<b>Si Alla jab i.</b>	<i>God willing.</i>
<b>A jaraama, naani?</b>	<i>Thanks, hear?</i>
<b>Ñallen e jam.</b>	<i>Let’s pass the day in peace.</i>
<b>Hiiren e jam.</b>	<i>Let’s pass the evening in peace.</i>
<b>Waaln e jam.</b>	<i>Let us sleep well.</i>
<b>Beloden e jam.</b>	<i>Let us sleep well. [respectful]</i>

## Polite words

<b>Hii-hi.</b>	<i>Yes.</i>
<b>Eyyo.</b> <sup>4</sup>	<i>Yes.</i>
<b>O’o.</b>	<i>No.</i>
<b>O’owooye.</b>	<i>No.</i>
<b>A jaraama.</b>	<i>Thank you.</i>
<b>Awa.</b>	<i>OK.</i>
<b>Accee hakkee.</b>	<i>Please excuse me.</i>

## Useful phrases for the beginner

<b>Pular an lannii!</b>	<i>That’s all the Pular I know!</i>
<b>Mi waawataa Pular buy.</b>	<i>I don’t speak much Pular.</i>
<b>Mid o waawi Pular seeda tun.</b>	<i>I speak Pular small-small.</i>
<b>Mi faamaali.</b>	<i>I don’t understand.</i>
<b>Mid o ekitaade.</b>	<i>I am learning.</i>

<sup>3</sup> Have a native speaker say **o’o** (no) and then **oo-o** (goodbye) to see the difference in intonation.

<sup>4</sup> Northern Fuuta Jallon; Senegal.

# GRAMMAR

## Spelling and pronunciation

**P**ular 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 **ɓ**, **ɗ**, and **ɲ** (also known as funky ɓ, funky ɗ, and funky ɲ).

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

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

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. **ɓ**, **aa** vs. **a**, **tt** 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.

LETTER USED IN THIS BOOK	ENGLISH EXAMPLE	PULAR EXAMPLE	OTHER WRITING SYSTEMS
<b>a</b> <i>a</i>	father	<b>awdi</b> ( <i>seed</i> )	
<b>b</b> <i>b</i>	boy	<b>baaba</b> ( <i>father</i> )	
<b>ɓ</b> <i>ɓ</i>		<b>ɓeyngu</b> ( <i>wife</i> )	<i>bh</i>
<b>c</b> <i>c</i>	cello	<b>coggu</b> ( <i>price</i> )	<i>ty</i>
<b>d</b> <i>d</i>	dog	<b>ɗanki</b> ( <i>bed</i> )	
<b>ɗ</b> <i>ɗ</i>		<b>ɗatal</b> ( <i>path</i> )	<i>dh</i>
<b>e</b> <i>e</i>	pet	<b>esiraawo</b> ( <i>in-law</i> )	
<b>f</b> <i>f</i>	fun	<b>fayande</b> ( <i>cooking pot</i> )	
<b>g</b> <i>g</i>	girl	<b>gatal</b> ( <i>prayer mat</i> )	
<b>h</b> <i>h</i>	house	<b>hanki</b> ( <i>yesterday</i> )	
<b>i</b> <i>i</i>	ski	<b>innde</b> ( <i>name</i> )	
<b>j</b> <i>j</i>	jump	<b>jungo</b> ( <i>hand or arm</i> )	<i>dy, di</i>
<b>k</b> <i>k</i>	kite	<b>kosan</b> ( <i>sour milk</i> )	
<b>l</b> <i>l</i>	leg	<b>lekki</b> ( <i>tree</i> )	
<b>m</b> <i>m</i>	mouse	<b>mawɗo</b> ( <i>old person</i> )	
<b>mb</b> <i>mb</i>	amber	<b>mbeewa</b> ( <i>goat</i> )	
<b>n</b> <i>n</i>	note	<b>nebban</b> ( <i>oil</i> )	
<b>nd</b> <i>nd</i>	mandate	<b>ndowru</b> ( <i>mouse</i> )	
<b>ng</b> <i>ng</i>	anger	<b>ngayuuri</b> ( <i>lion</i> )	
<b>nj</b> <i>nj</i>	enjoy	<b>njaatigi</b> ( <i>friend</i> )	
<b>ŋ</b> <i>ŋ</i>	sing	<b>ŋari</b> ( <i>beauty</i> )	<i>nh</i>
<b>ɲ</b> <i>ɲ</i>	tenure	<b>ɲaari</b> ( <i>cat</i> )	<i>ny, ñ</i>
<b>o</b> <i>o</i>	open	<b>o’owooye</b> ( <i>no</i> )	
<b>p</b> <i>p</i>	path	<b>puyɗo</b> ( <i>lazy person</i> )	
<b>r</b> <i>r</i>		<b>reedu</b> ( <i>stomach</i> )	
<b>s</b> <i>s</i>	salt	<b>saare</b> ( <i>town</i> )	
<b>t</b> <i>t</i>	talk	<b>teew</b> ( <i>meat</i> )	
<b>u</b> <i>u</i>	tutu	<b>unirgal</b> ( <i>pestle</i> )	<i>ou</i>
<b>w</b> <i>w</i>	water	<b>woyndu</b> ( <i>well</i> )	<i>ou</i>
<b>y</b> <i>y</i>	yellow	<b>yeeso</b> ( <i>face</i> )	
<b>y</b> <i>y</i>		<b>yiiyan</b> ( <i>blood</i> )	<i>yh</i>
<b>ʔ</b> <i>ʔ</i>	( <i>glottal stop</i> )	<b>yí al</b> ( <i>bone</i> )	

<sup>1</sup>The palatal **ɲ** is usually written **ñ**; this is the glyph adopted by the Bamako conference. We have chosen to go against convention here for three reasons: ❶ because American learners are more likely to be familiar with the **ñ** already, from Spanish; ❷ because we find it easier to write by hand; and ❸ because we always get **ñ** mixed up with **o**.

# EXERCISES

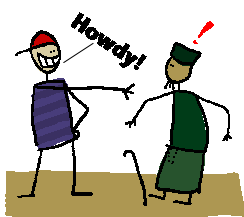


## CULTURAL NOTES

### Body language

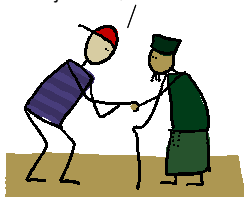
Shaking hands with both hands, or holding your forearm or elbow, are signs of deference. So is looking to the ground or away from the person you are greeting. Looking someone straight in the eye, like your father told you to, can be interpreted as aggressiveness.

#### WRONG



#### RIGHT

On jaraama, mawbe.



### Greetings during prayertime

Often older men pray while walking home around sunset. They cannot interrupt their prayer, and will answer a greeting with a nod or a grunt. If you see someone walking home holding prayer beads and with their lips moving, you may greet them by smiling, nodding, or clasping your hands together in front of your chest.

### 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/b, 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 tuttugol (to spit)  
tuutugol (to vomit)  
tutugol (to plant a tree)
- 3 haadugol (to be spicy)  
hadugol (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 woddi (it's far)  
no woodi (it exists)
- 8 huɓɓugol (to light)  
hubugol (to sprain)  
huuɓugol (to surround)
- 9 yaawugol (to be fast)  
yawugol (to despise)  
yawugol (to climb)

- 10 moyya (well [adv.])  
moyyaa (bad [adj.])
- 11 yettugol (to greet)  
yettugol (to take)
- 12 duudugol (to be numerous)  
duudegol (to long for)
- 13 wallugol (to help)  
waalugol (to pass the night)
- 14 faatugol (to die)  
fattugol (to seek refuge)
- 15 sellugol (to be healthy)  
selugol (to turn)  
seelugol (to cut into strips)
- 16 si'ugol (to leak)  
siiwugol (to pour)
- 17 raddagol (to go in single file)  
radagol (to chase away)
- 18 hulugol (to be afraid of)  
huulugol (to take aim)
- 19 iilugol (to sneeze)  
ilugol (to flow)
- 20 jaabagol (to reply)  
jabbagol (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.

- ..... 1 En ontuma.
- ..... 2 Jam tun.
- ..... 3 Tanaa alaa?
- ..... 4 A ñalli e jam?
- ..... 5 Beyngure nden?
- ..... 6 No wa'i?
- ..... 7 On belike e jam?
- ..... 8 En bimbi.
- ..... 9 Hii-hi.
- ..... 10 Si Alla jabi.

- 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

Write the closest equivalent in Pular.

- 1 Good morning. *On belike e jam?*
- 2 See you later. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3 How is work going? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4 Thanks be to God. \_\_\_\_\_
- 5 How's it going? \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 See you tonight. \_\_\_\_\_
- 7 Thanks. \_\_\_\_\_
- 8 Is the baby well? \_\_\_\_\_
- 9 How are the kids? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10 Bye bye. \_\_\_\_\_

### D. Fill in the blanks

Complete the following dialogue.

A jaraama.  
Tanaa \_\_\_\_\_?  
An le?

Jam \_\_\_\_\_.  
Beyngure nden \_\_\_\_\_?  
\_\_\_\_\_. Golle den  
no \_\_\_\_\_?  
No marsude \_\_\_\_\_.  
Awa, \_\_\_\_\_,  
si \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_, en ñalorma.



### CULTURAL NOTES

#### The Will of God

**Si Alla jab i** 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 neeb aali gaa.**  
*I just got here.*

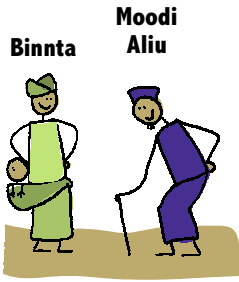
**Mido ekitaade.**  
*I’m learning.*

**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:



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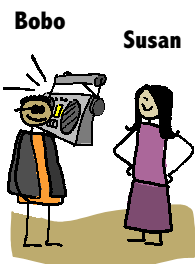


### CULTURAL NOTES

#### Women and Islam

The Fulbe 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 Fuuta 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.



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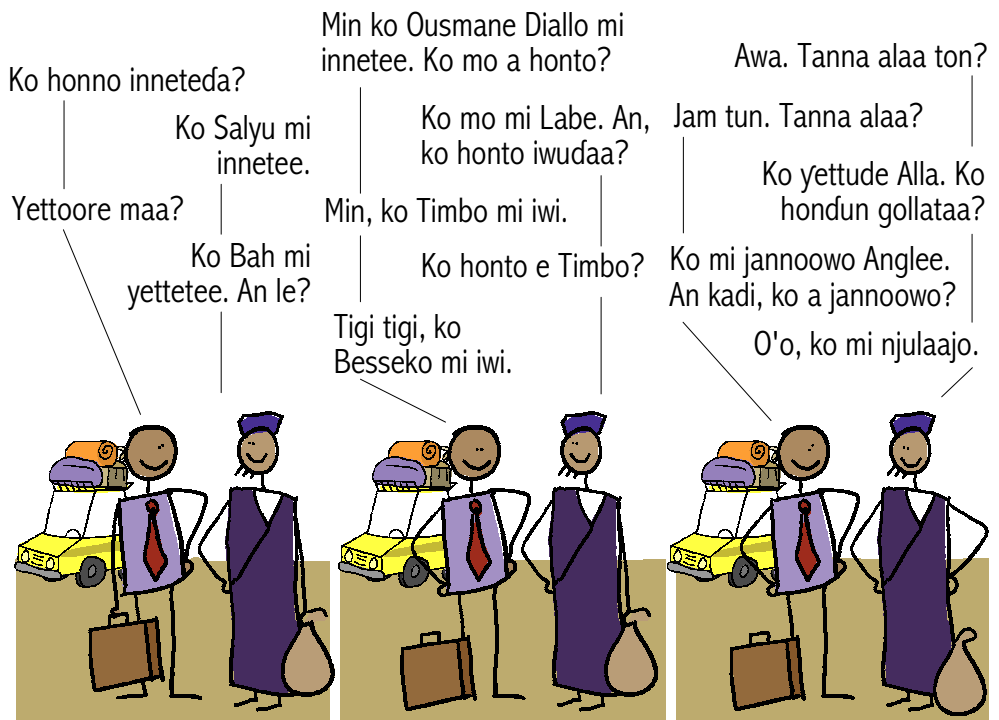
# Wonaa mi Faranseejo, dey!

(No, I'm not French!)

**Ka diskotek** (At the dance club)



**Ka gaar watiir** (At the taxi park)



In this chapter

**Vocabulary**

- Occupations
- Nationalities & ethnicities
- Social roles
- Phrasebook: Introductions
- A couple of handy words
- C'est madame ...ou ma-demoiselle?

**Grammar**

- Personal pronouns

**Cultural Notes**

- Will you marry me?
- Last name games

**Key Words**

- ko – wonaa

# VOCABULARY



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Si tawi  
hodo fow  
ko bumbɛ,  
ombu yiitere  
haa feyyaa.

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



KEY  
WORDS

**ko** • **wonaa**

**An, ko a jannoowo?**  
Are you a teacher?

**Hii-hi, ko mi jannoowo  
matematik.**  
Yes, I am a math teacher.

**Kanko, ko o Amerikenjo?**  
Is he an American?

**O'o, wonaa o Amerikenjo.**  
No, he is not American.

**Ko o Faranseejo.**  
He is French.

The particle **ko** fills in for the  
verb "to be" in these sen-  
tences. The negation of **ko** is  
**wonaa** (also pronounced  
**wanaa**, **hinaa**, or just **naa**)

## Occupations

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
jannoowo	jannoobe	teacher
jangoowo	jangoobe	student
lekkoljo	lekkolbe	student
dofturjo	dofturbe	doctor
ñawndoowo	ñawndoobe	healer; doctor
lando	lambe	chief
defoowo	defoobe	cook
remoowo	remoobe	farmer
baylo	waylube	blacksmith
almaamiijo	almaamiibe	imam
yeeyoowo	yeeyoobe	seller
njulaajo	njulaabe	merchant
ñ'o'owo	ñ'o'oobe	tailor
garankeejo	garankeebe	leatherworker
ñ'amakalaajo	ñ'amakalaabe	praise singer (griot)
golloowo	golloobe	worker
feetudo	feetube	crazy person
wañ'ooowo	wañ'oobe	hunter
karamokoojo	karamokoobe	marabout; teacher
ngaynaako	ngaynaabe	herdsman
wolonteerjo	wolonteerbe	volunteer
tutoowo ledde	tutoobe ledde	tree-planter
wolonteerjo cellal	wolonteerbe cellal	health volunteer
yimoowo	yimoobe	singer
fijoowo	fijoobe	actor; player
dogoowo	dogoobe	runner; athlete
meniisiyeejo	meniisiyeebe	carpenter
polisiijo	polisiibe	policeman

## Nationalities & ethnicities

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
pullo	fulbe	Peuhl
pullo-fuuta	fulbe-fuuta	Guinean Peuhl
maninkaajo	maninkaabe	Malinké
sosoojo	sosoobe	Soussou
forestieejo	forestieebe	Forestier
portojo	portoobe	White
baleejo	baleebe	Black
gine'enjo	gine'enbe	Guinean
amerikeenjo	amerikeenbe	American
faranseejo	faranseebe	French
senegaleejo	senegaleebe	Senegalese

## Social roles

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
gorko	worbe	man
debbo	rewbe	woman
paykun	paykoy	child
suka	sukaabe	young person
jiwo	jiwbe	girl
mawdo	mawbe	old person
boobo	booboobe	baby

## Phrasebook: Introductions

<b>Ko honno inneteda?</b>	What is your name?
<b>Ko honno wi'eteda?</b>	What is your name?
<b>Ko honno yetteda?</b>	What is your last name?
<b>Innde maa?</b>	Your name?
<b>Yettoore maa?</b>	Your last name?
<b>Ko honto iwudaa?</b>	Where do you come from?
<b>Ko Amerik mi iwi.</b>	I come from America.
<b>Ko mo a honto?</b>	Where are you from?
<b>Ko mo mi Dakar.</b>	I'm from Dakar.
<b>Ko hondun gollataa?</b>	What do you do?
<b>Ko mi jannoowo.</b>	I am a teacher.
<b>Wonaa mi jannoowo.</b>	I am not a teacher.
<b>Ko honto hodudaa?</b>	Where do you live?
<b>Ko Maamu mi hodi.</b>	I live in Mamou.
<b>An le?</b>	And you?

## A couple of handy words

<b>kadi</b>	also
<b>tigi tigi</b>	truly, specifically

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

MEN	WOMEN	
<b>A jombii?</b>	<b>A jombaama?</b>	Are you married?
<b>Mi jombaali.</b>	<b>Mi jombaaka.</b>	I'm not married.
<b>Mi jombii.</b>	<b>Mi jombaama.</b>	I am married.

# GRAMMAR

## 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.    **Moi, je** suis professeur.    **Me, I** am a teacher.  
**An**, ko a jangoowo.    **Toi, tu** es é lè ve.    **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.

- A** jaraama. Hello (familiar)
- On** jaraama. Hello. (respectful)
- On** jaraama. Hello. (to two or more people)

### SUBJECT & INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

	PERSON	ENGLISH	SUBJECT	INDEPENDENT
SINGULAR	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	<b>I</b>	mi	min
	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	<b>you</b>	a	an
	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	<b>he she</b>	o	kanko
PLURAL	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON EXCLUSIVE	<b>we</b> <i>excluding the listener</i>	men	menen
	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON INCLUSIVE	<b>we</b> <i>including the listener</i>	en	enen
	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	<b>you</b>	on	onon
	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	<b>they</b>	be	kanbe



### PLEASE NOTE

The **inclusive** “we”: The person being spoken to is included.

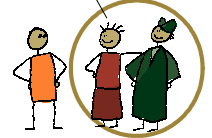
**Enen, ko en rewbe.**



“We (all of us) are women.”

The **exclusive** “we”: the person being spoken to is not included.

**Menen, ko men rewbe.**



“We are women (not you).”

## EXERCISES

### A. Getting to know you

- Complete the following dialogue.

Ko honno inneteda?

\_\_\_\_\_?

Ko Alfa mi innete.

Ko a Amerikenjo?

Hii-hi, \_\_\_\_\_.

Ko a jannoowo?

O'o, \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_?

O'o, wonaa mi jannoowo. Ko mi dofturjo. A jombaama?

O'o, \_\_\_\_\_.

An le, a jombi?

Hii-hi, \_\_\_\_\_.



### 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 seriously; play along with the joke. If someone really wants to propose, they will do it privately or through someone else.

The proposal:

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

How to “accept”:

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

**Ko honto teje an woni?**  
*Where's my dowry?*

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

**Hida haani okkude mawbe an ben na'i sappo.**  
*You'll have to give my folks ten cows.*

Some gentle refusals:

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

**Mi yettaama.**  
*I'm already taken.*

**Mi andaa maa.**  
*I don't know you.*

**Mi falaaka 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 falaaka maa.**  
*I don't like you.*

**Hida kaani.**  
*You're ugly.*

**Hida fandi.**  
*You're small.*

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

**Ko mawdo mi faalaa.**  
*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, wonaa mi Gine'enjo. Ko mi Senegaleejo.

2 Kanko, ko o jannoowo Angle?

yes:

no:

3 An, ko a Pullo-Fuuta?

yes:

no:

4 Kambe, ko be Senegaleebe?

yes:

no:

5 Onon, ko on Amerikenbe?

yes:

no:

6 Menen, ko men Fulbe?

yes:

no:

7 An, ko a lando?

yes:

no:

8 Kanko, ko o almaamiijo?

yes:

no:

9 Kambe, ko be yeeyooobe?

yes:

no:

10 An, ko a mawdo?

yes:

no:

11 Min, ko mi jiwo?

yes:

no:

12 Kanbe, ko be rewbe?

yes:

no:

13 An, ko a debbo?

yes:

no:

14 Onon, ko on sukaabe?

yes:

no:

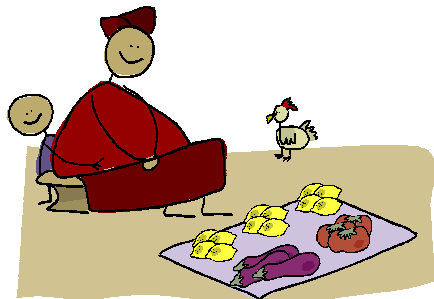
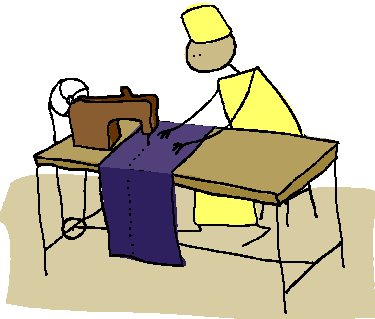
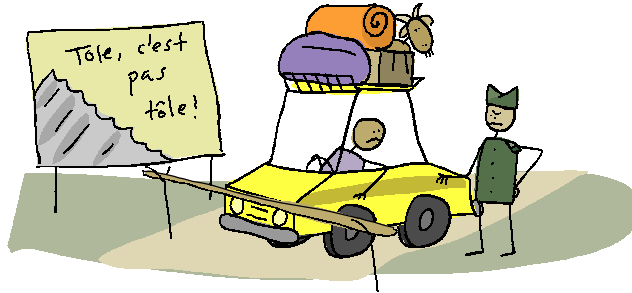
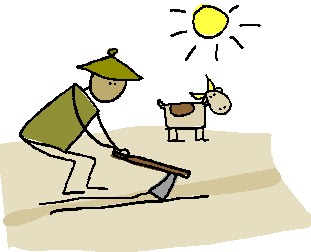
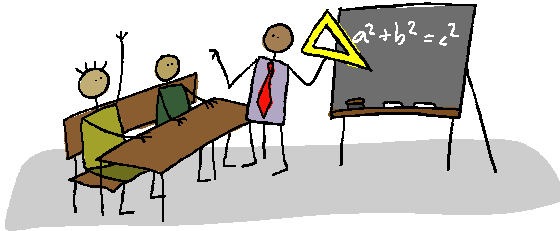
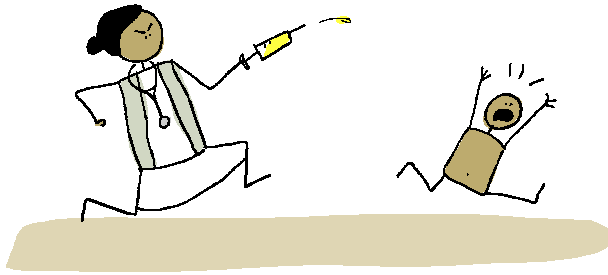
15 An, ko a lekkoljo?

yes:

no:

### 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 Fuuta is **sanakuyaagal** or joking between clans. Here's how it works: the Diallos tease the Baldes (or Bahs) and the Sows joke with the Barrys. These are the four "noble" last names of the Fub e-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 (**gujjo**) 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 Fub e social hierarchy.

### D. Me, Me, Me

- Write a paragraph in which you introduce yourself.

.....

.....

.....

### E. Matching

- Connect the question with the answer:

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| ..... <i>g</i> 1 Ko Lynn mi innete. Ko honno innetedaa? | a Ko Diallo mi yettete.      |
| ..... 2 Tanaa alaa?                                     | b O'o, ko mi tutoowo ledd'e. |
| ..... 3 An ko a jannoowo?                               | c O'o, ko mi Maninkaajo.     |
| ..... 4 A jombaama?                                     | d O'o, mi jombaaka taho.     |
| ..... 5 Ko a Pullo?                                     | e Ko mo mi Labe.             |
| ..... 6 Ko Faransi iwudaa?                              | f Hii-hi, mi jombii.         |
| ..... 7 Ko honno yettetedaa?                            | g Ko Saliu mi innete.        |
| ..... 8 No marsude?                                     | h Hii-hi, ko Faransi mi iwi. |
| ..... 9 Ko mo a honto?                                  | i Seeda.                     |
| ..... 10 A jombii?                                      | j Jam tun.                   |

### F. Translation drill

- Put the following into Pular.

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 I am a health volunteer.                    | <i>Ko mi wolonteerjo cellal.</i> |
| 2 You are children.                           | .....                            |
| 3 Ablaye lives in Mamou.                      | .....                            |
| 4 I am not a doctor.                          | .....                            |
| 5 She is American.                            | .....                            |
| 6 We are from America.<br>(said to a Guinean) | .....                            |
| 7 They are teachers.                          | .....                            |
| 8 She is not married.                         | .....                            |
| 9 Me, I'm from New York.                      | .....                            |
| 10 We (you and I) are old.                    | .....                            |

### G. Write your own

- Write a dialog between these three people.



**M. Barry**  
(Proviseur  
du Lycée)

**M. Thiam**  
(Peace Corps  
Big Shot)

**Susan**  
(New Math  
Teacher)

.....

.....

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.....

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.....

# 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 neenegotoobe.

Ko duubi jelu o mari?

Ko duubi nogay o mari.

Ko hondun o gollata?

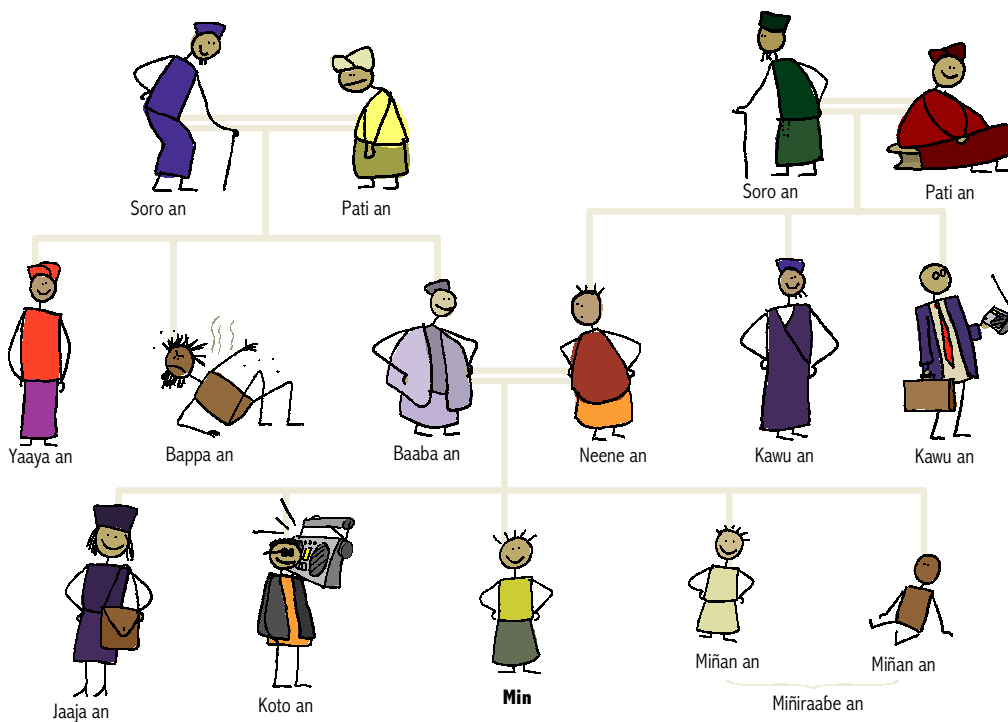
Ko o jannoowo.

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

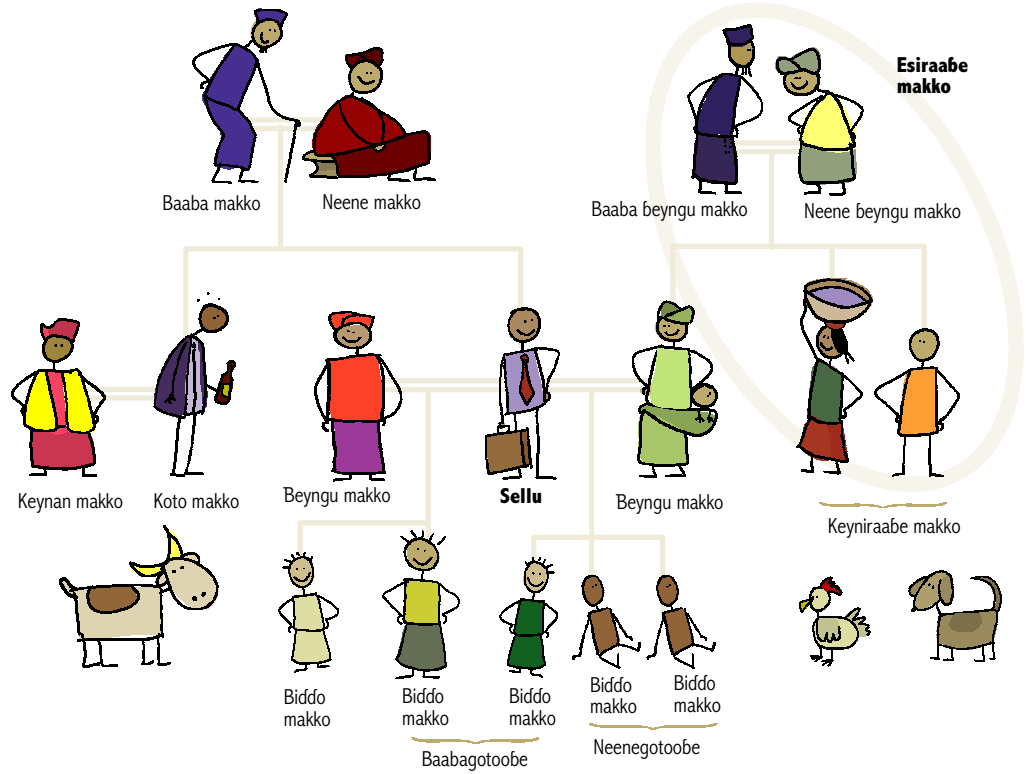


**CULTURAL NOTES**

**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

<b>baaba</b>	<i>father</i>
<b>neene</b>	<i>mother</i>
<b>ben</b>	<i>father (respectful)</i>
<b>yuuma</b>	<i>mother (respectful)</i>
<b>ben mawdo</b>	<i>father's older brother</i>
<b>miñan</b>	<i>younger brother or sister</i>
<b>koto</b>	<i>older brother</i>
<b>jaaja</b>	<i>older sister</i>
<b>kaawu</b>	<i>mother's brother</i>
<b>bappa</b>	<i>father's younger brother</i>
<b>yaaye</b>	<i>father's sister</i>
<b>oro</b>	<i>grandfather</i>
<b>pati</b>	<i>grandmother</i>
<b>beyngu</b>	<i>wife</i>
<b>moodi</b>	<i>husband</i>
<b>keynan</b>	<i>older sister's husband OR wife's younger brother</i>
<b>esiraawo</b>	<i>in-law</i>
<b>neenegooto</b>	<i>full sibling (same mother, same father)</i>
<b>baabagooto</b>	<i>half sibling (same father, different mothers)</i>
<b>siinaa</b>	<i>co-wife</i>
<b>taanira</b>	<i>grandchild</i>
<b>mawbe</b>	<i>parents, older relatives (literally, old ones)</i>
<b>biddo</b>	<i>child (son, daughter, nephew, etc.)</i>
<b>goreejo</b>	<i>age-mate</i>
<b>beynguure nden</b>	<i>nuclear family (wives &amp; children)</i>
<b>musidal ngal</b>	<i>extended family</i>
<b>musiddo or siddo</b>	<i>relative</i>
<b>njaatigi</b>	<i>friend OR lover</i>
<b>gido</b>	<i>friend</i>

## Phrasebook: Introductions

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

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

## Numbers (Up to 99)

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

Amerikenb e <b>tato</b>	<b>three</b> Americans
duubi <b>tati</b>	<b>three</b> years

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

Amerikenb e <b>njelo</b>	<b>how many</b> Americans
duubi <b>jelu</b>	<b>how many</b> years

	THINGS, ANIMALS	PEOPLE	
1	<b>go'o</b> <sup>1</sup>	<b>gooto</b>	<i>one</i>
2	<b>didi</b>	<b>dido</b>	<i>two</i>
3	<b>tati</b>	<b>tato</b>	<i>three</i>
4	<b>nay</b>	<b>nayo</b>	<i>four</i>
5	<b>jowi</b>	<b>jowo</b>	<i>five</i>
6	<b>jeego</b>	<b>jeego</b>	<i>six</i>
7	<b>jeedidi</b>	<b>jeedido</b>	<i>seven</i>
8	<b>jeetati</b>	<b>jeetato</b>	<i>eight</i>
9	<b>jeenay</b>	<b>jeenayo</b>	<i>nine</i>
10	<b>sappo</b>	<b>sappo</b>	<i>ten</i>
11	<b>sappo e go'o</b>	<b>sappo e go'o</b>	<i>eleven</i>
12	<b>sappo e didi</b>	<b>sappo e dido</b>	<i>twelve</i>
...			
19	<b>sappo e jeenay</b>	<b>sappo e jeenayo</b>	<i>nineteen</i>
20	<b>nogay</b>	<b>nogayo</b>	<i>twenty</i>
21	<b>nogay e go'o</b>	<b>nogayo e go'o</b>	<i>twenty-one</i>
...			
30	<b>cappande tati</b>	<b>cappande tato</b>	<i>thirty</i>
31	<b>cappande tati e go'o</b>	<b>cappande tato e go'o</b>	<i>thirty-one</i>
...			
40	<b>cappande nay</b>		<i>forty</i>
50	<b>cappande jowi</b>		<i>fifty</i>
60	<b>cappande jeego</b>		<i>sixty</i>
70	<b>cappande jeedidi</b>		<i>seventy</i>
80	<b>cappande jeetati</b>		<i>eighty</i>
90	<b>cappande jeenay</b>		<i>ninety</i>

(The numbers from 100 up are on page 56).

<sup>1</sup>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.



ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE

Wata  
boobotihun  
hanjan  
gala; ko  
ko kun  
maydaa.

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

# 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.

baaba **men** } *our father*  
 baaba **me'en** }  
 baaba **mon** } *your father*  
 baaba **mo'on** }

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

## EXERCISES



### 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 bibbe nogayo.**  
*They say he has twenty children.*

We'll see other uses of **woo** later.

### A. Fun with numbers, part 1

■ Write out the following numbers in Pular.

- 1 33 *cappande tati e tati*
- 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

## 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 mawbe maa

A:

B:

3 miñan maa

A:

B:

4 Ayssatu

A:

B:

5 neene Sulayman

A:

B:

6 beynguure 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.



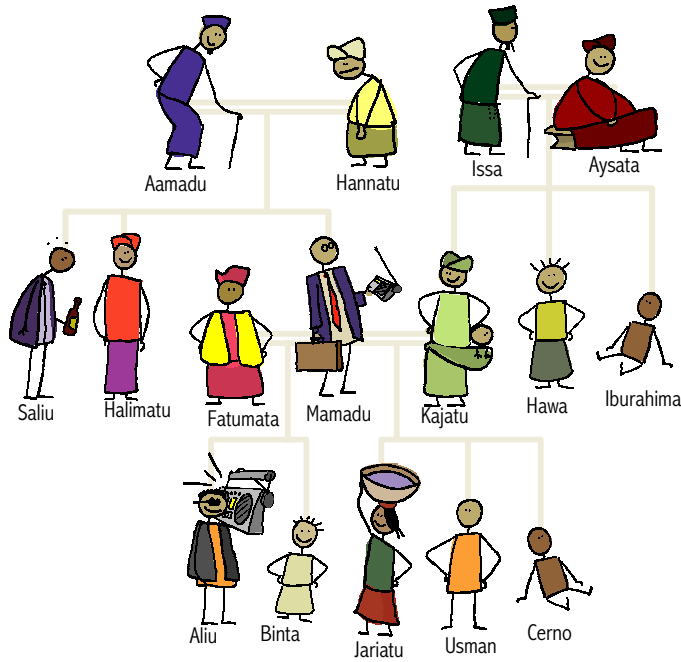
## CULTURAL NOTES

### 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 koto Binta.
- 2 Mamadu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Hannatu.
- 3 Binta e Jariatu, ko be \_\_\_\_\_ .
- 4 Fatumata ko \_\_\_\_\_ Jariatu.
- 5 Issa e Aysata ko \_\_\_\_\_ Mamadu.
- 6 Hawa ko \_\_\_\_\_ Usman.
- 7 Cerno ko \_\_\_\_\_ Saliu.
- 8 Saliu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Cerno.
- 9 Hannatu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Aamadu.
- 10 Issa ko \_\_\_\_\_ Aliu.
- 11 Aliu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Aysata.
- 12 Issa ko \_\_\_\_\_ Ibrahima.
- 13 Mamadu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Kajatu.
- 14 Jariatu e Usman e Cerno, ko be \_\_\_\_\_ .
- 15 Ibrahima ko \_\_\_\_\_ Jariatu.
- 16 Jariatu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Usman.
- 17 Binta ko \_\_\_\_\_ Aliu.
- 18 Fatumata ko \_\_\_\_\_ Binta.
- 19 Mamadu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Hawa.
- 20 Hannatu ko \_\_\_\_\_ Binta.
- 21 Bibbe Ibrahima ko \_\_\_\_\_ Cerno.



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Gerto  
landetaake  
ñande  
eggudu.

**You don't ask the  
chickens what day to  
move house.**

## E. Questions & answers

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

1 Cerno, ko kotiraabe njelo mari?

*Ko kotiraawo gooto o mari.*

2 Mamadu, ko rewbe njelo mari?

3 Aysata, ko fibbe njelo mari?

4 Mamadu, ko fibbe njelo mari?

5 Issa, ko rewbe njelo mari?

6 Hawa, ko miñiraabe njelo mari?

7 Cerno, ko baabagootoobe njelo mari?

## F. Fun with numbers, part 2

■ Write the following numbers in ciphers..

1 nogay e jeenay

29

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 jeedifi

12 cappande jeedifi

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.

- four *Ko be nayo. (THERE ARE FOUR OF THEM)*
- three
- ten
- one
- seven
- nine
- twenty
- fifty
- thirty-five
- 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 mawbe Kajatu.

Mamudu ko soro Alfa e Sellu.

Kajatu e Baata ko miñiraabe Jan.

Samba ko baaba Sori.

Alfa e Idrissa ko baabagotoobe

Idrissa ko taanira Assiatu.

Sori ko dendan Sellu.

Añaa e Bataa ko siinaabe.

Sellu e Alfa ko bibbe Bataa.

Jan ko kaawu Sellu.

Habi ko neene Sori.

Moodi Baata ko bidde Assiatu.

Baaba moodi Habi ko Mamudu.

Saliu ko bappa Idrissa.

Miñan Kajatu ko beyngu Sajo.

Moodi Habi ko miñan Saliu.

Moodi Añaa ko koto Samba.

**J. Translation drill**

■ Put the following into Pular.

1 How many (younger) brothers and sisters do you have?

*Ko miñiraabe njelo marɗaa?*

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.



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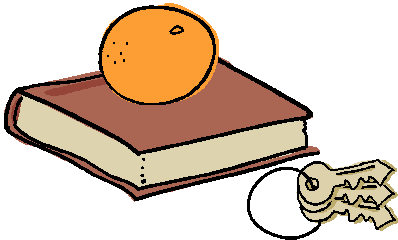
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# Ko hondun nii?

(What's this?)

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

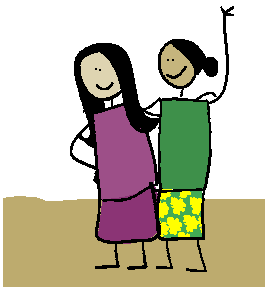


Leemuneere nden no ka hoore deftere.

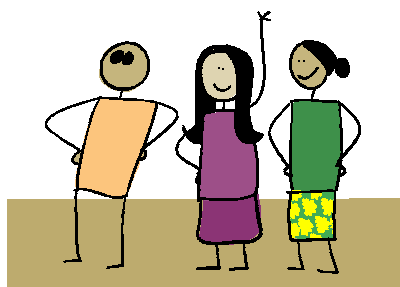
Deftere nden no ka ley karambol.

Caabiije den no ka takko deftere.

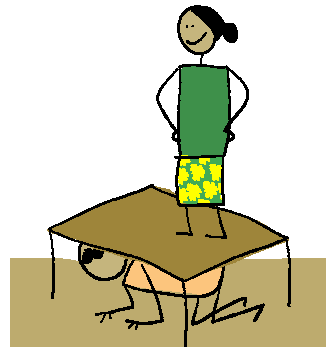
**Ko honto Fatu woni?** (Where is Fatu?)



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

# VOCABULARY



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Labi lesataa  
falawal  
mun.

A knife can't carve  
its own handle.

## Nouns: A starter kit

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
<b>saaku</b> on	<b>saakuuji</b> d in	bag
<b>danki</b> kin	<b>dande</b> d en	bed
<b>tablo</b> on	<b>tablooji</b> d in	blackboard
<b>deftere</b> nden	<b>defte</b> d en	book
<b>siyon</b> on	<b>siyonje</b> d en	bucket
<b>jullere</b> nden	<b>julle</b> d en	chair
<b>lakre</b> on	<b>lakreeje</b> d en	chalk
<b>nagee</b> ngen	<b>na'i</b> d in	cow
<b>baafal</b> ngal	<b>baafe</b> d en	door
<b>mbeewa</b> mban	<b>be'i</b> d in	goat
<b>labi</b> kin	<b>ladde</b> d en	knife
<b>kayee</b> on	<b>kayeeji</b> d in	notebook
<b>karambol</b> ngol	<b>karambi</b> d in	pen
<b>jiifa</b> on	<b>jiifaaji</b> d in	pocket
<b>gatal</b> ngal	<b>gate</b> d en	prayer mat
<b>suudu</b> ndun	<b>cuudi</b> d in	room, house
<b>lekkol</b> ngol	<b>lekkolji</b> d in	school
<b>baalii</b> ngii	<b>baali</b> d in	sheep
<b>wudere</b> nden	<b>gude</b> d en	sheet
<b>dolokke</b> on	<b>dolokkaaji</b> d in	shirt
<b>padal</b> ngal	<b>pad'e</b> d en	shoe
<b>mboddi</b> ndin	<b>bolle</b> d en	snake
<b>saabunde</b> nden	<b>caabune</b> d en	soap
<b>saare</b> nden	<b>ca'e</b> d en	town
<b>leggal</b> ngal	<b>ledde</b> d en	tree
<b>maadi</b> ndin	<b>maadiiji</b> d in	wall

## Some good interjections to know

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

<b>kaa?</b>	Isn't that so? Ou bien?
<b>nee?</b>	Right?
<b>nee!</b>	Is that a fact!
<b>jaka!</b>	Well I declare!
<b>naamu?</b>	Yes? (answer when one's name is called)
<b>naamu.</b>	(fills in the pauses in someone else's speech)
<b>Ee, allah.</b>	(mild oath; literally, "Oh, god.")
<b>Laa illaaha illallahu.</b>	(stronger oath; literally, "There is no god but Allah.")
<b>pellet.</b>	truly.

## Verbs: A starter kit

<b>yahugol</b>	go	<b>ndaarugol</b>	look
<b>arugol</b>	come	<b>addugol</b>	bring
<b>jonnugol</b>	give	<b>nabugol</b>	take, send
<b>yettugol</b>	take	<b>habbagol</b>	wait
<b>wattugol</b>	put	<b>fittugol</b>	sweep, wipe clean
<b>daragol</b>	stand	<b>fijugol</b>	play
<b>joodagol</b>	sit	<b>amugol</b>	dance
<b>yawugol</b>	climb	<b>yimugol</b>	sing
<b>cippagol</b>	get down	<b>gollugol</b>	work
<b>ombugol</b>	close	<b>windugol</b>	write
<b>udditugol</b>	open	<b>jangugol</b>	study
<b>yaltugol</b>	leave	<b>jannugol</b>	teach
<b>naatugol</b>	enter		

## Prepositions

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

## Phrasebook: Places & Things

### Ko hondun 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.

## More useful lines for the beginner

### Ko honno dun innete e Pular?

What's this called in Pular?

### Ko honno "livre" innete e Pular?

How do you say "book" in Pular?

### Ko hondun woni "fijugol"?

What does "fijugol" mean?

### Haliree doy.

Speak slowly.

### Fillitee.

Please repeat.



# GRAMMAR

## 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

SINGULAR	PLURAL	MEANING
<b>pullo</b> on	<b>fulbe</b> ɓ en	<i>Pullo</i>
<b>fello</b> ngon	<b>pelle</b> d en	<i>hill</i>
<b>kodo</b> on	<b>hobbe</b> ɓ en	<i>guest</i>
<b>mboddi</b> ndin	<b>bolle</b> d en	<i>snake</i>
<b>lewru</b> ndun	<b>lebbi</b> d in	<i>month</i>
<b>finkaari</b> ndin	<b>pinkaaje</b> d en	<i>rifle</i>
<b>otowal</b> ngal	<b>otooje</b> d en	<i>car</i>
<b>dolokke</b> nden	<b>dolokaaji</b> d in	<i>shirt</i>
<b>kambol</b> ngol	<b>karambi</b> d in	<i>pen</i>
<b>ngesa</b> mban	<b>gese</b> d en	<i>field</i>
<b>paykun</b> kun	<b>paykoy</b> koy	<i>child</i>

## 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

SINGULAR	PLURAL	GENERIC	MEANING
<b>bareeru</b> ndun	<b>bareeji</b> d in	<b>bare</b> on	<i>dog</i>
<b>biiniiri</b> ndin	<b>biniije</b> d en	<b>biini</b> on	<i>bottle</i>
<b>otowal</b> ngal	<b>otooje</b> d en	<b>oto</b> on	<i>car</i>
<b>ñariiru</b> ndun	<b>ñariiji</b> d in	<b>ñaari</b> on	<i>cat</i>
<b>bareeru</b> ndun	<b>bareeji</b> d in	<b>bare</b> on	<i>dog</i>
<b>saabiwal</b> ngal	<b>caabiije</b> d en	<b>saabi</b> on	<i>key</i>
<b>kotiraawo</b> on	<b>kotiraabe</b> ɓ en	<b>koto</b> on	<i>older brother</i>
<b>leemunneere</b> nden	<b>leemunneeje</b> d en	<b>leemunne</b> on	<i>orange</i>
<b>bireediwal</b> ngal	<b>bireediije</b> d en	<b>bireedi</b> on	<i>bread</i>

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*  
 portojo **on** *the white person*

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

Bik **on** *the pen*  
 maakiti **on** *the market*

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

kaaba **on** *the corn*

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

worbe **ben** *the men*  
 portoobe **ben** *the white people*

### ▪ den, din

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

defte **den** *the books*  
 bareeji **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*  
 poothun **kun** *the little jar*

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

paykoy **koy** *the small children*  
 poothoy **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.*

#### EXAMPLES OF NOUNS IN OTHER CLASSES

saare <b>nden</b>	<i>the town</i>
mboddi <b>ndin</b>	<i>the snake</i>
bareeru <b>ndun</b>	<i>the dog</i>
naange <b>ngen</b>	<i>the sun</i>
fello <b>ngon</b>	<i>the hill</i>
coggu <b>ngun</b>	<i>the price</i>
gertogal <b>ngal</b>	<i>the chicken</i>
sonsoliwii <b>ngii</b>	<i>the mosquito</i>
laawol <b>ngol</b>	<i>the road</i>
mbeewa <b>mban</b>	<i>the goat</i>
haala <b>kan</b>	<i>the language</i>
labi <b>kin</b>	<i>the knife</i>
maaro <b>kon</b>	<i>the rice</i>
ndiyan <b>dan</b>	<i>the water</i>

#### ALL 24 CLASS ARTICLES

<b>on, ben</b>
<b>den, din</b>
nden, ndin, ndun
ngen, ngon, ngun
ngal, ngel, ngii, ngol
mban
kan, kin, kon
kal, kol
<b>kun, koy</b>
dan, dun
<i>(Please don't bother memorizing this list.)</i>

## 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

INFINITIVE	EXAMPLE	MEANING
<b>-ugol</b>	<b>yahugol</b>	<i>to go</i>
<b>-agol</b>	<b>joodagol</b>	<i>to sit</i>
<b>-egol</b>	<b>faalegol</b>	<i>to want</i>

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

	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON SINGULAR <b>you</b> (an)	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON PLURAL <b>you all</b> (onon)	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON PLURAL (INCLUSIVE) <b>we</b> (enen)
<b>-ugol</b>	-u	-ee	-en
<b>-agol</b>	-o	-ee	-oden
<b>-egol</b>	<i>Passive verbs have no imperative form.</i>		

Here are some examples:

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

## 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.

<b>gaa</b>	<i>here (used for a place where one lives or works)</i>
<b>doo</b>	<i>here (used in a more general sense)</i>
<b>too</b>	<i>over yonder</i>
<b>ton</b>	<i>there</i>



*Leggal, ko  
waalii ka  
ndiyan woo,  
wontataa  
noora.*

**No mater how long it sits  
in the water, a log  
doesn't turn into a  
crocodile.**

 EXERCISES**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 deftere nden woni?

*Deftere nden no ka nder saku an.*

3 Ko honto baaba men woni?

4 Ko honto deftere 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 garaasi.

*Ko honto oto mo'on woni?*

2 Goreejo an no ka lekkol.

3 Karambol maa no ka nder jifa an.

4 heyngu maa no ka saare.

5 Lakre on no ka ley taabal ngal.

6 Bareeru mo'on no ka buruure.

**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

*KEYS  
Caabije den no ka nder jifa an.*

2 hodo

3 danki

4 buruure

5 hurgo .....

6 linetiiji .....

7 caangol .....

8 keliraawo .....

9 nges .....

10 maakiti .....

11 coonci .....

12 kulloy .....

13 dowdi .....

14 juulirde .....

15 mafe .....

16 naange .....

**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.

*Karambe den no ka taabal.*

THE PENS ARE ON THE TABLE.

2 Mbeeawa mban no ka ngesa

3 Lekkoljo on no ka nder suudu.

4 Miñirawo an no Konakiri.

5 Ñariiru ndun no ka dow maafi.

6 Labi kin no ka hoore taabal.

7 Kodo an ko Faranseejo.

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 din alaa ka buruure.

6 Hibe 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 "silbadere" mean?

6 Repeat, please.

7 'How do you say "go away" in Pular?

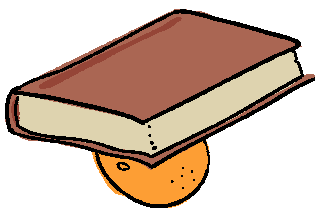
8 That's all the Pular I know.

9 I'm learning.

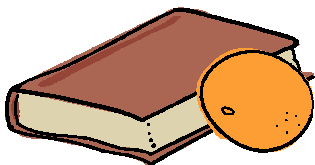
10 I speak only a little Pular.

### G. Fun with prepositions

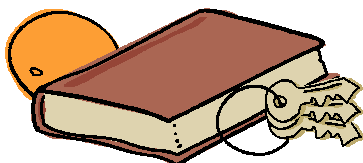
■ Write a sentence or two for each of the following pictures, describing the relative positions of the orange, the book, and the keys.



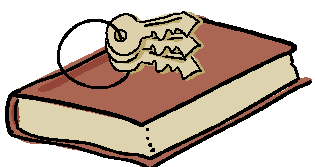
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**CULTURAL NOTES**

**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.

**H. You're the "patron"**

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

1 Close the door.

*Ombu baafal ngal.*

*Ombee baafal 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.

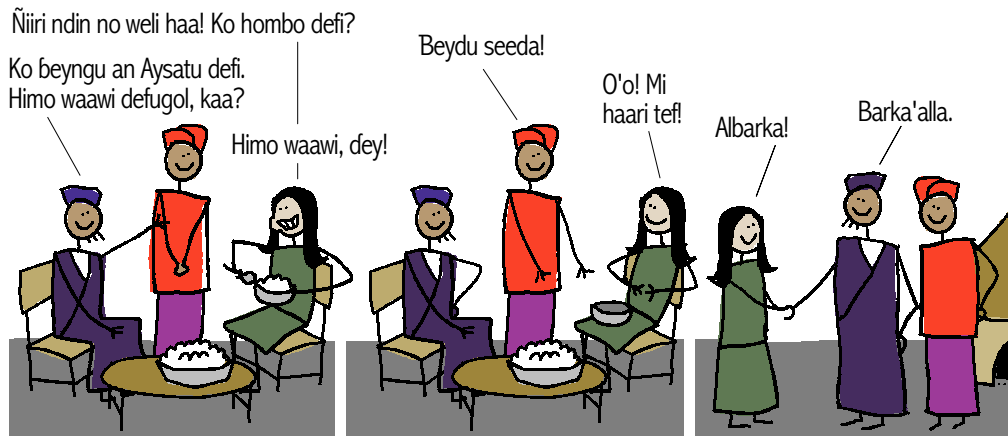
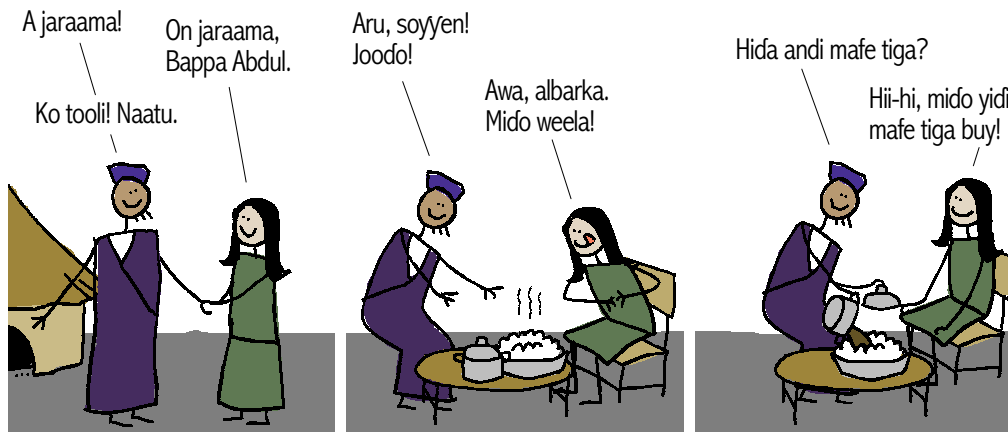
10 Wait.

11 Come in.

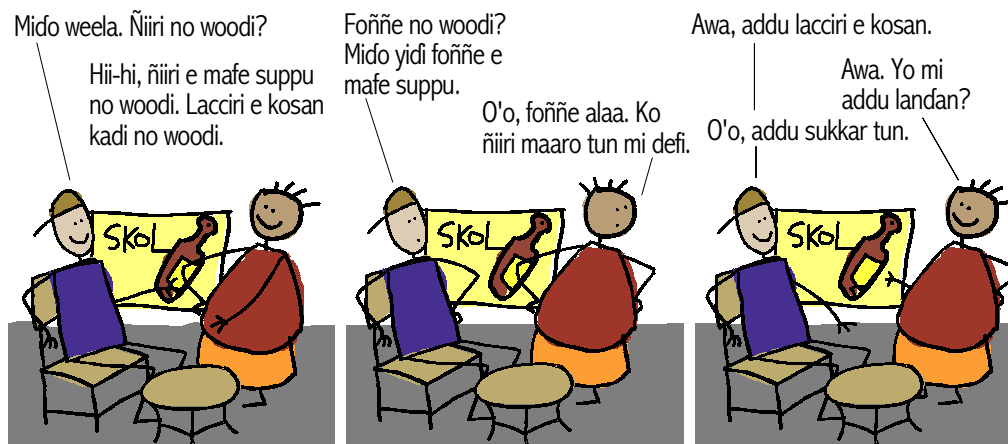
# Beydu seeda!

(Eat a little more!)

## Ka Bappa Abdul (At Uncle Abdul's Place)



## Ka Otel (At the Restaurant)



## 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



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 nden**) and plural (**tigaaje den**) forms. See page 25 for more details.

## Some stative verbs

<b>andugol</b>	know
<b>bendugol</b>	be ripe or ready
<b>buubugol</b>	be cold
<b>dondogol</b>	be thirsty
<b>faalegol</b>	want
<b>hawjugol</b>	be in a hurry
<b>jeyugol</b>	own
<b>jogagol</b>	hold
<b>leetugol</b>	be late
<b>marugol</b>	have
<b>mofyugol</b>	be good
<b>ɲonugol</b>	be sleepy
<b>ronkugol</b>	be tired
<b>waawugol</b>	be able to (do something well)
<b>weelegol</b>	be hungry
<b>welugol</b>	taste good
<b>wonugol</b>	be
<b>wulugol</b>	be hot
<b>yidugol</b>	like
<b>yonugol</b>	be enough

## Some active verbs

<b>beydugol</b>	add, increase
<b>defugol</b>	cook
<b>haarugol</b>	be full
<b>hebugol</b>	obtain
<b>hirtagol</b>	eat dinner
<b>hiwragol</b>	greet
<b>hodugol</b>	live (somewhere)
<b>ittugol kooje</b>	eat breakfast
<b>iwugol</b>	come from
<b>lootagol</b>	wash
<b>ñaamugol</b>	eat
<b>sofyugol</b>	eat lunch
<b>yarugol</b>	drink
<b>yakkugol</b>	munch, bite

## Some adjectives and adverbs

<b>mofya</b>	well
<b>buy</b>	a lot
<b>seeda</b>	a little
<b>tun</b>	only

## Food nouns

<b>bantara</b> on	cassava
<b>basalle</b> on	onion
<b>biraadan</b> d an	milk
<b>bireedi</b> on	bread
<b>bofo</b> on	egg
<b>buudi</b> on	papaya or squash
<b>gerto</b> on	chicken
<b>jakatu</b> on	bitter eggplant
<b>kaaba</b> on	corn
<b>kaccu</b> on	lemon/lime
<b>kobokobo</b> on	eggplant
<b>kosan</b> d an	sour milk
<b>lacciri</b> ndin	corn couscous
<b>landan</b> d an	salt
<b>leemune</b> on	orange
<b>liyfi</b> d in	fish
<b>maafe</b> kon	sauce
<b>maafe haako</b>	leaf sauce
<b>maafe suppu</b>	"soup" sauce
<b>maafe tiga</b>	peanut sauce
<b>maaro</b> kon	uncooked rice
<b>mbeewa</b> mban	goat
<b>ñamaku</b> on	hot pepper
<b>ndiyan</b> d an	water
<b>nebban</b> d an	oil
<b>ñiiri</b> ndin	cooked grain
<b>piya</b> on	avocado
<b>powabar</b> on	pepper
<b>pompiteeri</b> on	potato
<b>putee</b> on	sweet potato
<b>salaadi</b> on	lettuce
<b>suu</b> on	cabbage
<b>sukkar</b> on	sugar
<b>taku</b> on	okra
<b>tamaati</b> on	tomato
<b>teew</b> ngun	meat
<b>tiga</b> on	peanut

## Essential everyday objects

<b>pileeti</b> on	plate
<b>kuyer</b> on	spoon
<b>furseeti</b> on	fork
<b>labi kin</b>	knife
<b>taasi on</b>	cup
<b>hurgo</b> ngon	latrine
<b>kuri</b> on	kitchen hut
<b>tande</b> on	gravel yard
<b>galle</b> d en	family compound

## Asking questions

<b>hondun</b>	what
<b>hombo</b>	who
<b>fii hondun</b>	why
<b>honde tuma</b>	when
<b>jelu</b>	how much/ how many (objects)
<b>njelo</b>	how many (people)
<b>honto</b>	where

## Phrasebook: Food, drink & basic needs

### Ñiiri no woodi?

Is there any food?

### Ñiiri no woodi.

There is food.

### Alaa.

There is none.

### Ñiiri alaa.

There is no food.

### Yo mi addu ñiiri?

Shall I bring food?

### Okkoraan ñiiri.

Let me have some food.

### Okkoraan ndiyan mi yara.

Let me have water to drink.

### Bismillahi!

Welcome! (In God's name.)

### Ko too!!

Welcome! (Be seated.)

### Albarka.

Thank you. (God bless you.)

### Barka'alla.

You are welcome.

### No weli!

It tastes good!

### Welaa!

It tastes bad!

### Mi haari.

I'm full.

### Mid'o faala ...

I want ...

### Mi falaaka ...

I don't want ...

### Mid'o weela.

I'm hungry.

### Mi welaaka.

I'm not hungry.

### Mid'o donda.

I'm thirsty.

### Mi dondaaka.

I'm not thirsty.

### Mid'o faala yahude ka hurgo.

I need to go to the bathroom.



# GRAMMAR

## 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 **weelaa**. *I am **hungry**.* (from **weelegol**, to be hungry)  
Ñiiri 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.

Hĩ e yiidĩ maafe tiga. *They **like** peanut sauce.*  
Baafal ngal no udditi. *The door is **open**.*  
Hiĩ a faalaa ñ aamugol? *Do you **want** to eat?*

Here are some examples with the negative stative endings:

Mi andaa Bubakar. *I **don't know** Bubakar.*  
Baafal ngal ombaaki. *The door **is not shut**.*  
O faalaaka teew. *He **doesn't want** meat.*

### STATIVE VERB ENDINGS

INFINITIVE	STATIVE	NEGATIVE	IMPERATIVE
<b>-ugol</b>	-i	-aa	-u -en -ee
<b>-agol</b>	-ii	-aaki	-o -oden -odee
<b>-egol</b>	-aa	-aaka	✗

## 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** weelaa. ***I** am hungry.*  
**Portojo on no** weelaa. ***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 **moyfi**! *(That's) **good**!*

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

Maafe kon **welaa**. *The sauce is **not good**.*  
Mi **weelaaka**. ***I** am **not hungry**.*  
**Moyfaa**! *(That's) **not good**!*

### STATIVE PRONOUNS

	SUBJECT		INDEPENDENT	POSSESSIVE
	ACTIVE (SHORT)	STATIVE (LONG)		
<b>I</b>	mi	mido	min	an
<b>you</b>	a	hida	an	maa
<b>he/she</b>	o	himo	kanko	makko
<b>we</b> (incl)	en	hiden	enen	men
<b>we</b> (excl)	men	meden	menen	amen
<b>you</b> (pl)	on	hidon	onon	mo'on
<b>they</b>	be	hibe	kanbe	mabbe



### PLEASE NOTE

Right away we have a problem: The *stative* ending for **-egol** verbs is the same as the *negative* ending for **-ugol** verbs. This can be confusing. To make matters worse, in this chapter we have two different verbs that sound similar: **weelegol**, to be hungry; and **welugol**, to taste good.

**Mido weelaa.**  
*I am hungry.*

**Kosan welaa.**  
*Kosan doesn't taste good.*

Three things can help you keep this straight: ❶ context; ❷ a slightly different stress pattern in pronunciation; and ❸ the difference between the active pronoun (**mi**) and the stative pronoun (**mido**).

## The focused perfective

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

<i>Who</i> went to the market today?	<i>I</i> went to the market today.
<i>Where</i> did you go today?	I went <b>to the market</b> today.
<i>When</i> did you go to the market?	I went to the market <b>today</b> .

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:

Ko <b>hombo</b> yahi ka maakiti hande?	Ko <b>min</b> yahi ka maakiti hande. <i>It is I who went to the market today</i>
Ko <b>honto</b> yahud a hande?	Ko <b>ka maakiti</b> mi yahi hande. <i>It is to the market that I went today.</i>
Ko <b>honde tuma</b> yahud a ka maakiti?	Ko <b>hande</b> mi yahi ka maakiti. <i>It is today that I went to the market.</i>

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)

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

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

Ko hombo defɪ ɲi iiri ndin?	<i>Who cooked the food?</i>
Ko be eyngu an defɪ.	<i>My wife cooked it.</i>
Ko honde tuma hewtudɛn?	<i>When did we arrive?</i>
Ko e dix-heures hewtudɛn.	<i>We arrived at ten o'clock.</i>
Ko honto joodɪda?	<i>Where did you sit?</i>
Ko d'oo mi joodɪii.	<i>I sat here.</i>
Ko hond'un faaladon?	<i>What do y'all want?</i>
Ko ndiyan men faalaa.	<i>We want water.</i>

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 ❶ *completed* (past) actions and ❷ *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 wawaali.**  
*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 <b>tef!</b>	I am <b>totally</b> full!
Hid'a kaani <b>kas!</b>	You are <b>very</b> ugly!
Dan ndiyan no wojji <b>cos!</b>	That water is <b>totally</b> 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 no no heewi <b>tef!</b>	The car is <b>completely</b> full!
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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.

## SOME INTENSIFIERS

bendi <b>mor</b>	<b>very</b> ripe
laabi <b>poy</b>	<b>very</b> clean
yoy'i <b>ken</b>	<b>very</b> clever
rawni <b>pen</b>	<b>very</b> white
feewi <b>yet</b>	<b>very</b> straight
wuli <b>kat</b>	<b>very</b> hot
selli <b>ken</b>	<b>very</b> healthy
tuuni <b>tus</b>	<b>very</b> dirty
luubi <b>ɗus</b>	<b>very</b> stinky
bubbi <b>jip</b>	<b>very</b> cold
bawli <b>kis</b>	<b>very</b> black

## EXERCISES

### A. Questions & answers

■ Answer the following questions in complete sentences, using the responses provided.

- Ko hombo yahi ka saare? (my big brother)  
*Ko koto an yahi ka saare.*
- Ko hondun faalaada ñaamugol? (rice and peanut sauce)
- Ko honto faaladon yahugol? (Dakar)
- Ko hombo mari deftere an nden? (him)
- Ko fii hondun arudaa Laginee? (to teach)
- Ko honto hoduda? (next to the school)
- Ko hombo woni beyngu makko? (Amadu's little sister)
- Ko honto be iwi? (Senegal)
- Ko honto be yahi? (Alfa's place)
- Ko hombo woni lando Amerik? (Bill Clinton)
- Ko hombo addi ñiiri ndin? (Ablaye's wife)
- Ko honto faalaada hodugol? (Fuuta Jallon)
- Ko hondun jogida ka jiifa? (a pen and a knife)

## KEY WORDS

### yo • wata

Consider these sentences:

**Yo be 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.")*



**CULTURAL NOTES**

**Dinner's almost ready**

The Fulbe are some of the most hospitable people you'll ever meet, and it's hard to go anywhere without being fed. Hours before dinnertime, you're likely to be told to stay and eat ("it's almost ready"). Feel free to accept or turn down these invitations as you see fit; they may or may not be just being polite.

Some polite ways to decline:

**Mi haari.**

*I'm full.*

**Ko jooni mi ñaami.**

*I just ate.*

**Albarka.**

*Thanks anyway.*

On the flipside, a PCV living alone and cooking for themselves is unfortunately often unable to reciprocate all this spontaneous hospitality when unexpected guests arrive. Anyone who fails to understand this and gives you a hard time is either just teasing or being rude. In any event, here are some handy phrases:

**Mi defaali hande.**

*I didn't cook today.*

**Ko seeda nii mi defi hande.**

*I only cooked a little bit today.*

**Fayda mi gaynii.**

*I'm almost finished.*

**Accee hakke.**

*Sorry about that.*

14 Ko hondun woni ka nder suudu maa? (just a bed)

15 Ko hombo jey ndee deftere? (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.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 arugol	aru! wata a aru!	aree! wata on aru!
2 waalagol		
3 yahugol		
4 joodagol		
5 naatugol		
6 cippagol		
7 lootagol		
8 wallugol lan		
9 wonugol ton		
10 dowtugol mo		

**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 beyngu an woni jannoowo anglee.

4 Ko ka hoore fello o hodi.

5 Ko duubi nogay o mari.

6 Ko kambe faalaa yarugol.

7 Ko Baaba an tuti ngal leggal.



8 Ko ka saare men yahi.

9 Ko kosan mi faalaa 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 ñaamugol tun be yahi ka makko.

17 Ko kaawu Idrissa jey suudu ndun.

18 Ko Cerno Aliu woni moodi makko.

19 Ko ka suudu be woni.

20 Ko miñiraabe 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.

*Mido weelaa.*

3 Faatu no yidi amugol.

4 Mido faala yahugol ton.

5 Himo mari kaalisi buy.

6 Baafal ngal no ombii.

7 Hibe dondaa.

8 Portobe ben no faala ñaamugol.

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 baabagotoobe makko.

15 No moyyi.

16 Men falaaka jangugol hande.

17 Jannoowo an no andi matematiik.

18 En maraa nebban buy.

19 Miñan maa no mari coonci buy.

20 Leemuneere 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 Saliu.

8 Cippo ka maadi.

9 Wata en joodo Labe.

10 Fittee suudu ndun.

11 Wata on udditu baafal ngal.

### 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.*

*o alaa Ameriki.*

2 Ko honto beyngu maa woni? (Binta's place)

3 Ko honto biɗɗo makko woni? (school)

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

5 Ko honto Directer on woni? (at home)

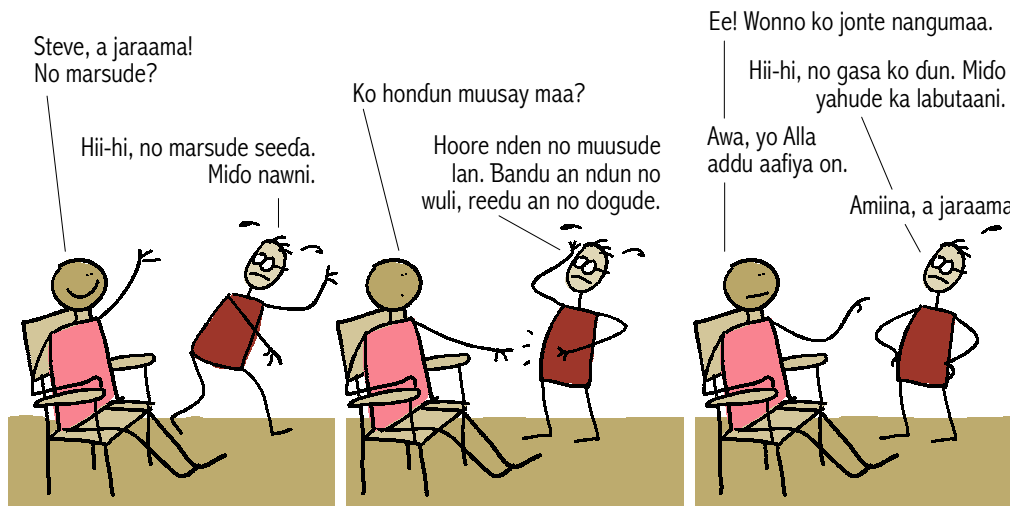
6 Ko honto ben maa woni? (here)



# No butti seeda?

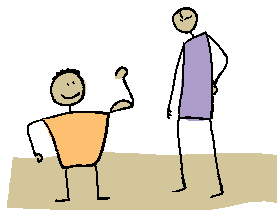
(Are you feeling better?)

## 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 moyyɪ.

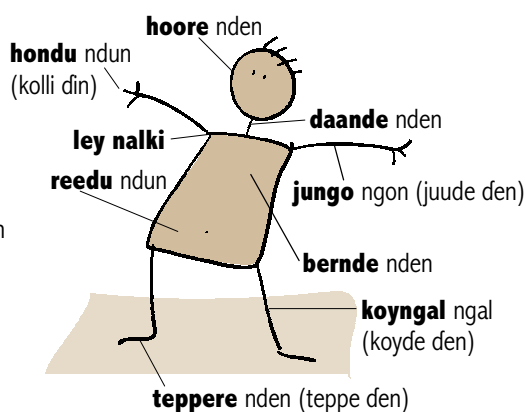


Aliu no juuti, no lo' i,  
no sewi.  
Ali no njandi hoore.  
Himo monii.  
Ali moyaa.

## Hoore nden (The head)



## Bandu ndun (The body)



## 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

# VOCABULARY



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Unidoobe  
dido wata  
sundondir  
ley nolki.

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

## Nouns: Gore and disease

nawnaare	sickness
ñawndoowo	healer, doctor
cellal	health
labutaani	hospital
lekki	medicine
pikiir	shot
palu	malaria
jonte	malaria
jalbi	worms
ñaw giggol	sexually transmitted illness
feti	measles
puye	bumps
dogu reedu	diarrhea
muusu	pain
durma	cold
barme	wound
bullal	abscess

## Verbs: Sickness and pestilence

nangugol	catch
wondugol	be with
muusugol	hurt
nawnugol	be sick
ñawndugol	heal
dogugol	run
sikkugol	think, believe
ta'yugol	cut
barmugol	wound
buttugol	be better (LIT. cool down)
helugol	break
ñaabegol	have pinkeye
durmegol	have a cold
soofugol	urinate
bu'ugol	defecate
tuutugol	vomit
maayugol	die
dojjugol	cough
ñatugol	bite (mosquito, snake)

## Possibility

**Wonno ko jonte.**  
Maybe it's malaria.

**No gasa ko ñun.**  
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
sukkundu	ndun	back of neck
bernde	nden	heart
heyre	nden	liver
yiiyan	ñan	blood
guri	ngii	skin
bandu	ndun	body
baawo	ngon	back
kinal	ngal	nose
dengal	ngal	tongue

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

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
yiiere	nden	gite ñan eye
jungo	ngon	juude ñan arm; hand
hundu	ndun	kolli ñan finger
walbo	ngon	balbe ñan shoulder
koyngal	ngal	koyde ñan leg
fowre	nden	bobi ñan buttock
ñiire	nden	ñiiye ñan tooth
howru	ndun	koppi ñan knee
nowru	ndun	noppi ñan ear
yii'al	ngal	yii'e ñan bone
newre	nden	newe ñan palm of hand
teppere	nden	teppe ñan sole of foot
tondu	ndun	toni ñan lip

## Phrasebook: Describing people

**Ko honno 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.

## Phrasebook: Health

**Ko hondun muusay maa?**  
What hurts you?

**Ko honto muusay maa?**  
Where does it hurt?

**Ko hondun wadu maa?**  
What's wrong with you?

**Ko hoore nden muusata lan.**  
It's my head that hurts.

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

**Ko hondun nangu maa?**  
What do you have?  
(LIT. What caught you?)

**Ko jonte nangu lan.**  
I've got malaria.

**Mi'o wondi e jalbi.**  
I have worms.

**God'dun ñatii 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 beydu aafiya.**  
May God bring you peace.

## Physical traits

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
yofugol	be clever
moyfugol	be good
bonugol	be bad
dolnugol	be strong
lo'ugol	be weak
arsikegol	be lucky
njandugol	be big
fandugol	be small

## 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

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

Here are some examples:

Hoore nden no muusude <b>lan</b> .	(My) head is hurting <b>me</b> .
Ko hombo jonni <b>ma</b> d'un?	Who gave <b>you</b> that?
Junnu <b>mo</b> lekki kin.	Give <b>him</b> the medicine.
Ko kanko ñ awndata <b>men</b> .	He will heal <b>us</b> .

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 **⓪**: **-u + lan = -an** (imperative)

<b>wrong:</b> Jonnu <b>lan</b> !	
<b>right:</b> Jonnan!	Give it to me!
<b>wrong:</b> Okkoru <b>lan</b> ndiyan mi yara.	
<b>right:</b> Okkoran ndiyan mi yara.	Pass me some water to drink.

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

<b>wrong:</b> Mi piyay <b>ma</b> !	
<b>right:</b> 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.)



### KEY WORDS

#### waawugol

The English word “can” (as in “I can”) and the verb “to be able to” is translated in Pular by the verb **waawugol**.

**Himo waawi dogugol.**  
 He can (really) run.

**Be waawataa Pular.**  
 They can't (speak) Pular.

**Perfective** (complete actions):

<b>Himo</b> yahi ka saare.	He <b>is gone</b> to town.	(stative)
<b>O</b> yahi ka saare	He <b>went</b> to town.	(narrative)
<b>O</b> yahii ka saare.	He <b>did go</b> to town.	(asserted)
<b>O</b> yahaali ka saare.	He <b>didn't go</b> to town.	(negative)
Ko ka saare <b>o</b> yahi.	It's to town that he <b>went</b> .	(focused)

**Imperfective** (incomplete actions):

<b>Himo</b> yahude ka saare.	He <b>is going</b> to town.	(progressive)
<b>Himo</b> yaha ka saare.	He <b>goes</b> to town.	(simple/habitual)
<b>O</b> yahay ka saare.	He <b>will go</b> to town.	(future)
<b>O</b> yahataa ka saare.	He <b>won't go</b> to town.	(negative)
Ko ka saare <b>o</b> yahata.	It's to town that he <b>will go</b> .	(focused)
Yahu ka saare.	<b>Go</b> 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 is going. OR 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)

	-ugol	-agol	-egol	EXAMPLE (yahugol)
<b>I</b>	mi ... -ata	mi ... -oto	mi ... -ete	ko ka maakiti <b>mi</b> yahata it is to the market <b>I</b> will go
<b>you</b>	... -ataa	... -otoda	... -eteda	ko ka maakiti yahataa it is to the market <b>you</b> will go
<b>he/she</b>	o ... -ata	o ... -oto	o ... -ete	ko ka maakiti <b>o</b> yahi it is to the market <b>she</b> will go
<b>we</b> (incl)	... -aten	... -otoden	... -eteden	ko ka maakiti yahaten it is to the market <b>we</b> will go
<b>we</b> (excl)	men ... -ata	men ... -oto	men ... -ete	ko ka maakiti <b>men</b> yahata it is to the market <b>we</b> will go
<b>you</b> (pl)	... -aton	... -otodon	... -etedon	ko ka maakiti yahaton it is to the market <b>you</b> will go
<b>they</b>	be ... -ata	be ... -oto	be ... -ete	ko ka maakiti <b>be</b> yahata it is to the market <b>they</b> will go

Again, questions are asked and answered in the focus form.



Ko hondun mus <b>ata</b> ma?	<i>What hurts you?</i>
Ko reedu ndun muus <b>ata</b> lan.	<i>My stomach hurts me.</i>
Ko honto hirt <b>otoda</b> ?	<i>Where will you eat supper?</i>
Ko ka Cerno Aliu mi hirt <b>oto</b> .	<i>I'll eat supper at Cerno Aliu's.</i>
Ko honno inn <b>eteda</b> ?	<i>What are you called?</i>
Ko Mamadu Aliu mi inn <b>ete</b> .	<i>I am called Mamadu Aliu.</i>

## The progressive

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

Mid'o 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

INFINITIVE	PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE		
	FOCUS/ STATIVE	NEGATIVE	PROGRESSIVE	FOCUS	IMPERATIVE
<b>-ugol</b>	-i	-aa	-ude	-ata	-u -en -ee
<b>-agol</b>	-ii	-aaki	-aade	-oto	-o -oden -odee
<b>-egol</b>	-aa	-aaka	-eede	-ete	✘

Some more examples:

Mid'o sood <b>ude</b> bireedi.	<i>I am buying bread.</i>
Himo loot <b>aade</b> .	<i>He is washing himself.</i>
Men <b>alaa</b> cipp <b>aade</b> ka oto.	<i>We're not getting out of the car.</i>
Himo moore <b>eede</b> ton.	<i>She is having her hair braided there.</i>

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

<b>yahugol</b>	<i>to go</i>	<i>(infinitive/verbal noun)</i>
<b>yahude</b>	<i>going</i>	<i>(infinitive/progressive)</i>

Both infinitives can be used following helper verbs:

Mid'o faala yahude. }  
Mid'o faala yahugol. } *I want to go.*

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



## KEY WORDS

### wonugol

The focus form as it has been presented thus far is not very versatile. In order to focus a progressive or negative construction, or a label, you need the word **woni** (from **wonugol**, to be) as an auxiliary.

PROGRESSIVE:

**Ko hondun woni e muusude?**

*What is hurting?*

LABEL:

**Ko min woni lando.**

*I'm the boss.*

NEGATIVE:

**Ko hombo woni yidaa mafe haako?**

*Who is it that doesn't like leaf sauce?*

If appropriate, use the inverted forms:

**Ko hondun wonuda e ñaamude?**

*What are you eating?*

The word **wonaa** (the opposite of the focusing **ko**) is just the negative stative of **wonugol**.

**Wonaa Aliu mi innete.**

*My name isn't Aliu.*

**Wonaa min woni lando.**

*I'm not the boss.*

# EXERCISES



## 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.

### 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 hondun woni e muusude maa?

*Ko hoore an nden woni e muusude lan.*

2 Ko hondun yettudaa?

3 Ko yonte nangumaa?

4 Ko hoore nden muusay maa?

5 Ko hondun nangumaa?

6 No buuti seeda?

7 Yo Alla beydu aafiya.

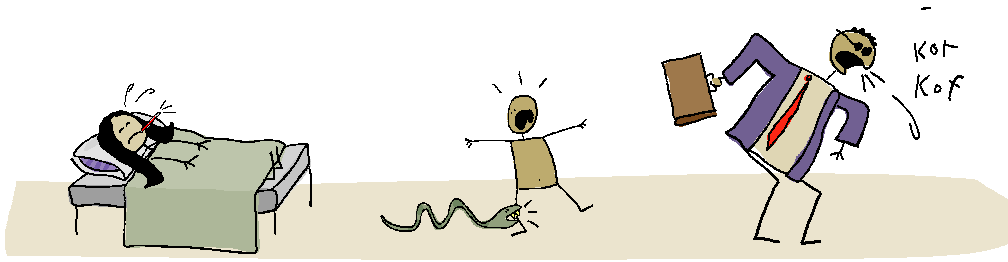
8 Bandu maa no wuli?

9 Wonno ko jonte nangumaa.

10 Hida wondi e jalbi?

**C. Oh, dear, what could the matter be?**

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

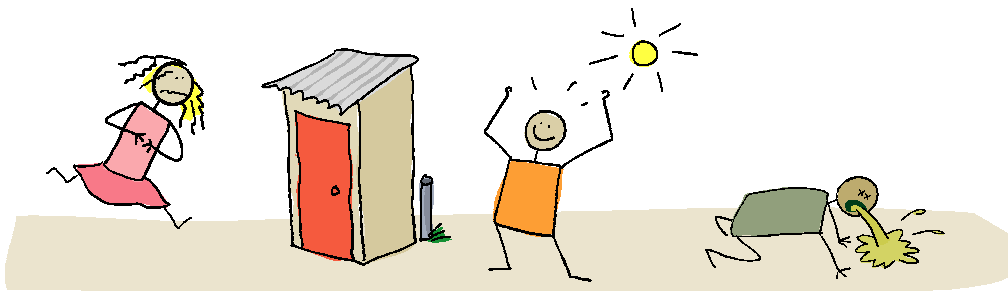


Susan no nawni.  
Bandu makko  
no wuli.

.....

.....

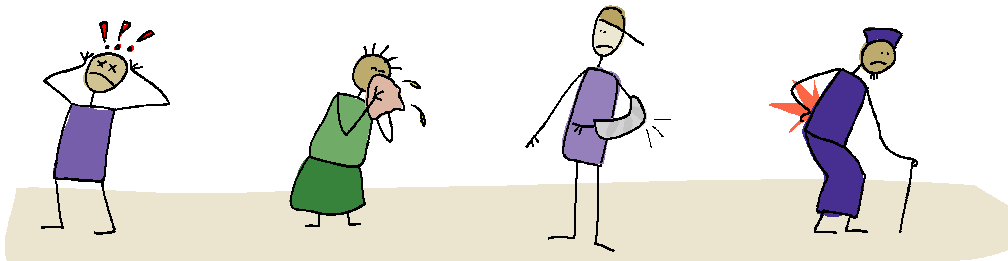
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**CULTURAL NOTES**

**Are you better?**

When you tell someone you're sick, they will ask you: "Are you feeling better?" (**No b uuti 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.

<i>h</i> 1 hondu	<i>finger</i>	a gite
2 fowre		b yi'e
3 howru		c toni
4 jungo		d teppe
5 koyngal		e noppi
6 newre		f ñi'e
7 nowru		g newe
8 ñiire		h kolli
9 teppere		i koppi
10 tonndu		j koyde
11 walbo		k juude
12 yi'al		l bobi
13 yiitere		m balbe

### 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 ñaamata.

5 Ko koto makko piyete.

6 Ko ka labutaani mi gollata.

### F. Questions, questions

■ Give reasonable answers to the following.

1 Ko honto be ñaamata?

*Ko ka njatigiibe mabbe be ñaamata.*

2 Ko honto be yahata?

3 Ko honde tuma yahaten?

4 Ko hombo addata ñiiri ñin?

5 Ko hombo woni e yimude?

6 Ko hondun habbotoden?

7 Ko hondun o jalata?

8 Ko hombo windata leter on?

9 Ko honto mi joodoto?

10 Ko hondun woni e muusude ma?

11 Ko hombo woni e arude too?

12 Ko hombo woni yobaali?

13 Ko honto be woni e yahude?

14 Ko hombo woni yidaa mafe tiga?

15 Ko hombo defata hiraande nden?

16 Ko hondun be yarata?

17 Ko honto loototodaa?

18 Ko hombo o woni e hiwraade?

### G. Boring grammar drill, part two

■ Focus the underlined word using **woni**.

1 Mido yahude Labe.

*Ko Labe mi woni e yahude.*

2 Miñan an faalaaka arde.

*Ko miñan an woni faalaaka arde.*

3 Bubakar andaa Porto.

4 Hibe darnude lekkol ton.

5 Baaba an yidaa mafe haako.

6 Ngal baafal ombaaki taho.

7 Mido 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)

*Hibe 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. (yakkingol)

9 Give me the rice. (okkorgol)

10 Give them their books. (jonnugol)

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 hondun wi'udaa?

3 Ko ka hakkunde be woni.

4 Ko ndiyan tun o faala.

5 Ko takko an o joodii.

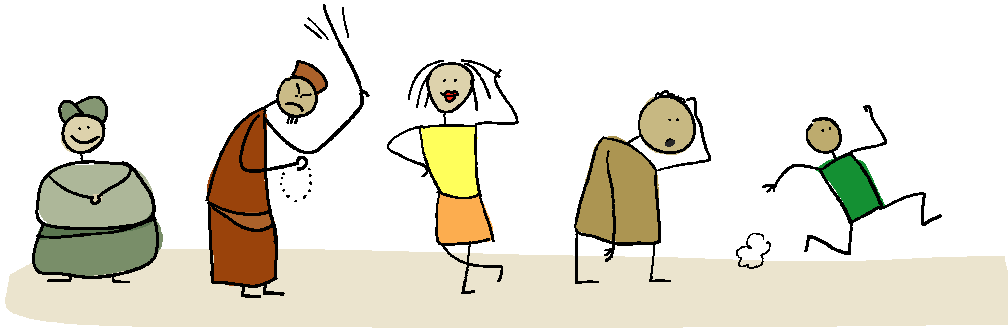
6 Ko kanko tun hebi Bacc on.

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 Ibrahima

.....  
.....

3 Binta

.....  
.....

4 Lamin

.....  
.....

5 Lamarana

.....  
.....

## K. Opposites

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

- Njaatigi an no njandi; koto makko no .....
- Amadu no dolni; Ali .....
- Umar no sembi; goreejo makko on .....
- Hibe weltii; njaatigi mabbe .....
- Ali no moy'yi, 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.

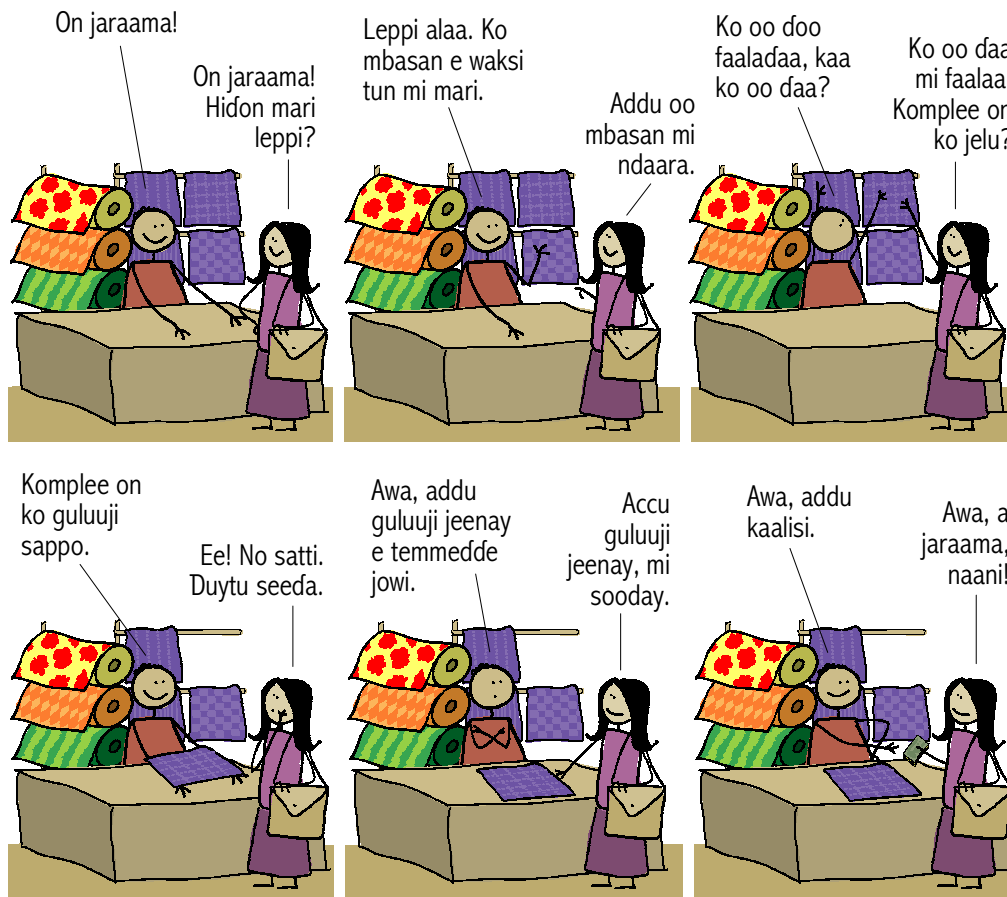




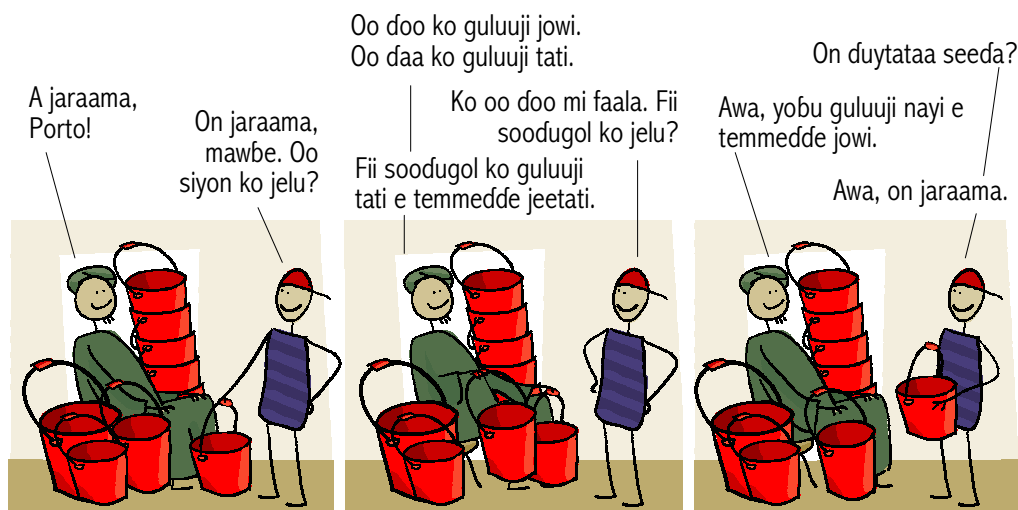
# Duytu seeda!

(Come down a little!)

## Soodugol bagi (Buying cloth)



## Soodugol siyo (Buying a bucket)



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 – heb ugol
- jeyugol – jon

# VOCABULARY



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Baasal

warataa

kono no

tampina.

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.

## Merchandise

<b>almeeti</b> on	box of matches
<b>buusii</b> on	candle
<b>wureere</b> nden	sheet
<b>loonde</b> nden	water jar
<b>fayande</b> nden	cooking pot
<b>bagi</b> on	cloth
<b>leppi</b> d in	hand-woven cotton cloth
<b>mbasan</b> on	imported white cotton cloth (may be locally dyed)
<b>waksi</b> on	imported printed cloth
<b>sudaare</b> nden	blanket

## Verbs

<b>soodugol</b>	buy
<b>yeeyugol</b>	sell
<b>ndaarugol</b>	look
<b>sattugol</b>	be difficult, expensive
<b>duytugol</b>	come down, reduce
<b>fandugol</b>	be small
<b>subagol</b>	choose
<b>marugol</b>	have, save
<b>jogagol</b>	have, hold
<b>ñawlagol</b>	lend
<b>yobugol</b>	pay
<b>sensugol</b>	change
<b>landagol</b>	ask
<b>haldugol</b>	negotiate
<b>termugol</b>	bargain

## Nouns

<b>yeeyoowo</b> on	seller
<b>soodoowo</b> on	buyer
<b>maakiti</b> on	market
<b>luumo</b> ngon	weekly market
<b>bitiki</b> on	store
<b>coggu</b> ngon	price
<b>mbuudi</b> ndin	money
<b>kaalisi</b> on	money
<b>cewdi</b> d in	change

## Numbers over 100

<b>teemedere</b>	one hundred
<b>teemedde jowi</b>	five hundred
<b>wuluure</b>	one thousand
<b>guluuji jowi</b>	five thousand
<b>guluuji didi e temedde</b>	two thousand seven
<b>jeefidi e cappande jowi</b>	hundred and fifty

## Measures

<b>horde</b> nden	calabash
<b>korun</b> kun	small calabash
<b>pooti</b> on	can, jar
<b>kilo</b> on	kilogram
<b>meeter</b> on	meter
<b>liitar</b> on	liter
<b>sariyaare</b> nden	measure
<b>habbere</b> nden	bundle
<b>sadaare</b> nden	pile

## Phrasebook: Food, drink, & basic needs

### Tamaati on ko jelu?

How much are the tomatoes?

### Mido faala soodude tamaati.

I want to buy tomatoes.

### Ko basaale mi faala.

It's onions that I want.

### No satti.

That's expensive.

### Fii soodugol ko jelu?

How much is it really?

### Duytanan seeda.

Come down a bit for me.

### On duytataa seeda?

Won't you come down a little?

### Beydu seeda.

Give me a little more.

### No moy'yi.

That's good.

### Mido yiidi dun.

I like that.

### A maraa cewdi wuluure?

Don't you have change for a thousand?

### Maaro no woodi?

Is there rice?

### Maaro alaa.

There is no rice.

### Maaro no woodi.

There is rice.

### Hidon jogii saabunde?

Do you have soap?

### Mi jogaaki saabunde.

I don't have soap.

### Mido jogii saabunde.

I do have soap.

### Hidon mari pompiteeri?

Do you have potatoes?

### Mi maraa pompiteeri.

I don't have potatoes.

### Mido mari pompiteeri.

I do have potatoes.

### Ko honto mi heboto farin?

Where could I get flour?

## 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:

### ASSERTED VERB ENDINGS

INFINITIVE	P E R F E C T I V E			I M P E R F E C T I V E				
	ASSERTED (PAST)	FOCUS/ STATIVE	NEGATIVE	PROGRESSIVE	ASSERTED (FUTURE)	NEGATIVE	FOCUS	IMPERATIVE
<b>-ugol</b>	-ii	-i	-aa -aali	-ude	-ay	-ataa	-ata	-u -en -ee
<b>-agol</b>	-ike	-ii	-aaki	-aade	-oto	-otaako	-oto	-o -oden -odee
<b>-egol</b>	-aama	-aa	-aaka	-eede	-ete	-etaake	-ete	✘

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 (**mido, hida, himo**, etc.) Some examples:

O sood <b>ii</b> bireedi.	<i>He did buy bread.</i>
O sood <b>ay</b> bireedi.	<i>He will buy bread.</i>
Mi sub <b>ike</b> oo bagi d oo.	<i>I chose that cloth there.</i>
Mi sub <b>oto</b> oo bagi d oo.	<i>I will choose that cloth there.</i>
Be loot <b>aama</b> .	<i>They were washed.</i>
Be loot <b>ete</b> .	<i>They will be washed.</i>

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

O sood <b>aali</b> bireedi.	<i>He didn't buy bread.</i>
O sod <b>ataa</b> bireedi.	<i>He won't buy bread.</i>
Mi sub <b>aaki</b> oo bagi d oo.	<i>I didn't choose that cloth there.</i>
Mi sub <b>otaako</b> oo bagi d oo.	<i>I won't choose that cloth there.</i>
Be loot <b>aaka</b> .	<i>They weren't washed.</i>
Be loot <b>etaake</b> .	<i>They won't be washed.</i>

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*.

<b>stative</b>	{ Himo andi.	<i>He knows</i>
	{ O andaa.	<i>He doesn't know.</i>
<b>past (active)</b>	{ O yahii.	<i>He went</i>
	{ O yahaali.	<i>He didn't go.</i>

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

Mi yahay <b>woni</b> ka saare.	<i>I am going to town.</i>
--------------------------------	----------------------------

This is equivalent to

Mid'o yahude ka saare.	<i>I am going to town.</i>
------------------------	----------------------------

## marugol • jogagol hebugol

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 ñ iiri?**  
*Do you have rice?*

**Himo mari biibe buy.**  
*He has many children.*

**Maranan seeda!**  
*Save me some!*<sup>1</sup>

**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.*

**O alaa labi.**  
*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.*

**O jogaaki labi.**  
*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 hebi boobo gorko.**  
*She had a boy.*

<sup>1</sup> This uses the benefactive infix **-an-**. See page 89.



### jeyugol • jon

**Jeyugol** means "to own".

**Ko min jey dee gese.**  
*Those fields are mine.*

**Ko hombo jey ndee deftere?**  
*Whose book is this?*

**Wata mo yettu ko o jeyaa.**  
*One shouldn't take what doesn't belong to one.*

The participle is **jon**, meaning "owner" (see participles, page 90). **Jeydo** is also heard.

**Ko honto jon oto on woni?**  
*Where's the owner of the car?*

**Jon leemune, arii!**  
*You with the oranges, come over here!*

**Jon** is a common way of identifying people with specific attributes.

**jon hakkil**  
*smart person*

**jon goddun**  
*wealthy person*

We also have:

**jon bitiki**  
*shopkeeper*

**jon galle**  
*husband*

**jon suudu**  
*wife*

## 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.  
**Mido** weela.

*He is ugly.*  
*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.  
**Mi** jangii.

*He went to town.*  
*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** yahi ka saare.  
**Mido** jangi.

*He is gone to town.*  
*I am educated.*

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

**O** kaanii.  
**Mi** weelaama.

*She became ugly.*  
*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**  
**ndee** deftere

*the book*  
*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**, **kii**).
- If the article doesn't end in **n** (**ngal**, **koy**) then the demonstrative is identical (**ngal**, **koy**).

sukkar <b>on</b>	<i>the sugar</i>
yeeyoob e <b>ben</b>	<i>the sellers</i>
leppi <b>din</b>	<i>the cloth</i>
pad e <b>den</b>	<i>the shoes</i>
hord e <b>nden</b>	<i>the calabash</i>
buudi <b>ndin</b>	<i>the papaya</i>
suudu <b>ndun</b>	<i>the hut</i>
nagge <b>ngen</b>	<i>the cow</i>
luumo <b>ngon</b>	<i>the market</i>
coggu <b>ngun</b>	<i>the price</i>
gertogal <b>ngal</b>	<i>the chicken</i>
baafal <b>ngal</b>	<i>the door</i>
linggii <b>ngii</b>	<i>the fish</i>
caangol <b>ngol</b>	<i>the river</i>

<b>oo</b> sukkar	<i>this sugar</i>
<b>bee</b> yeeyoob e	<i>these sellers</i>
<b>dii</b> leppi	<i>this cloth</i>
<b>dee</b> pad e	<i>these shoes</i>
<b>ndee</b> hord e	<i>this calabash</i>
<b>ndii</b> buudi	<i>this papaya</i>
<b>nduu</b> suudu	<i>this hut</i>
<b>ngee</b> nagge	<i>this cow</i>
<b>ngoo</b> luumo	<i>this market</i>
<b>nguu</b> coggu	<i>this price</i>
<b>ngal</b> gertogal	<i>this chicken</i>
<b>ngal</b> baafal	<i>this door</i>
<b>ngii</b> linggii	<i>this fish</i>
<b>ngol</b> caangol	<i>this river</i>

The **dan** class is the only exception to this rule.

nebban **dan** *the oil*  
ndiyan **dan** *the water*

**dan** nebban *this oil*  
**dan** ndiyan *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** bireediwal **doo** faalaf aa, 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.

- 1      123      *temmedere e noqay e tati*
- 2      220      .....
- 3      750      .....
- 4      1,200      .....
- 5      7,000      .....
- 6      500      .....
- 7      1,350      .....
- 8      15,000      .....
- 9      25      .....
- 10     4,300      .....
- 11     6,150      .....

## B. Plural demonstratives

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

- 1      *dii*      dolokkeeji      *THESE SHIRTS*
- 2      .....      mawbe      .....
- 3      .....      pelle      .....
- 4      .....      ca'e      .....
- 5      .....      pootihoy      .....
- 6      .....      pade      .....
- 7      .....      maafeeji      .....
- 8      .....      bagiiji      .....
- 9      .....      gertoode      .....
- 10     .....      yimbe      .....
- 11     .....      cuudi      .....
- 12     .....      paykoy      .....
- 13     .....      lekkolbe      .....
- 14     .....      bolle      .....
- 15     .....      leemuneeje      .....

### C. Complete the dialogue

- Fill in the blanks in the following conversation.

Ee! No satti.

-----

-----

-----

yobataa?

/

Dun doo no fandi.

Awa, -----

guluuji nayi.

Awa, a jaraama, naani!

Oo pantalon -----?

Pantalon on ko guluuji jowi.

Mi -----

guluuji tati.

-----

guluuji nayi.

### 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 dee saabiye?*

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 jogaaki 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.

6 Ko Aamadu ñawloto lan kaalisi seeda.

7 Ko min subii oo dolokke.

8 Ko bee doo sensi mbuddi wuluure an.

9 Ko Aamadu yahata Labe jango.

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 *Ko ndee deftere doo falaadaa, kaa ko ndee daa?*
- 2 gertogal .....
- 3 suudu .....
- 4 leemuneere .....
- 5 labi .....
- 6 gorko .....
- 7 pootihun .....
- 8 buudi .....
- 9 maaro .....
- 10 mbeewa .....
- 11 pade .....
- 12 oto .....
- 13 jullere .....
- 14 bireediwal .....
- 15 ñaarihoy .....

## H. Blast from the past

■ Put into the past, then translate.

- 1 Kun paykun cippotaako ka leggal.  
*Kun paykun cippaaki ka leggal. (THAT KID DIDN'T COME DOWN FROM THE TREE.)*
- 2 Mi yaray biraadan.  
.....
- 3 Be yahay ka esiraabe mabbe.  
.....
- 4 O ñawloto lan kaalisi.  
.....
- 5 Be nabataa ñiiri.  
.....
- 6 Mi suboto jiwo.  
.....

## I. Back to the future

■ Put the following into the future, then translate.

- 1 Mi soodii gerto.  
*Mi sooday gerto. (I WILL BUY A CHICKEN.)*
- 2 On yi'ii Portooobe ka maakiti.  
.....
- 3 Mi yahii Mamou.  
.....
- 4 Mi ittii kooje ka gaar watiir.  
.....
- 5 Men hiwraaki be.  
.....



6 Mi piyaama ka laawol.

7 Be faamii lesan on.

8 Mi hebaali basalle.

9 Mi yobii guluuji sappo.

10 En haraali.

### J. Mixed demonstratives

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

- |    |             |            |                  |
|----|-------------|------------|------------------|
| 1  | <i>ngal</i> | gatal      | <i>no njandi</i> |
| 2  |             | leemuneere |                  |
| 3  |             | rewbe      |                  |
| 4  |             | paykun     |                  |
| 5  |             | kosan      |                  |
| 6  |             | bagi       |                  |
| 7  |             | yeyoowo    |                  |
| 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 LABE TOMORROW.)*
- 2 Mi yahii hanki jemma.
- 3 O lootike ka caangol.
- 4 En habbaama hanki.
- 5 On lubike mo labi kin.
- 6 Mido faalaa taamaati.
- 7 Mi haarii.
- 8 Kun paykun lootete.
- 9 Buubakar no waawi Angele.



### 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 ❶ what the item is supposed to cost (ask around) and ❷ 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.

10 Be waynike.

11 Mi sooday leppi ka luumo.

12 Pade maa no foti.

13 Be joodoto ka suudu.

14 Dee leemuneeje no weli.

15 Mi hirtoto ka makko.

16 Mi yaray ndiyan ka fulawa.

17 Ndiyan soodete ka saare.

#### L. Yes, you did

- Put the following sentences into the affirmative, then translate.

1 Mi weelaaka.

*Mi to weelaa. (I AM HUNGRY.)*

2 Mi faalaaka yahugol ka maakiti.

3 Dun moyyaa.

4 Mi ñamataa teew.

5 O ñawlaaki lan mbuddi.

6 Men yahaali.

7 Mi yidaa kobo-kobo.

8 Coggu maa ngun sattaa.

9 Be cippotaako ka oto.

10 Mi yeeyataa mban ngesa.

11 Mi faamaali.

12 Mi soodataa ñii liyyi.

13 Mi joodaaki takko makko.

14 Mi waawataa defude.

15 Mi yobataa wuluure.

### M. Alternate progressive form

■ Rewrite the following progressive sentences using the **-ay woni** construction, then translate.

1 Mido ñaamude.

*Mi ñaamay woni. (I AM EATING.)*

2 Hibe fijude.

3 Mido ndaarude tun.

4 Hibe yahude Kankalabe.

5 Mido landaade maa.

6 Meden jannude ka lekkol.

7 Himo piyeede.

8 Mido haylaade tun.

9 Hibe yeeyude mbeewa mabbe mban.

10 Hibe cippaade ka oto.

11 Mido subaade bagi.

### N. Passive sentences

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

1 Be wujjii siyo men.

*Siyo men wujjaama. (OUR BUCKET WAS STOLEN.)*

2 Goddo piyimo ka saare.

3 O wuppay conci din.

4 Baaba an yeeyay ngee nagge.

5 Hay gooto wujjaali deftere maa.

6 O lootay boobo makko.

7 Polisiijo on nangii gujjo on.

8 Mi yoogaali 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

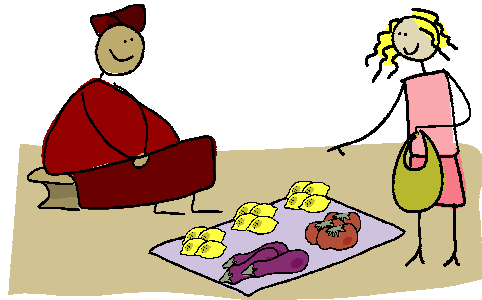
- tourist items and hand-crafts
- large quantities of anything
- big, expensive things (buckets, pots, other housewares)
- someone's services

9 Mi defataa ñiiri ndin.

10 O tayay bagi on.

**0. Write your own**

■ Imagine a dialogue between the volunteer and the vendor.



.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

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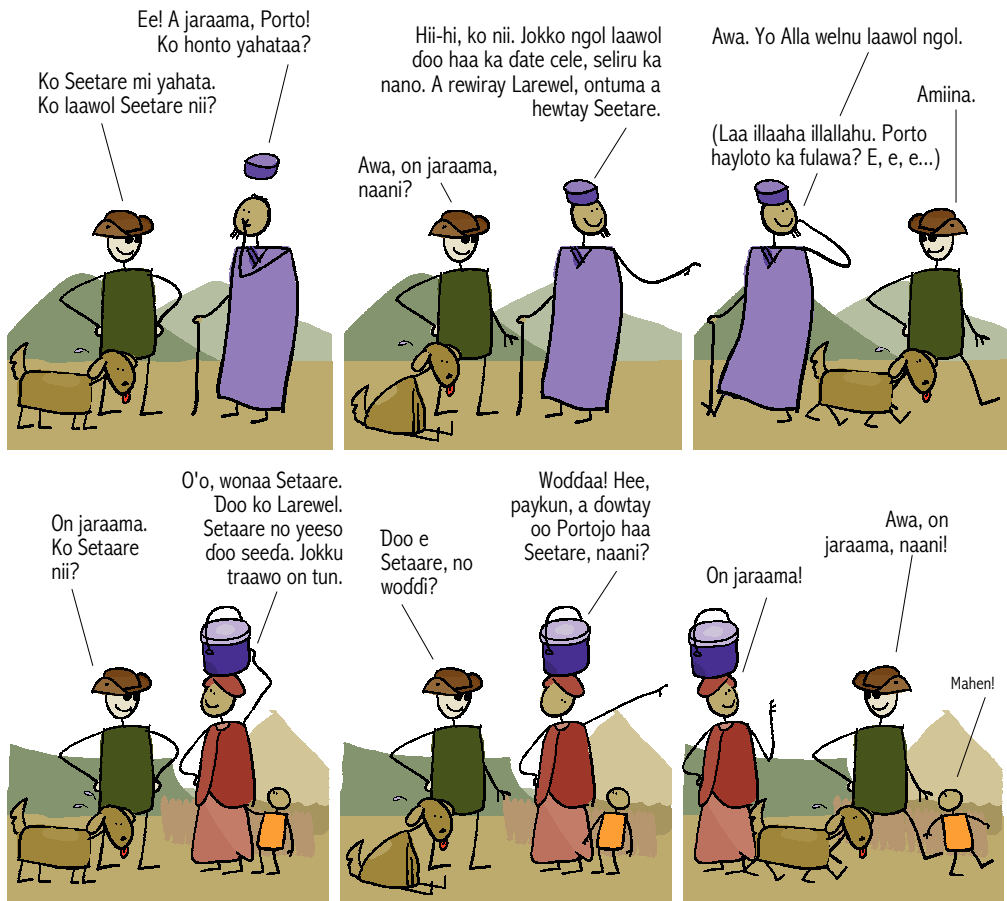
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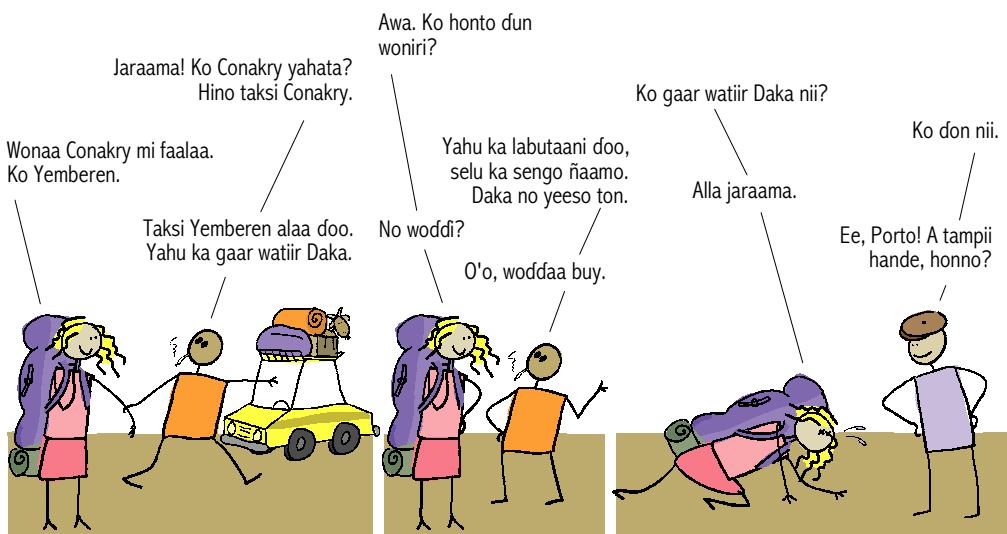
# Enee, Porto! A majju?

(Hey, white boy! Are you lost?)

## Ka fulawa (In the countryside)



## Ka saare (In the big city)



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

- d'uud'ugol
- suusugol – hulugol

# VOCABULARY



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Jon  
hundukko  
majjataa.

If you have a mouth you  
can't get lost.

## Verbs

<b>selugol</b>	turn
<b>hewtugol</b>	arrive
<b>dowtugol</b>	guide
<b>jokkugol</b>	follow
<b>rewugol</b>	pass (by)
<b>tayitugol</b>	cut across
<b>woddugol</b>	be far
<b>badagol</b>	be near
<b>yiltagol</b>	turn back
<b>lumbugol</b>	cross (river, village)

## Adverbs

<b>doy</b>	slowly, carefully
<b>tinna</b>	quickly
<b>karahan</b>	with difficulty
<b>kisan</b>	immediately

## Directions

<b>nano</b>	left
<b>ñaamo</b>	right
<b>telen</b>	towards

## 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?

### Mid'o 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 inetee?

What is this place called?

### Ko honto nii?

Where am I?

### Mi majjii.

I've gotten lost.

### Yo Alla welnu laawol ngol.

May God make your path easy.

## Places

<b>buruure</b> nden	bush
<b>fulawa</b> on	countryside
<b>traawo</b> on	public road (from "travaux publiques")
<b>laawol</b> ngol	road, path
<b>datal</b> ngal	path
<b>hodo</b> ngon	village
<b>fello</b> ngon	hill, mountain
<b>caangol</b> ngol	river
<b>jurnde</b> nden	waterfall
<b>maayo</b> ngon	large river, ocean
<b>jaami'u</b> on	mosque
<b>juulirde</b> nden	mosque

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

<b>farmasii</b> on	pharmacy
<b>garwatiir</b> on	taxi park
<b>restoran</b> on	restaurant etc.

## Everybody talks about the weather...

<b>buubugol</b>	be cold or wet (said of the weather)
<b>jaangegol</b>	be cold (said of a person)
<b>wulugol</b>	be hot (said of the weather)
<b>ngulegol</b>	be hot (said of a person)
<b>lakkegol</b>	be sweaty
<b>nibbugol</b>	be dark (or late in the day)
<b>naange</b> ngen	sun
<b>hendu</b> ndun	wind
<b>ndiyan</b> dan	rain or water
<b>jaangol</b> ngol	cold
<b>nguleendi</b> ndin	heat

## Phrasebook: Weather

### Mid'o jaanga.

I'm cold.

### Hande no buubi.

It's cold today.

### Mid'o ngulaa.

I'm hot.

### Hendu no wadi.

The wind is blowing.

### Naange ngen no wuli.

The sun is hot.

### No nibbiti.

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.

<b>paasi</b>	<i>fare</i>
<b>aparanti</b>	<i>driver's helper</i>
<b>bagaasi</b>	<i>baggage</i>
<b>pilaasi</b>	<i>seat</i>
<b>kilyan</b>	<i>passenger</i>

Here are some useful verbs to know:

<b>wayaasugol</b>	<i>to travel</i>
<b>yaawugol</b>	<i>to be quick</i>
<b>neebugol</b>	<i>to take a long time</i>
<b>keldugol</b>	<i>to be solid or in good condition</i>
<b>paanugol</b>	<i>to break down (car, etc.)</i>
<b>muññagol</b>	<i>to be patient</i>
<b>tampugol</b>	<i>to suffer</i>

## 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	<i>buy</i>	
sood <b>ang</b> ol	<i>buy for</i>	(BENEFACTIVE)
sood <b>oy</b> gol	<i>go and buy</i>	(DISTANTIVE)
yahugol	<i>go</i>	
ya <b>ad</b> ugol	<i>go with</i>	(ASSOCIATIVE)
ya <b>ar</b> ugol	<i>go in a certain manner</i>	(MANNER)
yah <b>it</b> ugol	<i>go again</i>	(REPETITIVE)
yah <b>ang</b> ol	<i>go for</i>	(BENEFACTIVE)
andugol	<i>know</i>	
and <b>ing</b> ol	<i>inform</i>	(CAUSATIVE)
and <b>ang</b> ol	<i>sympathize with</i>	(BENEFACTIVE)
and <b>indir</b> gol	<i>know each other</i>	(RECIPROCATIVE)
and <b>it</b> ugol	<i>remember</i>	(REPETITIVE)
and <b>intin</b> gol	<i>remind</i>	(REPETITIVE + CAUSATIVE)
and <b>inkin</b> agol	<i>pretend to know</i>	(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: ❶ 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. ❷ 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).

## Phrasebook: Traveling

### Ko oto hombo woni e yahude Labe?

*Which car is going to Labé?*

### Ko Labe mi yahata.

*I'm going to Labé.*

### Mi yobay pilaasi didi.

*I'll pay for two seats.*

### Oto on heewi?

*Is the car full?*

### On siwaa yahude?

*Will it be a while before you leave?*

### Ko kilyanbe njelo manki?

*How many more passengers do you need?*

### En yahay kisan?

*Will we leave immediately?*

### Mi hoolaaki d'un.

*Yeah, right.*

### Paasi on ko jelu?

*How much is the fare?*

### Kun sakun yobetaake.

*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.*



### duudugol

**Duudugol** is a very important verb in Pular that has no direct equivalent in English. It means to be numerous, excessive, common, or frequent.

### Fulbe no duudi Abidjan.

*There are a lot of Fulbe in Abidjan.*

### Date no duudi, a majjay.

*There are too many paths, you'll get lost.*

### Yimbe duudaa rewirde ton.

*People don't pass that way very often.*

### Himo duudi arsike.

*He has a lot of luck.*

### Be duudaa haala.

*They don't talk much.*

The trick is to get out of the habit of using **buy** (a lot, very) where **duudugol** can be used.

**Fulbe buy no Abidjan** (Many Fulbe are in Abidjan) would be correct, but the above example is much more natural.



## ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE

Ko yahoowo  
feggotoo.

You only stumble if you're going somewhere.



## CULTURAL NOTES

### What'd you bring me?

The concept of **neldugol** (see page 76) extends to bringing gifts when coming back from a trip. It is not a bad idea to pick up a few inexpensive gifts or trinkets for your friends and family while in Conakry, Dakar, the US, etc.

When you come back from somewhere, you will often be asked **A neldaali lan?** (Didn't you bring me anything?) Don't take this too seriously, and don't worry that you should have brought them something.

**An kadi, a maranaali lan?**  
And you, do you have something for me?

**Ko weltaare mi ardi.**  
I brought happiness.

You can also just make something up if you didn't bring anything:

**Hii-hi, mi neldi ma pompiteeri.**  
I brought you potatoes.

**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 marandaa lan?**”

**Ko weltaare mi maranimaa.**  
I saved you some happiness.

etc.

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	yahitugol	go again
andugol	know	anditugol	remember
arugol	come	artugol	return

It can also have a *reversative* function:

liilugol	spread out to dry	liitugol	bring in from the sun
uddugol	close	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	wadirgol doy	do slowly or carefully
faamugol	understand	faamirgol karahan	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	tayirgol labi	cut with a knife
yahugol	go	yaarugol oto	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	selirgol	turn towards
iwugol	leave, originate	iwirugol	come from
artugol	return	artirgol	return from

There is an example in the text:

Ko honto d un woniri?      Whereabouts is that?

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

iwugol	→ iwirugol	(NOT iwirugol)
selugol	→ selirgol	(NOT 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**).

Ko honto mi jood ortaa?      Whereabouts will I sit?  
O cippori doy.      He got down carefully.

### Adverbs and modal verbs

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

<b>moyfa</b>	well	<b>Oo doo defay moyfa.</b>	He cooks well.
<b>tinna</b>	quickly	<b>Yahu tinna!</b>	Go quickly!
<b>kisan</b>	immediately	<b>O yalti kisan</b>	He left immediately.
<b>karahan</b>	with difficulty	<b>Ko karahan mi laawori.</b>	I barely escaped.
<b>doy</b>	slowly, carefully	<b>Wadu doy!</b>	Be careful!



A Pular speaker is more likely to use a *modal verb* than an adverb to modify a verb.

<b>yaawugol</b> to be quick	<b>O yaawii faamude.</b>	She understood quickly.
<b>wayrugol</b> to be a long time since	<b>Mi wayrii maa yi'ude.</b>	I haven't seen you for a while.
<b>duudugol</b> to be frequent, numerous	<b>Himo duudi yahude.</b>	He goes often.
<b>juutugol</b> to be long	<b>Mi juutii daanaade.</b>	I slept for a long time.

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 <b>huri</b> kaar.	A taxi is <b>better</b> than a bus.
Lagine no <b>huri</b> Senegal.	Guinea is <b>better</b> than Senegal.
Sellu no <b>huri</b> Aliu.	Cellou is <b>better</b> 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 <b>huri</b> kaar <b>sattude</b> .	A taxi is <b>more expensive</b> than a bus.
Lagine no <b>huri</b> Senegal <b>laabeede</b> .	Guinea is <b>more beautiful</b> than Senegal.
Sellu no <b>huri</b> Aliu <b>kaanude</b> .	Cellou is <b>uglier</b> than Aliou.

These structures also work:

Taksi no <b>satti huri</b> kaar.	A taxi is <b>more expensive</b> than a bus.
Ko taksi <b>huri</b> kaar <b>saatude</b> .	A taxi is <b>more expensive</b> 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 <b>huri</b> stajeeb e b en <b>fow laabeede</b> .	You are the <b>prettiest</b> 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 <b>fota</b> .	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 <b>fota juutude</b> .	Fatu is <b>as tall as</b> Binta.
---------------------------------------	----------------------------------

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



#### PLEASE NOTE

**Fotugol**, in the stative, means "nice" or "pretty."

**Dalaba no foti.**  
Dalaba is nice.

## 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 huri kaar yaawude. (A TAXI IS QUICKER THAN A BUS.)

2 Kankan/Kissidougou; wodfugol

3 Umar/Ali; jangugol



## CULTURAL NOTES

### 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.

4 Mamou/Dalaba; buubugol

5 banaana/buudi; welugol

6 Bob/John; waawugol Pular

7 moto/welo; uuyugol

8 Conakry/Dakar; wulugol

9 ataaya/kafe; haadugol

10 basan/leppi; fotugol

11 Pullo/Susuujo; yeeyugol

12 Alfa/Bubakar; gollugol

13 Pular/Faransee; sattugol ekitaade

14 an/miñan maa; waawugol Angele

### 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 scarey-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 neebii Lagine?  
*Mi neebaali buy.*

2 A neebay 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 yakkataa ma.**

*Don't be afraid, I won't bite you.*

**Himo huli wata be piyumo.**

*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 nabortaa lan Amerik?

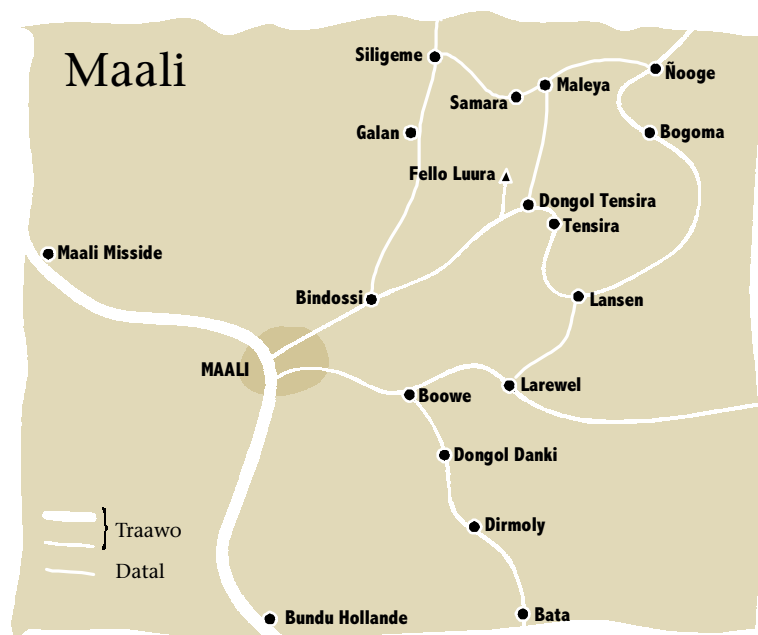
8 Hida mari beyngu?

### 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.

- dabbugol     *to look for (something one doesn't have)*  
dabbitugol     *to look for (something one had and lost)*
- wallugol     *to help*  
wallitagol
- dondegol     *to be thirsty*

- donditugol .....
- 4 lannugol *to finish*  
lannitagol .....
- 5 miijugol *to think*  
miijitagol .....
- 6 tayugol *to cut*  
tayitagol .....
- 7 beydugol *to increase*  
beyditugol .....
- 8 wonugol *to be*  
wontugol .....

### H. Fun with pronouns

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

- 1 mi *Mido waawi Pular.* *Mi nawataa 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: duudugol

Translate the following using **duudugol**.

- 1 There are too many people at the well.  
*Yimbe no duudi 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.  
.....



**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 (**fandugol**; the gift is **fandaare 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 buy.**  
*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.*

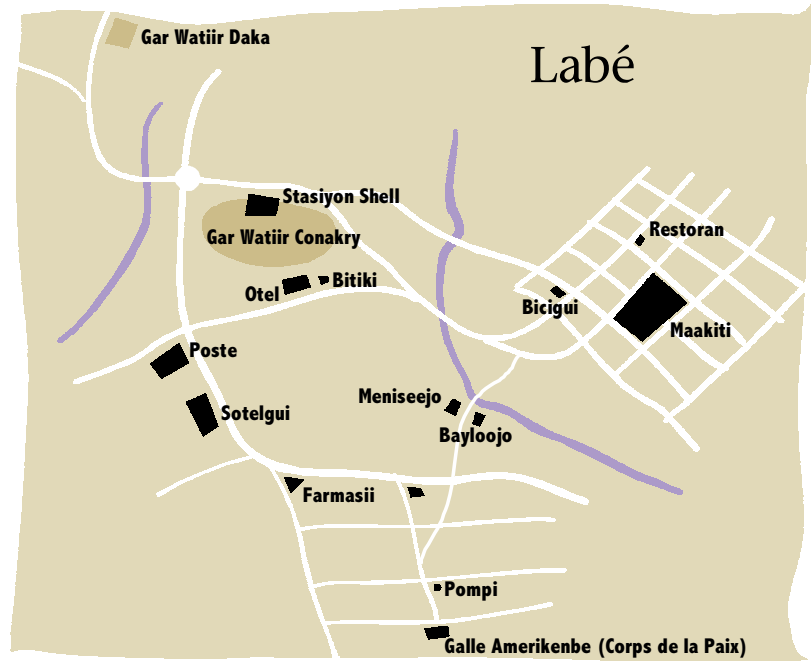
**J. Giving directions: Part 2**

■ 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. (labi)

*Mi tayiri bireedi on kii labi. (I CUT THE BREAD WITH THIS KNIFE.)*

2 Mi yahay Labe. (otowal)

3 Mi sooday mafeeji. (mbuudi)

4 O hooti. (velo)

## 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 ndiyan.

8 Naboree lan Labe.

9 Wata en hawju.

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.



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

*Wayno  
waynito ko  
dabbere  
fannda.*

**Two many goodbyes  
mean you're waiting for  
a gift.**

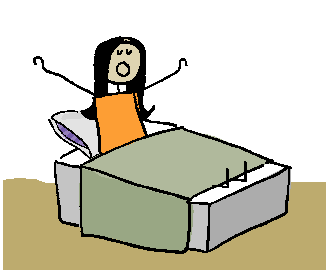




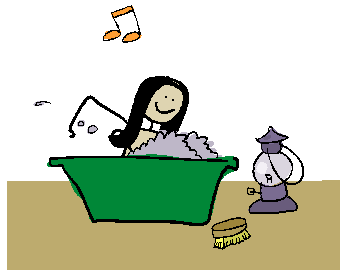
# Hunde kala e saa'i mun.

(Everything in its own time.)

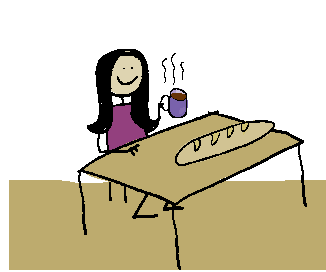
**Susan ko jannoowo** (Susan is a teacher)



Susan ko jannoowo. Himo hodi Maamu. Bimbi kala, himo fina law,



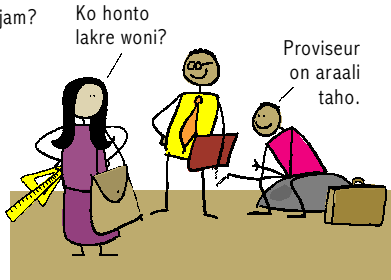
o lootoo,



o itta kooye,



o salmina kawtal makko, si o fokkita golle.

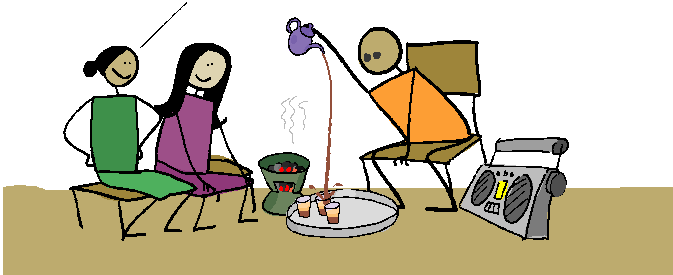


Ka lekkol ton, si o hewtii, himo yewtida e goreebe makko don doo e golle den fuddaade.

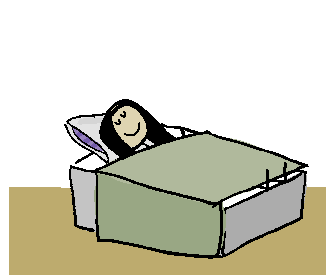


Si golle lannii, kenen himo soyya ka lekkol ton si o hoota ka suudu.

An, a wawataa siwude attaya, deyl!



Kiikide 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



**ANCIENT WISDOM OF THE FULBE**

Findinaa  
piyaa,  
bonnuuno si  
daanii.

**If you're woken up with a beating, you must have done something before sleeping.**



**CULTURAL NOTES**

**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**, **geef**e) are more often used to refer to time when precision is not necessary.

 **VOCABULARY**

**Verbs**

<b>leetugol</b>	<i>be late</i>
<b>ñallugol</b>	<i>be late in the day; do something all day</i>
<b>niɓbugol</b>	<i>be dark; be late at night</i>
<b>hawjugol</b>	<i>be in a hurry</i>
<b>finugol</b>	<i>wake up</i>
<b>immagol</b>	<i>get up</i>
<b>salmingol</b>	<i>greet</i>
<b>fokkitugol</b>	<i>start off</i>
<b>heb ulagol</b>	<i>get ready</i>
<b>yewtugol</b>	<i>talk, converse</i>
<b>hootugol</b>	<i>go home</i>
<b>waalagol</b>	<i>lie down</i>
<b>gosagol</b>	<i>brush teeth</i>
<b>jentagol</b>	<i>listen</i>
<b>lannugol</b>	<i>finish</i>
<b>fuddagol</b>	<i>start</i>
<b>hodugol</b>	<i>live (somewhere)</i>

**Phrasebook: Time**

- Ko leer hombo nii?**  
*What time is it?*
- Ko saa'i 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 heb ulike?**  
*Are you ready?*

**Days of the week**

<b>Alat</b>	<i>Sunday</i>
<b>Tenen</b>	<i>Monday</i>
<b>Talata</b>	<i>Tuesday</i>
<b>Alarba</b>	<i>Wednesday</i>
<b>Alkamisa</b>	<i>Thursday</i>
<b>Juma</b>	<i>Friday</i>
<b>Asewe</b>	<i>Saturday</i>

**Prayer times**

<b>subaka</b>	<i>sunrise</i>
<b>fanaa</b>	<i>early afternoon</i>
<b>alansara</b>	<i>late afternoon</i>
<b>futuroo</b>	<i>sunset</i>
<b>geef</b> e	<i>nighttime</i>

**Nouns**

<b>SINGULAR</b>	<b>PLURAL</b>	
<b>waqtu</b> on	<b>waqtuuji</b> d in	<i>prayer time</i>
<b>saa'i</b> on	<b>saa'iiji</b> d in	<i>time</i>
<b>ñalaande</b> nden	<b>balde</b> d en	<i>day</i>
<b>yontere</b> nden	<b>jonte</b> d en	<i>week</i>
<b>lewru</b> ndun	<b>lebbi</b> d in	<i>month</i>
<b>hitaande</b> nden	<b>dubbi</b> d in	<i>year</i>

**Time words**

<b>hande</b>	<i>today</i>
<b>jango</b>	<i>tomorrow</i>
<b>faddi-jango</b>	<i>day after tomorrow</i>
<b>hanki</b>	<i>yesterday</i>
<b>hecci-hanki</b>	<i>day before yesterday</i>
<b>ontuma</b>	<i>then; at that time</i>
<b>woo</b>	<i>each; every</i>
<b>kala</b>	<i>each; every</i>
<b>ado</b>	<i>before</i>
<b>doo e ...</b>	<i>between now and ...</i>
<b>si</b>	<i>if, when, before</i>
<b>tuma</b>	<i>when (habitual; future)</i>
<b>nde</b>	<i>when (future)</i>
<b>fewndo</b>	<i>when (past)</i>
<b>wonde wonde</b>	<i>sometimes</i>
<b>saa'i goo</b>	<i>sometimes</i>
<b>tuma goo</b>	<i>sometimes</i>
<b>soono woo</b>	<i>sometimes</i>
<b>kenen</b>	<i>often</i>
<b>si tawii ...</b>	<i>if it turns out that ...</i>
<b>ko adii kon ...</b>	<i>first of all ...</i>
<b>si dun fefyi ...</b>	<i>after that happens ...</i>
<b>kisan</b>	<i>immediately</i>
<b>don e don</b>	<i>immediately</i>
<b>jooni jooni</b>	<i>very soon</i>



# GRAMMAR

## 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

INFINITIVE	P E R F E C T I V E			I M P E R F E C T I V E					
	ASSERTED (PAST)	FOCUS/ STATIVE	NEGATIVE	PROGRESSIVE	SIMPLE	ASSERTED (FUTURE)	NEGATIVE	FOCUS	IMPERATIVE
<b>-ugol</b>	-ii	-I	-aa -aali	-ude	-a	-ay	-ataa	-ata	-u -en -ee
<b>-agol</b>	-ike	-ii	-aaki	-aade	-oo	-oto	-otaako	-oto	-o -oden -odee
<b>-egol</b>	-aama	-aa	-aaka	-eede	-ee	-ete	-etaake	-ete	✘

❶ First of all, it is used to express *habitual* actions. In this role it takes the long (stative) subject pronoun (**mido**, **hida**, etc).

**Himo** janga Pular ñ ande woo ñ ande. *He studies Pular every day.*

**Hibe** yaha Labe lewru 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 ñ ande woo ñ ande. *He studies Pular every day.*

**Be** yahay Labe lewru 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** hiwro mawbe maa. *I greet your parents.*

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

**O** yahay, **o** soodoya maafeeji, **o** arta, **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** ndaara. *Bring it so I can look at it.*

Okkoran ndiyan **mi** yara. *Give me water to drink.*

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

Habbo haa **mi** lootoo. *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'aile 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”

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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** mi hewtoyii, mi ñ amay.

**When** I get there, I'll eat.

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

**Tuma** hewtuɗaa, yahu ka makko.

**When** you get there, go to his place.

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

**Nde** o arti mi piyay mo.

**When** he comes back I'll beat him.

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

**Tuma** faalaɗaa yaade **woo**, mi nab ete.

**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 fina law, o lootoo, o itta koofe, o salmina kawtal.** *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 ñ aamay **si** mi hoota.

I'll eat **before** going home.

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

Ñaamen **ado** o arde.

Let's eat **before** he gets here.

Mi yahay Maamun **ado** Tabaski.

I'll go to Mamou **between now and** Tabaski.

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

Ñaamen **doo e** o arde.

Let's eat **before** he gets here.

Mi yahay Maamun **doo e** Tabaski.

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:

- ❶ It doesn't affect the basic meaning of the verb.
- ❷ It doesn't change the number or type of arguments the verb takes.
- ❸ 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 sood**oyi** maafeeji.

She went and bought vegetables.

Mi jann**oyay** Conakry.

I'll go to Conakry to teach.

## The associative infix -id-

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

yewtugol	<i>discuss</i>	yew <b>ti</b> dugol	<i>discuss together</i>
wonugol	<i>be</i>	won <b>d</b> ugol	<i>be with; be together</i>
haalugol	<i>talk</i>	hal <b>d</b> ugol	<i>talk together; negotiate</i>
yi'ugol	<i>see</i>	yi <b>i</b> dugol	<i>see each other; meet</i>
yahugol	<i>go</i>	ya <b>a</b> dugol	<i>go together</i>
hodugol	<i>live</i>	hod <b>d</b> ugol	<i>live together</i>

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

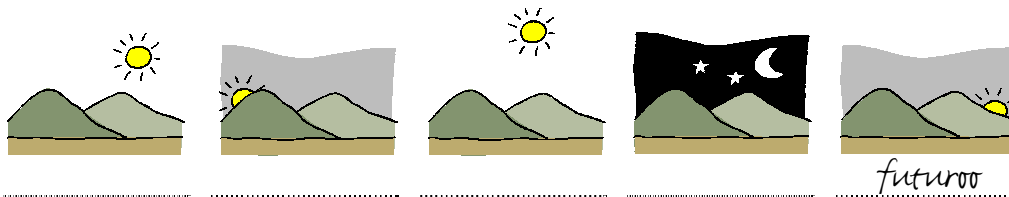
**EXCEPTION:** As with the **-ir-** infix (page 70), the **-id-** infix takes a different form, **-od-**, when applied to a reflexive (**-agol**) verb; the verb then becomes active (**-ugol**).

hirtagol	<i>eat dinner</i>	hirt <b>o</b> dugol	<i>eat dinner together</i>
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## 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.

6 Nde o yahi ton woo, o reway ka makko.

7 En artay doo e Futuroo yonude.

8 Ñaamen doo si naatoyen.

9 Si beyngu an arii, mi ñaamay.

10 Mi artay doo e Jombente.

11 O yahay ka lekkol ñande woo.

12 Tuma faaladaa

13 O aray, o piya be, o hoota.

14 Hiibe yaha Ameriik hitaande kala.

15 Accu mi yi'a mo.

16 Nabu be bireedi ñaande woo ñaande.

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

### E. Your turn to draw the funny pictures

- Illustrate Kajatu's daily activities.

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

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Kajatu ko jom suudu.  
Himo hodi Telimele.  
Bimbi kala, himo fina law,

o julla Subaka,

o yooqa ka woyndu,

--	--	--

o wulnana ndiyan ittirdi  
kooye beyngure makko,

o defa ñiiri soyyaari si o  
dawa maakiti.

Ka maakiti ton, himo  
yeeya maafeeji, o yewtida  
e goreebe 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 jangii ka lycée.

3 Midó 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 **jabugol** (to accept) along with the simple imperfective.

1 Let me in!

*Accu mi naata!*

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.



# Dennaboo, dewgal, faatunde.

(Naming ceremonies, weddings, and funerals.)

## Dennaboo

**K**o yontere ka debbo on jibini, dennaboo on wadete. 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. Feññoowo on immoo, salmina, hunoo: “Ko hewtini en doo ko innugol boobo. Awa boobo on innaama Salimatu. Ko yaaye makko o innitiraa.”

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

Aroobe 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 nabugol 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

**moobondirgol** gather together

**hebulagol** get ready

**cobbal** treat made of rice and honey

ñiiri (pl. **ñi’e**) cooked grain

**fewndagol** be present

**futuube** relatives on one side

**feññoowo** 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

**yamugol** ask for a woman's hand

**toragol** beg

boggol (pl. **boggi**) rope

**si neebi seeda...** after a while...

**humpitagol** find out about

**dewgal** marriage

**habbugol** tie

**tiggugol** marry

**haddugol** tie skirt

**daneejo** white (**on** class)

**raneere** white (**nden** class)

**dadorgol** belt

**jomba** (sing. **jombaajo**) bride

**fawugol** put on top of

**dambugal** entrance

**bambugol** carry on back

**downtugol** guide

**fellugol loowande** fire off a shot

**jiwo** virgin

**hersingol** embarrass, shame

**kanje** gold

**haaju** affair

nokku (pl. **nokkeeli**) place

**furee** corpse

**jasugol** dig

**qaburu** grave

**berde** cemetery

**juulugol** pray

**surrugol** bury

**K**o adii kon ko fii yamal. Fii yamal, ko musibbe gorko on torotoo musibbe debbo on. Si be jabii goro e boggi e landan nabee. Si neebii seeda, be humpitoo fii makko. Ontuma dewgal ngal habbee hakkunde mabbe.

Si tawi tiggugol ngol hewtii, futuube ben addora wudere haddeteende e dolokke daneejo 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 yaltinaa, be dowta mo ka galle gorko makko on. Si be hewtii ton, be fija, be ñaama.

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

Be addida jombaajo on e concii e kanje e kaalisi e miranji e piiji buy. Si dun feyyi, be downtita mo ka galle moodi makko.

## Faatunde

**S**i mayde wafii e galle, ko ko yimbe ben wullata kon noddata kawtal ngal. Si mayde wafi wanaa haaju beynguure nden tun, ko haaju hoddiibe ben e saare nden fow. Yimbe ben iwray 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 gaynama jaseede, furee on juule doo yo o surre.

# VOCABULARY

## Phrasebook: Naming ceremonies

**Yo Alla wurnu boobo on barkina.**<sup>1</sup>  
*May the baby live long and be blessed.*

**Yo Alla waɗumo mawɗo.**  
*May (s)he grow to be old.*

**Yo Alla waɗumo nafaowo.**  
*May (s)he be useful.*

**Yo Alla fewnumo.**  
*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 joddiniirɗe jiiɗi e jawdi.**  
*May God provide children and wealth.*

<sup>1</sup> Blessings (**du'aa**) all begin with **Yo Alla ...** The appropriate response is always **Amina** (so be it).

## 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 hinno 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?**  
**Kori juulaama 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.*



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

*Cadi didi  
nagodotaako.*

You can't catch two rabbits at once.

# GRAMMAR

## The benefactive infix -an-

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

Mi yob ay mo.	<i>I will pay him.</i>
Mi yob <b>an</b> ay mo.	<i>I will pay <b>for</b> him.</i>
Mi yahay ton.	<i>I'll go there.</i>
Mi yah <b>an</b> ay mo ton.	<i>I'll go <b>for</b> him there. (I'll go get him).</i>
Miɗo gollude.	<i>I am working.</i>
Miɗo goll <b>an</b> de mo.	<i>I am working <b>for</b> him.</i>

The object is usually, but not always, human.

Aranu deftere maa. *Come get your book.*

It is often used with verbs of communication.

haalugol	<i>talk</i>	haal <b>an</b> gol godɗo	<i>talk to someone</i>
windugol	<i>write</i>	wind <b>an</b> gol godɗo	<i>write to someone</i>



### 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.

### The causative infix -in-

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

andugol	<i>to know</i>	and <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to inform someone (to cause someone to know)</i>
wulugol	<i>to be hot</i>	wul <b>n</b> ugol	<i>to heat something (to cause something to be hot)</i>
hubbugol	<i>to be on fire</i>	hubb <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to light something on fire</i>
waalagol	<i>to lie down</i>	wall <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to lay something down</i>
hersugol	<i>to be ashamed</i>	hers <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to shame or embarrass someone</i>
yobugol	<i>to pay</i>	yob <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to charge someone money</i>

It is often used figuratively.

feñugol	<i>to appear</i>	feñ <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to announce</i>
teddugol	<i>to be happy</i>	tedd <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to accord respect</i>
feewugol	<i>to be straight</i>	few <b>n</b> ugol	<i>to bring up correctly</i>

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

hulugol	<i>to fear</i>	hulb <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to frighten</i>
jangugol	<i>to study</i>	jann <b>ug</b> ol	<i>to teach</i>
heewugol	<i>to be full</i>	hebb <b>ing</b> ol	<i>to fill</i>
sumugol	<i>to burn (oneself)</i>	sunn <b>ug</b> ol	<i>to burn something</i>

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

jalugol	<i>to laugh</i>	Himo jal <b>ni</b> .	<i>He is funny.</i>
aanugol	<i>to worry</i>	No aan <b>ini</b> .	<i>It's worrying.</i>

### Participles

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

**Ko o debbo juutudo.** *She is a tall woman.*

Or it can stand alone as a noun:

**Ko o juutudo.** *She is a tall (person).*

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

semb <b>u</b> do	<i>fat</i>	<i>from semb<b>ug</b>ol, to be fat</i>
welt <b>i</b> do	<i>happy</i>	<i>from welt<b>ag</b>ol, to be happy</i>
arsika <b>a</b> do	<i>lucky</i>	<i>from arsika<b>eg</b>ol, to be lucky</i>

It also depends on the *aspect* of the verb: perfective (past actions) or imperfective (ongoing, habitual, or future actions).

gertogal hirs <b>a</b> ngal	<i>a chicken that <b>was</b> slaughtered</i>
gertogal hirs <b>e</b> teengal	<i>a chicken that <b>will be</b> slaughtered</i>

The **no** particle (preterite marker) can also be in there (see page 98).

gertogal hirs**e**ten**o**ngal *a chicken that **was going to be** slaughtered*

And the class marker, or course, depends on the noun in question:

sukaajo kaan <b>u</b> do	<i>ugly youngster</i>
fayb e kaan <b>u</b> be	<i>ugly children</i>
pad e kaan <b>u</b> de	<i>ugly shoes</i>
dolokaaji kaan <b>u</b> di	<i>ugly shirts</i>
gertogal kaan <b>u</b> ngal	<i>ugly chicken</i>
bareeru kaan <b>u</b> ndu	<i>ugly dog</i>
paykun kaan <b>u</b> kun	<i>ugly kid</i>

### PARTICIPLE FORMS

	PERFECT	IMPERFECTIVE
<b>-ugol</b>	-u <b>do</b>	-o <b>owo</b> -a <b>ydo</b>
<b>-agol</b>	-i <b>ido</b>	-o <b>toodo</b>
<b>-egol</b>	-a <b>ado</b>	-e <b>teedo</b>

These forms are for the **on** class.

The words for many occupations are participles:

<b>jangugol</b>	<i>to read</i>	<b>jangoowo</b>	<i>student (one who reads)</i>
<b>yeyugol</b>	<i>to sell</i>	<b>yeyoowo</b>	<i>shopkeeper (one who sells)</i>
<b>ño'ugol</b>	<i>to sew</i>	<b>ño'oowo</b>	<i>tailor (one who sews)</i>

## 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").

golloowo <b>gooto</b>	<b>one</b> worker
bareeru <b>wooturu</b>	<b>one</b> dog
gertogal <b>gootal</b>	<b>one</b> chicken
danki <b>wooti</b>	<b>one</b> bed

And here's the adjective **keso** ("new").

jannoowo <b>keso</b>	<b>new</b> teacher
deftere <b>heyre</b>	<b>new</b> book
karambol <b>kesol</b>	<b>new</b> pen

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.

## SOME COMMON ADJECTIVES

ADJECTIVE (on class)	MEANING	RELATED VERB
<b>moyfo</b>	<i>good</i>	<b>moyfugol</b>
<b>njano</b>	<i>big</i>	<b>njandugol</b>
<b>dabbo</b>	<i>short</i>	<b>rabbidugol</b>
<b>keso</b>	<i>new</i>	<b>hesidugol</b>
<b>kiddo</b>	<i>old</i>	<b>hiddugol</b>
<b>baleejo</b>	<i>black</i>	<b>bawlugol</b>
<b>daneejo</b>	<i>white</i>	<b>rawnegol</b>
<b>bodeejo</b>	<i>red</i>	<b>wojjugol</b>
<b>debbo</b>	<i>female</i>	
<b>arano</b>	<i>first</i>	
<b>tosooko</b>	<i>small</i>	
<b>gooto</b>	<i>one</i>	
<b>goddo</b>	<i>someone</i>	

## Subordination

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

bareeru <b>humaandu</b> ndun	<i>the dog <b>that was tied up</b></i>
------------------------------	--

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

bareeru humaandu <b>gaa</b> ndun	<i>the dog that was tied up <b>here</b></i>
bareeru humaandu <b>gaa hanki</b> ndun	<i>the dog that was tied up <b>here yesterday</b></i>

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

bareeru <b>ndu</b> humaaka <b>ndun</b>	<i>the dog that <b>wasn't tied up</b></i>
--	---

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

debbo <b>mo</b> yahaali <b>on</b>	<i>the woman who <b>didn't go</b></i>
-----------------------------------	---------------------------------------

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

gertogal <b>ngal</b> hirsaka <b>ngal</b>	<i>the chicken that <b>wasn't slaughtered</b></i>
ndiyan <b>dan</b> hībbaali <b>dan</b>	<i>the water that <b>didn't spill</b></i>

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

bareeru <b>ndu</b> Yaya humi <b>ndun</b>	<i>the dog that Yaya <b>tied up</b></i>
gerto <b>ngal</b> b e hirsata jango <b>ngal</b>	<i>the chicken that they will <b>slaughter tomorrow</b></i>



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Fenaande  
ñappay kono  
duwataa.

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 **humaandu** nagataa waandu.

*A tied-up dog catches no monkeys.*

Wata a ñ aamu teew **ngu** defaaka.

*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** b e woni.

*I don't know where they are.*

Ne'e bi **ka** mi fini.

*It's been a while since I woke up.*

## EXERCISES

### KEY WORDS

#### **gooto**

The word **gooto** means "one."  
It is an *adjective*.

**Himo mari debbo gooto tun.**

*He only has one wife.*

**Mi yahaali ton hay nde wootere.**

*I haven't gone there even one time.*

It also means "the same."

**Ko b e neene gooto.**

*They have the same mother.*

**Ko e galle goote b e hodi.**

*They live in the same compound.*

**Ko gootun.**

*It's the same thing.*

#### 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.                   | F     |
| 2  | Kori boobo on no e jam?                    | ..... |
| 3  | Kori neene boobo on no e jam?              | ..... |
| 4  | Yo Alla jodɗinirbe jiidi e jawdi.          | ..... |
| 5  | Kori a tampaali fota?                      | ..... |
| 6  | Yo Alla okku mo aljanna.                   | ..... |
| 7  | Kori on muññike?                           | ..... |
| 8  | Yo on booyu mo sakkanaade.                 | ..... |
| 9  | Men torike on muññagol.                    | ..... |
| 10 | Yo Alla tawu ko jom balde torii jom balde. | ..... |
| 11 | Yo Alla waɗumo nafoowo.                    | ..... |
| 12 | No yurmi!                                  | ..... |
| 13 | Yo Alla dandu en wano mun.                 | ..... |
| 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 *gorko weltiido*
- 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.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 coonci wonndi ka siyon din</li> <li>2 cuudi ñappiraadi huɗo din</li> <li>3 debbo arnoodo gaa on</li> <li>4 galle dariide ka tumbo saare den</li> <li>5 laawol yahangol Labe ngol</li> <li>6 mbeewa humaamba ka yaasi mban</li> <li>7 nagge hirseteenge jango ngen</li> <li>8 ndiyan wonndan ka woyndu dan</li> <li>9 ñiiri wonndi ka nder fayande din</li> <li>10 payane wadorde naseele den</li> <li>11 paykoy yahaynookoy ka saare koy</li> <li>12 paykun piyaakun ka lekkol kun</li> <li>13 suka wujjuɗo kaalisi an on</li> <li>14 yimbe yahaybe Dalaba ben</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a the children who were going to town</li> <li>b the child who was beaten at school</li> <li>c the clothes in the bucket</li> <li>d the cow to be slaughtered tomorrow</li> <li>e the goat tied up outside</li> <li>f the house built in the middle of town</li> <li>g the huts with thatch roofs</li> <li>h the kid who stole my money</li> <li>i the people who are going to Dalaba</li> <li>j the pots filled with medicine</li> <li>k the rice in the pot</li> <li>l the road to Labe</li> <li>m the water in the well</li> <li>n the women who had come here</li> </ol> |
|--|---|

## D. Translation drill, part 1

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

- 1 the dog that bit me *bareeru jakkunoonda lan ndun*
- 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



## KEY WORDS

### goddo + goo

The word **goddo** shouldn't be confused with **gooto**. It is a *noun* meaning "someone" or "something."

#### **Goddo arii, lutti maa.**

*Someone came by while you were gone.*

#### **Wobbe susataa mafe haako.**

*Some people can't stand leaf sauce.*

The form **goddo e** means "out of" or "some of."

#### **Bee goddo e men yaha.**

*One of us should go.*

#### **Wobbe e mabbe no kaani kas.**

*Some of them are extremely ugly.*

#### **Mi hirsay wonnge e dii na'i.**

*I'll slaughter one of those cows.*

The corresponding adjective is **goo**, which could be translated as "some." It does not vary from class to class.

#### **Portoobe goo no kaani.**

*Some white people are ugly.*

#### **Bareeji goo yakataa be'i.**

*Some dogs don't eat goats.*

It can also mean "another" or "a different ..."

#### **O yahi nookun goo.**

*He went somewhere (else).*

#### **Lekkoljo goo ari.**

*A different student came.*

#### **Mi yahay ñande goo.**

*I'll go another day.*

### E. Matching, part 3

■ Match the Pular phrase with its English equivalent.

- |          |   |   |                                      |
|----------|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| ..... 1  | ɓoggol ngol mi humirno mbeewa mban ngol | a | the kid I kicked out of class        |
| ..... 2  | debbo mo araali hanki on                | b | the book I gave you                  |
| ..... 3  | debbo mo mi jabboytoono Conakry on      | c | the story I heard on the radio       |
| ..... 4  | deftere nde hoolunodammi nden           | d | the student that didn't get up       |
| ..... 5  | deftere nde mi jonnuma nden             | e | the water you washed the house with  |
| ..... 6  | dontonal ngal hirsaka 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 jonnunoomi deftere on           | h | the cow you brought us               |
| ..... 9  | kaalisi mo mi ñawulunoma on             | i | the friends I went to lycé e with    |
| ..... 10 | kaydi ndi jonnudammi ndin               | j | the stick I beat the dog with        |
| ..... 11 | labarki ki mi fembortono kin            | k | the girl I gave the book to          |
| ..... 12 | lekkoljo 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 lootirda 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 hefino 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    | <i>deftere nde mi jonnuma nden</i>   |
| 2        | gertogal   | <i>gertogal ngal mi jonnuma ngal</i> |
| 3        | dolokke    | .....                                |
| 4        | kaalisi    | .....                                |
| 5        | barehun    | .....                                |
| 6        | mangoore   | .....                                |
| 7        | lekki      | .....                                |
| 8        | nebban     | .....                                |
| 9        | karambol   | .....                                |
| 10       | tiga       | .....                                |
| ■ Again. |            |                                      |
| 1        | leemuneere | <i>leemuneere nde okkudammi nden</i> |
| 2        | labi       | <i>labi ki okkudammi kin</i>         |
| 3        | jiwo       | .....                                |
| 4        | ñaariiru   | .....                                |
| 5        | ñiiri      | .....                                |
| 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.

- |    |            |         |                |
|----|------------|---------|----------------|
| 1  | bareeru    | woofuru | ONE DOG        |
| 2  | ndiyan     | gootan  | THE SAME WATER |
| 3  | coggu      | .....   | .....          |
| 4  | ñande      | .....   | .....          |
| 5  | woofonde   | .....   | .....          |
| 6  | gertogal   | .....   | .....          |
| 7  | faybe      | .....   | .....          |
| 8  | sariya     | .....   | .....          |
| 9  | paykun     | .....   | .....          |
| 10 | golle      | .....   | .....          |
| 11 | bireediwal | .....   | .....          |
| 12 | deftere    | .....   | .....          |
| 13 | neene      | .....   | .....          |
| 14 | lekkol     | .....   | .....          |
| 15 | jiwo       | .....   | .....          |
| 16 | nebban     | .....   | .....          |
| 17 | yontere    | .....   | .....          |
| 18 | labi       | .....   | .....          |
| 19 | nagge      | .....   | .....          |
| 20 | rewbe      | .....   | .....          |
| 21 | barehoy    | .....   | .....          |
| 22 | caangol    | .....   | .....          |
| 23 | ñariiru    | .....   | .....          |
| 24 | fello      | .....   | .....          |
| 25 | beyngu     | .....   | .....          |
| 26 | cuurun     | .....   | .....          |
| 27 | jullere    | .....   | .....          |
| 28 | feetudo    | .....   | .....          |
| 29 | suudu      | .....   | .....          |
| 30 | naange     | .....   | .....          |

### 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 Jannde*, a literacy manual in Pular (Labe: Mission Protestante, 1992).

**K**o sari e nagge yeddondirnoo fii jeyeede e angal jeyeede ko hondun buri. Ko wonnoo sabu dun, ko sari arnoo tawi ka nge saanaa don huɗo duɗaa, kadi haako ko nge addananoo kon lannii.

Sari jali nge, inni: “Enee ngeya, ko hondun bonnudaa?” Nagge ngen inni: “Mi bonnaa hay fus. Ko jeyɗo lan on saanimmi doo.” Kisan sari inii: “Min goy mi jeyaaka. Ko ka faalaami yaarude woo yaaraymi. Ko ko faalaami wadude woo wadaymi.” Nagge ngen hayli hoore, inni: “En fotti goy. Kono jooni yahu tun. Min non, mido sikki sitta jeyeede edii angal jeyeede, kono a faamoyay ontuma.”

Woni seeda tun, jon nagge ngen ari, borti nge. Nge yaari ka sari yaarunoo ton. Laatii nge yahi seeda tun, nge tawi sari no walii ka leydi no fitoo. Kisan nagge ngen inni: “Ee kori jam?” Sari wulli, inni: “Ko goddo fellimmi.” Tawi kure buy naatii e mayre: godde ka baawo, godde ka koyngal baawowal. Nagge ngen inni: “Si hida jeyanoo, goddo suusataano fellude ma.” No nagge ngen gaynirnoo wowlude dun, nge banti gite, nge haynii faliido finkaari no ara. Nge faami kisan ko on felli sari. Nge seytini buy, kono tawi alaa ko nge waawi. Nge artoyi kiikiide, tawi nge beydii faamugol nafa jeyeede.

## In this chapter

### Grammar

- Talking about the past
- Class pronouns
- The aliative pronoun
- The narrative verb form

### Key Words

- sikkugol

**sari** rabbit

**yeddondirgol** to argue

**angal** lack, absence

**saanugol** to tie up an animal to graze

**bonnugol** to do wrong

**haylugol hoore** to shake one’s head

**sitta ...edii ...** better to ... than to ...

**bortugol** untie

**laatagol** happen

**fitagol** thrash about

**Kori jam?** What’s wrong?

**fellugol** shoot

**kural** (pl. kure) bullet

**bantugol** raise

**haynagol** see from a distance

**falagol** carry on shoulder

**finkaari** rifle

**nafa** benefit, advantage

# GRAMMAR

## 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:

Mid o weltii. <b>Hari</b> mid o weltii.	<i>I am happy.</i> <i>I <b>was</b> happy.</i>	<b>(stative)</b>
Hib e gaa. <b>Hari</b> hib e gaa.	<i>They're here.</i> <i>They <b>were</b> here.</i>	<b>(locative)</b>
Mid o jangude. <b>Hari</b> mid o jangude.	<i>I am studying.</i> <i>I <b>was</b> studying.</i>	<b>(progressive)</b>

**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.

<b>Hari</b> o araali.	<i>He hadn't come (yet).</i>
<b>Hari</b> himo ara ñ ande woo.	<i>He used to come every day.</i>
<b>Hari</b> ko kanko yahata.	<i>It was he that was to go.</i> <i>It was he that would have gone.</i>
<b>Hari</b> mi andaa d un.	<i>I didn't know that.</i>

The word **tawi** (see page 104) is similar in use to **hari**:

<b>Hari</b> o alaa ton.	<i>He wasn't there.</i>
<b>Tawi</b> o alaa ton.	<i>(As it turns out) he wasn't there.</i> <i>(We found that) he wasn't there.</i>

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**.

### PRETERITE VERB ENDINGS

INFINITIVE	P E R F E C T I V E			I M P E R F E C T I V E	
	STATIVE/ FOCUS/NARRATIVE	ASSERTED	NEGATIVE	SIMPLE/ ASSERTED/FOCUS	NEGATIVE
<b>-ugol</b>	-uno	-iino	-aano	-ayno	-ataano
<b>-agol</b>	-ino	-inoke	-anooki	-otono	-otanooko
<b>-egol</b>	-ano	-anooma	-anooka	-eteno	-etanooke

The **-no-** marker is often used with time words:

<b>Hande</b> mi yahuno ka saare.	<i>I've gone to town <b>today</b>.</i>
Mi yahaano Conakry <b>hikka</b> .	<i>I haven't gone to Conakry <b>this year</b>.</i>

Questions involving recently completed actions use it:

Ko honto o yahunoo?	<i>Where had she gone?</i>
---------------------	----------------------------

(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 <b>araano</b> , mi yi'ataano ma.	<i>If I hadn't come, I wouldn't have seen you.</i>
Si o yahiiino, o soodayno b ireedi.	<i>If he had gone, he would have bought bread.</i>



### sikkugol

Sikkugol means “to think” or “to believe.”

**Mi sikki ko o biddo Cerno.**  
*I think he's Cerno's son.*

**Mi sikkaa si himo ton.**  
*I doubt if he's there.*

**A sikkay ko o Pullo.**  
*You'd think he was a Pullo.*

**Mid o sikkude mi yahay.**  
*I'm thinking I'll go.*

When used in the stative, it implies doubt or suspicion.

**Woo o wallay men, kono mido sikki.**  
*He says he'll help us, but I'm not sure.*

To emphasize that a belief is no longer held, the past markers **hari** or **-no-** can be used.

**Hari mi sikki ko samakala.**  
*I thought it was a joke.*

**Mi sikkuno ko samakala.**  
*I thought it was a joke.*

It can also be used to ask a question politely.

**Mi sikki hib e danni?**  
*Perhaps he is sleeping?*

## 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**).

	ON CLASS	NDUN CLASS	EXAMPLE (NDUN CLASS)	
ACTIVE SUBJECT PRONOUN	o	<b>ndu</b>	<b>Ndu</b> y akki lan.	<i><b>It</b> bit me.</i>
OBJECT PRONOUN	mo	<b>ndu</b>	Ontuma mi dampii <b>ndu</b> .	<i>So I kicked <b>it</b>.</i>
STATIVE SUBJECT PRONOUN	himo	<b>hindu</b>	<b>Hindu</b> seytini.	<i><b>It</b> is angry.</i>
INTERROGATIVE	hombo	<b>hondu</b>	Ko bareeru <b>hondu</b> ?	<i><b>Which</b> dog is it?</i>
INDEPENDENT	kanko	<b>kayru</b>	Ko <b>kayru</b> .	<i>It's <b>that one</b>.</i>
POSSESSIVE	makko	<b>mayru</b>	Ko hombo woni jon <b>mayru</b> ?	<i><b>Who</b> is it's owner?</i>

## 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.

*Aliu is here but **the other guy** hasn't come yet.*

Mi nangii ngal gertogal d'oo, kono **ngala** laawike.

*I caught this chicken, but **the other one** got away.*

Ko **dama** ndiyan b'uri laabude.

***That other** water is cleaner.*

In the plural, it refers to a group of items.

Ko honto **koya** ñ aarihoi 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 y'ejitii **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 dumanike?** 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 **yahi** 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 **yahii** seeda nii.

*(The cow) went a little ways.*

For **-ugol** verbs, the difference between the narrative (nge **yahi**) and the asserted (nge **yahii**) is not very noticeable; it is clearer for **-agol** verbs (nge **haynii** instead of nge **haynike**) and **-egol** verbs (nge **faalaa** instead of nge **faalaama**).

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.

 EXERCISES**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 sikki 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 relative 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 ndunya bareeru *Nduya bareeru yakkii lan. (THE OTHER DOG BIT ME.)*
- 2 ..... teew
- 3 ..... fayande
- 4 ..... baafal
- 5 ..... jiwbe
- 6 ..... maakiti
- 7 ..... lemuneere
- 8 ..... otowal
- 9 ..... ngesa
- 10 ..... koyngal
- 11 ..... debbo
- 12 ..... cofun
- 13 ..... ndiyan
- 14 ..... saabiwal
- 15 ..... golloobe
- 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'aali bareeru maa hande.  
*Mi yi'aali ndu hande.*
- 2 Ko nduu bareeru yaaki lan.  
*Ko kayru yakkii lan.*
- 3 Bareeru maa no kaani.  
*Hindu kaani.*
- 4 Jom bareeru piyii ndu.  
*Jom mayru piyii ndu.*
- 5 Ngal datal yahataa Siligeme.
- 6 Beyngu maa no seytini.
- 7 Ko ngal gertogal be neldi lan.
- 8 Ko honto naariru ndun yahi?
- 9 Dan ndiyan 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 Mido yahude ka fulawa.

*Hari mido yahude ka fulawa.*

I AM GOING TO THE COUNTRY.

I WAS GOING TO THE COUNTRY.

2 O sikkaa si o yahay.

*O sikkaano si o yahay.*

HE'S NOT SURE HE'LL GO.

HE'S WASN'T SURE HE WOULD GO.

3 Himo duudi arsike.

4 Mi wawataa Pular.

5 Mi sikki ko a Faranseejo.

6 Duma dumanike?

7 Ko honto yahudaa?

8 Hibe mari jawle buy.

9 O alaa ton.

10 Ko min jogii saabiwal ngal.

11 Mido 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 Dandugol* (trans. Aliou Diallo and Abdourahmane Diallo. Conakry: Service National d'Alphabétisation, 1995)

**S**oodorgol ndiyan e saabunde waray mikoroobuuji gasaydi maraade e bandu ndun. Ko ɗun haɗata di wonde e ñaamete 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 den soodoree ndiyan e saabunde, nde ootigi iwtiri ka hurgo maa ado o ñaamude e kadi nde ootigi gayniri labbingol paykun maa boobo resiido. No hitti kadi ka ootigi loota juude mun si o meemii ñaameteji di defaaka.

Feere burnde moyyande, danda beyngure fii hebugol mikoroobuuji ɗin, ko hawkoogol resaaɗi ɗin ka haani ton. Yimbe ben no waawi bennude koy kulloy si koy hewtii ka ndiyan, ka ñaamete, ka juude, e ka defete ɗon.

Beyngure nden no haani loowugol ndiyan yareteedan ɗan e ndere miran laabudo ombotoodo.

Hay si ndiyan ɗan no laabi, e kene hidan ara wondude e mikoroobuuji. Ndiyan burɗan laabude ɗan ko ndiyan iwɗan e pompi. Si hawrii ko ka candi maa ka boyli ɗan iwi, ko hasii kon haray hidan wondi e mokoroobu.

Ko fatingol ndiyan ɗan warata mikoroobuuji ɗin. Ko yo ɗan fatine, ɗan buttinee, woni ko e caangol, maa e woyndu, maa e pompi ɗan yooga.

Ñaameteji di defaaka ɗin, kenen haray no wondi e mikoroobuuji. Haray bee di lootee maa di defee.

Ko e nder ñaameteji wulɗi, mikoroobuuji ɗin burata layude. Ko ɗun wadi si no haani ka ñaameteji ɗin, no di defiraa, di ñaamee kisan. Si hawrii ñaameteji ɗin marete, nde hidi ñaamee, ko yo di wulnitee.

## In this chapter

### Grammar

- The short question form
- Haray and Hara

### Key Words

- tawugol
- bee – maa
- haanugol – fotugol

**soodagol** wash hands

**hadugol** prevent

**hittugol** be important

**ootigi** one, someone

**labbingol** clean up

**resagol** defecate (high respect)

**hawkugol** discard, throw away

**bennugol** swallow

**loowugol** pour

**e kene** sometimes

caangol (pl. **candi**) stream

woyndu (pl. **boyli**) well

**ko hasii kon** usually

**fatingol** bring to a boil

**buttingol** allow to cool

**layugol** spread

**ko ɗun wadi si...** that is why...

# GRAMMAR

## The short question form

A subordinate clause (see page 91) can stand alone as a question.

Mi andaa <b>ka o yahi</b> .	<i>I don't know <b>where she went</b>.</i>	(CLAUSE)
<b>Ka o yahi?</b>	<b>Where'd she go?</b>	(QUESTION)

This is perhaps a more brusque way of asking a question; in this case **Ko honto o yahi?** is possibly a more polite way.

<b>Ko faalada?</b>	<i>What do you want?</i>
<b>Ko hafunoda arde?</b> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Why didn't you come? (literally, What prevented you from coming?)</i>
<b>Ka yahunoda?</b>	<i>Where'd you go?</i>

## 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."

<b>Haray mi artaali.</b>	<i>I probably won't have returned</i>
<b>Haray himo ton.</b>	<i>He is probably there.</i>
<b>Haray himo jangude.</b>	<i>He is probably studying.</i>

**Harayno** is used to mark things that could have happened, but didn't.

<b>Si a yahaano, harayno moyfaa.</b>	<i>If you hadn't gone, it would have been bad.</i>
--------------------------------------	--

**Hara** can indicate two things happening at once:

<b>O yahi hara himo andi be alaa ton.</b>	<i>She went knowing they weren't there.</i>
---	---

Or, if the following clause is negative, it can indicate something happening *without* something else taking place.

<b>Addu ndiyan, hara a hibbaali dan.</b>	<i>Bring the water without spilling it.</i>
--	---

It can also be used to say "but" or "however" in the place of **kono**.

<b>Mi yahay hara wonaa hande.</b>	<i>I'll go, but not today.</i>
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## tawugol

**Tawugol** means "to find," in connection with a person or a situation.

**Mi tawete ka saare.**  
*I'll meet you in town.*

**O tawii hay gooto alaa ka suudu.**  
*He discovered no one was home.*

**Tawi** and **hari** are nearly interchangeable, as are **taway** and **haray**.

**Tawi o alaa ton.**  
*He wasn't there.*

**Taway be yahii.**  
*(You'll find) they've left.*

**Tawi** implies an observer, whereas **hari** just states a fact.

**Tawi** is often used in narratives.

## 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'unoda?

<sup>1</sup> In rapid speech, you will hear **Ko hannoda arde?**

4 Ko hondfun wonuɗa e ñaamude?

5 Ko fii hondfun a halanaali lan?

6 Ko honto iwruɗaa?

### 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.

pete	galeeji	taali	cuudi	hobb'e	bolle	budde	wuyb'e
ca'e	jonte	kaaki	be'i	yɔbb'e	kaafaaje	beynguuli	gese
pelle	payane	lebbi	laawi	ɗate	lamb'e	koɗooli	caɗi
cofoy	noppi						

STORY	1	taalol	taali
	2	beyngu	
	3	caangol	
	4	cofun	
	5	ɗatal	
	6	fayande	
	7	fello	
	8	fetere	
	9	galle	
	10	gido	
	11	gujjo	
	12	haako	
	13	hodɗo	
	14	kaafa	
	15	koɗo	
	16	laawol	
	17	lando	
	18	lewru	
	19	mbeewa	
	20	mboddi	
	21	ngesa	
	22	nowru	
	23	saare	
	24	suudu	
	25	wuddere	
	26	yontere	



### 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 haani yaade.**  
*I should go.*

**Woo a haanaa tiggude njaatigi maa.**  
*They say you shouldn't marry your girlfriend.*

**Hida haanunoo daraade.**  
*You should have stopped.*

**Fotugol** means "nice" or "pretty," and also "appropriate."

**Mido foti yaade.**  
*I ought to go.*

**Hida footuno daraade.**  
*You ought to have stopped.*

**Faalegol**, "to want," can also mean "to need."

**Mi faalaama yaade.**  
*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.

*Bee mi hoota.*

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 you 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 Malaado 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.

**A**lmaami Donjol Feelaa faatii e 1889. Lontagol be satti fota ka Soriyaa. Tawi ko gedalbe Almaami Umaru ben lontotoo. Moodi Mammadu Paate e Abdullaahi Dookire mo mabbe, hawri ko yumma gooto. Buubakar Biro ko mo neene feere. Tawi yumma ondon ko taaraajo inneteedo Jaarii'u.

No Fuuta surrirnoo 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 lonto. Be andintini be non wonde Moodi Mammadu Paate ko kañun woni mawdo on. Bayti tawi kambe, ko Moodi Mammadu 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 hibe 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.



ANCIENT  
WISDOM  
OF THE FULBE

Geegere, si  
no sa'ideede,  
wata di  
latindir.

**Crickets shouldn't kick at each other while they're being sautéed together.**

**faatagol** pass away (high respect)

**lontagol** succeed, replace

**Soriyaa** house of Sori (with the Alfayaa, one of the two houses sharing power in the Fuuta)

**gedal** child, heir

A **mo** B A son of B

**feere** different, separate

**taaraajo** slave wife; concubine

**surrugol** bury

land o (pl. **lambe**) chief

diiwal (pl. **diiwe**) province

**Timbo** capital city of the Fuuta

**tumbindirgol** gather together

**bayti** since

**huuwugol** do

**laamu** kingship, government

**sahindingol** assassinate

**woowugol** have the habit of

**nanugol** resemble

**ngayuuri** lion

**tagudi** build

**hito** noise

**unsagol** growl

**suudugol** *hide*

**taarugol** *crown with the royal turban*

**janfa** *treachery*

**konu** *army*

**Fugumbaa** *holy city of the Fuuta, where the Almaami was crowned*

**fodde ko o hulbini...** *he was so afraid that...*

**jabbagol** *receive*

**seenagol** *come (high respect)*

**yiltagol** *go back*

**luttugol** *remain*

**sakkagol** *ambush*

**tartugol** *go around*

**misiide** *center of town*

**hare** *battle*

**foolugol** *win*

**ley jimbe** *under the eaves of a hut*

**fellugol** *shoot*

**soppitugol** *cut to pieces*

**fesugol** *weep*

Lambe diiwe den e mawbe Timbo ben haldi yo suudu Moodi Mammadu Paate, be naba mo Fugumbaa, be taaranoya mo. Wobbe andinoyi Buubakar Biro janfa kan. O moobi konu makko ngun, o jokkiti be. Be fottoyi e Alfaa Ibrahim, lando Fugumbaa, hakkunde Buriya e Pooredaka. Buubakar Biro landii Alfaa Ibrahim, ko honto be yahata. Fodde ko o hulbinii, lando Fugumbaa on inni ko jabbagol mo be seenotoo. O innaa yo be yiltodu kisan, be taarano ya mo. Be wadi d'un le, be yiltodi. Bimbi law Buubakar Biro taranaa Fugumbaa.

Luttitidunoobe e Maamadu Paate taarani on kadi. Be inni mo Alfaa Mammadu Paate. Ko e on saa'i tun Fuuta hebi Almaamiibe tato: dido ka Soriyaa, gooto ka Alfaayaa.

Alfaa Mammadu Paate arti tinna Timbo. Kanko e konu makko be sakkitoyii Almaami Buubakar Biro ka naatugol Timbo. Almaami Buubakar tartoyi, naatiroyi laawol Daara. Ka nder misiide Timbo hare mawnde wadi. Buubakar Biro fooli. Alfaa Mammadu Paate suudii e ley jimbe. Buubakar Biro jokkiti mo, yi'i ka Alfaa Mammadu Paate suudii. On fokkiti dogugol, Almaamii felli mo, konu mun ngun soppiti mo. Almaami on toolii, fesji.

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.

FORM			P E R F E C T I V E				I M P E R F E C T I V E						
		INFINITIVE	ASSERTED	SIMPLE	INVERTED	NEGATIVE	INFINITIVE	SIMPLE	ASSERTED	FOCUS	INVERTED	NEGATIVE	DESIDERATIVE
USE	with active pronoun ( <i>mi, a, etc.</i> )		active (past)	focus; narrative			contextual	present; subjunctive	future; habitual; progressive	focus		negative	imperative; desiderative
	with stative pronoun ( <i>mido, hida, etc.</i> )			stative				progressive	habitual				
STANDARD ENDINGS	ACTIVE	<b>-ugol</b>	-ii	-i	-uda <sup>1</sup> -uden -udon	-aali -aa <sup>2</sup>	<b>-ude</b>	-a	-ay	-ata	-ataa <sup>1</sup> -eten -oton	-ataa	-u <sup>1</sup> -en -ee
	REFLEXIVE	<b>-agol</b>	-ike	-ii	-ida -iden -idon	-aaki	<b>-aade</b>	-oo	-oto	-oto	-otoda -otoden -otodon	-ataako	-o -oden -ee
	PASSIVE	<b>-egol</b>	-aama	-aa	-ada -aden -adon	-aaka	<b>-eede</b>	-ee	-ete	-ete	-eteda -eteden -etedon	-ataake	-e * *
PRETERITE ENDINGS	ACTIVE	<b>-ugol</b>	-iino	-unoo	-unoda -unoden -unodon	-aano		-ayno		-aynoo	-aynoda -aynoden -aynodon	-ataano	
	REFLEXIVE	<b>-agol</b>	-inooke	-inoo	-inoda -inoden -inodon	-anooki		-otono		-otonoo	-otonoda -otonoden -otonodon	-atanooko	
	PASSIVE	<b>-egol</b>	-anooma	-anoo	-anoda -anoden -anodon	-anooka		-eteno		-etenoo	-etenoda -etenoden -etenodon	-atanooke	

<sup>1</sup> Inverted and imperative forms are given for the pronouns "you" singular (**a**), "we" inclusive (**en**), and "you" plural (**on**), in that order.

<sup>2</sup> Verbs ending in **-ugol** have separate negative forms for the stative (**-aa** as in **o moy/aa**) and for the active perfective (**-aali** as in **o yahaali**). 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**

Active verbs; standard endings

FOSRM	USE	ACTIVE	REFLEXIVE	PASSIVE
		-ugol	-agol	-egol
<b>INFINITIVE</b>	verbal noun	yah <b>ugol</b> to go	loot <b>agol</b> to wash oneself	piy <b>egol</b> to be beaten
<b>PERFECTIVE</b>	<b>ASSERTED</b>	active (past) <b>o yahii</b> she went	<b>o lootike</b> she washed herself	<b>o piyaama</b> he was beaten
	<b>SIMPLE</b>	stative <b>himo yahi</b> she is gone	<b>himo lootii</b> she is washed	<b>himo piyaa</b> he is beaten
		focus ko ka saare <b>o yahi</b> it's to town that she went	ko ka suudu <b>o lootii</b> it's at home that she washed herself	ko ka lekkol <b>o piyaa</b> it's at school that he was beaten
		sequential (narrative) <b>o imike, o yahi</b> she got up and went	<b>o imike, o lootii</b> she got up and washed herself	<b>o imike, o piyaa</b> he got up and was beaten
<b>NEGATIVE</b>	negative <b>o yahaali</b> she didn't go	<b>o lootaaki</b> she didn't wash herself	<b>o piyaaka</b> he wasn't beaten	
<b>IMPERFECTIVE</b>	<b>INFINITIVE</b>	progressive <b>himo yahude</b> she is going	<b>himo lootaade</b> she is washing herself	<b>himo piyeede</b> he is being beaten
		contextual doo e <b>o yahude</b> before she goes	doo e <b>o lootaade</b> before she washes herself	doo e <b>o piyeede</b> before he is beaten
	<b>SIMPLE</b>	habitual ñande woo <b>himo yaha</b> every day she goes	ñande woo <b>himo lootoo</b> every day she washes herself	ñande woo <b>himo piyee</b> every day he is beaten
		subjunctive bee <b>o yaha</b> she must go	bee <b>o lootoo</b> she must wash herself	bee <b>o piyee</b> he must be beaten
		sequential <b>o imoto, o yaha</b> she'll get up and go	<b>o imoto, o lootoo</b> she'll get up and wash herself	<b>o imoto, o piyee</b> he'll get up and be beaten
	<b>ASSERTED</b>	future <b>o yahay</b> she will go	<b>o loototo</b> she will wash herself	<b>o piyete</b> he will be beaten
		progressive <b>o yahay woni</b> she is going	<b>o loototo woni</b> she is washing herself	<b>o piyete woni</b> he is being beaten
		habitual ñande woo <b>o yahay</b> every day she goes	ñande woo <b>o loototo</b> every day she washes herself	ñande woo <b>o piyete</b> every day he is beaten
	<b>FOCUS</b>	focus ko ka saare <b>o yahata</b> it's to town that she'll go it's to town that she's going it's to town that she goes	ko ka suudu <b>o loototoo</b> it's at home that she'll wash herself it's at home that she's washing herself it's at home that she washes herself	ko ka lekkol <b>o piyete</b> it's at school that he'll be beaten it's at school that he's being beaten it's at school that he is beaten
	<b>NEGATIVE</b>	negative <b>o yahataa</b> she won't go	<b>o lootataako</b> she won't wash herself	<b>o piyetaake</b> he won't be beaten
<b>DESIDERATIVE</b>	imperative yahu! go!	looto! wash yourself!	✘	
	desiderative woo yo <b>o yahu</b> (he said) she should go	woo yo <b>o looto</b> (he said) she should wash herself	woo yo <b>o piye</b> (he said) he should be beaten	



Examples of the most common verb forms (continued)

Active verbs; preterite endings

FORM	USE	ACTIVE	REFLEXIVE	PASSIVE	
		-ugol	-agol	-egol	
INFINITIVE	verbal noun	yahugol to go	lootagol to wash oneself	piyegol to be beaten	
P E R F E C T I V E	ASSERTED	active (past)	<b>o yahiino</b> she had gone	<b>o lootinooke</b> she had washed herself	<b>o piyanooma</b> he had been beaten
	SIMPLE	stative	<b>himo yahunoo</b> she was gone	<b>himo lootinoo</b> she was washed	<b>himo piyanoo</b> he was beaten
		focus	ko ka saare <b>o yahunoo</b> it was to town that she'd gone	ko ka suudu <b>o lootinoo</b> it was at home that she'd washed herself	ko ka lekkol <b>o piyanoo</b> it was at school that he'd been beaten
	NEGATIVE	negative	<b>o yahaano</b> she hadn't gone	<b>o lootanooki</b> she hadn't washed herself	<b>o piyanooka</b> he hadn't been beaten
I M P E R F E C T I V E	ASSERTED /SIMPLE	future	<b>o yahayno</b> she was going to go she would have gone	<b>o loototono</b> she was going to wash herself she would have washed herself	<b>o piyetenoo</b> he was going to be beaten he would have been beaten
		progressive	<b>o yahayno woni</b> she was going	<b>o loototono woni</b> she was washing herself	<b>o piyetenoo woni</b> he was being beaten
		habitual	ñande woo <b>o yahayno</b> ñande woo <b>himo yahayno</b> every day she used to go	ñande woo <b>o loototono</b> ñande woo <b>himo loototono</b> every day she used to wash herself	ñande woo <b>o piyetenoo</b> ñande woo <b>himo piyetenoo</b> every day he used to be beaten
	FOCUS	focus	ko ka saare <b>o yahaynoo</b> it's to town that she used to go it's to town that she was going it's to town that she was going to go it's to town that she would have gone	ko ka suudu <b>o loototonoo</b> it's at home that she used to wash herself it's at home that she was washing herself it's at home that she was to wash herself it's at home that she would've washed herself	ko ka lekkol <b>o piyetenoo</b> it's at school that he used to be beaten it's at school that he was being beaten it's at school that he was to be beaten it's at school that he would've been beaten
	NEGATIVE	negative	<b>o yahataano</b> she wasn't going she wasn't going to go she used not to go she wouldn't have gone	<b>o lootatanooko</b> she wasn't washing herself she wasn't going to wash herself she used not to wash herself she wouldn't have washed herself	<b>o piyetanooko</b> he wasn't being beaten he wasn't going to be beaten he used not to be beaten he wouldn't have been beaten

## Examples of the most common verb forms (continued)

### Stative verbs; standard endings

FORM	USE	ACTIVE	REFLEXIVE	PASSIVE	
		-ugol	-agol	-egol	
<b>INFINITIVE</b>	<i>verbal noun</i>	semb <b>ugol</b> <i>to be fat</i>	daan <b>agol</b> <i>to be asleep</i>	weele <b>gol</b> <i>to be hungry</i>	
<b>PERFECTIVE</b>	<b>ASSERTED</b> <i>active (past)</i>	o semb <b>ii</b> <i>he became fat</i>	o daan <b>ike</b> <i>she fell asleep</i>	o weela <b>ama</b> <i>he became hungry</i>	
	<b>SIMPLE</b>	<i>stative</i>	himo semb <b>i</b> <i>he is fat</i>	himo daan <b>ii</b> <i>she is asleep</i>	himo weela <b>aa</b> <i>he is hungry</i>
		<i>focus</i>	ko hombo semb <b>i?</b> <i>who is fat?</i>	ko hombo daan <b>ii?</b> <i>who is asleep?</i>	ko hombo weela <b>aa/</b> <i>who is hungry?</i>
<b>NEGATIVE</b> <i>negative</i>	o semb <b>aa</b> <i>he is not fat</i>	o daana <b>aki</b> <i>she is not asleep</i>	o weela <b>aka</b> <i>he is not hungry</i>		
<b>IMPERFECTIVE</b>	<b>ASSERTED</b> <i>future</i>	o semb <b>ay</b> <i>he will get fat</i>	o dan <b>oto</b> <i>she will fall asleep</i>	o weete <b>te</b> <i>he will be hungry</i>	
	<b>INFINITIVE</b> <i>progressive</i>	himo semb <b>ude</b> <i>he is getting fat</i>	himo daana <b>aade</b> <i>she is sleeping</i> <i>she is falling asleep</i>	himo weele <b>ede</b> <i>he is getting hungry</i>	
	<b>NEGATIVE</b> <i>negative</i>	o sembata <b>a</b> <i>he will not get fat</i> <i>he is not getting fat</i>	o daanata <b>aako</b> <i>she won't sleep</i> <i>she is not falling asleep</i>	o weelata <b>aake</b> <i>he won't be hungry</i> <i>he won't become hungry</i>	

### Stative verbs; preterite endings

FORM	USE	ACTIVE	REFLEXIVE	PASSIVE	
		-ugol	-agol	-egol	
<b>INFINITIVE</b>	<i>verbal noun</i>	semb <b>ugol</b> <i>to be fat</i>	daan <b>agol</b> <i>to be asleep</i>	weele <b>gol</b> <i>to be hungry</i>	
<b>PERFECTIVE</b>	<b>ASSERTED</b> <i>active (past)</i>	o semb <b>uno</b> <i>he had become fat</i>	o daan <b>ino</b> <i>she had slept</i>	o weela <b>no</b> <i>he had become hungry</i>	
	<b>SIMPLE</b>	<i>stative</i>	himo semb <b>unoo</b> <i>he was fat</i>	himo daan <b>inoo</b> <i>she was asleep</i>	himo weela <b>anoo</b> <i>he had become hungry</i>
		<i>focus</i>	ko hombo semb <b>unoo?</b> <i>who was fat?</i>	ko hombo daan <b>inoo?</b> <i>who was asleep?</i>	ko hombo weela <b>anoo?</b> <i>who was hungry?</i>
<b>NEGATIVE</b> <i>negative</i>	o semba <b>ano</b> <i>he wasn't fat</i>	o daana <b>nooki</b> <i>she wasn't asleep</i>	o weela <b>nooka</b> <i>he wasn't hungry</i>		
<b>IMPERFECTIVE</b>	<b>ASSERTED</b> <i>future</i>	o semb <b>ayno</b> <i>he was going to get fat</i> <i>he would have gotten fat</i>	o daan <b>otonoo</b> <i>she was going to sleep</i> <i>she would have fallen asleep</i>	o weele <b>tenoo</b> <i>he was going to get hungry</i> <i>he would have gotten hungry</i>	
	<b>NEGATIVE</b> <i>negative</i>	o sembata <b>ano</b> <i>he was not going to get fat</i> <i>he wouldn't have gotten fat</i>	o daan <b>otanooko</b> <i>she wasn't going to sleep</i> <i>she wouldn't have fallen asleep</i>	o weele <b>tanooko</b> <i>he wouldn't be hungry</i> <i>he wouldn't have gotten hungry</i>	

**Table 3. Personal Pronouns**

	PERSON	ENGLISH	SUBJECT		OBJECT	INDEPENDENT	POSSESSIVE
			ACTIVE	STATIVE			
S I N G U L A R	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	<b>I</b>	mi	mido <sup>1</sup>	lan	min	an
	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	<b>you</b>	a	hidfa	ma	an	maa
	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	<b>he</b> <b>she</b>	o	himo	mo	kanko	makko
P L U R A L	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON EXCLUSIVE	<b>we</b> <i>excluding the listener</i>	men	meden <sup>2</sup>	men	menen	amen
	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON INCLUSIVE	<b>we</b> <i>including the listener</i>	en	hiden	en	enen	men
	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	<b>you</b>	on	hidon	on	onon	mon
	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	<b>they</b>	be	hibe	be	kanbe	mabbe

<sup>1</sup> An alternate form for **mido** is **hilan**.

<sup>2</sup> An alternate form for **meden** is **himen**. (These alternate forms are rather less common.)

**Table 4. Class system summary**

PRONOUN	EXAMPLE	SEMANTIC USAGE	ENDINGS
<b>on</b>	gorko, jannoowo	<i>human singular forms</i>	<b>-o</b>
	maakiti, saariya	<i>borrowed terms</i>	
	leemune, ñaari	<i>generic forms</i>	
<b>ben</b>	worbe, jannoobe	<i>human plurals</i>	<b>-be</b>
<b>den</b>	ledde, pelle, gertode	<i>plurals</i>	<b>-e</b>
<b>din</b>	karambi, cuudi, velooji	<i>plurals</i>	<b>-i</b>
<b>nden</b>	ñande, hitaande, yontere	<i>measures of time</i>	<b>-e</b>
	saare, juulirde, sakkitorde	<i>locations</i>	
	wofoonde, mangoore, leemuneere	<i>singular forms</i>	
	sariire, jawre	<i>animals</i>	
	bonnere, fenaande, hiwre, hoolaare	<i>instances of verbs; abstract nouns</i>	
	hoodere, jullere, yiitere	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>ndin</b>	ngayuuri, ngaari, mboddi	<i>animals</i>	<b>-i</b>
	nguleendi, mbeleendi	<i>attributes (from stative verbs)</i>	
	njoddi, fodaari	<i>instances of verbs</i>	
	ñiiri, soyyaari, toori, njuuri	<i>food</i>	
	leydi, condi	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>ndun</b>	ñariiru, sondu, waandu	<i>small animals</i>	<b>-u</b>
	hondu, nowru, reedu	<i>body parts</i>	
	dogudu, ardu, remuru	<i>instances of verbs</i>	
	suudu, woyndu, sawru	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>ngen</b>	nagge, naange, heege, yiite	<i>(highly restricted)</i>	<b>-e</b>
<b>ngon</b>	yeeso, baawo, jungo	<i>body parts</i>	<b>-o</b>
	waaño, jabbo	<i>instances of verbs</i>	
	ombaalo, bedo, waado	<i>circular things</i>	
	hito, tobo, sengo	<i>other</i>	
<b>ngun</b>	coggu, puccu, teewu, ñappu, mokobaaku	<i>(various)</i>	<b>-u</b>

## Class system summary, continued

PRONOUN	EXAMPLE	SEMANTIC USAGE	ENDINGS
<b>ngal</b>	pellal, ca'al, kaayal	<i>augmentative</i>	<b>-al</b>
	otowal, gertogal, bireediwal	<i>singular forms</i>	
	kinal, koyngal, yiyal	<i>body parts</i>	
	desal, nafiqiyaagal, malal, gandal	<i>abstract nouns</i>	
	taabal, gatal, datal, muusidal	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>ngel</b>	gorel, pallel, barehel	<i>diminutive (pejorative)</i>	<b>-el</b>
<b>ngin</b>	barewii, geesii, giitii	<i>augmentative (pejorative)</i>	<b>-ii</b>
	sonsoliwii, pirinwii, coongii	<i>insects</i>	
	baalii, gurii, lingii	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>ngol</b>	caangol, foggol, laawol, keerol, duhol	<i>long or linear things</i>	<b>-ol</b>
	gimol, koydol, gamol, kulol, giggol	<i>instances of verbs; abstract nouns</i>	
	doŋol, gabitanwol, jaangol	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>mban</b>	mawba, mbeewa, ngesa, tuuba	<i>(various; highly restricted)</i>	<b>-a</b>
<b>kan</b>	diina, haala, kaafa, donka	<i>(various)</i>	<b>-a</b>
<b>kin</b>	mangoŋi, bohehi, piyahi	<i>trees</i>	<b>-i</b>
	lekki, nasi	<i>medecine</i>	
	labarki, labi, keri	<i>sharp things</i>	
	barki, danki, wonkii, ŋari	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>kon</b>	foññe, hufo, makko, maaro	<i>grasses</i>	<b>-o</b>
	hunduko, karaho	<i>the mouth</i>	
	maafe	<i>other</i>	
<b>kal</b>	nebbal, di'al, lankal	<i>diminutive of <b>dan</b> class</i>	<b>-al</b>
<b>kol</b>	boobotihol, dammol, ñalahol	<i>livestock (highly restricted)</i>	<b>-ol</b>
<b>kun</b>	paykun, barehun, pootihun	<i>diminutive</i>	<b>-un</b>
<b>koy</b>	paykoy, barehoy, pootihoy	<i>plural of diminutive <b>kun</b> class</i>	<b>-oy</b>
<b>dan</b>	ndiyan, biraadan, nebban	<i>liquids</i>	<b>-an</b>
	landan, nguurdan	<i>(other)</i>	
<b>dun</b>	✕	<i>(catch-all class; "that")</i>	

**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.

DEFINITE ARTICLE	DEMONSTRATIVE	ACTIVE SUBJECT/OBJECT	STATIVE SUBJECT	INDEPENDENT	POSSESSIVE	INTERROGATIVE	ALIATIVE
<b>on</b>	oo	o mo <sup>1</sup>	himo	kanko	makko	hombo	oya
<b>ben</b>	•ee	•e	hi•e	kam •e	ma••e	hom •e	•eya
<b>ɗen</b>	•ee	•e	hi•e	kanje	majje	hon•e	•eya
<b>ɗin</b>	•ii	•i	hi•i	kanji	majji	hon•i	•iya
<b>nden</b>	ndee	nde	hinde	kayre	mayre	honde	ndeya
<b>ndin</b>	ndii	ndi	hindi	kayri	mayri	hondi	ndiya
<b>ndun</b>	nduu	ndu	hindu	kayru	mayru	hondu	nduya
<b>ngen</b>	ngee	nge	hinge	kange	magge	honge	ngeya
<b>ngon</b>	ngoo	ngo	hingo	kango	maggo	hongo	ngoya
<b>ngun</b>	nguu	ngu	hingu	kangu	maggu	hongu	nguya
<b>ngal</b> <sup>2</sup>			hingal	kangal	maggal	hongal	ngala
<b>ngel</b>			hingel	kangel	maggel	hongel	ngela
<b>ngin</b>	ngii	ngii	hingii	kangii	maggii	hongii	ngiya
<b>ngol</b>			hingol	kangol	maggol	hongol	ngola
<b>mban</b>	mbaa	mba	himba	kamba	mabba	homba	mbaya
<b>kan</b>	kaa	ka	hika	kanka	makka	honka	kaya
<b>kin</b>	kii	ki	hiki	kanki	makki	honki	kiya
<b>kon</b>	koo	ko	hiko	kanko	makko	honko	koya
<b>kal</b>			hikal	kankal	makkal	honkal	kala
<b>kol</b>			hikol	kankol	makkol	honkol	kola
<b>kun</b>			hikun	kankun	makkun	honkun	kuma
<b>koy</b>			hikoy	kankoy	makkoy	honkoy	koya
<b>ɗan</b>			hi•an	kanjan	majjan	hon•an	•am a
<b>ɗun</b>			✕ <sup>3</sup>	kañun	mun	hon•un	•um a

<sup>1</sup> In the **on** class, the active subject pronoun is **o** (as in “**o** yi'i lan”); the object pronoun is **mo** (as in “mi yi'i **mo**”). For all other classes, the active subject and object pronouns have the same form (“**be** yi'i lan”, “mi yi'i **be**”). See “Object pronouns,” page 45.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> There is no stative pronoun for the **ɗun** class; one must say “**ɗun no** moyi”, whereas in other classes we would say “**himo** moyi”, “**hingal** moyi”, 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 **kidfo** (old), **bajjo** (unique), **baaso** (poor), **dabfo** (short), **bofeejo** (red), **baleejo** (black), **daneejo** (white), **nayeejo** (old), **arano** (first), and **tosooko** (small).

DEFINITE ARTICLE	<i>big</i>	<i>new</i>	<i>good</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>someone/ another one</i> <sup>1</sup>
<b>on</b>	njano	keso	moyyo	gooto	goddo
<b>ben</b>	njandube	heybe	moyyube	woote	wobbe
<b>den</b>	njane	kese	moyye	gooto	godde
<b>din</b>	njani	kesi	moyyi	gooti	goddi
<b>nden</b>	njande	heyre	moyyere	wootere	wonnde
<b>ndin</b>	njandi	heyri	moyyiri	wootiri	wonndi
<b>ndun</b>	njandu	heyru	moyyuru	wooturu	wonndu
<b>ngen</b>	njane	hese	moyye	woote	wonnge
<b>ngon</b>	njano	heso	moyyo	wooto	wonngo
<b>ngun</b>	njanu	hesu	moyyu	wootu	wonngu
<b>ngal</b>	njanal	kesal	moyyal	gootal	gonngal
<b>ngel</b>	njanel	kesel	moyyel	gootel	gonngel
<b>ngin</b>	njanii	kesii	moyyii	gootii	gongii
<b>ngol</b>	njanol	kesol	moyyol	gootol	gonngol
<b>mban</b>	njana	hesa	moyya	woota	wommba
<b>kan</b>	njana	hesa	moyya	woota	wokka
<b>kin</b>	njani	hesi	moyyi	wooti	wokki
<b>kon</b>	njano	heso	moyyo	wooto	wokko
<b>kal</b>	njanal	kesal	moyyal	gootal	gokkal
<b>kol</b>	njanol	kesol	moyyol	gootol	gokkol
<b>kun</b>	njanun	kesun	moyyun	gootun	gokkun
<b>koy</b>	njanoy	kesoy	moyyoy	gootoy	gokkoy
<b>dan</b>	njanan	kesan	moyyan	gootan	goddan
<b>dun</b>	njanun	kesun	moyyun	gootun	goddun

<sup>1</sup> 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.