THE DIFFERENT SUFFIXATIONS OF PULAAR DERIVATIONS (PART 1)
(toroobe and jalonke dialects)

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As Labouret said "they serve as elements of derivations to precise the modalities of the actions or the state expressed by the root" therefore, we distinguish three types of categories of roots in Pulaar generally that we will deal with them in the process of this chapter.

I. The categories of roots

a) The category type C: **-t, -r, -d**
b) The category type VC: **-an, -at, -ay, -oy**
c) The category type CVC: **-kin, -kini, -tir, -ndir, -ndiri**

But in Jalonkian dialect, we notice that these types are added to helping vowels on behalf of the semantic understandings. Consequently, type C will become CV, type VC will also become VCV and at last the type CVC will become its turn CVCV.

Semantically speaking all these Pulaar Categories express :

- **Reversibility**: this suffix can be defined as the reverse side or the inversion of all actions.
- **Repetition:** it can be defined as the fact of repeating actions we are referring to.
- **Intensity:** This suffix indicates completeness, severity and intensity of words or sentences pronounced towards any direction.
- **Reflexivity:** it can be defined as an argument structure-changing suffix that reduces the total number of

arguments of the verb by one, such that the subject performs the action on himself/herself or for his/her own benefit.

- **Associativity:** According to Arnott (1970), the Associative suffix denotes either joint action or action in association with some person or thing. The effect on the arguments of the verb is to require either a plural subject or else any subject plus a second actor introduced by a preposition.
- **Mediation:** this suffix is expressing the fact of a mediate situation in an appropriate context.
- **Manner:** this suffix is for indicating the manner of which actions are going on in any context.
- **Localisation**: this one is the suffix that indicates a location in or near which an action takes place.
- **Temporal and spatial distance:** this suffix helps us to determine that actions are taken place in an adequate context pertaining to a precise moment of time.
- **Benefactive:** this suffix is helping to express that someone acts for the profit of himself or somebody else.
- **Simulation:** this suffix is also describing all actions based upon the so-called facts in perfect simulation.
- **Reciprocity:** this suffix is used to describing all actions that tend to each other's profit.
- **Causativity:** According to Arnott, the causative suffix adds an object to the verb and contributes the meaning "cause to", "arrange for", or "make".
- **Directivity:** this suffix is helping to express precise directions or places in which actions take place.

A. Category type C as Consonant:

In this category, we find out many semantic polyvalences of the suffix **-t** which permits to itermize the following:

- **Reversibility:** this suffix is describing the reverse side or the inversion of all actions.
- **Inversion:** this suffix is simply the reverse side of all expressed actions too.
- **Repetition:** this suffix is simply the fact of repeating actions we are refering to.
- **Iteration:** this suffix is the fact of repeating actions we are refering to.
- **Reflexivity:** which is an argument structure-changing suffix that reduces the total number of arguments of the verb by one, such that the subject performs the action on himself/herself or for his/her own benefit.
- **Spatial localization:** which is the suffix that indicates a location in or near which an action takes place in a given context.

As for the suffix **-r,** this one, expresses instrumental mediation or means on which we can lean on to achieve actions, the manner or the way we achieve our actions and at last, the locative or the place which can be determined as the one we came from or the direction we are going on.

As for the last case, the suffix **-d** lays emphasis on the associativity that is to say things or even people are put together for acting together at the same time otherwise, all actions are made by a great deal of people or things.

All these three forms of Pular suffixes have the analogue behaviours depending upon the nature of verbal root. Thus, they sometimes appear as their simple form like *(-t, -r, -d),* or sometimes as being prefixed by the vowel (i) or (u) according to the dialect in question *(-it, -ir, -id), (-ut, -ur, -ud)* or even also being suffixed by the vowel (u) or (a) condering to the dialect in question *(-tu, -ru, -du)*, *(-ta*, *-ra*, *-da).*

This analysis allows us to boil down to any Pular nominal verbs in **-de** class or **-ude** class or even **-gol** class, the form of their active is immediately and automatically followed by the vowel (u) or (o) or again (a) depending the contituents of the verbs but, in Toroobe, there is an exception with the radicals ended by two consonants as we had given it above with the root of (udd) and with the geminated forms as in the following :

Toroobe verbs: "liir-de" meaning becomes « liir-**tu**-de » which expresses at the same time reversiveness and repetition the morpheme **-tu** shows all the difference compared to what must be.

The **-tu** Pular morpheme is mostly used in Jalonkian dialect for many cases as in the one below:

Jalonke verbs: "wadd-ude" or "waddu-gol" meaning "to create or cause trouble between peole" both become respectively "waddi-**tu**-de" and "waddi-**tu**-gol"

Other pertinent examples can densely testify this fact as illustrated in the following :

Toroobe: "fiy-de"   meaning   "to strike"   becomes "fiy-**tu**-de"
Jalonke: "piy-ude"   meaning   "to strike"   becomes "piyi-**tu**-de"
Jalonke: "piy-ugol"   meaning   "to strike"   becomes "piyi-**tu**-gol"

For shedding light on these examples, we are forcely and obliged to reckon that the vowel (u) disappears completely because it is not permitted to put an association of two vowels, the same remark is also identified in "waddi-tu-gol", and even in "***piyi-tu-de***" but these forms below do not exist in Pular: "***waddi-tu-ugol***" and ***piyi-tu-ugol***" and so forth.

These words can be used to form sensical sentences as in:

Toroobe
« Usmaan no liir-**tu**-de les naange »
PN   P   Verb PREP Sun
"Usman is under the sun"

"Nafi no piy-de sukaabe be"
PN   P   Verb   children ART
"Nafi is striking the children"

Jalonke
"Usmaan no wa²i-**tu**-de Samba e Cerno"
PN   P   Verb   PN Coord PN
"Usman is creating problem between Samba and Thierno"

« Nafi no piyi-**tu**-de Ismaila »
PN P   Verb   PN
"Nafi is striking Ismaila"

On keeping a very close eye on these sentences above of both dialects, we must bail out the important place of the Presentative Pulaar aspect (**no**) here it is before the verb to express the onging actions but when it is placed after the verb, it expresses past actions.

As for Pular middle and passive voices of both Pular dialects (Toroobe and Jalonke), this type of suffix appears as quite very simple. As shown in the following instances :

Taking the same verbs below as proving the fact provided that they corrolate our contention :

Toroobe Chart

Infinitive	Middle voice	English meaning
fiy-de	fiy-**t**-*aa*-de	be stricken again fiercely

Infinitive	Passive voice	English meaning
fiy-de	fiy-**t**-*ee*-de	have been stricken again fiercely
fiy-de	fiy-**d**-*ee*-de	be stricken together
fiy-de	fiy-**r**-*ee*-de	be stricken with
fiy-de	fiy-**r**-*ee*-de	be stricken to a certain way

Jalonke chart

Infinitive	Middle voice	English meaning
piy-ude	piyi-**t**-*aa*-de	be stricken again fiercely
piy-ugol	piyi-**t**-agol	be stricken again fiercely

Infinitive	Passive voice	English meaning
piy-ude	piyi-**t**-ee-de	have been stricken again fiercely
piy-ugol	piyi-**t**-egol	have been stricken again fiercely
piy-ude	piyi-**d**-*ee*-de	be stricken together
piy-ugol	piyi-**d**-*ee*-de-gol	be stricken together
piy-ude	piy-**r**-*ee*-de	be stricken with
piy-ugol	piy-**r**-*ee*-de -gol	be stricken to a certain way

On analyzing the two charts above, we automatically need to assume that in Toroobe dialect there are only four kinds of Passive whereas in Jalonke, we just remark more than this six Passive precisely but it is the result of te two kinds of Jalonke infinitive **-ude** and **-gol** they both combine themselves to give

the same semantic content in so far as they are oftenly interchangeable.

In Torobe dialect, the stems that end in two consonants otherwise known as gemination have their suffix in -**it**, -**ir**, -**id**, **-at**, **-ay**…

as shown in the following:

<u>Toroobe examples</u>

Infinitive	Suffix	Meaning
ho^{1}ng -u-de	ho^{1}ng -**at** -de	To drum again
ho^{1}ng -u-de	ho^{1}ng-**ir**-de	To drum to a certain way
sakk-u-de	Sakk-**ir**-de/sakk-**it**-de	To put it under

<u>Jalonke examples</u>

Infinitive	Suffix	Meaning
ho^{1}k -u-de/ho^{1}k-u-gol	ho^{1}k-**oy**-de/ho^{1}k-**oy**-gol	To drum again
ho^{1}k -u-de/ho^{1}k-u-gol	ho^{1}k-**ir**-de/ho^{1}k-**ir**-gol	To drum to a certain way
da^{22}-u-de/da^{22}-u-gol	da^{22}-**ir**-de/da^{22}-**ir**-gol	To put it under

In the examples above, specifically, the Jalonkian ones we should admit that there is a variation of vowel or even a changeable vowel between (a and o) owing to the radical of the verb "ho^{1}k" which cannot permit the vowel (a) in its infinitive form but in some context this one can appear as in (o ho^{1}k-ay) meaning "he/she is drumming" or "he/she drums".

The presence of the two vowels (-i and -u) respectively immediately after or before the suffix advocates that Pulaar

system does not accept the succession of three consonants, that is why we always have this structure (ccvc) to avoid it as shown by our instances in the chart above.

So, in the verb (sakk-ir-de) in Toroobe dialect the intervention of the vowel (-i) has broken the succession of (kkr) or (sakkr). In also the verb (dadd-u-de) or (dadd-u-gol) in Jalonke the presence of the (-u) avoids the succession of (ddd) or (daddd) or again (ddg) or even again (daddg), otherwise, it is situated between the suffix and the verbal noun infinitive in -de or -gol. Presumably, the forms of the suffixes in (-tu, -du, -ru,) and (-t, -d, -r) of both dialects except (-ru) which is only used in Toroobe, appear when the suffix is on the noun-verbs in (-de) or (-gol) according to the dialect in context. As in the examples above with the radical (piy) from (piggal) its noun.

Practically in all inflected forms, the suffixes are always preceded by the vowel (-i) or (-u) when the structure of CCC is supposed to take place, or being their simple form if this case does not happen. In English, this form is actually very current with the verbs that end with -ch, -sh, as respectively in "watch" and "finish" at their third person where they put an eupheunic or helping vowel (-e) (watch-es and finish-es) to avoid the successive consonants (CCC) and have a better pronunciation on behalf of a good English sonority.

However, there are other contexts in which the following suffixes (**-it, -ir, -id**) or (**-ut, -ur, -ud**) can appear where it is impossible to skim off the presence of the vowel (**-i**) according to the rule. As in the following examples of the verbs:

Toroobe
« mi loot-t-i e subaka »
PP Verb Suff ASP Coor morning
"I have washed again in the morning"

This sentence will become: **"mi loot-it-i e subaka"**
<div align="center">PP Verb Suff ASP Coor morning</div>
<div align="center">"I have washed again in the morning"</div>

<div align="center">« o ñaam-r-i »</div>
<div align="center">PP Verb Suff ASP</div>
<div align="center">« He has eaten with »</div>

This sentence will become: **"o ñaam-ir-i"**
<div align="center">PP Verb Suff ASP</div>
<div align="center">« He has eaten with »</div>

<div align="center">« ±e ¾eew-t-ii-ma »</div>
<div align="center">PP Verb Suff ASP Refl</div>
<div align="center">"They have watched themselves"</div>

This sentence will become: **"±e ¾eew-it-iima"**
<div align="center">PP Verb Suff ASP Refl</div>
<div align="center">"They have watched themselves"</div>

Nota : This rule is only validated in Toorobe dialect but not in Jalonke one. Something important is also noticeable in that the verbalizing or helping element (i) added to the radical of the verb does not only play the reflexive action but the repetitive one too as in Jalonke dialect.

<div align="center">

Jalonke
"mi loot-it-i ka subaka"
PP Verb Suff ASP Coor morning
"I have washed again in the morning"

</div>

This sentence will remain: **"mi loot-it-i ka subaka"**
<div align="center">PP Verb Suff ASP Coor morning</div>
<div align="center">"I have washed again in the morning"</div>

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"o ñaam-ir-i"
PP Verb Suff ASP
« He has eaten with »

This sentence will remain: **"o ñaam-ir-i"**
PP Verb Suff ASP
« He has eaten with »

"±e ¾eew-it-ike"
PP Verb Suff ASP Refl
"They have watched themselves"

This sentence will remain: **"±e ¾eew-it-ike"**
PP Verb Suff ASP Refl
"They have watched themselves"

Nota : In Jalonkian dialect, the rule is not used permanently because it does not make sense in so far as Jalonkian speakers used to put an epheunic or helping vowel either an **(-i)** or any orher vowel according to the verb in question.

B. Category Type VC as Vowel Consonant:

In this category, we distinguish four types of Pulaar suffixes like **(-an, -a¹, -oy, -ay)** the first two are used for the benefactive cases **(-an and -a¹),** the last two are used for distance or future cases (-**oy** and -**ay**). They are always fix with no morphological modification of the radical of the verb with which they accompany. And, they are also placed just after the verb radical to express either a benefactive action or a distancing or again a future action.

Illustrations
Toroobe
Benefactive examples

"Fatou ___no___ loot-___an___-aa-de fi jom galle mum"
PN P Verb BenSuff ASP INF Part Husband Poss
"Fatu is washing herself for her husband"

"Fatou ___no___ loot-___an___-de galle Dieynabou"
PN P Verb BenSuff INF house PN
"Fatu is cleaning Zeynab's house"

"Dieynabou ___no___ loot-___an___-ee-de galle mum"
PN P Verb BenSuff ASP INF house Poss
"Zeynab's house is being cleaned"

Distanciative examples

"Samba ___no___ dog-___oy___-de"
PN   P Verb DistSuff INF
"Samba is going to run"

"Samba ___no___ loot-___oy___-aa-de"
PN   P Verb DistSuff ASP INF
"Samba is going to wash himself"

"Samba ___no___ loot-___oy___-ee-de"
PN P Verb DistSuff ASP INF
"Samba is going to be washed"

Jalonke
Benefactive examples

"Fatou no loot-___an___-aa-de fi jo¹ galle makko"
PN Ps Verb BenSuff ASP INF Part Husband Poss
"Fatu is washing herself for her husband"

"Fatou no loot-***a'***-de galle Dieynabou [2]e[1]'"
PN P Verb BenSuff INF house PN Poss
"Fatu is cleaning Zeynab's house"
"Dieynabou no loot-***an***-ee-de galle makko [2]e[1]'"
PN   P Verb Ben Suff ASP INF house Poss
"Zeynab's house is being cleaned"

Distanciative examples
"Samba ***no*** dog-***oy***-de"
 PN P Verb DistSuff INF
"Samba is going to run"

"Samba ***no*** loot-***oy***-aa-de"
  PN   P Verb DistSuff ASP INF
"Samba is going to wash himself"

"Samba ***no*** loot-***oy***-ee-de"
  PN   P Verb DistSuff ASP INF
"Samba is going to be washed"

The other Jalonkian infinitive form (class gol) can be employ but without a subject like: (loot-a[1]-***gol***, loot-a[1]-***gol***, dog-oy-***gol***) etc.

The particle (***no***) here expresses the Pulaar presentative aspect and not the past form of Pulaar conjugation. Therefore, all these actions are current at the time of speaking.

In Jalonke dialect, we acknowledge that the vowel (u) in the end of infinitive (ude) is truncated with a view to have a better sonority of the language as in (dogoyde)? (lootoyde) instead of (dogoyude), (lootoyude) and even with the class of (ugol) as always with the same verbs (dogoygol), (lootoygol) can be considered respectively as (dogoyugol) and (lootoyugol). It is said that these kinds of similarities are numerous and can

sometimes be serious and very controversial but, in no case, they do not jeopardize the reciprocal or mutual understandings between fulanies.

Nota : The future in Jalonke is obtained by the combination or association of the distance suffix (oy) with the projection suffix (ay) at the level of the verb indicating that something is going to be done in a later period, hence the following diagram *(oy) + (ay) = Future tense*.

C. Category Type CVC as Consonant Vowel Consonant:

Like the previous category, this one contains two types of suffix categories: the reciprocity suffix categories and those of simulation as illustrated by the instances below:

<div align="center">

Illustrations
Toroobe
Reciprocity Suffixes
"Aali no sopp-**ondir**-de Samba"
PN P Verb SuffRecp INFMark PN
"Ali and Samba are whipping with sabre themselves"

"Samba no sopp-**ondir**-de Aali"
PN   P Verb SuffRecp INFMark PN
"Samba and Ali are whipping with sabre themselves"

</div>

There are two types of reciprocal suffixes in Toroobe (-ondir and -tir) even though the first type is the most common, but the latter is also and oftenly used in accordance with the context and very often this one is preceded by a helping vowel either an (o-) or an (u-) to avoid the structure of successive and consecutive consonants like (CCC) as shown by the following illustrations.

Illustrations

The verb "*lootde*" and "*soppde*" in short, any Pulaar verb in Toroobe dialect can explicitly demonstrate it since we consider that this dialect hardly admits any helping vowel at first acception. Therefore, we will often have:

Illustrations
Toroobe
"Samba no loot-**ndir**-de Aali"
PN   P Verb SuffRecp INFMark PN
"Samba and Ali are washing themselves"

"Aali no loot-**ndir**-de Samba"
PN P Verb SuffRecp INFMark PN
"Ali and Samba are washing themselves"

"Samba no sopp-**tir**-de Aali"
PN   P Verb SuffRecp INFMark PN
"Samba and Ali are whipping with sabre themselves"

"Aali no sopp-**tir**-de Samba"
PN P Verb SuffRecp INFMark PN
"Samba and Ali are whipping with sabre themselves"

Aside from these few far between forms above, which become (-ondir,-undir,-utir,-otir) the tendancy has become general even before the cases where the verbal radicals of verbs end by a consosnant the vowels (-o, -u, -i) according to the particular contexts are always added on behalf of the sonority rules.

Nota : As seen the examples above, the reciprocity suffixes make it possible to express that the action carried out or accomplished by the subject on the object through the intermediary of the verb is also done by the object on the subject.

Jalonke
Reciprocity Suffixes

"Aali no soppi-**ndir**-de e Samba"
PN   P Verb SuffRecp INFMark Coord PN
"Ali and Samba are whipping with sabre themselves"

"Samba no soppi-**ndir**-de e Aali"
PN P Verb SuffRecp INFMark Coord PN
"Samba and Ali are whipping with sabre themselves"

"Aali no soppi-**ndir**-gol e Samba"
PN P Verb SuffRecp INFMark Coord PN
"Ali and Samba are whipping with sabre themselves"

"Samba no soppi-**ndir**-gol e Aali"
PN   P Verb SuffRecp INFMark Coord PN
"Samba and Ali are whipping with sabre themselves"

Nota : the presence of the coordination element is very meaningful in that it permits to accomplish the conditions of the best sonority but also, specifies one of the roles of the coordination mark in any sentence which is the association of two people here.

In Jalonke speech the use of the coordination element (e) in these sentences above is preponderant in so far as it helps to show off the reciprocal action between parties in question.

As so to speak, in Toroobe dialect, the suffix **-tir** is more or less problematic and controversial and even hard to be used in some verbs like dogde where the meaning an be skimmed off in a different way. As in (dog-**tir**-de) will propably mean to (to take the direction of) or even the form (dog-**utir**-de) which exists only in Toroobe dialect also gets the same meaning but this one

is so rare on account of the use of the vowel (u) at the beginning rank of the suffix.

In that kind of context, Pulaar language generally proceeds with resorting the use of (-**ndir**-) at the place of (-**tir**-) to avoid ambiguous understandings.

Presumably, the reciprocal suffixes (-**tir**- and -**ndir**-) added to the verbal radical admit only the two ways of Pulaar voices in Toroobe specifically (Active and Passive), but can also wear a form of Middle one in Jalonke dialect as in :

❖ **With the verb (fiyde) meaning to (hit) in Toroobe:**
First series of sentences
"Samba no fiy-**ondir**-de Ali"
PN   P Verb Recip suff Inf class PN
"Samba is fighting against Ali"
Or "Samba no fiy-**ondir**-de"
PN   P Verb Recip suff Inf class
"Samba is fighting against"

Or even "Samba no fiy-**ondir**-de god²o"
PN   P Verb Recip suff Inf class someone
"Samba is fighting against somebody"

Depending upon the context, we can also have other different series of sentences

Second series of sentences
"Samba fiy-**indir**"
PN Verb Recip suff
"Samba fought against"

"Samba fiy-**indir**-aama"
PN Verb Recip suff ASPm Inf class

"Samba has fought against"
this form is not current in Toroobe.

"Samba no fiy-**indir**-**ee**-de"
    PN   P Verb Recip suff ASPp Inf class
"Samba is fighting against"
    "no fiy-**indir**-**ee**-de"
        P Verb Recip suff ASPp Inf class
            "People are fighting against"

In the sentences of the first series, we cannot establish the Middle way of Pulaar expressions as shown by the second sentence of the second series (**aama**) though it is extremely rare nowadays in Toroobe dialect.

❖ **With the verb (piyude) or (piyugol) meaning (to hit) in Jalonke:**
    First series of sentences
    "Samba no piy-**ondir**-de e Ali"
        PN   P Verb Recip suff inf coord PN
        "Samba is fighting against Ali"

    Or "Samba no piy-**ondir**-de"
     PN   P Verb Recip suff inf
     "Samba is fighting against"

    Or even "Samba no piy-**ondir**-de e go²²o"
            PN   P Verb Recip suff inf coord PN
            "Samba is fighting against somebody"

    "Samba no piy-**ondir**-*ee*-de"
        PN   P Verb Recip suff inf
        "Samba is fighting against"

We remark that the vowel (i) of the reciprocal suffix in Jalonke (ndiri) disappears in front of the Pulaar aspect in order to give a beautiful sonority of the language in question what is impossible elsewhere.

Depending upon the context, we can also have other different series of sentences :

Second series of sentences

"Samba piyi-**ndiri**"
PN Verb Recip suff
"Samba fought against"

"Samba piy-**indir**-aama"
PN Verb Recip suff MID
"Samba has fought against"

or "Samba piy-**ondir**-aama"
PN Verb Recip suff MID
"Samba had been fighting against"

"Samba no piyi-**ndir**-ee-de"
PN P Verb Recip suff PASS inf
"Samba is fighting against"

"no piyi-**ndir**-ee-de"
P Verb Recip suff PASS inf
"People are fighting against"

We must attest that the form with the *Class Gol* is so rare in Jalonke though there are forms which are appropriate it as with : "piy-indira-gol" or "piy-indir-gol". In Jalonke dialect we also have to notice the use of the coordination element (e) as an

association in this context of reciprocal aspect in that (Samba and goddo) or (Samba and Ali) play interactive actions.

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