Notes on Wolof Grammar by William A. Stewart
Adapted for the present text by William W. Gage

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These notes are extracted from Nussbaum L.V., Gage W.W., and Varre D. 1970 *Dakar Wolof: A Basic Course* published by the Centre for Applied Linguistics Washington D.C. pp 355-412. The notes have been modified by replacing the Wolof alphabet in use in 1970 for the current official alphabet to make it easier to read.

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Part I   Verbs

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1.   The Presentative angi (anga)

The basic function of angi and its variants is to present or call attention to something or someone existing or doing something at the time of speaking. As with the noun determiners (See Grammar Note 22), the final vowel i in angi indicates that what is referred to is close at hand. If the person or thing referred to is not close at hand, the final vowel used is a and the form of the presentative is anga instead.

The presentative angi (or anga) can modify both nouns and pronouns, and the word order is always the noun or pronoun first, followed by the presentative form. The pronouns thus modified are subject pronouns (See Grammar Note 26). Of the various forms of subject pronouns which exist, the following are the ones used with the presentative:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	ma	ñu
2nd Pers.	ya	yeen
3rd Pers.	mu	ñu

When the presentative is used with the pronominal forms mu and ñu, it usually occurs without any effect of its first vowel (e.g. mungi rather than the rarer mongi). The resulting usual forms with angi are:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	màngi	ñungi
2nd Pers.	yàngi	yeen angi
3rd Pers.	mungi	ñungi

If the presentative is used alone with a noun or pronoun (that is, without an accompanying verb), then the forms angi and anga are similar in function to the French presentatives voici and voilà respectively, e.g. kër angi   "here is a house (Fr. voici une maison)", gaal anga "there is a boat (Fr. voilà une pirogue)", màngi "here I am (Fr. me voici)". In such constructions, the pluralization of a noun without a determiner is indicated by ay preceding the noun, e.g. ay kër angi "here are some houses (Fr. voici des maisons)". If a determiner is used with a noun modified by the presentative, the determiner takes its usual position immediately after the noun, and is in turn

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followed by the presentative. When used with the presentative, the vowel of the noun determiner is obliterated, even if the object is close at hand (since this is shown by the use of <u>i</u> as the final vowel of the presentative), e.g. <u>kër</u> <u>g'àngi</u> "here is the house (<u>voici</u> <u>la</u> <u>maison</u>)", <u>kër</u> <u>y'àngi</u> "here are the houses (<u>voici</u> <u>les</u> <u>maisons</u>)".

When a noun or pronoun is modified by the presentative followed by a verb, this indicates that the action expressed by the verb is going on at the time of speaking. Such verbal constructions with the presentative are more or less equivalent in meaning to English constructions with to be in the present tense plus a present participle, e.g. <u>màngi</u> <u>dem</u> "I am leaving", <u>Jóob</u> <u>angi</u> <u>wax</u> "Diop is speaking", <u>xale</u> <u>y'àngi</u> <u>lekk</u> "the children are eating". If the action is remote from the speaker, this is shown by the use of the final vowel a instead of i in the presentative form. When <u>anga</u> is used, it is always followed by <u>-y</u> (a variant of the auxiliary <u>di</u>), e.g. <u>Jóob</u> <u>anga-y</u> <u>wax</u> "Diop is speaking (at a remote place)". The remote form of the verb will not be used with the first and second persons, singular or plural, since the situations in which they should be used do not arise.

In rapid speech, the presentative may sometimes be heard used in an abbreviated form <u>aŋ</u> (or -<u>ŋ</u> after <u>mu</u> and <u>ñu</u>).

2.   The Explicative Predicator <u>dafa</u>

There is one verbal predicator which has the basic function of indicating that the verb it is used with is to be taken as an explanation of something. This Wolof explicative predicator has no single structural or functional counterpart in English. Something close to its meaning can be expressed by giving the English verb or adjective a special stress, e. g. "he WORKS", "it's SMALL", or adding some sort of explicative phrase, such as "what he does is work", "what it is is small" or "that's because he works", "it's that it's small".

The Wolof explicative predicator has three forms, one full form, and two abbreviated forms. The full form, <u>dafa</u>, is used when no subject or object pronoun follows. When a subject pronoun follows, an abbreviated form, <u>da</u>, is always used. When an object pronoun follows, either of these two forms can be used, and another abbreviated form, <u>daf</u>, is also often used. When the particle <u>di</u> follows, either the <u>dafa</u> or the <u>da</u> form is used with the <u>-y</u> form of the particle, or the <u>daf</u> form is used with the <u>di</u> form of the particle. The subject pronouns which are used after the explicative predicator have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	<u>ma</u>	<u>ñu</u>
2nd Pers.	<u>nga</u>	<u>ngéen</u>
3rd Pers.		<u>ñu</u>

The usual order of verbal constructions with the explicative predicator is predicator + subject pronoun + object pronoun + the particle <u>di</u> + verb, although not all of these will occur in all constructions. When the particle <u>di</u> is absent from the construction, the verb has completive meaning.

<u>Da</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ko</u> <u>jàng</u>.   "I've STUDIED it." or "That's because I've studied it."
<u>Da</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>liggéey</u>.   "They WORK." or "What they do is work." or "That's because they work."

As is shown by the preceding subject pronoun table, there is no 3rd person singular subject pronoun used with the explicative predicator. When it is used without a subject pronoun, it normally implies a 3rd person singular subject.

<table>
<tr><td>Dafa <u>tàng</u>.</td><td>"It's HOT." or "It's that it's hot." or "It's because it's hot."</td></tr>
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Dafa-y <u>nelaw</u>.
<u>Da-y</u> <u>nelaw</u>. } "He's SLEEPING." or "It's because he's sleeping."
<u>Daf</u> <u>di</u> <u>nelaw</u>.

<u>Daf</u> <u>ko</u> <u>jàng</u>. } "He's STUDIED it." or "That's because he's studied it."
<u>Da</u> <u>ko</u> <u>jàng</u>.

When they are followed by object pronouns, the subject pronouns <u>ma</u>, <u>nga</u>, and <u>ñu</u> may be abbreviated to <u>-m'</u>, <u>-ŋ</u>, and <u>-ñ'</u> after <u>da</u> in rapid speech.

<u>Da-m'</u> <u>ko</u> <u>def</u> for <u>Da</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ko</u> <u>def</u>.   "I've DONE it." etc.
<u>Da-ŋ</u> <u>ko</u> <u>def</u> for <u>Da</u> <u>nga</u> <u>ko</u> <u>def</u>.   "you've DONE it." etc.
<u>Da-ñ'</u> <u>ko</u> <u>def</u> for <u>Da</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>ko</u> <u>def</u>.   "We/they've DONE it." etc.

Constructions with the explicative predicator are negated simply by adding the negative suffix to the verb in the construction, or to the particle <u>di</u> instead, if that occurs.

<u>Da</u> <u>ma</u> <u>jàngul</u>.   "It's because I haven't studied."
<u>Da</u> <u>ma</u> <u>dul</u> <u>jàng</u>.   "It's because I'm not studying."

3.   Active vs. Stative Verbs, and the Completive Marker <u>na</u>

In Wolof, verbs are used for a number of purposes which require other grammatical devices in such Western European languages as English and French. For example, English and French have special grammatical devices for modifying nouns and verbs (i.e. adjectives and adverbs of manner). Wolof has no adjectives and few, if any, adverbs of manner as such; instead, verbs and verb phrases are used to modify nouns and verbs. In order to understand how Wolof verbs are able to carry out the functions of English or French verbs, adjectives, and adverbs of manner, it will be helpful to consider Wolof verbs as being of two different types:

1. <u>Active verbs</u>. Active verbs are those which indicate an action or process. Wolof active verbs almost always correspond to verbs in English.
<u>wax</u> "to speak", <u>dem</u> "to leave", <u>lekk</u> "to eat"

2. <u>Stative Verbs</u>. Stative verbs are usually verbs which indicate being in a particular state of mind or static condition. Wolof stative verbs which indicate a state of mind usually correspond to verbs in English.
<u>xam</u> "to know", <u>bëgg</u> "to want, desire", <u>nob</u> "to love", <u>gëm</u> "to believe in"

Wolof appears to make some sort of distinction between states of mind, which are indicated by stative verbs, and certain actions or processes which, though of a mental nature, are indicated by active verbs. Cf. <u>foog</u> "to think, believe (that)" which is a stative verb, but <u>xalaat</u> "to think about, ponder", which is an active verb. The semantic criteria which differentiate active and stative verbs may sometimes be further confused by inaccurate but established translation equivalents for Wolof and French or English. For example, "to hate, detest" may be given as the translation of the verb <u>bañ</u>, so that the verb would appear to be a stative verb. However, <u>bañ</u> literally means "to refuse, reject", and is accordingly an active verb.

Wolof stative verbs which indicate the static condition of something or someone correspond most closely to predicate adjectives in English.

<u>baax</u> "(to be) good, kind", <u>rëy</u> "(to be) big", <u>feebar</u> "(to be) sick", <u>mun</u> "(to be) able", <u>xiif</u> "(to be) hungry"

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In English, a noun may be modified either by a simple adjective or by a predicated adjective, e.g., "the big house" and "the house is big". Since Wolof verbs carry out the function of English adjectives, the difference between the two kinds of English noun modification must be shown by some kind of verbal construction. Wolof uses a subject and a stative verb of the appropriate meaning for circumstances in which English has a clause with an adjective in the predicate. The pre-noun modifier construction in English is represented in Wolof by a relative-clause type of construction (e.g. kër gu rëy gi "the house which is big").

One of the most concrete differences between these two kinds of Wolof verbs has to do with the use of the presentative angi (See Grammar Note 1). Active verbs can be modified by angi, while stative verbs ordinarily cannot. In fact, the quickest way to tell whether a Wolof verb is active or stative is to ask a native speaker if one can describe the present state of things by saying mungi X, where X is the verb in question. The fact that stative verbs cannot be so used with angi means that reference to present time (which is indicated by means of angi with active verbs, e.g. mungi wax "he/she is speaking") must be indicated by some other means when a stative verb is involved.

For stative verbs, the fact that the state or condition exists at the time of speaking is usually indicated by the completive marker na, which always follows the verb it modifies. When used with stative verbs, this marker seems to indicate literally that the coming into being of the state or condition has been completed. In a looser sense, however, it can be considered as simply a present tense marker for stative verbs.

When a completive marker na is used, it is immediately followed by the subject pronoun. The forms of the subject pronoun in combination with the completive marker na are:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	naa	na ñu
2nd Pers.	nga	ngéen
3rd Pers.	na □	na ñu

E.g., xam naa "I know", feebar naa "I am sick", bëgg na ñu "we/they want", baax na ñu "we/they are good, kind".

As the preceding table indicates by □, there is no 3rd person singular pronominal form used after the completive marker na. Instead, na itself automatically expresses a 3rd person singular subject if no other subject pronoun is used with it.
     xam na "he/she knows", rëy na "he/she/it is big"

If the subject of the verb is 2nd person, the following forms of the 2nd person subject pronouns are used after the verb, and the completive marker itself is omitted:

	Singular	Plural
2nd Pers.	nga	ngéen

 E.g.,   xam nga "you (sing.) know", baax ngeen "you (pl.) are kind"

The same kind of completive construction (containing either the marker na or the 2nd person pronominal forms nga, ngéen) is also used with active verbs. With active verbs, however, the

completive construction indicates that the action or process referred to has already been completed by the time of speaking, and is therefore more or less equivalent to the English present perfect.

Wax naa. "I have spoken." (cf. Xam naa. "I know.")

Lekk nga. "You (sing.) have eaten." Xiif nga. "You (sing.) are hungry."
(cf. the same construction with a stative verb: Dem na. "He/she has left.")

When a noun is used for a 3rd person singular or plural subject, that noun usually takes first place in the sentence, while the remainder of the sentence continues in the same way as for a pronoun subject, with no pronoun for the 3rd person singular, but ñu for the 3rd person plural.

Góor gi jël na xaalis bi.   "The man has taken the money."

Suñu-y dëkkëndóo dimbëli na ñu suma waa kër.   "Our neighbors have helped my family."

The object of the verb for the form Verb + na follows the subject pronoun. In this case both subject and object pronouns follow rather than precede the verb as they do with the forms angi + Verb and da(fa) + Verb.

Góor ñi jël na ñu ko.   "The men have taken it."

The following group of sentences illustrate the complete pattern for the inclusion and omission of na and the 3rd person singular pronoun. Boxes immediately following the verb represent the na that is not used in this situation. Boxes following na represent the absence of a 3rd person singular pronoun.

Xiif naa.   "I'm hungry."

Xam □ nga suma xarit.   "You (sing.) know my friend."

Indi na □ téeré yi.   "He has brought the books."

Lekk na ñu ndékki li.   "We've eaten breakfast."

Gis □ ngéen suñu kër.   "You (pl.) have seen our house."

Naan na ñu seen attaaya.   "They've drunk their tea."

Góor gi jël na □ xaalis bi.   "The man has taken the money."

Suñu-y dëkkëndóo dimbëli na ñu ma.   "Our neighbors have helped me."

4.   The Auxiliary Verb and Verbal Particle di

The word di (or its variant, -y) has no real meaning of its own in Wolof. Instead, it is placed before verbs to modify their grammatical connotation. The function of di is to indicate that the action referred to by the verb it modifies is incomplete. In some contexts, it indicates that the action is merely anticipated. Thus, when modified by di, Wolof verbs can correspond to English verbs either in the simple present tense (which indicates habitual action), or in a future expression (which indicates anticipated action).

When di is used to modify a verb, it always precedes the verb. If the verbal construction in which di modifies a verb contains no predicator, then di has the status of an auxiliary verb. In such a case, the verbal markers (such as na and the appropriate subject pronouns) go with and modify di, rather than the verb which di modifies.

Di naa wax. "I speak (habitually)." or "I will speak."

Di nga liggéey.   "You (sing.) work (habitually)." or "You will work."

Di na lekk.   "He/she (usually) eats." or "He/she will eat."

In Grammar Note 3, it was pointed out that Wolof stative verbs which indicate the static condition of a person, place, or thing are usually rendered in English as predicate adjectives. When a stative verb of this type is modified by di, it means that the condition is either recurrent or anticipated.

Di na ñu feebar.   "We/they are (often) sick" or "We/they will be sick."
Di ngéen xiif.   "You (pl.) are (often) hungry" or "You will be hungry."

In verbal constructions which have a predicator (such as dafa or la), di becomes an unmodified verbal particle which immediately precedes the verb it modifies. When it is a particle, the initial consonant of di is usually dropped, and the resulting form, -y, is linked to a preceding word ending in a vowel.
Da ñu-y jàng.   "We/they study."
Wolof la ñu-y làkk ci Dàkaar.   "Wolof is what is spoken in Dakar."
After consonants the form di is retained.
Da ngéen di liggéey.   You (pl.) are WORKING.
Lan ngéen di def?   What are you (pl.) doing?
Kañ la matt di suux?   When will wood sink?
After i, and especially after *ii*, di rather than -y may be used for greater clarity.
Kañ la jigéen ñi di woy?   When do the women sing?
Lu tax eleew yii di nelaw?   Why are these students sleeping?

The particle di is always required in verbal constructions with angi (See Grammar Note 1) when the modified verb has a direct object or locative pronoun (See Grammar Note 27), although di is not required when the verb in the angi construction has no such pronoun. If there is an object pronoun in such constructions, it precedes the verb and the particle di is placed between the two. Again, the particle in this position usually has the form   without the initial consonant. If the object pronoun is leen, however, the initial consonant of the following di is not dropped.
Mángi gis. "I see.", but Mángi ko-y gis. "I see him/her/it.
Mángi leen di gis. "I see you (pl.) /them."

A verb may be modified by di twice, or even three times, in the same construction – the first time with di as a full auxiliary verb, and then again (either once or twice) with di as a verbal particle. The use of di more than once in a verbal construction seems to emphasize the idea of habitual action or recurrent state or condition, as opposed to simple futurity. The difference between the use of di twice or three times in the same construction, however, seems to be largely a matter of style, rather than of grammatical meaning.
Di na ñu-y lekk. or Di na ñu-y di lekk. "We/they eat (habitually)."

5.   The Complement and Object Predicator la

One of the functions of the grammatical word la is to predicate the noun, pronoun, or question word which precedes it, and to make this the complement of the subject of la. This predicating function of la corresponds to a common one of the English verb "to be". However, an important difference between Wolof la and the English "to be" as complement predicators is that, while "to be" can have either a noun or a pronoun as its subject, the subject of la can only be a pronoun. The forms of the subject pronouns in combination with la are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	laa	la ñu
2nd Pers.	□ nga	□ ngéen
3rd Pers.	la □	la ñu

Since pronouns are always placed immediately after la, this means that the Wolof word order for construction in which a complement is predicated is just the opposite of its English counterpart. That is, the order is complement + la +-subject for Wolof, and subject + "to be" + complement for English.

Wolof la ñu.   "We/they are Wolofs."
Amerikeñ laa.   "I am an American."

If there is a need to remove ambiguity as to the person reference of the subject pronoun form ñu in such a construction, this can be done by placing the appropriate independent pronoun (See Grammar Note 25) before the entire construction.

Ñun, wolof la ñu.   "We are Wolofs."
Ñoom, wolof la ñu.   "They are Wolofs."

As the above pronoun table indicates, there is no 3rd person singular subject pronoun used with the predicator la. Instead, la automatically expresses a 3rd person singular subject if no other subject pronoun is used with it.

Tukulóor la.   "He/she is a Tukulor."

If the subject of the construction containing the complement is 2nd person, the following forms of the 2nd person subject pronouns are used, and the complement predicator itself is omitted:

	Singular	Plural
2nd Pers.	nga	ngéen

Suma xarit nga.   "You are my friend."
Suma-y xarit ngéen.   "You are my friends."

A complement can be a noun (including a name), an independent pronoun (See Grammar Note 25), or an independent question word (See Grammar Note 30): When these are predicated with an indefinite 3rd person subject, the closest translation of the subject of la may be the English impersonal "it".

Kan la?   "Who is it?"
Wax ma kan la.   "Tell me who it is."
Man la.   "It is me."
Mamadu la.   "It is Mamadou."
Ñun la.   "It is us."

As has been pointed out, the subject of la can only be a pronoun. To express the equivalent of English constructions in which the subject of a predicated complement is a noun, Wolof places the noun which is equivalent to the English subject noun before the complement, and has the pronominal subject of the construction agree in number with that first noun, rather than with the complement noun.

Dàkaar, dëkk la.   "Dakar is a city." (lit: "Dakar, a city it is.")
Lebu yi, xeet la ñu.   "The Lebu are an ethnic group."
Ndóoy, lebu la.   "N'Doye is a Lebu."

This kind of construction seems to be similar in structure to the type Ñoom, wolof la ñu mentioned above.

The other function of la is to emphasize the object of a verb, or some modifier of the verb. In English, this is done by giving the object word a special kind of stress or tone. This draws the attention of the listener to the object of the sentence, even though the word order remains

unchanged. Thus, one would usually say a sentence like "The children want ice cream" colorlessly, but in answer to such a question as "What do the children want?", one would be more likely to say "The children want ICE CREAM", with special stress on the object word "ice cream".

In Wolof, the object of a verb is emphasized in similar cases, not by giving it special stress as in English, but by predicating it by means of <u>la</u>. When <u>la</u> is used as an object predicator for a completive verbal construction the verbal marker <u>na</u> (See Grammar Note 3) is not used. The fact that the verb has completive meaning in such object-predicated construction is shown only by the absence of <u>di</u> (See Grammar Note 4). Thus, while a colorless assertion might have the form <u>Xale yi bëgg na ñu kereem</u>. "The children want ice cream", the answer to a question <u>Lan la xale yi bëgg</u>? "What do the children want?" would take the form <u>Kereem la xale yi bëgg</u>. "The children want ICE CREAM", or the form <u>Xale yi, kereem la ñu bëgg</u>, to emphasize both subject and object in a contrastive situation. (A preceding plural subject requires 3rd person plural pronoun after <u>la</u>, the 3rd person singular pronoun is omitted in any case, whether there is a noun subject or not.) Corresponding to the statement <u>Xale y'àngi lekk kereem</u>, the constructions which emphasize the object will be either <u>Kereem la xale yi-y lekk</u> or <u>Xale yi, kereem la ñu-i lekk</u>.

The following group of sentences illustrate the complete pattern for the inclusion and omission of <u>la</u> and the 3rd person singular pronoun. Boxes immediately following the complement represent the <u>la</u> that is not used in this situation. Boxes following <u>la</u> represent the 3rd person singular pronoun which is not used in this case.

<u>Amerikeñ</u> <u>laa</u>.   "I'm an American."
<u>Wolof</u> □ <u>nga</u>.   "You're (sing.) a Wolof."
<u>Kan</u> <u>la</u> □?   "Who is it?"
<u>Masô</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u>.   "We're masons."
<u>Jàngalekat</u> □ <u>ngéen</u>.   "You're (pl.) teachers."
<u>Ñan</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u>? "Who are they?"
<u>Téeré</u> <u>yi</u> <u>laa</u> <u>bëgg</u>.   "It's the books that I want."
<u>Mburu</u> □ <u>nga-y</u> <u>jël</u>.   "It's the bread that you're taking."
<u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u>, <u>fas</u> <u>wi</u> <u>la</u> □ <u>xool</u>.   "The house is what my friend is looking at."

Whenever the object to be emphasized is a pronoun, it is the equivalent independent pronoun form, rather than the object pronoun, which is predicated. Thus, the emphasized object equivalent of <u>Gis naa ko</u> "I've seen him" would be <u>Moom laa gis</u> "I've seen HIM" (lit: "It's him I have seen").

6.   The Subject Predicator <u>-a</u>

When there is a need to emphasize or draw attention to the subject of a verbal construction, this is usually done in English by giving the subject word a special kind of stress or tone. Thus, simple assertive sentences like "My friend has left" or "The milk is good" are usually spoken colorlessly, with no special stress on any of the words. In answer to such questions as "Who has left?" or "What is good?", however, it is usual to emphasize the subject in the answer. This is done by placing the special stress on the subject word: "My FRIEND has gone" and "The MILK is good".

In Wolof, the subject of a verbal construction is usually emphasized in similar circumstances. But this is done, not by giving the subject special stress as in English, but rather by the grammatical device of predicating the subject. This is done by means of the subject predicator <u>-a</u>, which is always placed after the noun or noun-phrase (including the noun determiner) which it predicates.

When the subject predicator <u>-a</u> is used in a completive verbal construction, the marker <u>na</u> (See Grammar Note 3) is not used. The fact that the verb has completive meaning in such

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subject-predicated constructions is shown by the absence of <u>di</u> (See Grammar Note 4). Thus, in answer to questions like <u>Ku</u> <u>dem</u>? "Who has left?" and <u>Lu</u> <u>baax</u>? "What is good?", the answers will have the grammatical form <u>Suma</u> <u>xarit-a</u> <u>dem</u> "My FRIEND has left" and <u>Meew</u> <u>mee</u> <u>baax</u> "The MILK is good", rather than the colorless forms <u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>dem</u> <u>na</u> "My friend has gone" and <u>Meew</u> <u>mi</u> <u>baax</u> <u>na</u> "The milk is good".

When the action of the verb is incomplete, the marker <u>di</u> is used in the subject-predicated construction, but only as a verbal particle appearing before the verb (usually in the form <u>-y</u>). Thus, the answer to a question like <u>Ku-y</u> <u>wax</u>? "Who speaks/will speak?" will have the grammatical form <u>Suma</u> <u>xarit-a-y</u> <u>wax</u> "My FRIEND speaks/will speak", rather than the colorless form <u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>di</u> <u>na</u> <u>wax</u> "My friend speaks/will speak".

If the subject to be predicated is a pronoun, this (followed by the subject predicator) precedes the verb. The subject pronouns except <u>yeen</u> are always fused with <u>-a</u> yielding the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	<u>maa</u>	<u>ñoo</u>
2nd Pers.	<u>yaa</u>	<u>yeen-a</u>
3rd Pers.	<u>moo</u>	<u>ñoo</u>

Thus, <u>maa</u> <u>wax</u> and <u>maa-y</u> <u>wax</u> are the subject predicated equivalents of <u>wax</u> <u>naa</u> "I have spoken" and <u>di</u> <u>naa</u> <u>wax</u> "I speak/will speak".

When the subject to be predicated is a noun, the pronoun may be either included or omitted (this will almost invariably be the 3rd person, singular or plural):

<u>Suma</u> <u>xarit-a-y</u> <u>wax</u>.
<u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>moo-y</u> <u>wax</u>. } "My friend speaks/is speaking/will speak."

Verbal constructions which are used with the subject predicator <u>-a</u> are negated by adding the full form of the negative suffix (...<u>ul</u> or ...<u>wul</u>, See Grammar Note 8) to the verb base, with the rest of the <u>-a</u> construction remaining unaltered.

<u>Meew</u> <u>mee</u> <u>baaxul</u>.   "The MILK isn't good" (as, say, a response to the question <u>Lu</u> <u>baaxul</u>? "What isn't good?").
<u>Maa</u> <u>waxul</u>.   "It's me who hasn't spoken."

When the verbal construction used with predicator <u>-a</u> is incompletive, the <u>di</u> is negated. This will be discussed in Grammar Note 9.

Finally, it should be noted that no subject predicator is used after the interrogative pronouns <u>lu</u>, <u>ku</u> and <u>ñu</u> (See Grammar Note 30).

<u>Lu</u> <u>baax</u>?   "What is good?"
<u>Ku</u> <u>dem</u>?   "Who has left?"

7.   The Minimal Verbal Construction

There is one kind of verbal construction used in Wolof which is grammatically minimal in that it is formed without <u>angi</u>, <u>na</u>, <u>la</u>, <u>-a</u>, or <u>dafa</u>, and therefore lacks the grammatical information about its verb which these verbal markers convey. For this kind of information, the minimal verbal construction depends either upon an associated verbal construction which contains the appropriate verbal marker, or upon the context of the discourse. This means that the minimal verbal

construction occurs in positions or situations in which such information has already been established by a preceding verbal construction or can be inferred from the context.

The minimal verbal construction consists of the subject followed by the verb. (The verb of course, may be followed by an object or complement when appropriate.) If the subject is pronominal, the following forms of subject pronoun are used:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	ma	ñu
2nd Pers.	nga	ngéen
3rd Pers.	mu	ñu

One of the principal uses of the minimal verbal construction is in post-temporal clauses (See Grammar Note 18).

Bu mu waxee, ñu déglu.   "If I speak, they will listen."
Bi ma waxee, ñu dem.   "When I had spoken, they left."

Another characteristic use of the minimal verbal construction is in narratives. Once the appropriate information about the time setting of the action has been indicated by the use of grammatical markers in an early verbal construction, subsequent verbal constructions may have the minimal form. In such a case, they usually indicate short term events.

Benn bés, da ma demoon lekool.   "One day, I went to school."
Ma dugg, ma toog, ma jàng ba   "I went in, I sat down, I studied until
pare, ma ñibbi.   I finished, (and then) I went home."

In both the form and position of the subject pronouns, the minimal verbal construction resembles certain kinds of verbal constructions which occur in relative clauses which have an object (See Grammar Note 17), e.g. xale bi mu indi "the child whom he has brought". This resemblance is only superficial, however, since the minimal verbal construction is predicative, while the similar verbal construction in relative clauses is not; object pronouns have a different position, and the two negate differently. While the relative verbal construction negates simply by the addition of the full form of the negative suffix to the verb, e.g. xale bi mu indiwul "the child whom he has not brought", the minimal verbal construction is replaced by negation with du when there is reference to anticipated or hypothetical events, and by the simple negative construction when there is reference to past or completed events.

Bu ma waxee, du ñu déglu.   "If I speak, they will not listen."
Bi ma waxee, demu ñu.   "After I had spoken, they didn't leave."
Benn bés, da ma demoon lekool.   "One day, I went to school. But I
Waaye duggu ma, jàngu ma.   didn't go in, (and) I didn't study."

Object pronouns precede the verb in the relative construction, but follow the verb in the minimal construction.

jaro bi ma ko may   "the ring which I gave her"
Bu subaa, ma may ko jaro bi.   "Tomorrow I will give her the ring."

8.   Verbal Negation

Wolof verbs are usually negated by means of a special suffix which is added directly to the verb itself. In its full form, this negative suffix is ...ul if the verb ends in a consonant, and ...wul if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus, the negated forms of wax "to speak", xam "to know", ñów "to come" and bey "to farm" are waxul, xamul, ñówul, and beyul, while the negated forms of fatte "to forget", indi "to bring", duma "to spank", woo "to call", and daanu "to fall" are fattewul, indiwul, dumëwul, woowul, and daanuwul.

There is no 3rd person singular subject pronoun used after the negative suffix. Instead, the negative suffix itself automatically expresses a 3rd person singular subject if no other subject pronoun follows.

waxul { "he/she hasn't spoken" (as the negative of wax na)
         { "he/she isn't speaking" (as the negative of mungi wax)

The subject pronouns used in a negative verbal construction always immediately follow the negative suffix. The final l of the negative suffix is dropped when the verb with the negative suffix is followed by a subject pronoun, or when a negative verb with a 3rd person singular subject is followed by an object pronoun, or one of the locative pronouns fi or fa, the pronominal form ci (or occasionally ca), or in rarer instances–some other form closely associated with the verb. The subject pronouns have the following forms when used after the negative suffix:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	ma	ñu
2nd Pers.	loo	leen
3rd Pers.		ñu

Whenever the l is dropped, the remainder of the suffix usually combines with the verb in three different forms:

1. ...u, when the verb ends in a consonant.
   Waxu ma { "I haven't spoken." (as the negative of wax naa)
            { "I'm not speaking." (as the negative of màngi wax)
   Liggéeyu loo. "You (sg.) haven't worked." or "You aren't working."
   Liggéeyu leen. "You (pl.) haven't worked." or "You aren't working."
   Jëlu ko. "He/she hasn't taken it." or "He/she isn't taking it."

2. ...wu, when the verb consists of only one syllable and ends in a vowel, (e.g. ji "to plant").
   Jiwu loo gàrab gi. "You (sg.) haven't planted the tree."
   Jiwu leen gàrab gi. "You (pl.) haven't planted the tree."
   Woowu ñu xale bi. "We/they haven't called the child."

3. ...w, when the verb consists of more than one syllable and ends in a vowel.
   Fattew ma téeré bi. "I haven't forgotten the book."
   Indiw leen xar yi. "You (pl.) haven't brought the sheep."
   Daanuw ñu. "They haven't fallen."

When a verb consisting of more than one syllable and ending in a vowel has a 2nd person singular subject, two negative constructions are possible – each involving different forms of both the negative suffix and the subject which follows.

The first possibility is a construction of type 3 above, which is the regular one for such verbs. In this construction, which has the ...w form of the negative suffix, the following 2nd person subject pronoun always has the form <u>loo</u>, as in negative constructions of types 1 and 2 above.

<u>Fattew</u> <u>loo</u> <u>téeré</u> <u>bi</u>.   "You (sg.) haven't forgotten the book."
<u>Indiw</u> <u>loo</u> <u>sa</u> <u>xarit</u>.   "You (sg.) haven't brought your friend."
<u>Dumaw</u> <u>loo</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u>.   "You (sg.) haven't spanked the child."

The second possibility is for the suffix to combine with the 2nd person singular subject pronoun to form a suffix which is ...<u>woo</u> or ...<u>wóo</u>, (depending on the vowel of the verb stem). In this construction, the three preceding phrases would be <u>fattewoo</u> <u>téeré</u> <u>bi</u>, <u>indiwóo</u> <u>sa</u> <u>xarit</u>, and <u>dumëwóo</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u>.

Of these two possible constructions, the first is the more regular one and should be given preference by the learner. (Sometimes other verbs, particularly common, short ones are heard with suffixed ...<u>oo</u> or ...<u>óo</u> in place of ...<u>u</u> <u>loo</u>.)

Two rather common verbs, <u>am</u> "to have" and <u>xam</u> "to know", have both a regular and an irregular way of combining with the negative suffix. The regular way is, of course, for <u>am</u> and <u>xam</u> to take the full form ...<u>ul</u> and the pre-pronoun form ...<u>u</u> of the negative suffix, since these verbs end in a consonant. This is, in fact, the way these verbs combine with the negative suffix in all cases except one. That exception is when either <u>am</u> or <u>xam</u> with a 1st person singular subject is negated. In such a case, these two verbs drop their final <u>m</u>, and take the ...<u>w</u> form of the negative suffix (i.e. the form usual for type 3 constructions, in spite of the fact that these verbs are monosyllabic). These negative forms are pronounced <u>aw</u> and <u>xaw</u>, but a special spelling is adopted for them in this course in the hope of making their relationship to the other forms of the same verbs less obscure.

<u>A'u</u> <u>ma</u> <u>xaalis</u>.   "I don't have any money."
<u>Xa'u</u> <u>ma</u> <u>yaay-am</u>.   "I don't know his/her mother."

This construction can also be used as an optional variant of the regular one when these verbs, having a 3rd person singular subject (without a pronoun) are negated before a 1st person object pronoun <u>ma</u>.

<u>Yaay-am</u> <u>xa'u</u> <u>ma</u>. } "His /her mother doesn't know me."
<u>Yaay-am</u> <u>xamu</u> <u>ma</u>. }

The dropping of the <u>l</u> before object pronouns produces certain possible ambiguities of which the learner should be aware:

<u>Fattew</u> <u>leen</u>.   "He hasn't forgotten them (or you [pl.])."
            "You (pl.) haven't forgotten."
<u>Woowu</u> <u>ma</u>.   "He didn't call me."
            "I didn't call."
<u>Gisu</u> <u>ñu</u>.   "He didn't see us."
            "We (they) didn't see."

Strictly speaking, a verb with the negative suffix is the negative counterpart of that verb with the completive marker <u>na</u> in the affirmative (See Grammar Note 3). However, the same negative construction is also used as the negated form of affirmative verbal constructions made with <u>angi</u> (See Grammar Note 1).

To negate verbal constructions which are used with the complement and object predicator <u>la</u> (See Grammar Note 5), the full form of the negative suffix (...<u>ul</u> or ...<u>wul</u>) is added to the verb base, with the rest of the <u>la</u> construction remaining unaltered.

<u>Moom</u> <u>laa</u> <u>gisul</u>.   "I haven't seen HIM." or "It's not HIM that I've seen."
<u>Jàng</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>bëggul</u>.   "It's studying that they don't like." or "It's not studying that they like."

The negation of <u>la</u> when not followed by a verb phrase, and of verb phrases after <u>la</u> which contain <u>di</u>, will be discussed in Grammar Note 9.

In some contexts, it may be necessary for the speaker to distinguish between completive and presentative verbal meaning in the negative. The construction for making this distinction will be treated in Grammar Note 10.

In the case of two verbal suffixes which indicate special time relationships, the relationship between affirmative and negative forms differs from the usual.

Affirmative ...<u>ati</u>.   Negative   ...<u>atul</u>.
<u>Amati</u> <u>na</u> <u>suma</u> <u>caabi</u>.   "He still has my key."
<u>Amatul</u> <u>suma</u> <u>caabi</u>.   "He no longer has my key."
<u>Wóorëti</u> <u>naa</u>.   "I'm still certain."
<u>Wóorëtu</u> <u>ma</u>.   "I'm not sure any longer."

Affirmative ...<u>agum</u>.   Negative   ...<u>agul</u>.
<u>Waxagum</u> <u>nga</u> <u>ko</u>?   "Have you told him yet?"
<u>Demagu</u> <u>ñu</u>.   "They haven't gone yet."
<u>Gisëgum</u> <u>na</u> <u>picc</u> <u>bi</u>?   "Has he seen the bird yet?"
<u>Gisëgul</u> <u>picc</u> <u>bi</u>.   "He hasn't seen the bird yet."

9.   The Negative Forms <u>du</u> and <u>dul</u>

In Grammar Note 8 rules for verbal negation were given which apply generally to all Wolof verbs, with one major exception. This is the auxiliary verb and verbal particle <u>di</u> (or <u>-y</u>, See Grammar Note 4), the negation of which involves some departures from the general rules.

Like other Wolof verbs, <u>di</u> is negated by means of the negative suffix. However, <u>di</u> combines with the negative suffix to form the special contraction <u>dul</u>. The full negative form <u>dul</u> is used only when the negated <u>di</u> has the function of a verbal particle.

<u>Moo</u> <u>dul</u> <u>wax</u>.   "HE/SHE doesn't/won't speak." (the negative of <u>Moo-y</u> <u>wax</u>).

When the negated <u>di</u> has the function of an auxiliary verb (i.e. when it has a subject [see Grammar Note 41), the final consonant of its negative suffix is dropped. This happens even when there is a 3rd person singular subject (in which case there is no pronoun used).

<u>Du</u> <u>ma</u> <u>wax</u>.   "I don't/won't speak." (the negative of <u>Di</u> <u>naa</u> <u>wax</u>).
<u>Du</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>lekk</u>.   "We/they don't/won't eat." (the negative of <u>Di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>lekk</u>).
<u>Du</u> <u>liggéey</u>.   "He/she doesn't/won't work." (the negative of <u>Di</u> <u>na</u> <u>liggéey</u>).

Although the 1st and 3rd person subject pronouns used after the negated auxiliary verb <u>du</u> are the same as after the negative prefix with other verbs, the forms of 2nd person with <u>du</u> are different. The entire set of negative forms, shown in relation to the positive forms, is as follows:

<u>di</u> <u>naa</u>	→	<u>du</u> <u>ma</u>
<u>di</u> □ <u>nga</u>	→	<u>doo</u>
<u>di</u> <u>na</u> □	→	<u>du</u> □
<u>di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u>	→	<u>du</u> <u>ñu</u>
<u>di</u> □ <u>ngéen</u>	→	<u>doo</u> <u>leen</u> or <u>du</u> <u>ngéen</u>
<u>di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u>	→	<u>du</u> <u>ñu</u>

Of the two 2nd person plural forms, <u>doo</u> <u>leen</u> seems to be the more commonly used one in the Dakar dialect, although both may be heard.

<u>Doo</u> <u>liggéey</u>.   "You (sg.) don't/won't work." (negative of <u>Di</u> <u>nga</u> <u>liggéey</u>).

<u>Doo</u> <u>leen</u> <u>liggéey</u>. ⎫
<u>Du</u> <u>ngéen</u> <u>liggéey</u>. ⎬   "You (pl.) don't/won't work." (negative of <u>Di</u> <u>ngéen</u> <u>liggéey</u>.)

<u>Du</u> is also used as the negative counterpart of <u>la</u> in its complement predicator function – that is, when it is not followed by a verb (See Grammar Note 5). Of course, <u>du</u> and its subject pronouns precede the complement, although <u>la</u> and its subject pronouns follow the complement.

Affirmative	Negative
<u>Tubaab</u> <u>laa</u>. "I am a European."	<u>Du</u> <u>ma</u> <u>tubaab</u>. "I am not a European."
<u>Tukulóor</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u>. "They are Tukulors."	<u>Du</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>tukulóor</u>. "They are not Tukulors."
<u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>nga</u>. "You are my friend."	<u>Doo</u> <u>suma</u> <u>xarit</u>. "You are not my friend."
<u>Wolof</u> <u>la</u>. "He/she is a Wolof."	<u>Du</u> <u>wolof</u>. "He/she is not a Wolof."
<u>Dàkaar</u> <u>dëkk</u> <u>la</u>. "Dakar is a city."	<u>Sikaab</u> <u>du</u> <u>dëkk</u>. "Sicap is not a city."

10.   Verbal Negation with <u>bañ</u>

A verb with the negative suffix does not distinguish between completive and presentative meaning.

In some contexts, the speaker may wish to make such a distinction in the negative. This is usually accomplished by inserting the verb <u>bañ</u> "to refuse to" before the verb in the appropriate affirmative construction.

If the verbal construction to be modified in this way is completive (See Grammar Note 3), the marker <u>na</u> and the subject pronoun go with and modify <u>bañ</u> rather than the other verb, and the linker <u>-a</u> (See Grammar Note 19) may be used before the second verb.

<u>Bañ</u> <u>nga/ngaa</u> <u>lekk</u>. ⎫
<u>Bañ</u> <u>ngéen</u> <u>(-a)</u> <u>lekk</u>. ⎬ "You have not eaten, ...have refused to eat."

<u>Bañ</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu/ñoo</u> <u>liggéey</u>.   "We/they have not worked, ...have refused to work."

If the verbal construction to be modified by inserting <u>bañ</u> is presentative (See Grammar Note 1), then <u>bañ</u> goes between <u>angi</u> and the other verb. In this case, the verbal linker <u>-a</u> is always used between <u>bañ</u> and the following verb.

<u>Màngi</u> <u>bañ-a</u> <u>wax</u>. "I am not speaking" or "I am refusing to speak."

<u>Ñungi</u> <u>bañ-a</u> <u>lekk</u>. "We/they are not eating, ...are refusing to eat."

11.   The Imperative

In Wolof, as usually in English, the imperative form of the verb refers to the second person. In English, one form of the verb is used for both singular and plural imperatives; e.g. "come" in: "Come here, John," and "Come here, boys," without any imperative marker.

In Wolof, however, different constructions are used for the singular and the plural imperatives. This difference relates strictly to number. There is no reference to politeness (as in French, where the plural imperative is sometimes used toward a single person as a sign of greater politeness).

The singular imperative is formed two ways: with an imperative marker and without an imperative marker, depending on the word following the imperative.

When the singular imperative is followed by a direct object pronoun (See Grammar Note 27), the base form of the verb is used without any further marker.

Dimbëli <u>ma</u>!   "(You sing.) help me!"   (<u>dimbëli</u> "to help")
Indi <u>ko</u>!   "(You sing.) bring it!"   (<u>indi</u> "to bring")
Jël <u>leen</u>!   "(You sing.) take them!"   (<u>jël</u> "to take")

In most other cases, e.g., before a noun object or in cases where no word follows the imperative, the verb takes on a singular imperative suffix, which is ...*l* if the verb has more than one syllable and ends in a vowel, and ...*al* (or its variant ...*ël*) if the verb ends in a consonant. Single–syllable verbs ending in a vowel may have these forms of the suffix, or may have the suffix in the forms ...<u>wal</u> or ...<u>wël</u>.

<u>Dellul</u>!   "(You sing.) go back!"   (<u>dellu</u> "to return")
<u>Dimbëlil</u> <u>Seex</u>!   "(You sing.) help Cheikh."
<u>Indil</u> ndox <u>mi</u>!   "(You sing.) bring the water."
<u>Demal</u>!   "(You sing.) get out!"   (<u>dem</u> "to leave")
Jëlël mburu mi!.   "(You sing.) take the bread!"
<u>Jiël/Jiwël</u>!   "(You sing.) plant [seeds]!"   (<u>ji</u> "to plant")
<u>Foal/Fowal</u>!   "(You sing.) play!"   (<u>fo</u> "to play")
<u>Wooal/Woowal</u>!   "(You sing.) call!"   (<u>woo</u> "to call")

One exception to the above pattern is the special command <u>kaay</u> (normally used instead of the imperative of <u>ñów</u> "to come"), which never takes the imperative suffix.

<u>Kaay</u> <u>fii</u>!   "(You sing.) come here!"
<u>Kaay</u> <u>lekk</u>!   "(You sing.) come and eat!"

The Wolof plural imperative always has the same form, regardless of whether or not the verb has a pronominal object. The imperative suffix is never used, but the subject <u>leen</u> always immediately follows the imperative verb form.

<u>Dimbëli</u> <u>leen</u> <u>ma</u>!   "(You pl.) help me!"
<u>Indi</u> <u>leen</u> <u>ko</u>!   "(You pl.) bring it!"
<u>Jël</u> <u>leen</u> <u>leen</u>!   "(You pl.) take them!"
<u>Dellu</u> <u>leen</u>!   "(You pl.) go back!"
<u>Dimbëli</u> <u>leen</u> <u>Seex</u>!   "(You pl.) help Cheikh!"
<u>Indi</u> <u>leen</u> ndox <u>mi</u>!   "(You pl.) bring the water!"
<u>Kaay</u> <u>leen</u> <u>fii</u>!   "(You pl.) come here!"

The negative imperative is formed by placing <u>bul</u> before the verb (without any imperative suffix) for the 2nd person singular, and <u>bu</u> <u>leen</u> before the verb for the 2nd person plural.

<u>Bul</u> <u>dellu</u>!   "Don't (you sing.) go back!"
<u>Bu</u> <u>leen</u> <u>dellu</u>!   "Don't (you pl.) go back!"
<u>Bul</u> <u>dimbëli</u> <u>Seex</u>!   "Don't (you sing.) help Cheikh!"
<u>Bu</u> <u>leen</u> <u>jël</u> <u>xaalis</u> <u>bi</u>!   "Don't (you pl.) take the money!"

The special imperative kaay is not used in the negative. Instead, the negative imperative of ñów is used.

> Bul ñów! "Don't (you sing.) come!"
> Bu leen ñów! "Don't (you pl.) come!"

Optionally for some speakers, and necessarily for others, the l of bul is dropped before object pronouns, fi, fa, and pronominal ci, just as the l is dropped from the negative suffix ...wul (See Grammar Note 8).

> Bu ko fab! "Don't take it!"
> Bu ma laaj! "Don't ask me!"
> Bu ñu fatte! "Don't forget us!"
> Bu fa napp! "Don't fish there!"
> Bu ci wax! "Don't talk about it!"

12.   The Optative Construction

Wolof has a special verbal construction to indicate the speaker's wish or desire that something (indicated by the verb) be done, or, (in the case of some stative verbs) that a certain state or condition should come about.

The optative construction is formed by preceding the verb with the marker na (plus the appropriate subject pronouns). This optative marker is identical in form to the completive marker na. The essential difference between the two markers is that the optative na always precedes the verb it modifies, while the completive na always follows the verb. The subject pronouns used with the optative marker have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	naa	na ñu
2nd Pers.	na nga	na ngéen
3rd Pers.	na □	na ñu

> Naa wax. "Let me speak."
> Na ñu dem. "Let's go."

Like the completive marker na, the optative marker na automatically indicates a 3rd person singular subject when no other pronoun is used after it.

> Na ñów. "Let him/her come."

Another difference between the optative and completive constructions is that, while the completive marker is not used with the 2nd person subject pronouns, the optative marker na is always retained before 2nd person pronouns.

> Na nga ñów. }
> Na ngéen ñów. }   "Please come."   (compare { Ñów na.
>   Ñów ngéen. } "You have come.")

Of course, the optative construction is used less frequently with the 2nd person than the imperative construction (See Grammar Note 11), which is the usual way of indicating requests to the person or persons addressed. The 2nd person optative can be used instead of the imperative, however, to show special politeness or to show that the request is indirect.

13.   The Past Time Marker woon

      Although active verbs in completive constructions (See Grammar Note 3) are technically "past" in the sense that their action is marked as no longer going on at the time of speaking, the action could have taken place or been completed just before the speaking is done. In this respect, the Wolof completive construction is similar to the English present perfect, as in "he has just arrived".

      When the Wolof verb in a completive construction is a stative verb, a complication arises, for, although the marking of such verbs as completive indicates that the act of coming into being of a particular state or condition has ceased to be at the time of speaking. It is because of this that condition has ceased to be at the time of speaking. It is because of this that Wolof stative verbs which are marked as completive usually translate into English as verbs (referring to mental processes) or predicated adjectives in the present tense, rather than in some form of past tense.

      Finally, the auxiliary verb or particle <u>di</u> indicates that the action of the verb it modifies is habitual or anticipated at the time of speaking. It does not indicate, even when marked as completive, that the action was habitual in the past, but is no longer so.

      In order to indicate that the action referred to by an active verb, or the state or condition referred to by a stative verb is limited to some time in the definite past, a special past time marker is added to the verbal construction. This past time marker has three forms:

1. A suffix form, ...<u>woon</u>, which is attached to a verb ending in a vowel.
2. A suffix form, ...<u>oon</u>, which is attached to a verb ending in a consonant.
3. An independent form, <u>woon</u>, which is not attached to the preceding word.

      In unnegated verbal constructions without <u>di</u>, the past time marker is suffixed (in either form 1 or 2, indicated above) to the verb base, with the rest of the verbal construction remaining unchanged. With the past time marker, verbs in such constructions have a time reference which is roughly equivalent to that of English verbs (or predicated adjectives) in the simple past or, in the case of Wolof active verbs, in the past perfect as well.

      <u>Waxoon</u> <u>naa</u>. "I spoke/had spoken." (cf. <u>Wax</u> <u>naa</u>. "I spoke/have spoken.")
      <u>Delluwoon</u> <u>na</u>.   "He/she (had) returned." (cf. <u>Dellu</u> <u>na</u>. "He/she has returned.")
      <u>Xamoon</u> <u>nga</u>. "You (sg.) knew." (cf. <u>Xam</u> <u>nga</u>. "You (sg.) know.")
      <u>Xiifoon</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u>. "We/they were hungry." (cf. <u>Xiif</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u>. "We/they are hungry.")
      <u>Moom</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>indiwoon</u>.   "We/they (had) brought it." (cf. <u>Moom</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>indi</u>. "We/ they have brought it.")
      <u>Dafa</u> <u>woyoon</u>. "What he did was sing." (cf. <u>Dafa-y</u> <u>woy</u>. "What he does is sing.")
      <u>Maa</u> <u>waxoon</u>.   "I spoke/had spoken." (cf. <u>Maa</u> <u>wax</u>. "I have spoken.")

      In unnegated verbal constructions with <u>di</u>, the past time marker combines with <u>di</u> (or with the first <u>di</u>, if there is more than one) in the special contraction <u>doon</u>. The rest of the verbal construction remains unchanged. With <u>doon</u> verbs have a time reference which is roughly equivalent to that of English verbs in the constructions "was/were ...ing" or "used to ..."

      <u>Doon</u> <u>naa</u> <u>wax</u>. "I was speaking" or "I used to speak." (cf. <u>Di</u> <u>naa</u> <u>wax</u>. "I (will) speak.")
      <u>Doon</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>jàng</u>.   "We/they used to study." (cf. <u>Di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>jàng</u>. "We/ they study (habitually).")
      <u>Loolu</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>doon</u> <u>lekk</u>.   "That is what we/they were eating" or "It is what we/they used to eat." (cf. <u>Loolu</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>lekk</u>. "That is what we/they eat."
      <u>Bi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>doon</u> <u>wax</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>ñów</u>. "While /when I was speaking, they arrived."

Clauses without a verb have the past time marker in the independent form <u>woon</u>.
<u>Munga</u> <u>fa</u> <u>woon</u>.   "He was there."
<u>Lan</u> <u>la</u> <u>woon</u>?   "What was it?"
<u>Du</u> <u>ma</u> <u>woon</u>.   "It wasn't me."
<u>Benn</u> <u>janq</u> <u>la</u> <u>woon</u> <u>bu</u> <u>ràfet</u> <u>lool</u>.   "There was a young woman who was very beautiful."

Of the negated verbal constructions, the only ones in which the past time marker is commonly used are the completive and habitual constructions.

In the negated completive construction, the past time marker occurs in its independent form (form 3 above) at the end of verbal construction.
<u>Waxu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>woon</u>.   "I didn't speak." or "I hadn't spoken." (cf. <u>Waxu</u> <u>ma</u>. "I haven't spoken."
<u>Ñówul</u> <u>woon</u>.   "He/she didn't come." (cf. <u>Ñówul</u>. "He/she hasn't come.")

The negative habitual construction is formed by means of a contraction of <u>di</u> plus the past time marker plus the negative suffix. This contraction has the form <u>doonul</u>, which looses its final <u>l</u> when followed by a subject or object pronoun.
<u>Doonu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>wax</u>.   "I wasn't speaking." or "I didn't use to speak."
<u>Doonul</u> <u>liggéey</u>.   "He/she wasn't working." or "He/she didn't use to work."
<u>Doonu</u> <u>ko</u> <u>dimbëli</u>.   "He/she wasn't helping him." or "He/she didn't used to help him."

In addition to <u>doon</u>, there is another past time form of the habitual marker which differs from <u>doon</u> in that it refers to events which are even more remote in the past. This remote past time form of the habitual marker is <u>daan</u> (or <u>daawoon</u>), which is negated as <u>daanul</u> (or <u>daawul</u>). It is used only rarely in Dakar Wolof – primarily in narratives and recollections.
<u>Daan</u> <u>naa</u> <u>rawante</u> <u>fas</u>.   "I used to do horse racing (way back then)."

In Dakar Wolof, forms with <u>woon</u> are used in expressions which do not actually refer to past time, but rather are presented as having a lack of immediacy, often in order to be more polite.
<u>Da</u> <u>ma</u> <u>bëggoon</u> <u>nga</u> <u>dimbëli</u> <u>ma</u>.   "I would like you to help me."

14.   Equational Predication

Sentences using the complement predicator <u>la</u> are the most usual Wolof equivalent for the English verb <u>be</u> with a noun as its complement (See Grammar Note 5) .
<u>Baaxoñ</u> <u>picc</u> <u>la</u>.   "The crow is a bird."
<u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>jàngalekat</u> <u>la</u>.   "My friend is a teacher."

The negative form <u>du</u> is used for negative sentences with noun complements (See Grammar Note 9).
<u>Lii</u> <u>du</u> <u>suma</u> <u>simis</u>.   "This isn't my shirt."
<u>Du</u> <u>ma</u> <u>gaynde</u>.   "I am not a lion."
<u>Buur</u> <u>du</u> <u>xarit</u>.   "A king is not a friend."

In its formation, <u>du</u> is the negative of <u>di</u>, which is normally an auxiliary verb (See Grammar Note 4), but it is sometimes used as the only verb in sentences equating two things.
<u>Lu-y</u> <u>cere</u>?   "What is cous-cous?"
<u>Bii</u> <u>di</u> <u>suma</u> <u>bos</u>.   "This one is mine."
<u>Bu</u> <u>ci-y</u> <u>sa</u> <u>mbaxane</u>?   "Which of them is your hat?"
<u>Ku</u> <u>gën</u> <u>di</u> <u>buur</u> <u>ci</u> <u>adduna</u>, <u>moo</u> <u>gën</u> <u>di</u> <u>jaam</u> <u>ca</u> <u>laaxira</u>.
"Whoever is most a king in this world is most a slave in the next world."

Under special circumstances, -a rather than la occurs in sentences without a verb.
Kooku kan-a?   "Who is that?"

15.   Expressing Instrumentality in Wolof

In English, the fact that something serves as the instrument (i.e., the means by or the tool) with which an action is carried out is ordinarily shown by the use of certain prepositions. The ones most commonly used for this purpose are "with" or "by (means of)", although "through" also occurs in certain cases. e.g.,
He is eating with a spoon.
The man killed his sheep with a knife.
This boy has hit me with a stick.
I will teach English with this book.
Birds fly by means of wings.
We will help you through our work.

In Wolof, instrumentality may be expressed in a similar way, using the preposition ag. With ag the Wolof equivalents of the foregoing English sentences will be:
Mungi lekk ag (benn) kuddu.
Góor gi reyoon na xar-am ag paaka.
Xale bii dóor na ma ag (benn) bant.
Di naa jàngale angale ag téeré bii.
Picc yi da ñu-y naaw ag ay laaf.
Di na ñu leen dimbëli ag suñu liggéey.

In addition, Wolof has another way of expressing instrumentality which does not require the use of any preposition at all. In this kind of construction, which resembles constructions with a subject and an object, the verb takes a special instrumental suffix, ...e or é. This suffix indicates that what is in the position normally occupied by an object is instead the instrument of the action. Compare the following two sets of sentences, which differ in form only in that the second set involves the instrumental suffix:

Jigéen ji fóot na benn sagar. ⎫
Benn sagar la jigéen ji fóot. ⎭ "The woman has washed a cloth."

Jigéen ji fóoté na benn sagar. ⎫
Benn sagar la jigéen ji fóoté. ⎭ "The woman has washed with a cloth."

Instrumental constructions of this type may involve a direct object as well.
Jigéen ji fóoté na bool yi benn sagar. ⎫
Benn sagar la jigéen ji fóoté bool yi. ⎭ "The woman has washed the dishes with a cloth."

In constructions containing a direct object as well as an instrument, the one in which the instrument is separated from the subject and object by la is generally preferred as being syntactically more clear. With the instrumental suffix instead of the preposition ag, the Wolof equivalents of the six English sentences originally cited would be:
Mungi lekke (benn) kuddu.   "He is eating with a spoon."
Paaka la góor gi reyewoon xar-am.   "The man killed his sheep with a knife."
Bant la ma xale bii dóoré.   "This boy has hit me with a stick."
Téeré bii laa-y jàngalee angale.   "I will teach English with this book."
laaf la picc yi di naawe.   "Birds fly by means of wings."
Suñu liggéey la ñu leen di dimbëlée.   "We will help you through our work."

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When the suffix ...e is attached to a polysyllabic verb ending in a short vowel, that vowel is absorbed by the suffix, which then takes the form ...ee or ée when that vowel is a front vowel, ...aa when it is a central vowel, and ...oo or óo when it is a back vowel. Thus dimbëli plus ...e becomes dimbëlée as the last sentence above, and uppu "to fan oneself" plus ...e becomes uppóo in:
>   Uppóo naa kayit.   "I have fanned myself with a piece of paper."

After certain question words of the type lu (or lan), etc., the verb may also take the instrumental suffix to show that the question word stands for an instrument, rather than an object.
>   Loo lekk?   } "What have you eaten?"
>   Lan nga lekk?   }
>   Loo lekke?   } "What have you eaten with?"
>   Lan nga lekke?   }

When the past time or negative suffix is used with a verb which also takes the instrumental suffix, the appropriate form of the instrumental suffix occurs first, and the other suffix is added on after. Since the instrumental suffix is a vowel, the form of the second suffix will be that which is used with verbs ending in a vowel. E.g., the sentence previously cited:
>   Paaka la góor gi reyewoon xar-am.   "The man killed his sheep with a knife."

In questions asking "how?", the instrumental suffix normally is used.
>   Naka nga fanaane?   "How did you sleep?"
>   Naka nga yendoo?   "How did your day go?"
>   Naka la ñu ko waxe?   "How do they say it?"
>   Naka la ubbée bunt bi?   "How did he open the door?"

The same is true of indirect questions.
>   Won ma ni nga ko bëggé.   "Show me how you want it."
>   Gis nga ni mu tànge tey?   "Did you notice how hot it is today?"
>   Di na ñu ko def ni nga waxe.   "We'll do it as you say."

Certain verbs do not require an instrumental suffix. The principal example of this is mel "seem, appear, be like, look like".
>   Asamaan si, naka la mel.   "How does the sky look?"

Note also the use of def in greetings:
>   Na ngéen def?   "How do you do?"
This contrasts with
>   Naka ngéen ko defe?   "How did you make it?"

16.   Various Complements and the Verbal Suffix ...e

In Grammar Note 15, the use of the suffix ...e was discussed in its use on verbs which have a complement designating a means or instrument. The same suffix also appears in several other uses, all of which involve attention to some additional complement in the sentence.
>   For one thing, it is one of the suffixes which is added to intransitive verbs to make transitive verbs.
>   Léegi ñu añ.   "We'll eat lunch soon."
>   Ceeb-u jën la ñu-y añe.   "We'll have rice with fish for lunch."

It is also used when asking about a location, or where a locative complement is particularly in point in a clause.

    <u>Fan</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>jaaye</u> <u>jën</u>? "Where do they sell fish?"
    <u>Foo</u> <u>leen</u> <u>di</u> <u>liggéeye</u> ? "Where do you (pl.) work?
    <u>Kolobaan</u> <u>laa</u> <u>dugge</u> <u>woto</u> "Colobane is where I got on the bus for Sandaga market."
    <u>ba</u> <u>màrse</u> <u>Sandàga</u>.

Certain verbs, which seem to be conceived of as inherently implying the importance of some location, do not add the suffix ...<u>e</u> in questions with <u>fan</u> or <u>fu</u>, or indirect questions with <u>fi</u>.

    <u>Fu</u> <u>mu</u> <u>dem</u>? "Where did he go?"
    <u>Foo</u> <u>jëm</u>? "Where are you headed for?"
    <u>Fan</u> <u>la</u> <u>dëkk</u>? "Where does he live?"
    <u>Won</u> <u>ma</u> <u>fi</u> <u>nga</u> <u>ko</u> <u>fekk</u>. "Show me where you found it."
    <u>Gis</u> <u>nga</u> <u>fi</u> <u>mu</u> <u>teg</u> <u>suma</u> <u>téeré</u>? "Did you see where he put my book?"

(Other such verbs include <u>nekk</u> "be", <u>féeté</u> "be situated", <u>bàyyi</u> "leave [something]", <u>jógé</u> "come from".)

There are still other circumstances in which the suffix ...<u>e</u> signals the fact that some complement functions otherwise than as a direct object.

    <u>Ñaata</u> <u>nga</u> <u>leen</u> <u>jëndé</u>? "How much did you buy them for?"

Contrast this with:

    <u>Ñaata</u> <u>nag</u> <u>nga</u> <u>jënd</u>? "How many cows did you buy?"

17.   Relative Clauses and Relative Pronouns

In English, an attribute of a person, place, or thing is usually expressed by modifying a noun with an adjective. Adjectives constitute a separate grammatical class in English (distinct, for example, from nouns and verbs) because of the fact that they do not behave exactly like the members of any of the other grammatical classes.

An English noun may be modified by an adjective in any of the following ways:

  1. By a simple adjective before the noun, e.g., "a good child".
  2. By a predicate adjective in a relative clause after the noun, e.g., "a child who/that is good".
  3. By a predicate adjective in an independent clause, e.g., "a child is good".

Of these, the first two constructions do not constitute full sentences by themselves, but have to be in a larger construction containing a verb before they can make a full sentence. Only the third kind of construction can be a sentence by itself.

As was pointed out in Grammar Note 3, Wolof has no real adjectives as such. As the equivalent of English adjectives, Wolof uses words which behave grammatically just like verbs. The Wolof verb corresponding to an English adjective will usually (though not always) be a stative verb, rather than an active verb.

As the equivalent of the three kinds of English adjectival constructions indicated above, Wolof uses only two kinds of verb phrases. For the first two constructions (the dependent ones), Wolof uses a relative verb phrase (cf. the grammatical form - though not the meaning - of English "a child who cries"). For the third construction (the independent one), Wolof uses an independent verb phrase (cf. "a child cries" or "a child has cried").

A Wolof relative verb phrase is made up of a relative pronoun plus a verb. Relative pronouns are formed from the consonant appropriate to the noun-class of the modified noun (See Grammar Note 22), plus the vowel <u>u</u> which indicates grammatical subordination. Thus the relative pronoun for <u>xale</u> (<u>bi</u>) is <u>bu</u>, for <u>jigéen</u> (<u>ji</u>) is <u>ju</u>, for <u>kër</u> (<u>gi</u>) is <u>gu</u>, etc. The same is true in the plural,

i.e., the relative pronoun for the plural of xale is yu (cf. xale yi), etc. The verb which follows the relative pronoun is used without any predicators (e.g. na, etc.) or subject pronouns. The relative verb phrase follows the noun it modifies.

xale bu baax.　　{ "the good child" (adjectival construction type 1 above)
　　　　　　　　{ "the child who/that is good" (construction type 2)

Note that this kind of relative verb phrase containing a stative verb (baax) is identical in structure to Wolof verb phrases containing an active verb, except that the active verb in such constructions is perfective (completed action), and must take the particle di (Grammar Note 4) to have a habitual connotation, e.g. xaj bu mbaw "a dog which/that has barked", xaj bu-y mbaw "a dog which barks".

When the noun modified by a relative verb phrase is determined, the determiner comes after the verb phrase, rather than directly after the noun.

xale bu baax bi.　　{ "a good child" (adjectival construction type 1 above)
　　　　　　　　　{ "a child who/that is good" (construction type 2)

If, however, the relative verb phrase is itself followed by another noun plus determiner, the determiner of the first noun (i.e. the one modified by the relative verb phrase) is not used. In such cases, the first noun is usually interpreted as being determined just the same.

xale bu nekk ci biir kër gi   "the child who is inside the house"

Constructions of this type are negated by adding the full form of the negative suffix (Grammar Note 8), which is ...ul after consonants and ...wul after vowels, on the verb base.

xale bu baaxul   "a child who/that is not good"
xale bu baaxul bi   "the child who/that is not good"

As the equivalent of the English independent adjectival construction (type 3 above), Wolof uses an independent verbal construction, in which the verb is marked by a predicator (e.g. na), and (for the 3rd person plural) by a subject pronoun. No relative pronoun is used in such constructions, and, if the noun is determined, the determiner follows it rather than the verb phrase.

Xale bi baax na.   "The child is good."
Xale yi baax na ñu.   "The children are good."

Note that this kind of independent verb phrase containing a stative verb as the equivalent of an English predicative adjective is identical in structure to Wolof verb phrases containing an active verb, e.g., Xale bi jooy na "The child has cried."

As the equivalent of English relative pronouns which refer to a noun as the object of a verb, Wolof uses the appropriate determiner consonant with the vowel ...i. The object noun, with its object relative pronoun formed in this way, is followed by the subject and verb – in that order.

xale bi suma xarit indi   "the child whom my friend has brought"
kër gi benn tubaab jënd   "the house which/that a European has bought"

If the verb's subject is pronominal, the subject pronoun also precedes the verb. When used in this kind of construction, the subject pronouns have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ Pers.	<u>ma</u>	<u>ñu</u>
2ⁿᵈ Pers.	<u>nga</u>	<u>ngéen</u>
3rd Pers.	<u>mu</u>	<u>ñu</u>

Note that these are the same pronoun forms that appear as subjects with the minimal verbal construction (Grammar Note 7).

  xale bi nga indi "the child whom you (sing.) have brought"
  kër gi mu jënd "the house which/that he has bought"

  When the verb in such constructions is marked with the particle <u>di</u> to denote habitual action, this occurs between the subject pronoun and the verb.

  woy bi ñu-y woy "the song which we/they sing"

  This kind of construction is also negated by adding the full form of the negative suffix on the verb base, or on to <u>di</u> when it occurs in the construction.

  xale bi suma xarit indiwul "the child whom my friend has not brought"
  kër gi mu jëndul "the house which/that he has not bought"
  woy bi ñu dul woy "the song we/they are not singing"

  Note the relation of this construction to independent constructions involving an object, either with or without <u>la</u> (See Grammar Note 5).

Dependent	Independent
xale bi suma xarit indi	⎧ <u>Xale</u> <u>bi</u> <u>la</u> <u>suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>indi</u>. ⎨ "It's the child (that) my friend has brought." ⎩ <u>Suma</u> <u>xarit</u> <u>indi</u> <u>na</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u>. "My friend has brought the child."
kër gi mu jënd	⎧ <u>Kër</u> <u>gi</u> <u>la</u> <u>jënd</u>. ⎨ "It's the house (that) he has bought." ⎩ <u>Jënd</u> <u>na</u> <u>kër</u> <u>gi</u>. "He has bought the house."

  In addition to the relative pronouns which modify or relate to the nouns they follow, there is another set of relative pronouns which are used without a modified noun. Since there is no noun to govern the choice of formative consonants in these noun-less relative pronouns, their consonants depend rather upon the nature of their referent. If the referent is a person or persons, <u>k</u> is used for the singular and <u>ñ</u> for the plural. If the referent is a thing, <u>l</u> is used (no plural)–or, for some speakers, <u>y</u>. If the referent is a place, <u>f</u> is used (no plural). In reference to manner, <u>n</u> is used.

  The vowels which can occur in these relative pronouns are <u>u</u> and <u>i</u>. However, these vowels do not provide the indications of grammatical function with these independent relative pronouns as they have with the relative pronouns which modify nouns. With the noun-less relative pronouns, the vowel <u>u</u> indicates that the referent is either non-specific or hypothetical, while the vowel <u>i</u> indicates that the referent is specific or established. Because of the non-established, hypothetical connotation of the <u>u</u> vowel, verbs which are used with the <u>u</u> forms of these relative pronouns tend to

have an incomplete connotation (even without the marker <u>di</u>), while the vowel <u>i</u> permits the verb to have a completive connotation.

<u>Ku</u> <u>fi</u> <u>ñów</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>wax</u>.   "We/they talk(ed) about whoever comes here."

<u>Ki</u> <u>fi</u> <u>ñów</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>wax</u>.   "We/they talk(ed) about him/her who has come here."

<u>Ñu</u> <u>fi</u> <u>ñów</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>wax</u>.   "We/they talk(ed) about whoever (pl) came here."

<u>Ñi</u> <u>fi</u> <u>ñów</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>wax</u>.   "We/they talk(ed) about those who have come here."

<u>Lu</u> <u>mu</u> <u>wax</u> <u>rek</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>def</u>.   "We/they do only what he says."

<u>Li</u> <u>mu</u> <u>wax</u> <u>rek</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>def</u>.   "We/they do only what he has said."

<u>Fu</u> <u>mu</u> <u>wax</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>dem</u>.   "We/they go wherever he says."

<u>Fi</u> <u>mu</u> <u>wax</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>dem</u>.   "We/they go where he has said (to go)."

<u>Nu</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>defare</u> <u>bunt</u> <u>yi</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>ma-y</u> <u>won</u>.   "They're showing me how they repair the doors."

<u>Ni</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>defare</u> <u>bunt</u> <u>yi</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>ma-y</u> <u>won</u>.   "They're showing me how they fixed the doors."

Relative pronouns (in the forms ending in ...<u>u</u>) are used with the verb <u>nekk</u> as the most usual way of saying 'everyone' etc.

<u>ku</u> <u>nekk</u>   "everyone"

<u>lu</u> <u>nekk</u>   "everything"

<u>fu</u> <u>nekk</u>   "everywhere"

<u>bés</u> <u>bu</u> <u>nekk</u>   "every day"

18.   Verb Phrases with the Temporal Relative <u>bu</u> (or <u>bi</u>, <u>ba</u>)

In Wolof, there is a special relative pronoun which is used to refer to the time in which the action of a verb takes place. This temporal relative is made up of the formative consonant <u>b</u>, plus one of the vowels <u>u</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>a</u>.

With the vowel <u>u</u>, the temporal relative indicates that the time referred to is either anticipated (i.e. in the future) or hypothetical (i.e. conditional), without any formal distinction between the two possibilities. Thus the <u>bu</u> form of the temporal relative translates into English either as "when (in the future)" or as "if".

The temporal relative is immediately followed by the associated verbal construction, which consists of the subject (noun or pronoun) followed by any object pronouns and then the verb. When a pronominal subject is used with the <u>bu</u> form of the temporal relative, the following forms occur:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	<u>bu</u> <u>ma</u>	<u>bu</u> <u>ñu</u>
2nd Pers.	<u>boo</u>	<u>boo</u> <u>leen</u>
3rd Pers.	<u>bu</u> □	<u>bu</u> <u>ñu</u>

The marker <u>na</u> is not used in temporal verb phrases. The verb normally is marked by a special suffix, which has the following forms:

1. ...<u>ee</u> or <u>ée</u>, when attached to a verb ending in a consonant, or a monosyllabic verb ending in a vowel (...<u>ee</u> when the first vowel is <u>a</u>, <u>à</u>, <u>e</u>, or <u>o</u>; ...<u>ée</u> when the first vowel is <u>é</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>ó</u>, <u>u</u>, or <u>ë</u>).

<u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u>   "when/if I speak"

<u>boo</u> <u>liggéeyée</u>   "when/if you (sg.) work"

<u>bu</u> <u>leen</u> <u>foee</u>   "when/if we/they call him/her"

2. ...<u>ee</u> or <u>ée</u>, instead of the final vowel, when attached to a polysyllabic verb ending in a short front vowel (<u>e</u>, <u>é</u>, <u>i</u>).

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ko</u> <u>teree</u> "when/if I prohibit it" (verb base: <u>tere</u>)

    <u>boo</u> <u>fa</u> <u>jógée</u> "when/if you (sg.) come from there" (verb base: <u>jógé</u>)

    <u>bu</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>ko</u> <u>indée</u> "when/if we/they bring it" (verb base: <u>indi</u>)

3. ...<u>aa</u>, instead of the final vowel, when attached to a polysyllabic verb ending in a short central vowel (usually <u>a</u>).

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>dumaa</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u> "when/if I spank the child" (verb base: <u>duma</u>)

4. ...<u>oo</u> or <u>óo</u>, instead of the final vowel, when attached to a polysyllabic verb ending in a short back vowel (<u>o</u>, <u>ó</u>, <u>u</u>).

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>ko</u> <u>soxloo</u> "when/if I need it" (verb base: <u>soxlo</u>)

    <u>boo</u> <u>jublóo</u> <u>ci</u> <u>moom</u> "when/if you (sg.) turn toward him/her/it" (verb base: <u>jublu</u>)

    If a verb in temporal constructions is negative, then the temporal suffix is not used.

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxul</u> "if I don't speak"

    <u>bu</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>fowul</u> "if we/they don't play"

    <u>boo</u> <u>fa</u> <u>jógéwul</u> "if you (sg.) don't come from there"

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>dumëwul</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u> "if I don't spank the child"

    <u>boo</u> <u>jubluwul</u> <u>ci</u> <u>moom</u> "if you (sg.) don't turn toward him/her/it"

    When the verb in a temporal phrase is marked with the particle <u>di</u> or <u>dul</u> (See Grammar Note 9), this particle comes between the subject pronoun and the verb, which then doesn't take the temporal suffix.

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma-y</u> <u>wax</u> "when/if I speak"

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>dul</u> <u>wax</u> "when/if I am not speaking"

    <u>boo-y</u> <u>liggéey</u> "when/if you (sg.) are working"

    <u>boo</u> <u>dul</u> <u>liggéey</u> "when/if you (sg.) aren't working"

Note: As the chart of subject pronouns after <u>bu</u> indicates, there is no 3rd person singular subject pronoun used with this form of the temporal relative. Instead, <u>bu</u> automatically has a 3rd person singular subject when it is used without any other subject marker.

    <u>bu</u> <u>dee-ee</u> "when/if he dies"

    <u>bu</u> <u>deewul</u> "when/if he doesn't die"

    <u>bu-y</u> <u>liggéey</u> "when/if he is working"

    <u>bu</u> <u>dul</u> <u>liggéey</u> "when/if he isn't working"

    When one wishes to speculate on a hypothetical action in the past (or, to look at it more in the Wolof way, an action in the hypothetical past), this is done by means of <u>bu</u> with the verb marked with the past time suffix (See Grammar Note 13). In this case, <u>bu</u> can only be hypothetical, and always translates into English as "if". (The suffix ...<u>ee</u> is not used.)

    <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxoon</u> "if I had spoken"

    <u>boo</u> <u>liggéeyoon</u> "if you (sg.) had worked"

    <u>bu</u> <u>deewoon</u> "if he had died"

    There is a special idiomatic construction, consisting of the phrase <u>bu</u> <u>dee</u> followed by verbal or predicative construction, which is equivalent to English "if it turns out that...".

    <u>bu</u> <u>dee</u> <u>baax</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u> "if it turns out that they are good"

    <u>bu</u> <u>dee</u> <u>dëgg</u> <u>la</u> "if it turns out that it is the truth"

Finally, there exists a variant temporal relative, <u>su</u>, which has the meaning of <u>bu</u> and can be used in its place in any kind of construction.

<u>su</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u>   (for <u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u>)   "when/if I speak"
<u>soo</u> <u>liggéeyée</u>   (for <u>boo</u> <u>liggéeyée</u>)   "when/if you (sg.) work"
<u>su</u> <u>dee-ee</u>   (for <u>bu</u> <u>dee-ee</u>)   "when/if he dies"

The other forms of the temporal relative, with the vowels <u>i</u> and <u>a</u>, indicate that the time in which the action of the verb takes place has already gone by. Since time gone by is no longer hypothetical, temporal constructions begun with <u>bi</u> or <u>ba</u> are never conditional. When the verb in the temporal construction is completive, <u>bi</u> or <u>ba</u> are equivalent to English "after" or "when/in the past". When the verb is durative (that is, with <u>di</u>) they are best translated as "when". The difference between <u>bi</u> and <u>ba</u> seems largely stylistic. The essential difference between <u>bi</u> and <u>ba</u> seems to be that <u>ba</u> is used to refer to time which is more remote in the past than that referred to by <u>bi</u>, but <u>ba</u> is rarely used. The <u>bi</u> and <u>ba</u> forms of the temporal relative do not have variants with a formative consonant <u>s</u>, as the <u>bu</u> form does.

After <u>bi</u> and <u>ba</u>, the following forms of the subject pronouns occur:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	<u>ma</u>	<u>ñu</u>
2nd Pers.	<u>nga</u>	<u>ngéen</u>
3rd Pers.	<u>mu</u>	<u>ñu</u>

Note that these differ from the forms of the subject pronouns used with <u>bu</u> in the 2nd person, and in that after <u>bi</u> and <u>ba</u> there is a 3rd person singular pronoun.

<u>bi</u> <u>nga-y</u> <u>liggéey</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>nga-y</u> <u>liggéey</u> }   "when you (sg.) were working"

<u>bi</u> <u>ngéen</u> <u>ñówée</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>ngéen</u> <u>ñówée</u> }   "when/after you (pl.) had come"

<u>bi</u> <u>mu</u> <u>dee-ee</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>mu</u> <u>dee-ee</u> }   "when/after he (had) died"

Otherwise, the subject pronouns object pronouns, suffixes, and the position of <u>di</u> are the same for temporal phrases with <u>bi</u> or <u>ba</u> as for those with <u>bu</u>.

<u>bi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> }   "after I had spoken"

<u>bi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxul</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxul</u> }   "when I hadn't spoken"

<u>bi</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>wax</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>wax</u> }   "when we/they were speaking"

<u>bi</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dul</u> <u>wax</u> }
<u>ba</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dul</u> <u>wax</u> }   "when we/they weren't speaking"

As was pointed out earlier, the Wolof temporal relative <u>bu</u> (or <u>su</u>) refers indifferently to both anticipated time (in the case of a future event) and hypothetical time (in the case of a conditional event). In English, on the other hand, the distinction between future and conditional events is clearly indicated by the choice between "when" and "if", which are the functional counterparts of Wolof <u>bu</u>.

Although the ambiguity in the time reference of <u>bu</u> means that the distinction between future and conditional events cannot be made in the Wolof temporal clause, this ambiguity is cleared up by the choice of verbal construction in the post-temporal clause. A verbal construction with <u>di</u> shows that the reference of the preceding temporal clause is to a future event, and a verbal construction without <u>di</u> shows that it is to a conditional event. Since, in English, the distinction between future and conditional events has already been made in the temporal clause, the post-temporal clause is often put in the future for either one. This means that while one kind of Wolof temporal clause corresponds to two different things in English, two different kinds of Wolof post-temporal clause correspond to only one thing in English. It is simply that the distinction between future and conditional events is indicated in different places in the two languages.

	Temporal Clause	Post-temporal Clause
Fut.	"when I speak..."	...<u>di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>déglu</u>
	<u>bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u>...	"...they will listen"
Cond.	"if I speak..."	... <u>ñu</u> <u>déglu</u>

Post-temporal clauses after temporal clauses with <u>bi</u> or <u>ba</u> normally consist of subject and verb in the minimal verbal construction (See Grammar Note 7), or are linked to the temporal clause by <u>la</u> (See Grammar Note 5), in order to place greater emphasis on the time when the action in the post-temporal clause took place.

<u>Ba</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dem</u>. "When/after I had spoken, they left."
<u>Bi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dem</u>. "It is (was) after I had spoken that they left."

Clauses with <u>dafa</u> (See Grammar Note 2) may also be found after temporal clauses:
<u>Bi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>jógée</u> <u>kër,</u> <u>da</u> <u>ma</u> <u>dugg</u> <u>woto</u> <u>ba</u> <u>Dàkaar</u>.   "After I left the house, I took the bus to Dakar."

The expression <u>ba</u> <u>pare</u> (literally: "until finished") can be used at the end of a temporal clause to indicate or emphasize that the event referred to by the temporal clause was or will be over when the event referred by the post-temporal clause takes place.

When <u>ba</u> <u>pare</u> occurs at the end of a temporal clause introduced by <u>bu</u>, the result refers to completion in the future, like the English present perfect after "when" (or "after") and after "if".

<u>Bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> <u>ba</u> <u>pare</u> <u>di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dem</u>. "When/after I have spoken, they will leave."
<u>Bu</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> <u>ba</u> <u>pare</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dem</u>. "If I have spoken, they will leave."

When <u>ba</u> <u>pare</u> occurs at the end of a temporal clause introduced by <u>bi</u> or <u>ba</u>, the idea of the completion of the one event before the following one is emphasized.

<u>Bi</u> <u>ma</u> <u>waxee</u> <u>ba</u> <u>pare</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>dem</u>. "After I had finished speaking, they left."

With the meaning "until" <u>ba</u> occurs without the suffix ...<u>ee</u> on the verb.
<u>Da</u> <u>ma-y</u> <u>xaar</u> <u>ba</u> <u>kalaas</u> <u>bi</u> <u>tas</u>. "I'm waiting until the class breaks."
<u>Faj</u> <u>ko</u> <u>ba</u> <u>mu</u> <u>wér</u>. "Take care of him until he's well."

Here the verb is in the minimal construction (See Grammar Note 7).
<u>Jàng</u> <u>naa</u> <u>ba</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>woo</u> <u>ma</u>. "I read until they called me."

19.   Verbal Modification by Verbs and Adverbs

Wolof, like English, has verbal constructions of the type in which one verb is the complement of another, e.g. "try to write" or "try writing". In the Wolof construction, the two verbs are usually linked grammatically by means of a special marker, -a, which is usually placed between the two verbs. The Wolof verbs jéem "to try", nar "to intend", bañ "to refuse", tàmbali "to start", bëgg "to want", jëkk "to be first", mujj "to be last", mën "to be able", or "can" and war "to be necessary", "ought" or "must" are ones which, like their English equivalents, are often used in this way.

jéem(-a) bind   "try to write" or "try writing"
nar(-a) bind   "intend to write", "intend writing", "be going to write"

Sometimes, verbs have a somewhat different meaning when they modify other verbs than when they occur by themselves. For example, jar means "to cost" by itself, and "to be worth" with another verb, while mot, which means "to attain value" by itself, also means "to be worth" with another verb; gën "surpass", modifies other verbs to give the meaning "more" and with some stative verbs carries the meaning of English comparative adjectives like "nicer"; mën "be capable of doing" acts with a following verb much like English "can"; the two verbs jëkk "be first", and mujj, "be last", translate as adverbial "first" and "last".

On the other hand, Wolof verbal constructions which correspond grammatically to English verbal modification by an adverb are quite rare. This is because Wolof has only a few real adverbs, and most of these can occur only with certain verbs. The main Wolof adverbs are ndànk "slowly", lool "very much", torob "too much", and moos "certainly, for sure".

Mungi dox ndànk.   "He is walking slowly."
Da nga mun(-a) naan lool.   "You drink too much."
Dafa mun(-a) wax torob.   "He talks too much."
Xam na ko moos.   "He knows that for sure."

When lool and torob are used with stative verbs which are equivalent to English adjectives, they translate as "very" and "too" respectively.

Dafa tang lool.   "It's very hot."
Dafa sedd torob.   "It's too cold."

In addition, Wolof has a number of other adverb-like modifiers which are extremely limited in their occurrence. Some are used to modify only a single verb. Generally speaking, the function of these restricted verb modifiers is to add intensity to the meaning of the verb. They usually have the form consonant plus vowel plus single or doubled consonant, and resemble what are called "ideophones" in some other African languages. Some examples, with highly idiomatic translation which show their function rather than their literal meanings are:

kukk in ñuul kukk   "pitch black"
tall in weex tall   "snow white"
këris in lëndëm këris   "pitch dark"
xatt in wex xatt   "terribly bitter"
guy in sedd guy   "ice cold"
jipp in tàng jipp   "hot as hell"
xepp in tooy xepp   "soaking wet"
kong in wow kong   "bone dry"

In most cases, Wolof uses verbs to carry out the verb-modifying function of English adverbs. This parallels the Wolof use of verbs to carry out the noun-modifying function of English

adjectives. Many of the Wolof verbs which can have the function of English adverbs can also occur as independent verbs, e.g. dàq "to win" (as an independent verb), "better" (when modifying another verb). Other verb-modifying verbs never occur independently, e.g. soog "just", and xaw "almost" (when used with the past tense of the verb in English).

The Wolof constructions which correspond to English verbal modification by an adverb are exactly the same as those which correspond to English verbal modification by another verb. That is, the one verb precedes the other, with the two usually linked by -a.

gaaw(-a) bind   "write quickly"
soog(-a) bind   "just wrote"
xaw (-a) bind   "almost wrote"
faral(-a) bind   "usually wrote"

In all verbal constructions except those in which the modifying verb is completive, the modifying and modified verb are directly linked by -a, or are used together without the linker.

Téeré la ñu jéem(-a) bind.   "It's a book we're trying to write."
Ñoo jéem(-a) bind téeré.   "It's us who are trying to write a book."
Ñungi jéem(-a) bind téeré.   "We're now trying to write a book."
Lu ñu jéem(-a) bind?   "What are we trying to write?"
Di na ñu jéem(-a) bind téeré.   "We will try to write a book."
Da ñu jéem(-a) bind téeré.   "It's that we're trying to write a book." (See Grammar Note 2)

When the modifying verb (i.e. the first one) is completive, the linker -a when used, immediately precedes the second verb. Thus with the 3rd person singular, the linker, if used combines with the completive marker na. In other forms the linker usually combines with the subject pronoun, except that in the first person singular the linker is not used. The forms which occur when a completive verb is linked to a following verb are generally as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	naa	na ñoo
2nd Pers.	ngaa	ngéen-a
3rd Pers.	naa	na ñoo

Xaw naa tarde démba.   "I was almost late yesterday."
Jéem ngaa war fas?   "Have you tried riding a horse?"
Jar naa xool.   "It's worth seeing."
Bañ na ñoo wax.   "We refused to speak."
Yàgg ngéen-a xaar?   "Have you been waiting long?"
War na ñoo dem.   "They ought to go."

At times the linker can combine with object pronouns.

Mun nga maa jëndul singëm?   "Can you buy me some chewing gum?"
Géj naa laa gis.   "It's a long time since I've seen you."
War nga koo jàng.   "You ought to learn it."
Jéem nga ñoo dimbëli.   "You've tried to help us."

Note that the 1st and 3rd person forms can look alike. This ambiguity can be resolved by adding the appropriate independent pronouns to the constructions.

Moom, jéem naa bind téeré.   "He has tried to write a book."
Man, jéem naa bind téeré.   "I have tried to write a book."

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A special use of verbal modification by verbs in Wolof is to indicate intensity of the meaning of a verb by modifying the verb by itself. With active verbs, this gives the meaning of "a great deal" and with stative verbs, of "very, very". The verbal linker -a is not optional in this case, but rather must be used.

     dox-a dox   "walk a great deal"
     ñuul-a ñuul   "very, very black"
     bon-a bon   "detestably bad"

20.   Verb Transitivity and the Position of Objects

With respect to their inherent ability to take objects, most Wolof verbs fall into one of the following three groups:

1. Intransitive Verbs. These are verbs which cannot take an object, e.g. dee "to die", toog " to sit down", taxaw "to stop, stand up", tëdd "to lie down", nekk "to be located", dem "to go (away)", jëm "to go (toward)", ñów "to arrive".

2. Single-Object Transitive Verbs. These are verbs which can take a direct object, but not an indirect object, e.g. jàng "to read, to study", woy "to sing", jënd "to buy", gis "to see", seet "to look for", togg "to cook", lekk "to eat", naan "to drink".

3. Double-Object Transitive Verbs. These are verbs which can take both a direct and an indirect object, e.g. jaay "to sell", jox "to give", may "to make a present of", won "to show", yonni "to send'.

Thus, depending upon which of the above transitivity classes a verb belongs to, there are three different limits to the number of objects which a Wolof verb can take without requiring special grammatical modification.

     Intransitive verbs can be used only without an object.
     Dee na. "He has died."
     Di naa toog.   "I will sit down."

     Single-object transitive verbs can be used with or without a direct object.
     Mungi jàng téeré bi.   "He is reading the book."
     Da ñu doon seet Sàmba.   "They were looking for Samba."
     Mungi jàng.   "He is reading."
     Da ñu doon seet.   "They were searching."

Double-object transitive verbs can be used with or without a direct and/or indirect object. (Some of them, because of their meanings will rarely, if ever, be used without a direct object.)

     Di na ñu jaay suma xar.   "They will sell my sheep."
     Di na ñu la jaay.   "They will sell to you."
     Di na ñu la jaay suma xar.   "They will sell my sheep to you." or "They will sell you my
                              sheep."
     Ñungi jaay.   "They are selling."

Whenever it becomes necessary for a verb to take more objects than its inherent limit allows, the verb must be grammatically modified to make it transitive for additional objects. This is usually done by means of a special transitivizing suffix, which is added on to the verb. Like the imperative suffix, the transitivizing suffix has the form ...al (...ël after high first vowels) if the verb ends in a consonant, and ...l if the verb ends in a vowel. When connected to a verb which has only one syllable and ends in a vowel, the imperative suffix has two optional forms, ...al (ël) or ...wal

(wël), e.g., jiël or jiwël "plant", wooal or woowal "call". One of these suffixes is added for each additional object, direct or indirect, which the verb is required to take. Since the transitivizing suffix ends in a consonant, the second or additional occurrences of the suffix always have the form ...al or ël.

One common reason for making a transitive verb from an intransitive one in Wolof is to express the notion of accompaniment.

Kan nga demal? "Whom did you go with?"

While the direct object is the recipient of the action, the indirect object (i.e., the object of "to" in the English phrase" to me") can be thought of as the secondary recipient of the action, and the extra indirect object (i.e., the object "for" in the English phrase" for me") can be thought of as a beneficiary of what happened to the two recipients.

Intransitive verbs must have one of these transitivizing suffixes for every object taken, whether direct or indirect.

Di naa toog. "I will sit down."
Di naa toogal nenne bi. "I will seat the child."
Di naa la toogalal nenne bi. "I will seat the child for you."

Single-object transitive verbs must have one of these transitivizing suffixes for every indirect object taken.

Mungi jàngal eleew yi téeréem. "He is reading his book to the pupils."
Mungi leen di jàngal téeréem. "He is reading them his book."
Mungi ko-y jàngal eleew yi. "He is reading it to the pupils."

When more than one object pronoun occur together in the same constructions, there is a fairly fixed order in which they can occur with respect to each other. However, this relative order of occurrence for object pronouns is not related to whether they represent direct or indirect objects, but rather upon their person and number reference. Object pronouns with 3rd person reference always follow the others, with plural preceding singular. Within the 1st and 2nd person group, singular precedes plural and, within each of these, 2nd person precedes 1st person. Personal pronouns are followed by the special pronominal form ci (occasionally ca) meaning "of it", "of them", "in it", "by it", etc. (much like French en) and also by either of the locative pronouns fi "here" or fa "there". The order of pronouns is as in the following diagram:

NON-3RD PERSON				3RD PERSON		NON-PERSONAL	
Singular		Plural		Plural	Singular	Partitive	Locative
2nd P.	1st P.	2nd P.	1st P.			ci	fi
la	ma	leen	ñu	leen	ko	(ca)	fa

Mungi leen ko-y jàngal. "He is reading it to them."

In completive constructions, the minimal verbal construction, negative constructions, and imperative constructions, pronoun objects and noun objects both follow the verb. If the two kinds of objects occur together, the pronoun objects precede the noun objects. The relative order of object pronouns, if more than one occurs in such constructions, is the same as has been described above.

Jàngal <u>na</u> <u>eleew</u> <u>j</u> <u>téeréem</u>.   "He has read his book to the pupils."
Jàngal <u>na</u> <u>leen</u> <u>téeréem</u>.   "He has read them his book."
Jàngal <u>na</u> <u>ko</u> <u>eleew</u> <u>yi</u>.   "He has read it to the pupils."
Jàngal <u>na</u> <u>leen</u> <u>ko</u>.   "He has read them it."

Of course, the imperative suffix ...<u>al</u> and the transitivizing suffix ...<u>al</u> may occur together in certain constructions; e.g., <u>Jàngalal</u> <u>eleew</u> <u>sa</u> <u>téeré</u>. "Read your book to the pupils."

21.   The Verb <u>am</u> " to have"

When used with a noun or pronoun subject, the stative verb am is generally equivalent to the English verb "to have": <u>Papp-am</u> <u>am</u> <u>na</u> <u>fan</u> <u>weer-i</u> <u>béy</u>. "His father has thirty goats." <u>Am</u> <u>naa</u> <u>ñett-i</u> <u>muus</u>. "I have three cats."

When this verb is used without an indicated or understood subject, it takes the meaning "there is" or" there are", depending on the complement which follows it: <u>Am</u> <u>na</u> <u>fan</u> <u>weer-i</u> <u>béy</u> <u>ci</u> <u>tool</u> <u>bi</u>. "There are thirty goats in the field." <u>Am</u> <u>na</u> <u>benn</u> <u>muus</u> <u>ci</u> <u>kow</u> <u>gàrab</u> <u>gi</u>. "There is a cat in the tree." The form is singular, whether the complement is singular or plural: <u>am</u> <u>na</u> (rather than <u>am</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u>).

This creates a possible ambiguity between the meanings "He has ..." and "There is/are ..." for the form <u>am</u> <u>na</u>.... The distinction will have to be made from the context. The speaker can make the distinction by means of the independent pronoun or the lack of it.
<u>Moom,</u> <u>am</u> <u>na</u> <u>fan</u> <u>weer-i</u> <u>béy</u> <u>ci</u> <u>tool</u> <u>bi</u>.   "He has thirty goats in the field."
<u>Am</u> <u>na</u> <u>fan</u> <u>weer-i</u> <u>béy</u> <u>ci</u> <u>tool</u> <u>bi</u>.   "There are thirty goats in the field."

<u>Am</u> is also used in the Wolof expression for telling one's age: <u>Am</u> <u>naa</u> <u>ñaar-i</u> <u>fukk-i</u> <u>at</u>. "I'm twenty years old." [lit.: "I have twenty years."]

Part II   Nouns

22.   Noun Determiners and Noun Classes

A Wolof noun often occurs with a special word which will be called a <u>noun</u> <u>determiner</u>. The most fundamental meaning of the determiner is specificity; that is, the determiner shows that the noun with it refers to something specific or to something already referred to or known. This meaning corresponds not exactly, but fairly closely to the English definite article "the". Dakar Wolof has no grammatical equivalent for the English indefinite article "a/an" but sometimes uses the numeral <u>benn</u> "one".
The second meaning of the Wolof determiner is that of spatial relation to the speaker. One form of the determiner indicates proximity of the referent of the noun to the speaker, while another form indicates that the referent is remote.
The position of the Wolof noun determiner is immediately following the noun, unlike the English equivalent "the" which precedes the noun.
In form, the singular Wolof determiner consists of one of eight possible consonants – <u>b-</u>, <u>g-</u>, <u>j-</u>, <u>l-</u>, <u>m-</u>, <u>s-</u>, <u>w-</u>, and <u>k-</u> – plus the vowel <u>-i</u> (to indicate proximity) or the vowel <u>-a</u> (to indicate remoteness.) The plural Wolof determiner consists of one of two possible consonants – <u>y-</u> and <u>ñ-</u> – plus the same vowels <u>-i</u> or <u>-a</u> to indicate proximity or remoteness. In most cases nouns used with <u>b-</u>, <u>g-</u>, <u>j-</u>, <u>l-</u>, <u>m-</u>, <u>s-</u>, and <u>w-</u> in the singular are used with <u>y-</u> in the plural, while one noun, <u>nit</u> "person" used with <u>k-</u> in the singular is used with <u>ñ-</u> in the plural. A variation of this pattern occurs

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with some nouns which refer to persons, such as <u>jigéen</u> <u>ji</u> "the woman", <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u> "the man"; although these nouns do not take the determiner <u>k-</u> in the singular, they can take <u>ñ-</u> in the plural, particularly when used in a collective sense (<u>jigéen</u> <u>ñi</u> "the women", <u>góor</u> <u>ñi</u> "the men").

Wolof nouns are divided into eight different classes by the kind of singular determiners they take. In general each Wolof noun belongs to only one class. Nouns of the <u>b-</u> class are by far the most common, and practically all new borrowings from other languages are incorporated into it. Furthermore, there is a marked tendency for nouns which were originally of the other classes to move into the <u>b-</u> class, e.g. (read → as "is becoming").

<div style="margin-left: 4em;">

older   <u>réew</u> <u>mi</u> → <u>réew</u> <u>bi</u>   "the country"
  <u>xeej</u> <u>gi</u> → <u>xeej</u> <u>bi</u>   "the spear"
  <u>lëg</u> <u>li</u> → <u>lëg</u> <u>bi</u>   "the hare"

</div>

As a result of this tendency, many Wolof nouns may be said to belong to more than one class, since they are used with more than one determiner, depending upon the speaker or the dialect. In some cases the same speaker may treat certain nouns as belonging to two or more classes – one of which is usually the <u>b-</u> class. If the appropriate class is in doubt or has been forgotten, the use of the <u>b-</u> class has a fair chance of producing acceptable results.

With other nouns, a change of class indicates a change in meaning, as <u>banaana</u> <u>bi</u> "the banana (fruit)", but <u>banaana</u> <u>gi</u> "the banana plant".

In the few instances where the names of persons must take a determiner (as in "Diop right here"), these proper nouns go into the <u>m-</u> class (plural, <u>y-</u>) (<u>Jóob</u> <u>mii</u>, <u>fii</u>).

Notice that English does not use a determiner, with a singular proper noun although it does use it with the plural form: "the Smiths". The determiner can be used in Wolof with both the singular and the plural forms: <u>Jóob</u> <u>mii</u> and <u>Jóob</u> <u>yi</u>.

There are a few characteristic proclivities, other than the general prevalence of <u>b-</u>, that affect the class membership of Wolof nouns. One of these is an association of nouns with determiners having a somewhat similar sounding initial consonant. Thus, for nouns beginning with the consonants listed on the left, there is a particularly high proportion that are used with the determiner consonant listed on the right.

<div style="margin-left: 4em;">

b p	b
g k	g
j (c)	j
m [including mb]	m
f w y	w
s	s

</div>

The determiner consonant <u>l-</u>, on the other hand, is associated with nouns beginning with <u>n</u> followed by another consonant more noticeably than with nouns beginning with <u>l</u>.

<div style="margin-left: 4em;">

nd nj ng (c) l   l

</div>

Nouns beginning with other letters lack any strong pattern of similarity in sound with a particular determiner consonant.

There is also a consistent affinity of nouns designating certain types of things for a specific determiner consonant. The most common determiner consonant, <u>b-</u>, has the largest group of typical meaning affiliates.

<div style="margin-left: 6em;">

<u>b</u>   fruits (as mentioned above)
  manufactured articles (<u>làl</u> "bed", <u>daaj</u> "nail")
  parts of the body (<u>tànk</u> "leg")
  types of places (<u>ëtt</u> "courtyard")

</div>

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types of people (dëkkëndóo "neighbor")
maladies (feebar "sickness")
abstractions (dëgg "truth")

g   plants (as mentioned above)

j   relatives (rakk "younger brother or sister")
         words of Arabic origin, particularly those associated with religion (daara
         "Koranic school")
         some collective nouns (ñebbe "beans")

m   liquids (ndox "water")
s   dry material that comes in bulk (xorom "salt")
         diminutives (fas si "the colt" – fas wi "the horse")

w   animals (ñey "elephant", nag "cow")

Neither the sound patterns nor the meaning patterns are highly reliable for predicting noun-class membership; for many nouns the assignment to a given class seems highly arbitrary. In some instances there are conflicting pressures, and there is considerable dialect variation among speakers. For all these reasons it becomes important to associate nouns as they are encountered with the determiner consonants with which they are used.

23.   Variation in the Vowels of Noun Determiners

In Grammar Note 22, it was explained that Wolof noun determiners may be formed with any of ten different consonants, depending upon the inherent noun class of the determined noun, as well as upon its grammatical number.

In addition to varying in their consonants, noun determiners may also vary in the vowels which are used with any given consonant. In contrast to consonant variation in noun determiners (which is a function of certain grammatical characteristics of the determined noun), changes in a determiner's vowels convey information of a semantic nature about the referent of the determined noun. Thus, while the use of determiner consonants is fixed with respect to each noun, the use of determiner vowels is much more open to selection by the speaker in terms of what information he wants to convey about what the noun stands for.

By one kind of alteration of the vowel pattern of the determiner, the speaker can modify the nature of the determination, in order to cause the listener to focus on the referent in a certain way. Accordingly, the determination can be simple (with no special emphasis or focus), emphatic (with special focus on the referent), or associative (when the speaker associates the referent in some way with the person spoken to).

By another kind of alteration of the vowel pattern of the determiner, the speaker can indicate whether the referent of the noun is proximate (within the immediate vicinity) or remote (as when it is far away, or well out of sight).

The way these kinds of information are conveyed by the vowel patterns of noun determiners is shown by the following chart:

	Determination	Proximity	
		Proximate or Unspecified	Remote
Simple		Bi	Ba
Emphatic		Bii	Bee
Associative		BooBu	BooBa

In the above chart, the capital letter <u>B</u> stands for any of the ten consonants which may appear in a noun determiner, i.e., <u>Bi</u> = <u>bi</u>, <u>ji</u>, <u>gi</u>, etc. When the chart shows two occurrences of <u>B</u> in the same form, both are replaced by the appropriate consonant, i.e., <u>BooBu</u> = <u>boobu</u>, <u>jooju</u>, <u>googu</u>, etc.

The simple forms <u>Bi</u> and <u>Ba</u> are both equivalent to English "the", with the additional feature that they often indicate different degrees of proximity or distance between the referent and the speaker.

<u>Sanc na ñu kër gi</u>.   "They have built the house (which is nearby)."
<u>Sanc na ñu kër ga</u>.   "They have built the house (which is far away)."

However, the proximate form of determiner is also used when the proximity or distance of the referent is unspecified or irrelevant.

<u>Mangi xaar kaar bi</u>.   "I am waiting for the bus (which may be nearby or far away)."

The emphatic forms <u>Bii</u> and <u>Bee</u> are often used to stress the existence or identity of the referent. Their closest English equivalents would be "this (very)" and "that (very)" respectively.

<u>Ginaar bii walla bee laa bëgg-a jënd</u>.   "I want to buy this or that chicken (while pointing them out)."

The associative forms <u>BooBu</u> (and for some speakers <u>BooBa</u>) are used to indicate some kind of association between the referent and the person spoken to. This association may be physical (as when the referent is near to or in the hands of the person spoken to), or it may be one of acquaintance (as when the speaker feels that the referent is known or familiar to the person spoken to). These associative forms of the determiner have no real equivalent in English. The closest that the English speaker comes to <u>BooBu</u> (and <u>BooBa</u>) is with "that ... of yours)".

<u>Indil peel boobu</u>!   "Bring that shovel (near you/in your hand)!"
<u>Woy boobu neexu ma</u>.   "I don't like that song (that you know about)."
<u>Seetiwoon naa dëkk boobu</u> (or <u>booba</u>).   "I have visited that village of yours (i.e. the one we have talked about)."

The simple and associative (but not the emphatic) forms of determiner can be further modified by the addition to them of a suffix ...<u>le</u>. The general effect of this suffix is to make the determiners more specific in their reference, so that the resulting forms <u>Bilé</u>, <u>Bale</u>, <u>BooBule</u>, <u>BooBale</u> have more or less the force of the English demonstratives "this, that". In the Dakar dialect, however, the emphatic forms <u>Bii</u> and <u>Bee</u> are now often used with a demonstrative meaning instead of <u>Bilé</u> and <u>Bale</u>, while the suffix <u>le</u> is used only rarely with the associative forms.

<u>Xoolal picc bale</u>! ⎫
<u>Xoolal picc bee</u>! ⎬   "Look at that bird!"

The same kind of variation, with essentially the same meaning differences, can occur in the determiner-like relatives of thing-reference (formative consonant: <u>l</u>), person-reference (consonant: <u>k</u>), place-reference (consonant: <u>f</u>), and manner-reference (consonant: <u>n</u>).

<u>Lan</u> <u>nga</u> <u>fi-y</u> <u>liggéey</u> <u>fii</u> <u>ci</u> <u>Senegaal</u>?   "What are you doing here in Senegal?"
<u>Kaay,</u> <u>ma</u> <u>yóbbu</u> <u>la</u> <u>fa</u>.   "Come on, I'll take you there."
<u>Ñungi</u> <u>nii</u>.   "Here we are." [lit: "We are such."]
<u>Fale</u> <u>ci</u> <u>suuf</u> <u>tund</u> <u>bi</u> <u>am</u> <u>na</u> <u>yeneen</u> <u>juróom</u> <u>benn</u>...   "Over there at the foot of the hill there
                                    are six others..."

<u>Foofu</u> <u>la</u> <u>dëkk</u>.   "He lives over there (by you)."

24.   Marking the Relationship Between Nouns

A possessive relationship between one noun and another is indicated in Wolof by placing the noun referring to the thing possessed (the modified noun) before that referring to the possessor (the noun modifier). In addition, the first or "possessed" noun is usually followed by a special grammatical marker which marks this relationship between the two nouns.

This relationship marker has two forms: <u>-u</u> and <u>-i</u>. Although some Wolof speakers often use these indiscriminately, most speakers seem to preserve the historical distinction between them, in which <u>-u</u> indicates that the noun it follows is singular, while <u>-i</u> indicates that it is plural. Compare the meaning of <u>bunt</u> "door" <u>doom</u> "son (or daughter)" in:

<u>bunt-u</u> <u>kër</u> <u>gi</u>   "the door of the house"
<u>bunt-i</u> <u>ker</u> <u>gi</u>   "the doors of the house"
<u>doom-u</u> <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u>   "the son of the man" or "the man's son"
<u>doom-i</u> <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u>   "the sons of the man" or "the man's sons"

In general, modified nouns seem to be taken as specific (i.e., equivalent to nouns followed by a noun determiner in other constructions). This is why the English definite article is used in the translations of modified <u>bunt</u> and <u>doom</u> in the foregoing examples. A modified noun is usually indicated as nonspecific or non-determined by preceding it with <u>benn</u> (lit. "one") for the singular and <u>ay</u> (the indeterminate plural marker) for the plural. These can be considered as equivalent respectively to the indefinite article and "some" in English, e.g.:

<u>benn</u> <u>doom-u</u> <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u>   "a son of the man"
<u>ay</u> <u>doom-i</u> <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u>   "some sons of the man" or "some of the man's sons"

Note that <u>benn</u> <u>ci</u>, with the meaning of "one of the...", can also be used before a plural modified noun i.e., <u>benn</u> <u>ci</u> <u>doom-i</u> <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u> "one of the man's sons".

Possessive constructions consisting of a modified noun and the following noun modifier are usually kept intact. Thus, if the noun modifier (i.e., the last of the two nouns in the construction) is itself modified by one of the possessive pronouns <u>suma</u>, <u>sa</u>, <u>suñu</u>, <u>seen</u> (which normally precede the noun they modify, See Grammar Note 28), then these possessive pronouns precede the entire two-noun construction, even though it is the second of the two nouns which the possessive pronoun modifies, e.g.:

<u>suma</u> <u>doom-u</u> <u>xarit</u>   "my friend's son"
<u>sa</u> <u>xarit-i</u> <u>doom</u>   "your (sing.) son's friends"

This practice is quite different from that of English, in which possessive pronouns usually modify the nouns which immediately follow them. The Wolof 3rd person singular possessive pronoun <u>-am</u> will be less troublesome in this respect, however, since the fact that it follows the noun it modifies will cause it to appear in direct contact with that noun in such constructions, e.g.:

<u>doom-u</u> <u>xarit-am</u>   "his/her friend's son"

xarit-i doom-am   "his/her son's friends"

Number with respect to the noun modified by the possessive pronoun is usually ambiguous in such constructions. Thus, suma doom-u xarit can mean either "my friend's son" or "my friends' sons", although the singularity of the noun doom is made clear by the form of the marker -u. In the same way, suma doom-i xarit can mean either "my friend's sons" or "my friends' sons". If it is absolutely necessary to distinguish between singular and plural for the nouns modified by possessive pronouns in such constructions, this can be done by adding the appropriate noun determiner (See Grammar Note 22) after the modified noun, e.g.:
    suma doom-u xarit bi   "my friend's son"
    suma doom-u xarit yi   "my friend's sons"
    doom-u xarit-am bi   "his/her friend's son"
    doom-u xarit-am yi   "his/her friend's sons"

Although a marker of noun relationship is usually used with a subordinate noun, there are a few nouns after which the singular marker (-u) is optional, and in fact rarely used. The most important of these nouns are: kër "house, home", baay "father", yaay "mother", borom "owner", biir "inside", e.g.:
    kër góor gi   (for the less usual kër-u góor gi)   "the man's house"

When one of these nouns is followed by another, and also preceded by a possessive pronoun, the singular subordinator -u does appear between the nouns, e.g.:
    suma kër-u xarit   "my friend's house"

But if these nouns are preceded by one of the possessive pronouns suma, sa, suñu, seen (even though these really modify the second noun), then even here the singular subordinator is used, e.g.:
    suma kër-u xarit   "my friend's house"

Words of more than one syllable ending in a vowel ordinarily are directly followed by a possessor without the singular relationship marker. This is particularly true of nouns which end in o, ô, or u.
    loxo xarit-am   "his/her friend's hand"
    ñambi all   "wild manioc" (lit: of the countryside)

When any of these nouns are plural, however, the plural marker -i (-y after vowels) is usually retained to show this, e.g.:
    kër-i góor gi   "the man's houses"
    loxo-y xarit-am   "his/her friend's hands"

There is one noun in Wolof which, when modified by another noun, never has a marker of relationship used with it. This is waa "inhabitant(s), resident(s), people", e.g.:
    waa Senegaal   "the Senegalese"
    suma waa kër   "my family" or "my household"

This same form of relationship marker is used to indicate the kinds of relationship shown in the following phrases.
    jaaykat-u jën   "seller of fish", or "fish seller"
    kër-u tabax   "house (made) of masonry" or "masonry house"
    liibër-u mburu   "a pound of bread"

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The first two phrases are examples of a very frequent pattern in English, in which a noun is used to modify another noun: "bus stop", "passenger train", "lemon tree", etc. In Wolof, modification of this type is expressed by means of the noun phrases described above for the form of the noun possessive. In both Wolof and in English, the singular form of the modifying noun (the second noun on the Wolof phrase, the first noun in the English noun-noun phrase) is used to show a generic rather than specific reference. Therefore the relationship marker is usually used in the ...u form in this type of noun-noun phrase.

The third phrase is an example of what is sometimes called the "partitive genitive". It is used to express the amount or number of some measurable or countable substance. The phrases are made with a quantity expression or container noun. The English phrase of this type is almost always formed with "of". In this type of Wolof expression the relationship marker is -u after most of the quantity expressions, such as liibër "a pound", paket "a package". After numbers, the plural relationship marker -i is used; ñaar-i xaal "two melons", fukk-i surans "ten oranges".

Part III   Pronouns

25.   The Wolof Pronominal System

A. The person and number categories.

The Wolof pronominal system consists of three categories of person reference (called 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person), and two categories of number for each person category (singular and plural). As in English, the 1st person refers to the speaker or to persons including the speaker, the 2nd person refers to the person(s) spoken to, and the 3rd person refers to any other person(s). Unlike English, however, Wolof makes no gender distinction in the 3rd person singular, and therefore uses just one pronoun where English uses three: "he", "she" and "it". There is no special use of pronouns in Wolof to express politeness, as there is in some languages; only person and number are shown.

B. The grammatical classes.

For the most part, the Wolof pronouns fall into three different classes, depending upon whether they function grammatically as the subject of a verb (subject pronouns), the object of a verb (object pronouns), or the modifier of a noun (possessive pronouns). The subject and object pronouns only occur in constructions with a verb, while the possessive pronouns occur only in constructions with a noun or a noun-substitute (See Grammar Notes 26, 27 & 28).

C. The independent pronouns.

There is one special pronominal class consisting of pronouns which are grammatically independent of nouns and verbs. These, which will be called independent pronouns, have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	man	ñun
2nd Pers.	yow	yeen
3rd Pers.	moom	ñoom

Although <u>ñun</u> is the usual form of the 1st person plural independent pronoun in the Dakar dialect, some other dialects use the form <u>nun</u> instead.

Since it is not necessary for independent pronouns to be tied to a verb or a noun, they are the ones which are used to form one-word constructions (usually questions or answers to questions), in which the pronoun stands alone. It should be noted that the independent pronouns can be used in this way regardless of whether the context implies a subject or object grammatical function; e.g., "Who did it? He (did)." <u>Moom</u> "Who(m) did you see? Him." <u>Moom</u>. <u>Man</u>? "I?" or "Me?", etc.

The independent pronouns are also used in the following kinds of constructions:

      1. Before <u>la</u>, either with or without a verb.
      2. Before <u>-a</u> without a verb.
      3. As the object of a preposition (<u>ag</u>, <u>ci</u>, <u>ba</u>, <u>pur</u>),
      4. Appositionally, before constructions containing subject, object, or possessive pronouns, either for emphasis, or to clarify the person reference of certain phonologically ambiguous pronouns.

26.   **The Dependent Subject Pronouns**

The basic set of subject pronouns can be taken as those that occur with the minimal verbal construction (See Grammar Note 7).

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	<u>ma</u>	<u>ñu</u>
2nd Pers.	<u>nga</u>	<u>ngéen</u>
3rd Pers.	<u>mu</u>	<u>ñu</u>

There is considerable variation in the form of certain subject pronouns when they occur in other verbal constructions.

With certain predicators (<u>dafa</u>, <u>na</u>, <u>la</u>, and the negative suffix ...<u>ul</u>, [See Grammar Notes 2, 3, 5, & 8]) a third person singular subject is indicated by the absence of any pronoun.

For the first person singular, the predicators <u>na</u> and <u>la</u> combine with the pronoun to give the forms <u>naa</u> and <u>laa</u>.

The second person subject pronouns exhibit the greatest variability. The forms <u>nga</u> and <u>ngéen</u> occur in the minimal verbal construction and in two constructions where the predicator (<u>na</u> or <u>la</u>) disappears before them, so that all three constructions are similar in the way they are expressed in the second person. These basic forms also occur together with <u>na</u> and before the verb in the optative construction (See Grammar Note 12) and after relative pronouns with the determiner vowel <u>-i</u> (See Grammar Note 17). With the presentative <u>angi</u>, (See Grammar Note 1) and the subject predicator <u>-a</u> (See Grammar Note 6) the second person plural subject pronoun is <u>yeen</u>; the second singular occurs in the combinations <u>yàngi</u> and <u>yaa</u> – from which, in order to discuss it, we may extract a hypothetical form <u>ya</u>. In the negative, the second singular is in most instances <u>loo</u> and the corresponding plural is <u>leen</u> (See Grammar Note 8). Relative pronouns with the vowel <u>-u</u> (used also as question words; See Grammar Note 30) regularly substitute the vowel <u>-oo</u> for the second person singular.

      <u>Foo</u> <u>dem</u>? "Where did you go?"
      <u>Koo</u> <u>gis</u>? "Whom did you see?"
      <u>Loo-y</u> <u>def</u>? "What are you doing?"

The corresponding plural has the <u>-oo</u> of the singular in addition to the pronoun form <u>leen</u>.

Foo leen jógé?   "Where do you (pl.) come from?"
Loo leen di def?   "What are you (pl.) doing?"
The indication of second person singular subject with the form du (See Grammar Note 9) is like that with question words.
Doo dem añi?   "Aren't you going to eat lunch?"
Doo leen ma mun-a won yoon bi?   "Can't you (pl.) show me the way?"
Certain other negations also follow the same patterns – some commonly, some sporadically.
Xamoo fu jàkk ji féeté fii?   "Would you (lit. don't you) know where the mosque is around here?"
Xanaa musóo fi ñów?   "You haven't been here long, have you?"
(The last example has the higher vowel -óo after a high vowel in the first syllable.)

It will be noted in the table above that the subject pronoun forms for the 1st and 3rd persons plural are identical. This is the case in Dakar Wolof, although some other dialects have a special form nu for the 1st person plural, and use ñu only for the 3rd person plural. The possible confusion which can be caused by the use of identical pronoun forms for two different persons can be avoided by putting the appropriate independent pronoun ahead of constructions containing an ambiguous pronominal form. For example, the phrase Dem na ñu by itself means both "We have left" and "They have left" in Dakar Wolof. This ambiguity can be cleared up by saying Ñun, dem na ñu for "We have left" and Ñoom, dem na ñu for "They have left".

When immediately following a word ending in a vowel, the 1st and 3rd person plural forms ñu may be pronounced without the vowel. This will often be shown by writing the form ñ'.

27.   The Object Pronouns

In Wolof, as in English, there are separate forms for pronouns used as subjects and as objects. In English, for example, the subject form for the first person singular pronoun is "I" while the object form is "me", etc. Although the second person form "you" remains unchanged, whether used as a subject (or an object). In Wolof, also, special forms exist for pronouns used as objects, of which two forms are identical with each other (2nd and 3rd persons plural) and two forms are identical with forms for pronouns used as subjects (1st person singular and plural):

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	ma	ñu
2nd Pers.	la	leen
3rd Pers.	ko	leen

For the third person singular there is an alternative form ka (or kë) which is often used instead of ko in rapid speech. The 1st person plural form ñu also has the variant ñ', which is often used when the pronoun immediately follows a word ending in a vowel.

Although in Wolof nouns used as objects usually follow the verb, as in English word order, object pronouns generally precede the verb. (When the object pronoun separates the presentative angi from the verb, it is necessary to use the tense marker -y (di after leen) [See Grammar Notes 4 & 1]); e.g.:
Xale yàngi lekk mburu.   "The children are eating bread."
Ñungi lekk mburu.   "They are eating bread."
Xale yàngi ko-y lekk.   "The children are eating it."
Ñungi ko-y lekk.   "They're eating it."

As with <u>ñu</u> in the subject pronouns, ambiguity arises with the object pronoun form <u>leen</u> which is used for both the 2nd and 3rd persons plural. Thus, the phrase <u>Gis naa leen</u> can mean both "I have seen you (pl.)" and "I have seen them". This confusion can be avoided by replacing the object pronoun with an independent pronoun followed by <u>la</u> (See Grammar Note 5). The order of the sentence then becomes independent pronoun + <u>la</u> + subject + verb. The phrase <u>Gis naa leen</u> thus becomes <u>Yeen laa gis</u> "I have seen you (lit. You it is [that] I have seen)", or <u>Ñoom laa gis</u> "I have seen them (lit. They it is [that] I have seen)". When independent pronouns are used to clarify ambiguity in subject pronouns, the dependent subject pronoun remains in the sentence, whereas when independent pronouns are used to clarify ambiguity in object pronouns, no real object pronouns remain in the sentence.

It is quite possible for a Wolof phrase to involve both ambiguous subject and object pronouns. Thus, <u>Gis na ñu leen</u> is unclear as to person reference, both with respect to the subject pronoun ñu, which can be either 1st or 3rd person plural, and to the object pronoun <u>leen</u>, which can be either 2nd or 3rd person plural. Consequently, the phrase can mean variously "We have seen you (pl.)", "They have seen you (pl.)", "We have seen them", or "They have seen them". Using the independent pronouns in both ways to clarify the subject and object ambiguity of <u>Gis na ñu leen</u>, the construction can be rephrased as ñun, yeen la ñu gis for "We have seen you (pl.)", <u>Ñoom, yeen la ñu gis</u> for "They have seen you (pl.)", <u>Ñun, ñoom la ñu gis</u> for "We have seen them", and <u>Ñoom, ñoom la ñu gis</u> for "They have seen them".

28.   Possessive Pronouns

Wolof possessive pronouns have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	<u>suma</u> + Noun	<u>suñu</u> + Noun
2nd Pers.	<u>sa</u> + Noun	<u>seen</u> + Noun
3rd Pers.	Noun + <u>-am</u>	<u>seen</u> + Noun

The following variant pronunciations may be heard in different dialects, in the speech of different speakers of the same dialect, or even within the speech of the same speaker:

<u>sama</u> or <u>sëmë</u> for <u>suma</u>
<u>së</u> for <u>sa</u>
<u>sunu</u> for <u>suñu</u>
<u>séen</u> for <u>seen</u>

The third-person possessive suffix is normally <u>-am</u> after consonants when the first vowel in a word is <u>a</u>, <u>à</u>, <u>e</u>, or <u>o</u>, and <u>-em</u> after consonants when the first vowel is <u>i</u>, <u>é</u>, <u>ë</u>, <u>u</u>, or <u>ó</u>

Words of more than one syllable that end in a vowel coalesce with the third person singular possessive pronoun to form a word with a final syllable ending in ...<u>m</u> and containing a long vowel. When the final vowel of the basic word is <u>i</u>, <u>é</u>, <u>e</u> or <u>ê</u>, the form containing the possessive ends in ...eem if the first vowel in the word is <u>a</u>, <u>à</u>, <u>e</u>, or <u>o</u>, and in ...éem if the first vowel is <u>i</u>, <u>é</u>, <u>ë</u>, <u>u</u>, or <u>ó</u>. When the final vowel of the basic word is <u>u</u>, <u>ó</u>, <u>o</u>, or <u>ô</u>, the form with the possessive pronoun ends in ...oom after the first group of vowels and in ...óom after the second group. For words ending in <u>a</u> (and the occasional <u>â</u>, <u>ë</u>, or <u>à</u>), the possessed form ends in ...aam.

caabi	"key"	caabeem	"his key"
bàle	"broom"	bàleem	"her broom"
cere	"couscous"	cereem	"his couscous"

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soble	"onion"	sobleem	"her onion"
bukki	"hyena"	bukkéem	"his hyena"
indé	"steaming tray"	indéem	"her steaming tray"
téeré	"book"	téeréem	"his book"
bëré	"wrestling match"	bëréem	"his wrestling match"
furne	"stove"	furnéem	"her stove"
haanu	"pipe"	naanoom	"his pipe"
jaro	"ring"	jaroom	"her ring"
geño	"belt"	geñoom	"his belt"
loxo	"arm"	loxoom	"his arm"
kareyô	"pencil"	kareyoom	"his pencil"
kuddu	"spoon"	kuddóom	"his spoon"
mótó	"motorcycle"	mótóom	"his motorcycle"
paaka	"knife"	paakaam	"his knife"
daba	"mattock"	dabaam	"his mattock"
pusa	"needle"	pusaam	"her needle"
këlë	"(a type of) bowl"	këlaam	"her bowl"

Single-syllable nouns ending in a vowel follow the same pattern as words that end in a consonant.

we-am	"her fingernail"
po-am	"his game"
jë-ëm	"her forehead"
ndaa-am	"her water jar"
ay yoo-am	"its mosquitoes"
ay ruu-ëm	"its wheels"

The Wolof possessive pronouns function fairly similarly to their English equivalents. The forms are quite regular except for the above mentioned variations in pronunciations. Just as English uses the same form "your" for both singular and plural second person categories, Wolof uses the same form for both second and third person plural categories. Also, as with other Wolof pronouns, one form is used for the third person singular with no distinction of gender.

It is possible in certain patterns, to use either the noun determiner or the possessive pronoun, as with <u>waa kër</u> in the sentences from the lessons : <u>Naka waa kër ga</u>? and <u>Nuyyul ma waa kër ga</u> in place of which <u>Naka sa waa kër</u>? and <u>Nuyyul ma sa waa kër</u> are both possible patterns. This is also occasionally the case with English (e.g., "How is the family?") although the general usage employs the possessive pronoun.

In position, Wolof generally follows the same usage as English, with the pronoun preceding the noun, except for the third person singular pronoun, which follows the noun.

Plural nouns modified by possessive pronouns are indicated by a pluralizing particle. This particle, which is placed immediately before the noun, has the form <u>-y</u> when immediately following the possessive pronouns that end in a vowel, <u>-i</u> after seen, <u>ay</u> elsewhere.

	Singular Noun		Plural Noun	
1st pers. s.	<u>suma</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>my</u> friend	<u>suma-y</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>my</u> friend<u>s</u>
2nd pers. s.	<u>sa</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>your</u> friend	<u>say</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>your</u> friend<u>s</u>
3rd pers. s.	<u>xarit-am</u>	<u>his</u> (<u>her</u>, <u>its</u>) friend	<u>ay</u> <u>xarit-am</u>	<u>his</u> (<u>her</u>, <u>its</u>) friend<u>s</u>
1st pers. pl.	<u>suñu</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>our</u> friend	<u>suñu-y</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>our</u> friend<u>s</u>
2nd pers. pl.	<u>seen</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>your</u> friend	<u>seen-i</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>your</u> friend<u>s</u>
3rd pers. pl.	<u>seen</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>their</u> friend	<u>seen-i</u> <u>xarit</u>	<u>their</u> friend<u>s</u>

When for one reason or another, the specific noun referring to the thing possessed is omitted, its place can be taken by the noun substitutes <u>bos</u> for the singular, and <u>yos</u> for the plural. Note that these forms have the initial consonants of the singular and plural of the <u>b-</u> class of noun determiner. Constructions consisting of <u>bos</u> or <u>yos</u> modified by a possessive pronoun are generally equivalent to the English possessive pronouns "mine", "yours", etc.

<u>suma bos</u>	"mine" (sing.)	<u>suma yos</u>	"mine" (plural)
<u>bos-am</u>	"his/hers/its" (sing.)	<u>yos-am</u>	"his/hers/its" (plural)

29.   Indefinite Pronouns

Besides the personal pronouns, there is another set of pronouns in Wolof which are related in form to the basic formative consonants <u>k</u>... for persons (<u>ñ</u>... for the plural), <u>l</u>... for objects (<u>y</u>... for the plural), <u>f</u>... for places. (See Grammar Note 17.)

The following table shows the forms and meanings of the various groups.

ki

	Singular	<u>kenn</u> "somebody"	<u>képp</u> "anybody"	<u>keneen</u> "another" "somebody else"
	Plural	<u>ñenn</u> ("some people")	<u>ñëpp</u> "everybody"	<u>ñeneen</u> ("others") "other"

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	Singular	<u>lenn</u> "something"	<u>lépp</u> "anything"	<u>leneen</u> "another" "something else"
	Plural	<u>yenn</u> "some"	<u>yëpp</u> "everything"	<u>yeneen</u> "others" "other"
fi		<u>fenn</u> "somewhere"	<u>fépp</u> "everywhere"	<u>feneen</u> "some othe place"

The alternative forms <u>kép</u>, <u>ñëp</u>, <u>lép</u>, and <u>yëp</u> may also be heard.

In some dialects of Wolof, further forms based on the other formative consonants, such as <u>gépp</u> and <u>népp</u>, but these seem to be dropping out in Dakar Wolof usage.

These pronouns can be used as modifiers of nouns, or as substantives, in which case they are sometimes used with the determiners.

<u>Ana ñeneen ni</u>?   "Where are the others?"

30.   Information Question Words

In both English and Wolof, questions may be classified as one of two types: those which require simply a "Yes" or "No" answer (See Grammar Note 34) and those which seek further information. The type which requests information is signalled, in both languages, by some kind of question word which indicates what information is desired, e.g., in English, "Where" at the beginning of a question indicates that the questioner wishes information about the location of something, "When", that information about the time of something is sought, etc.

In English there is only one set of information type question words. The forms in this set can be used alone as one-word questions, as well as at the beginning of larger questions, and also as relative pronouns in complex sentences, e.g.:

"Where?" (e.g. in answer to "I found my book.")

"Where was your book?"

"He showed me the place where he found his book."

In Wolof there are two groups of information question words: one group which can function alone, much like the independent pronouns; and another group which function both as question words and as relative pronouns. The independent question words have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
thing ("what?")	lan	yan
person ("who?")	kan	ñan
place ("where?")	fan	–
time ("when?")	kañ	–
manner ("how?")	nan	–

Another form for questions about manner is naka which operates in the same way as nan. These words are used in one-word questions, e.g., Kan? "Who?", Kañ? "When?". These question words can also be used at the beginning of longer questions, as more emphatic than the words of the second group. In this case the questions words are linked to the rest of the sentence by the predicator la (See Grammar Note 5), except where lan and kan refer to the subject of the sentence rather than the object, in which case the subject predicator (See Grammar Note 6) is used, usually with the 3rd person singular form: moo.

The Wolof question words which can function both as interrogatives and as relative pronouns have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
thing ("what?")	lu	yu
person ("who?")	ku	ñu
place ("where?")	fu	–
time ("when?")	bu	–
manner ("how?")	nu	–

The subject pronouns used after these question words work as follows (where fu is used as an example):

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	Singular	Plural
1st Pers.	fu ma	fu ñu
2nd Pers.	foo	foo leen
3rd Pers.	fu mu	fu ñu

Another form for question about manner is na, which is used with the minimal verbal construction (See Grammar Note 7).

When ku or lu (or ñu ou yu) refers to the subject, no further pronoun is needed.

The function of these words as relative pronouns was described in Grammar Note 17. It will be observed that the initial consonants, l- (for things, y- for the plural), k- and ñ- (for persons), f- (for places), etc., can be used with several vowels to form words relating to things, persons and places, etc., in different ways, e.g., the words fu "where", fi "here", fii "right here", fa "there". When these consonants are used to form the question words or the relative pronouns, the usual vowel is -u.

After the question words fu (or fan) and nu (or naka or nan), and in certain other cases, verbs (but not all verbs in every case) take a suffix -e. This ending indicates something about the relationship between the question word and the verb. A discussion of this complicated "direct" and "indirect" relationship between verbs and predicated words is found in Grammar Notes 15 and 16.

A special predicative information question word in Wolof is ana which means "Where is...?", and in asking about people, "How is...?"

Ana suma lam?   "Where is my bracelet?"
Ana sa mag?   "How is your older brother?"

The pronouns used in such questions are the basic subject pronouns (See Grammar Note 26).

Ana mu?   "Where is it?"
Ana nga?   "Where are you?"

31.   The Verb tax

The verb tax when used alone, has the basic meaning "to cause":

Ngelaw gi tax na ba gaal gi suux.   "The wind has caused the boat to sink:" [lit: "The wind has caused until the boat sank."]

The sequence li + verb phrase + moo tax is roughly equivalent to the English phrase "it is because..." + a verb phrase.

Li ñu nekk ci nawet gi, moo tax.   "That is because we are in the rainy season:" [lit: "(The fact) that we are in the rainy season, IT has caused (it)."]

When tax is used with the interrogative l- (See Grammar Note 30) in Lu tax...? (lit: "What causes ...?"), this construction is equivalent to the English question word "why...?".

Lu tax ñu dem?   "Why have they gone?"

Part IV Various Relationships

32.   The Relationship Words <u>ag,</u> <u>te,</u> <u>ci,</u> and <u>ba</u>

In comparison with English, Wolof may be said to have very few of the relationship words known in English as prepositions and conjunctions. In Wolof, the four words described below are the most commonly used. These show certain kinds of tangible relationships, three of them between persons or things, the fourth between actions. When the word following one of these relationship words is a pronoun, the independent pronominal form (See Grammar Note 25) is always used.

<u>ag</u> -   This word indicates addition or accompaniment. It is usually equivalent to the English words "with" and "and", as these words are used to connect nouns or pronouns.
<u>Mungi</u> <u>wax</u> <u>ag</u> <u>man</u>.   "He is speaking with me."
<u>Màngi</u> <u>gis</u> <u>góor</u> <u>gi</u> <u>ag</u> <u>ay</u> <u>doom-am</u>.   "I see the man and his children."

Variant pronunciations may be heard, for instance, ëg, and after a vowel <u>ag</u> may form a contraction with a previous word.
<u>Mungi</u> <u>wax</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u> <u>ag</u> <u>yaay-am</u>.   "He is speaking to the child and his mother."
<u>Mungi</u> <u>wax</u> <u>xale</u> <u>bi</u> <u>ëg</u> <u>yaay-am</u>.
<u>Mungi</u> <u>wax</u> <u>xale</u> <u>beeg</u> <u>yaay-am</u>.

<u>te</u> -   Whereas in English the conjunction "and" is used to connect both nouns or pronouns, and verbs or verb phrases, <u>ag</u> ordinarily connects nouns or pronouns. To connect verbs or verb phrases with some similarity of meaning a special word <u>te</u> can be used.
<u>Di</u> <u>na</u> <u>toog</u> <u>ci</u> <u>seen</u> <u>kër</u> <u>te</u> <u>du</u> <u>def</u> <u>dara</u>.   "She'll stay in their house and not do anything."
<u>Da-y</u> <u>tàng</u> <u>te</u> <u>tooy</u>.   "What it does is get hot and (get) muggy."
<u>Woto</u> <u>bi</u> <u>dafa</u> <u>màgget</u> <u>te</u> <u>xant</u>.   "The car is old and beat-up."

In some cases, verbs or verb phrases are simply juxtaposed, without any special joiner.
<u>Xeex</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu,</u> <u>dàq</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñu</u>.   "They fought and won."
<u>Sangu</u> <u>na,</u> <u>julli</u> <u>na</u>.   "He has washed and prayed."

In either case, when the subjects of two verbs are the same, the subject is often omitted from the second verb phrase.
The word <u>te</u> is also used at the beginning of a sentence, much as are English "and", "and then", "and so" in conversational English, to indicate a connection to what has just been said.
<u>Waawaw,</u> <u>te</u> <u>bu</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>demee,</u> <u>di</u> <u>na</u>   "Sure, and then when we get there, we'll
<u>ñu</u> <u>am</u> <u>meeb</u> <u>ci</u> <u>mbaal-u</u> <u>lebu</u> <u>yi</u>.   get bait from the Lebus' fish net."

<u>ci</u> -   This word indicates close physical relationship or inclusion, in its most basic use. In this sense <u>ci</u> is roughly equivalent to "at" or "in" in English.
<u>Ñoom,</u> <u>ñungi</u> <u>fii</u> <u>ci</u> <u>suma</u> <u>kër</u>.   "They're here at my house." or "They're here in my house."

Like the noun determiners and certain other words such as <u>angi</u> and <u>fi</u>, <u>ci</u> can take the form <u>ca</u> with the change in vowel to indicate that what is referred to is remote. Furthermore, there is usually accord between <u>ci</u> or <u>ca</u> and the vowel used with these other changeable words when they occur together in a single construction, e.g.:
<u>Ñunga-y</u> <u>woy</u> <u>ca</u> <u>kër</u> <u>ga</u>.   "They are singing at home."
<u>Ñungi</u> <u>woy</u> <u>ci</u> <u>ker</u> <u>gi</u>.   "They are singing in the house (nearby)."

To convey more specific information about spatial relationships, ci is used with various other nouns, forming phrases equivalent to English "in front of", "in back of", "under", etc. These forms will be described in Grammar Note 33.

In certain phrases, ci can have the meaning "to", e.g.:

Mungi indi téeréem ci kër gi.   "He's bringing his book home."

wax + ci has the meaning "to talk about".

The preposition ci has to be distinguished from the pronominal element ci (See Grammar Note 20). The latter normally means such things as "of them", "of it", "among them", "about it", and occasionally "some".

Fan la jaan gën-a bare? Am   "Where are snakes the most numerous? Are
na ci yu-y wonn nit?   these any of them that swallow people?"
Lu la ci neex?   "What do you like about it?"
Mun naa la ci abal.   "I can lend you some."

ba - The preposition ba (or, in a common variant form, be) indicates limitation or termination, and can modify verb phrases as well as nouns and pronouns.

When ba modifies a noun, pronoun, or noun phrase referring to a person, place or thing, it is usually equivalent to English "as far as" or "over to".

Mungi dem ba Dàkaar.   "He's going as far as Dakar."

When ba modifies a noun, a noun phrase or a verb phrase referring to a specific point in time, it is generally equivalent to English "until".

ñun, di na ñu fi toog ba dimaans.   "We'll wait here until Sunday:"
ñun, di na ñu fi toog ba mu ñéw.   "We'll wait here until he arrives."

33.   Ci + Noun Prepositional Phrases; and the Verb nekk "to be"

It was stated in Grammar Note 32, when the relationship word ci was introduced that it was also possible to convey more specific information about spatial relationships by means of phrases where ci is used in combination with certain nouns. These nouns, and the combinations which they form with ci, are as follows:

	Noun		Prepositional Phrase
digg (bi)	"middle", "center"	ci digg (-u/i)	"in the middle of", "in the midst of"
wet (gi)	"ribs", "side"	ci wet (-u/ i)	"beside", "at the side of", "around", "surrounding"
boor (bi)	"side", "bank"	ci boor (-u/i)	"beside", at the side of", around", "surrounding"
kanam (gi)	"face", "front"	ci kanam (-u/i)	"in front of"
diggënté (bi)	"interval", "distance"	ci diggënté	"in between"
biir (bi)	"stomach", "interior"	ci biir	"inside", "into"
biti (bi)	"outside", "exterior"	ci biti	"outside", "out of"
kow (gi)	"top"	ci kow	"on top of", "over"
suuf (si)	"ground", "bottom;	ci suuf	"under", "down", "at the bottom of"
ginnaaw (gi)	"back"	ci ginnaaw	"behind", "in back of"
(or a variant gennaaw)			

The (-u/i) at the end of the prepositional combinations which contain the nouns <u>digg</u>, <u>wet</u>, <u>boor</u> and <u>kanam</u> is a relationship marker (See Grammar Note 4) which is used when the phrases with these nouns are enlarged by the "object" of the prepositional phrase, i.e., this marker is parallel to the English word "of" when the phrase is "in front of the house" instead of simply "in front". The form <u>-u</u> indicates that the noun in the prepositional combination (<u>digg</u>, <u>wet</u>, <u>boor</u> or <u>kanam</u>) is used as a singular, the form <u>-i</u>, that the noun is used as a plural. The singularity or plurality of a noun which is the "object" of the prepositional phrase is indicated by the forms of the determiner used.

As the forms would indicate, there are differences of meaning obtained by the use of singular or plural forms of either the nouns in the prepositional phrase or the nouns or pronouns used as "objects" of the prepositional phrases, just as in English it makes a difference to say "the side of the house", "the sides of the house", or "the sides of the houses". Observe the following Wolof examples:

<u>ci</u> <u>kanam-u</u> <u>kër</u> <u>gi</u>	"in front of the house"
<u>ci</u> <u>kanam-i</u> <u>kër</u> <u>yi</u>	"in front of the houses"
<u>ci</u> <u>wet-u</u> <u>kër</u> <u>gi</u>	"beside the house"
<u>ci</u> <u>wet-i</u> <u>kër</u> <u>gi</u>	"around the house"
<u>ci</u> <u>wet-i</u> <u>kër</u> <u>yi</u>	"at the sides of the houses"
<u>ci</u> <u>boor-u</u> <u>kër</u> <u>gi</u>	"beside the house"
<u>ci</u> <u>boor-i</u> <u>ker</u> <u>gi</u>	"at the sides of the house"
<u>ci</u> <u>boor-i</u> <u>kër</u> <u>yi</u>	"at the sides of the houses"
<u>ci</u> <u>digg-u</u> <u>gaal</u> <u>gi</u>	"in the middle of the boat"
<u>ci</u> <u>digg-i</u> <u>gaal</u> <u>yi</u>	"in the middle of each of the boats"
<u>ci</u> <u>digg-u</u> <u>gaal</u> <u>yi</u>	"in the midst of the boats"

When the prepositional phrases with the nouns other than the four mentioned above are used with "objects", no relationship marker is necessary:

<u>ci</u> <u>biir</u> <u>ker</u> <u>gi</u>	"in the house"
<u>ci</u> <u>kow</u> <u>taabul</u> <u>bi</u>	"on the table"
<u>ci</u> <u>diggënté</u> <u>Seen</u> <u>ag</u> <u>Faal</u>	"between Séne and Fall"
<u>ci</u> <u>biti</u> <u>kër</u> <u>yi</u>	"outside the houses"
<u>ci</u> <u>suuf</u> <u>tund</u> <u>bi</u>	"at the foot of the hill"
<u>ci</u> <u>ginnaaw</u> <u>jàngalekat</u> <u>bi</u>	"behind the teacher"

When the object of <u>ci</u> "in" or <u>ci</u> <u>biir</u> "in", "inside" is the name of a city or a country, the <u>ci</u> usually drops out:

<u>Màngi</u> <u>dëkk</u> <u>biir</u> <u>Dàkaar</u>.	"I live in (downtown) Dakar."
<u>Mungi</u> <u>Fàrans</u>.	"He is in France."
<u>Ndar</u> <u>la</u> <u>ñu-y</u> <u>liggéeyé</u>.	"We work in St. Louis."

The verb <u>nekk</u> "to be" is often used in sentences with adverbial expression such as those above with <u>ci</u>. <u>Nekk</u> is not found in constructions parallel to every English expression in which "be" is used, but where <u>nekk</u> is used in Wolof, it is generally parallel to some use of "be" in English. <u>Nekk</u> is normally used in past and future statements, in present-time questions and in certain subordinate clauses. It can also be used in present-time statements, but in most cases it is adequate to use <u>angi</u> without <u>nekk</u>, e.g.:

<u>Màngi</u> <u>fii</u>.	"I'm here."
<u>Ku</u> <u>fi</u> <u>nekk</u>?	"Who is here?"
<u>Ñu</u> <u>nekkoon</u> <u>ci</u> <u>nawet</u> <u>gi</u>	"We were in the rainy season."
<u>Bu</u> <u>subaa</u> <u>di</u> <u>na</u> <u>ñ'</u> <u>fi</u> <u>nekk</u>.	"We'll be here tomorrow."

A short form of <u>nekk</u> – <u>ne</u> – will often be heard. The difference is chiefly stylistic:

Ñaata <u>kër-a</u> <u>ne</u> <u>ci</u> <u>boor</u> <u>yi</u>?   "How many houses are around here?"

34.   Interrogative Sentence Structures Requiring "yes" or "no" answers

In Wolof, a statement can be made into a question requiring a "yes" or "no" answer in either of two ways:

1. The sentence, with the same wording as the declarative form, may be said with an interrogative intonation. The main characteristic of this interrogative intonation is a high start. That is, the sentence is begun with a much higher pitch than is normally used for declarative sentences.

This Wolof interrogative intonation is quite different from the corresponding English interrogative intonation, which usually involves a rise in pitch at the end of the sentence. In fact, Wolof declarative sentences often have a high finish, and may accordingly be mistaken for questions by the English speaker, e.g.:

(declarative): <u>Wolof</u> <u>la</u>.   [**--** **_**] or [**--** **¯**]   "He is a Wolof."
(interrogative): <u>Wolof</u> <u>la</u>?   [**¯¯** **_**] or [**¯¯** **-**]   "Is he a Wolof?"

2. Question-indicating words may be used (in which case the intonation is normal). <u>Ndax</u> (roughly "[is it] because...") and <u>eske</u> (from French <u>est-ce-que</u>) simply make a sentence interrogative. The questioner has no preconceived notions about what the answer will be. Therefore verbs in questions with <u>ndax</u> are almost invariably in the affirmative form. A negative verb would indicate a presumed answer, and thus call for the use of <u>mbaa</u>, e.g.:

<u>Ndax</u> <u>wolof</u> <u>la?</u>   or   <u>Eske</u> <u>wolof</u> <u>la</u>?   "Is he a Wolof?"

<u>Mbaa</u> is used when the questioner wishes to indicate that an answer of agreement is expected (i.e. an affirmative answer to an affirmative question, a negative answer to a negative question), but that he is not quite sure. This form is more or less parallel to the English question like: "She's here, isn't she?", "You've finished it, haven't you?", "You don't have the money, do you?", "I'm not late, am I?", etc., e.g. <u>Mbaa</u> <u>wolof</u> <u>la</u>? "He's a Wolof, isn't he?"

<u>Xanaa</u> is used in questions which occur to the questioner because he has gotten some idea from the situation; e.g., the questioner sees a person with a certain appearance, and hears the person mention that he has come from Dakar, he speaks Wolof, etc., so the questioner asks <u>Xanaa</u> <u>wolof</u> <u>la</u>?   "That means he's a Wolof?". The verb after <u>xanaa</u> is usually used with <u>la</u> (the complement predicator [See Grammar Note 5]), <u>a</u> (the subject predicator [See Grammar Note 6]) or <u>da</u> (See Grammar Note 2) because by context there will be focus on one part or another of the sentence.

(The use of the words <u>mbaa</u> or <u>xanaa</u> is not necessarily an indication that the best English translation of a Wolof sentence introduced by one of them is a question. Often other ways of expressing the same degree of uncertainty might be more appropriate.

<u>Mbaa</u> <u>wóoru</u> <u>na</u>.   "I hope it's safe."
<u>Mbaa</u> <u>doo</u> <u>fa</u> <u>yàgg</u>.   "I hope you won't be there very long."
<u>Xanaa</u> <u>gan</u> <u>nga</u> <u>fi</u>.   "You must be a stranger here."
<u>Xanaa</u> <u>rëbbkat</u> <u>yëpp,</u> <u>da</u> <u>ñu</u> <u>am</u> <u>fetal</u>.   "I suppose all the hunters have guns."
<u>Xanaa</u> <u>da</u> <u>nga</u> <u>dof</u>.   "You've got to be crazy.')

35.   The Words <u>kon</u> and <u>koon</u>

     The word <u>kon</u> is similar in meaning and grammatical function to the English conjunction "then", as in "If you go, then I'll go too.". Like the English "then", Wolof <u>kon</u> is often used to introduce conditional clauses. In such clauses, some varieties of Wolof mark the verb as conditional with a special word, <u>koon</u>, although in the Dakar dialect this marker is seldom used. Thus the Dakar Wolof sequence ...<u>kon</u> <u>du</u> <u>mel</u> <u>nii</u>   "then it wouldn't look like this" would more likely be ...<u>kon</u> <u>du</u> <u>mel</u> <u>koon</u> <u>nii</u> in some other dialects.

36.   Word Formation: the Noun Former ...<u>kat</u>

     In English, words with related meanings often are formed by means of affixes added to a base word or stem. These affixes can be prefixes (such as "pre-", "re-", "dis-", etc.) or suffixes (such as "-ing", "-er", "-ment", etc.). The derived word often belongs to a different grammatical category than the base word, e.g. "teach", a verb, with the addition of a suffix becomes "teacher", a noun.

     The same device is employed to form derivatives in Wolof, usually with suffixes.

     Wolof nouns ending in ...<u>kat</u> are usually words formed by the addition of that suffix to a verb base. The meaning of the form is equivalent to the English suffix "-er", "one who performs the action specified by the verb base". The reference is not necessarily to a member of a profession, but merely to the doer of some action.

<u>jàngale</u>	"to teach"	<u>jàngalekat</u> <u>bi</u>	"the teacher"
<u>wulli</u>	"to tan (leather)"	<u>wullikat</u> <u>bi</u>	"the tanner"
<u>jaay</u>	"to sell"	<u>jaaykat</u> <u>bi</u>	"the merchant"
<u>togg</u>	"to cook"	<u>toggkat</u> <u>bi</u>	"the cook"
<u>ñaw</u>	"to sew"	<u>ñawkat</u> <u>bi</u>	"the tailor"
<u>tël</u>	"to jump"	<u>tëlkat</u> <u>bi</u>	"the jumper"

37.   Word Formation: the Verbal Suffix ...<u>aat</u>

     The addition of the suffix ...<u>aat</u> to a verb results in a modification of the meaning in generally the same way that the meanings of English verbs are modified by the English prefix "re-", "to perform again the action specified by the verb base". When the verb ends in a consonant, the form of the suffix is ...<u>aat</u>, e.g.:

<u>ñów</u>	"to come"	<u>ñówaat</u>	"to come again"
<u>wax</u>	"to speak, say"	<u>waxaat</u>	"to say again, repeat"
<u>clef</u>	"to do"	<u>defaat</u>	"to do again, re-do"
<u>jàng</u>	"to read"	<u>jàngaat</u>	"to read again, re-read"
<u>for</u>	"to pick up"	<u>foraat</u>	"to pick up again"

     When the verb ends in a vowel, however, the form of the suffix is usually ...<u>waat</u>.

<u>fattewaat</u>	"to forget again"
<u>indiwaat</u>	"to bring again"
<u>delluwaat</u>	"to return again"