

THE DIFFERENT SUFFIXATIONS OF PULAAR DERIVATIONS (PART 3) (TOROUBE AND JALONKE DIALECTS)

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Derivations of the two pulaar dialects

In this part of our work, we will talk about different kinds of Pulaar derivations such as: affixations, suffixations, verbal suffixations, noun suffixations or even adjectival derivations or again infixations, though, our study here will be more laid emphasis on Pulaar verbs of the two dialects in question.

The inventory different types or forms of Pulaar derivations can be exhaustive.

As quoted above, the types of Pulaar derivations are numerous owing to the richness that the language begets in terms of meaningful units or meaningless units. In fact, we tempt to give a very short of the list of Pulaar types of derivations.

Verbal derivations also known as verbal extentions are directly connected to stems so that they can have property to expand the semantic field of them.

Knowing that, Pulaar language is among aspectual language, its system of derivation is very large however it would be sensical to frame the diverse and various contexts in which they are used as testified the following samples from Yoro Sylla's book entitled "*SYNTAXE PEULE*" published in 1993:

Toroobe

a. "mi tay-*ii* teew ngu"

I cut ASP meat DET

"I cut the meat"

- b. “mi tay-r-ii teew ngu paaka”
I cut INST ASP meat DET knife
“I cut the meat with the knife”

Jalonke

- a. “mi tay-ii teew ngu¹”
I cut ASP meat DET
“I cut the meat”

- b. “mi tayi-r-ii teew ngu¹ labi”
I cut INST ASP meat DET knife
“I cut the meat with a knife” (as
info)

- b'. mi tayi-r-ii teew ngu¹ e labi
I cut INST ASP meat DET PP knife
“I cut the meat with the knife”
(ind ctxt)

- b". “mi tayi-r-ii teew ngu¹ e labi ki¹
I cut INST ASP meat DET PP
knife DET
“I cut the meat with the knife” (more
precise)

On these above examples, we are compulsory to admit that there are more numerous sentences in Jalonkian language than in Toroobian one. M. A. Durand said that "the golden rule of comparatism is a sovereign principle in linguistics. To determine the degree of kinship between two and more languages; it is necessary to give much less importance to the resemblance or to the difference of the words than to the grammatical facts. The inflection - both nouns and of the verbs, the march, the pace of the sentence, which is like the mould into which a people throw

its thought, have something stable, I was going to say invariable".

"La règle d'or du comparatisme est en linguistique un principe souverain. Pour déterminer le degré de parenté entre deux ou plusieurs langues, il faut bien moins donner d'importance à la ressemblance ou à la différence des mots qu'aux faits grammaticaux. La flexion - tant du nom que du verbe -, la marche, l'allure de la phrase, qui est comme le moule ou un peuple jette sa pensée, ont quelque chose de stable, j'allais dire d'invariable"

Keeping a very close eye on the above examples, we are fully making a bee line for admitting that both dialects use *instrumentals* to achieve or to express many objectives like **means** on which we can lean on to attain our purpose as shown by our examples above, **manner** which is the way we had managed what we are intended to and at last, **locative** which is based on a place we are referring to. The instances below will show us plainly the important functions of using *instrumentals*:

Illustrations

Toroobe

a. "mi yah-**ii** wuro"
I go ASP town
"I go to the town"

b. "mi yah-**r-ii** seese wuro"
I go INST ASP slowly town
"I go to the town slowly"

Jalonke

a. "mi yeh-**i** ka saare"
I go ASP dir town
"I go to the town"

b. “mi yah-**r-ay** doy ka saare”

I go INST ASP slowly dir town
“I go to the town slowly”

On this context above, both Pular dialects has the same letter (-r-) for describing their actions. Known as an instrument, people of both areas, however, did not use the same aspect, the strong one in Toroobe (-ii-) and (-ay-) in Jalonke but both verbalizing aspects mean the same in so far as, they express ongoing actions to a precise place (wuro) and (saare).

Our sentences reveal how Pular vocabulary is different as the way a Jalonkian speaker understands, the word (wuro) is corresponding to a (village) not (town) at all. They also reveal the different structure of Pular sentences as shown by the presence of (ka) in Jalonke and totally absent in Toroobe.

Toroobe

a. “Aali diw-iima”

PN jump ASP
“Ali has jumped”

b. “Aali diw-r-iima dow”

PN jump INST ASP high
“Ali has jumped from the top”

Jalonke

a. “Aali diw-i”

PN jump ASP
“Ali has jumped”

b. “Aali diw-r-ii dow”

PN jump INST ASP high
“Ali has jumped from the top”

When analysing the Pular sentences, we should shed light on the great difference that exists in their reselective aspect which forcibly indicates opposite meanings (iima) which corresponds to (i) but (iima) in Jalonke has another meaning this one Pular aspect means that the actor has jumped over someone else. Therefore, Pulaar aspects are not only numerous but they are also interchangeable pertaining to the dialects we are referring to.

Toroobe

a. “mi sow-ii comci ʔi”
I Verb ASP cloth ART
“I have folded the cloth”

b. “mi sow-t-ii comci ʔi”
I Verb INV ASP ART
“I have unfolded the cloth”

Jalonke

a. “mi sow-ii co¹ci ʔi¹”
I Verb ASP cloth ART
“I have folded the cloth”

b. “mi sow-t-ii co¹ci ʔi¹”
I Verb INV ASP ART
“I have unfolded the cloth”

In the examples above, the very pertinent aspect is the process of Pulaar inversion which advocates that the possibility to maintain the verb itself so as to add (**t**) suffix to give the opposite meaning. Here, we need not put the negative word separately as we have it in English (**not**) or (**ne...pas**) in French.

The repetitive suffix is homophonous with the separative suffix, but is less restricted in its distribution than the separative suffix. It appears that virtually any verb can have a repetitive form. Those verb roots that can take the separative suffix have

homophonous forms with repetitive meanings; for example, “mi ha $\pm\pm$ -it-ii \pm oggol ngol” can mean either (I untied the rope) or (I tied the rope again) according to Toroobian dialect contrary to the Jalonkian one they just have one possible meaning.

In a broad way, we emphasize, our interest of enlarging Pulaar extensions, on Mary Paster’s article where she makes clear what Arnott has itemized about different derivations that exist in Pulaar that of specially the Gombe Fula and Toroobe dialects.

A. The verb suffixes of the two dialects

Arnott lists nineteen verb extensions in Pulaar generally.

Toroobe dialect

Suffixes	Pulaar	English meaning
-Denominative (DEN)	fur- ² -a	be grey
-t Reversible (REV)	taar- t -a	untie
-t Repetitive (REP)	soor- t -o	sell again
-t Reflexive (REF)	ndaar- t -o	look at oneself
-t Retaliative (RET)	jal- t -o	laugh at ... in turn
-t Intensive (INT)	yan- t -a	fall heavily
-d Associative (ASS)	nast- id -a	enter together
-d Comprehensive (COM)	janng- id -a	read, learn all/together
-n Causative (CAU)	woy- n -a	cause to cry
-r Modal (MOD)	\pm e mahi- r -i i	they built them with
-r Locative (LOC)	'o yiw- r -ii	he came from
-an Dative	'o wolw- an -ii	he spoke to
-indir Reciprocal	\pm e koomn- indir -ii	they greeted each other
-ootir Reciprocal	\pm e tokk- ootir -i	they followed each other

-kin Simulative	'o wum- kin -o	pretend to be blind
-law Celerative	'o ma - ilaw -ii	he shut . . . quickly
-oy Distantive	yahu wi' - oy e	go and tell them
RED-n Iterative	'o ar-ar- in -ii	he kept coming
RED-tir Iterative- Reciprocal	±e on pii-pii- tir -a	They keep hitting each other

There are a few minor discrepancies between the order that Arnott lists on and the order that is revealed in the examples he provides throughout the grammar, so we have adjusted the ordering of items in the list to reflect the ordering found in the examples none of the changes affects the consonantal suffixes that are of particular interest. Each of the consonantal suffixes is discussed in more detail below.

Jalonke dialect

Suffixes	Pulaar	English meaning
-Denominative (DEN)	fur- <u>2</u> -a	be grey
-t Reversible (REV)	taari- <u>t</u> -a	untie
-t Repetitive (REP)	soor- <u>t</u> -o	get out from
-t Reflexive (REF)	ndaari- <u>t</u> -o	look at oneself
-t Retaliative (RET)	jali- <u>t</u> -o	laugh at oneself
-t Intensive (INT)	yani- <u>t</u> -a	fall again
-d Associative (ASS)	naati- <u>d</u> -a	enter together
-d Comprehensive (COM)	janngi- <u>d</u> -a	learn together
-n Causative (CAU)	woyi- <u>n</u> -a	have sb cried
-r Modal (MOD)	±e mahi- <u>r</u> -i i	they built them with
-r Locative (LOC)	'o iw- <u>r</u> -ii	he came from
-an Dative	'o wowl- <u>an</u> -ii	he spoke to
-ndir Reciprocal	±e koomn- <u>indir</u> -ii	they greeted each other

-ootir Reciprocal	±e tokk- ootir -i	they followed each other
-kin Simulative	'o wumi ¹ - kin -o	pretend to be blind
-law Celerative	'o ma - ilaw -ii	he shut . . . quickly
-oy Distantive	yahu wi' ¹ - oy ±e	go and tell them
RED-n Iterative	'o ari-ari- n -ii	he kept coming
RED-tir Iterative-Reciprocal	±e o ¹ pii-pii- tir -a	They keep hitting each other

On keeping a close eye on Toroobe chart, Arnott does not mention in his list above all various Pulaar suffixes consequently, there are not practically any great difference except some suffixes' aspects on the below: directiveness,

Arnott uses the meaning scope to define some of his suffixes such as the comprehensive suffix, the benefactive as quoted Yero Sylla in his book *“Syntaxe Peule”* and many other Pulaar suffixes.

1. The Denominative Suffix

The denominative -suffix generally attaches not to verb roots but to adjectival roots. The result is a verb stem to which any number of verbal suffixes may attach. The -suffix invariably occurs immediately after the root, which is unsurprising since the other suffixes to be discussed below attach only to verb stems; the -suffix must therefore attach first to an adjectival root, converting it into a verb stem suitable to host verbal extensions. Some examples of the -suffix are provided below.

Illustrations

Toroobe

Toroobe	English	DEN	English
fur	Grey	fur- ² -a	be grey
cel	healthy	cel- l -a	be healthy

nete	yellow	neti- <u>n</u> -a	be yellow
barka	blessing	barki- <u>n</u> -a	be blessed
sembe	strength	sembi- <u>n</u> -a	be strong
mere	in vain	meri- <u>n</u> -a	be worthless

Jalonke

Jalonke	English	DEN	English
fur ² i	Grey	fur- ² -a	be grey
sell <i>i</i>	healthy	sel- ¹ -a	be healthy
nete	yellow	neti- <u>n</u> -a	be yellow
barke	blessing	barki- ² -a	be blessed
tii ² i	strength	tii- ² -a	be strong
mere	in vain	meri- <u>n</u> -a	be worthless

By analyzing the three tables above, we bail out some differences in words like (nete), (sell*i*), (tii²i) and the slight modification on the word (barka) the change we found in Jalonkian dialect (barke) the central vowel (a) became the central vowel (e).

In Jalonkian dialect, we note the changes on vowels which all became in denominative suffix the central vowel (a) as shown in the following: (i) became (a), (e) became (a). There are different stems to which many suffixes are added in Pular language.

2. The -t suffixes in Pulaar

Arnott lists five different verbal extensions whose basic shape is /-t/. One issue that arises when sets of homophonous extensions are considered is how to determine what constitutes a separate morpheme. Each of the /-t/ suffixes has at least a slightly different meaning, though some of their meanings overlap. Arnott's basis for distinguishing these suffixes is not only semantic, but also phonological: three of the (-t) suffixes

(reversive, epetitive, and intensive) are reported to have -ut allomorphs in addition to -t and -it, while the reflexive and retaliative have only (-t) and (-it).

a. The Reversive -t suffix

According to Arnott, the Reversive suffix causes the extended stem to have a meaning opposite that of the root, as shown in the examples below.

Toroobe

Pulaar	English	Rev -t	English
fi±a	Tie	fi±- <u>t</u> -a	untie
<i>taara</i>	<i>bend</i>	<i>taar-t-a</i>	<i>unbend</i>
ila	hang up	il- <u>t</u> -a	take down
tampa	be tired	tamp- <u>it</u> -a	lose one's tiredness
ca ² a	be difficult	sat- <u>t</u> -a	be easier
ja±o	welcome	ja±- <u>it</u> -a	take leave of

Jalonke

fi±a	Tie	fi±i- <u>t</u> -a / fir- <u>t</u> -a	Untie
<i>Taara</i>	<i>Bend</i>	<i>taar-t-a</i>	<i>unbend</i>
Ila	Flow	ili- <u>t</u> -a	take down
Tampa	get tired	tampi- <u>t</u> -a	lose one's tiredness
<i>sa²a</i>	<i>nothing left</i>	<i>sat-t-a</i>	<i>be difficult/be easier</i>
ja±o	Welcome	ja±±i- <u>t</u> -a	take leave of

The reversive allomorphs are (-t, -it, and -ut).

In both dialects, we notice that in word (sa²a), the regressive influence of (t) comes to disappear the imploding sound for being replaced by the double or strong consonant (tt) in pronunciation to give the opposite meaning. Though, we must

underline the meaning of (satta) can remain “be difficult” in Jalonke according to the way it is pronounced when it is weakly one.

b. The Repetitive -t suffix

This suffix denotes repetition of an action. Examples are shown below.

Illustrations

Toroobe

Verbs	English	Rep-t	English
lamda	Ask	lamd- <u>it</u> -o	ask again
rema	Hoe	rem- <u>t</u> -o	do a second hoeing
yeeya	Sell	yeey- <u>t</u> -o	sell gain
wi'a	Say	wii- <u>t</u> -o	say again or repeat
fiya	Hit	fiy- <u>t</u> -o or fii- <u>t</u> -o	hit again
fu ² a	begin	fu ² - <u>it</u> -o	begin again

Jalonke

Verbs	English	Rep-t	English
landa	Ask	landi- <u>t</u> -o	ask again
rema	Hoe	remi- <u>t</u> -o	do a second hoeing
yeeya	Sell	yeeyi- <u>t</u> -o	sell again
wi'a	Say	wii- <u>t</u> -o	say again or repeat
fiya	Hit	piyi- <u>t</u> -o	hit again
fu ² a	Begin	fu ² i- <u>t</u> -o	begin again

The repetitive allomorphs are (-t, -it, and -ut). We note that these are the exact same allomorphs as listed for the reversive above. Furthermore, there is semantic overlap between the two suffixes, so that there are several instances where the identity of the suffix is ambiguous even when the translation of the utterance is known.

c. The Reflexive -t suffix

The Reflexive -t is an argument structure-changing suffix that reduces the total number of arguments of the verb by one, such that the subject performs the action on himself/herself or for his/her own benefit. Examples are shown below.

Illustrations

Toroobe

Pular	English	Refl-t	English
Ndaara	look at	ndar- <u>t</u> -o	look at oneself
Wara	Kill	war- <u>t</u> -o	kill oneself
ta ³ / ₄ a	Cut	ta ³ / ₄ - <u>it</u> -o	cut oneself
Nana	Hear	nan- <u>t</u> -o	hear oneself
Jala	laugh at	jal- <u>it</u> -o	laugh at oneself
Yima	Sing	yim- <u>t</u> -o	sing to oneself

Jalonke

Verbs	English	Refl-t	English
Ndaara	look at	ndaari- <u>t</u> -o/ndaar- <u>t</u> -o	look at oneself
Wara	Kill	war- <u>t</u> -o/wari- <u>t</u> -o	kill oneself
ta ³ / ₄ a	Cut	ta ³ / ₄ i- <u>t</u> -o	cut oneself
Nana	Hear	nani- <u>t</u> -o	hear oneself
Jala	laugh at	jali- <u>t</u> -o	laugh at oneself
Yima	Sing	yimi- <u>t</u> -o	sing to oneself

Of both dialects we note that the Reflexive has the allomorphs (-**t**) and (-**it**) depending on the verb in question. We notice as seen above the repetitive suffix just after the allomorphs (-**t**) and (-**it**) the vowel (**o**) is followed but as the matter of fact any Pulaar vowel can be placed there, predominantly (**a** or **i**).

d. The Retaliative -t suffix

When added to a verb stem, this suffix indicates that an action is done to someone else in retaliation, as seen in the examples below.

Toroobe

Verbs	English		Ret-t	English
Ndaara	look at		ndaar- <u>t</u> -o	look at...in turn
Jala	laugh at		jal- <u>t</u> -o	laugh at...in turn
Fooa	Pull		foo- <u>t</u> -o	pull...in turn
Lata	Kick		lat- <u>it</u> -o	kick back
Hua	abuse		hu- <u>t</u> -o	abuse in turn
Fiya	Hit		fii- <u>t</u> -o or fiy- <u>t</u> -o	hit...back

Jalonke

Verbs	English		Ret-t	English
ndaara	look at		ndaari- <u>t</u> -o	look at...in turn
jala	laugh at		jali- <u>t</u> -o	laugh at...in turn
fooa	Pull		foo- <u>t</u> -o	pull...in turn
lata	Kick		lati- <u>t</u> -o	kick back
hua	Abuse		hui- <u>t</u> -o	abuse in turn
piya	Hit		pii- <u>t</u> -o or piyi- <u>t</u> -o	hit...back

The retaliative has the allomorphs -t and -it in Pulaar verbal extensions of both sides of our dialect. A comparison of these examples with those found in the preceding sections indicates that in some cases, the same verb root may have more than one of the (-t) suffixes affixed to it, in some cases resulting in a single phonetic form with multiple possible meanings. For instance, the form ndaar-t-o may have the reflexive meaning (**look at oneself**) or the retaliative meaning (**look at . . . in turn**). Similarly, (fii-t-o) or (fiyi-t-o) may have the repetitive meaning (**hit again**) or the Retaliative meaning (**hit . . . back**).

e. The Intensive -t suffix

This suffix indicates completeness, severity, intensity, as shown in the examples below.

Illustrations

Toroobe

Verbs	English	Int-t	English
foo ² a	Pull	foo- <u>t</u> -a	pull tight
sa ² a	be hard, be difficult	sa- <u>t</u> -a	be very hard, be very difficult
Yana	Fall	yan- <u>t</u> -a	fall heavily
Majja	get lost	majj- <u>it</u> -a	get completely lost
Daro	Stand	dar- <u>t</u> -o	stand firm
Lamda	Ask	lamd- <u>it</u> -a	Interrogate

Jalonke

Verbs	English	Int-t	English
poo ² a	Pull	poo ² i- <u>t</u> -a	pull tight
sa ² a	be hard, be difficult	sa ² - <u>t</u> -a	be very hard, be very difficult
Yana	Fall	yan- <u>t</u> -a	fall heavily
Majja	get lost	majji- <u>t</u> -a	get completely lost
Daro	Stand	dar- <u>t</u> -o	stand firm
Landa	Ask	landi- <u>t</u> -o	interrogate

The intensive in (t) has the allomorphs (-t,) (-it), and (-ut). Again, a comparison with previous examples shows that at least some roots are compatible with other (-t) suffixes in addition to the intensive: (**foo²a**) “pull” also takes the retaliative suffix, while (**lamda**) or (**landa**) “ask” takes the repetitive.

3. The -d suffixes in Pulaar

Arnott lists another set of homophonous suffixes, the associative and comprehensive -d suffixes. Since both suffixes have the same set of allomorphs (-d, -id, -ud, -od), they cannot be distinguished phonologically. Both suffixes can attach to any verb in our dialects. Arnott distinguishes the comprehensive from the associative based on their syntactic context: The comprehensive occurs with prepositional phrases introduced by ('e) meaning (with) or sometimes (and) according to the context, while the Associative occurs with (fuu or fow or even fof) meaning (all) added to the subject or object (1970). The weak evidence for a distinction between these suffixes, in combination with their semantic similarity, suggests that these may really be a single suffix, which we will claim is the case in our two Pulaar dialects.

a. The Associative (-d) suffix in Pulaar

The associative suffix indicates that something will produce together or in company. Examples are shown below.

Illustrations

Toroobe

Verbs	English	Ass -d	English
Wara	Kill	war- d -a	kill in company
joo ² o	sit down	joo ² o- d -o	settle together
Yaha	Go	yaa- d -a	go together
wa ² a	Do	waa- d -a	do together
Wolwa	Speak	wol- d -a	speak with
Nasta	Enter	nasd- id -a	enter together

Jalonke

Verbs	English	Ass -d	English
Wara	Kill	war- <u>d</u> -a	kill in company
joo ² o	sit down	joo ² o- <u>d</u> -i	settle together
Yaha	Go	yaa- <u>d</u> -a	go together
wa ² a	Do	wa ² i- <u>d</u> -a	do together
Wowla	speak	wowli- <u>d</u> -a	speak with
Naata	enter	naati- <u>d</u> -a	enter together

b. The Comprehensive (-d) suffix in Pulaar

The comprehensive suffix indicates the totality or completeness of the subject or object. Examples are shown below.

Toroobe

Verbs	English	Comp -d	English
Nyaama	Eat	nyaam- <u>d</u> -a	eat up completely
ha±a	Tie	ha±- <u>id</u> -a	tie up all
Winnda	write	winnd- <u>id</u> -a	write all
Yara	Drink	yar- <u>d</u> -a	drink up completely

Jalonke

Verbs	English	Comp -d	English
Nyaama	Eat	nyaami- <u>d</u> -a	eat up completely
ha±a	Tie	ha±±i- <u>d</u> -a	tie up all
Winnda	Write	winndi- <u>d</u> -a	write all
Yara	Drink	yari- <u>d</u> -a	drink up completely

4. The Causative (-n) suffix in Pulaar

The causative suffix adds an object to the verb and contributes the meaning (cause to, arrange for, or make) Arnott 1970, as shown in the examples below.

Toroobe

Hula	Fear	hul- <u>n</u> -a	frighten
Jala	laugh	jal- <u>n</u> -a	amuse
Woya	Cry	woy- <u>n</u> -a	cause to cry
Nyaama	eat	nyaam- <u>n</u> -a	feed, give to eat
Hoya	be easy	hoy- <u>n</u> -a	make easy
Wooja	be red	wooj- <u>in</u> -a	reddden
Lugga	be deep	lugg- <u>in</u> -a	deepen

Jalonke

Hula	Fear	hul±i- <u>n</u> -a	Frighten
Jala	Laugh	jal- <u>n</u> -a	Amuse
Woya	Cry	woyi- <u>n</u> -a	cause to cry
Nyaama	Eat	nyammi- <u>n</u> -a	feed, give to eat
Hoya	be easy	hoyi- <u>n</u> -a	make easy
Wojja	be red	wojji- <u>n</u> -a	Redden
Lugga	be deep	luggi- <u>n</u> -a	deepen

The causative has two allomorphs, (-**n** and -**in**), distributed according to the principle discussed above for the distribution of (-**c**, -**vc**) allomorphs for all of the consonantal extensions.

This form even exists in English language symbolized by the scheme of the following: (to make + object + Bare infinitive) or (to have + object + Past participle of the verb) as shown by the instances below.

“I made my car repair” or “I have my car repaired”.

5. The (-r) suffixes in Pulaar

Arnott distinguishes two (-r) suffixes, modal and locative. The modal introduces a noun that is either an instrument or a manner in which an action is done. The locative introduces a noun that is a location in or near which an action is done. Both suffixes

have the same allomorphs (-r, -d, -ir, and -or), and both can attach to any verb. Arnott's basis for distinguishing the two is their meaning difference, but it is not clear why the modal and instrumental meanings were deemed similar enough to be represented by a single modal suffix while the locative was distinguished. It seems plausible to assume that there is only one (-r) suffix in both dialects, which functions as a modal, instrumental, and locative marker.

a. The Modal (-r) suffix

The modal suffix indicates either the manner in which an action is done, or else an instrument with which an action is done. In each case, the addition of this suffix changes the argument structure of the verb such that it supports an additional object. Examples of the Modal suffix are shown below:

Toroobe:

“o ha±-**r-ii** gujjo o ±oggol”
3sg Verb-MOD-ASP thief ART rope
“he tied up the thief with rope”

Jalonke:

“o ha±±i-**r-ii** gujjo o¹ ±oggol”
3sg tie-MOD-ASP ART thief rope
“he tied up the thief with rope”

b. The Locative -r suffix

The locative suffix indicates a location in or near which an action takes place. Examples are shown below (Arnott 1970).

Toroobe

“yiw-**r-ii** funna naange”
come-LOC-ASP east
“came from the east”

Jalonke

“’iw-r-ii funna naange”
come-LOC-ASP east
“came from the east”

Nota: In this part of our doctoral dissertation, we have described affixes of Fuuta Tooro Pulaar and Fuuta Jalon demonstrated how they follow from semantic scope in combination with a partial morphological template. We have shown that the same scope ordering principle applies also to the Gombe Fula dialect described by Arnott (1970) and that Arnott’s proposed fixed (TDNR) ordering template is not a determining factor in affix order in either Fuuta Tooro Pulaar or even in Fuuta Jalon. As was demonstrated in the analysis of suffixes of Fuuta Tooro language and Fuuta Jalon language, affixes need to be able to outrank or override scope-based ordering in some cases; this indicates that there is a place in the grammar for templatic ordering.

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