

## BORROWINGS INTO PULAAR AND THEORIES OF BORROWING

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### *Abstract*

According to many theories of borrowing, borrowed items that may potentially violate the structure of the host language are restructured to conform to the structure of the host language. In general, borrowings from Wolof, Soninke, Arabic, Serer, French and English into Pulaar, a dialect of Fula, can be identified easily because these borrowings tend to be assigned to the "O" class also known as the "Human" class. The Pulaar word "bida" (taboo), borrowed from Arabic, is assigned to the "O" class category. However, many borrowings can be found that do not fall under the "O" class. Contrary to expectations, the word "deftere" (book), borrowed from Arabic, is assigned the "Nde" class category. In addition, borrowings into Pulaar may be "restructured" even though their "original" forms do not violate Pulaar structure. The Arab word "basala" (onion) is restructured into "wasalde" in Pulaar even though it does not violate the structure of Pulaar. Indeed, since "basaale" (stalks) is a Pulaar word, the restructuring of "basala" into "wasalde" is not expected. Furthermore, the restructuring of borrowed items does not always occur when normally expected. Indeed the Fula word "sifaajɪ" (descriptions) appears to violate the initial consonant alternation relating to number as the normally expected form should be "cifaajɪ" or "cifaa". Why do borrowings occur outside the "O" class? Why are borrowings restructured when they are not expected to? Why does restructuring fail to occur when it is expected to? Why doesn't restructuring occur when it is expected to? What other strategies can be used to signal borrowings that occur outside the "O" class? A comprehensive analysis of borrowings into Pulaar addresses these issues and provides a critical assessment of theories of borrowing.

### *Introduction*

Theories of borrowing predict that borrowings into Pulaar will be assigned to the "O" class. These predictions are supported by the fact that, in general, borrowings into Pulaar are assigned to the "O" class as noted by Arnott (1970), Labatut (1983), Noye (1989), Osborn (1993), Sylla (1982). Even though a general consensus exists concerning the general assignment of borrowings to the "O" class, there is little agreement concerning the exclusion of borrowings from the "O" class. According to some observations, the exclusion of certain borrowings from the "O" class is a random phenomenon that cannot be accounted for in a principled manner. Other suggestions indicate that this type of deviation is due to the semantic features of the class category. In other words, a borrowing may be excluded from the "O" class because semantic considerations override the regular assigning process of borrowings to the "O" class. Even though this observation may be supported by data such as "mbabba ba" (donkey), "ngelooba ba" (camel), borrowings assigned to the "Ba" class which includes animals, the assigning of borrowings to other classes does not always follow semantic considerations. Indeed, the assigning of "lajal" (deadline) to the "Ngal" class, "yaakaare" (hope) to the "Nde" class, "faaburu" (toad) to the

“Ndu” class are not dictated by semantic considerations. The adopted analysis shows that the exclusion of certain borrowings from the “human” class and their assignment to other classes is not a random phenomenon. In addition, the analysis challenges views according to which semantic considerations are primarily responsible for the exclusion of borrowings from the “O” class and shows that the inclusion of borrowings into and their exclusion from the “O” class is mainly motivated by initial consonant alternation. The data and arguments presented clearly support the proposed analysis.

Pulaar, the subject of this analysis, is a dialect of Fula, a West Atlantic Branch of the Niger Congo Language Family spoken in Mauritania, Senegal, Mali and the Gambia. Fula is a class language and the number and types of noun classes may vary from one region to another or from one dialect to another. The Pulaar dialect under investigation has 21 noun classes as illustrated in (1)

1)

*SINGULAR*

- a) “O” class includes human referents and loan words
- b) “Ba” class includes animals
- c) “ɗam” class includes liquids, abstract nouns, mass nouns
- d) “ɗum” class includes borrowed words without a suffix. It is also considered a neuter class
- e) “Ka” class includes various types of objects, abstract nouns
- f) “Kal” class includes liquids in relatively small quantities
- g) “Ki” class includes body parts, plants, grass, abstract nouns
- h) “Ko” class includes body parts, plants, grass
- i) “Nde” class includes objects with certain shapes
- j) “Ndi” class includes uncountables, male animals and birds, augmentatives
- k) “Ndu” class includes cylindrical and circular objects
- l) “Ngal” class includes body parts, birds, trees and plants and their parts, augmentatives
- m) “Nge” class includes cattle, celestial nouns, abstract nouns
- n) “Ngeɓ” class includes singular diminutives
- o) “Ngo” class includes various objects, animals, abstract nouns
- p) “Ngol” class includes long thin entities, animals, nouns of action
- q) “Ngu” class includes insects, worms, fish, animals, collective and abstract nouns

*PLURAL*

- r) “Be” class includes human plurals
- s) “ɗe” class includes animals, objects
- t) “ɗi” class includes animals, objects
- u) “Kon/Koñ” class includes plural diminutives

Even though some overlap can be observed across certain classes, a somewhat systematic assignment of nouns to certain classes is obtained. In general, borrowings into Pulaar originate from languages such as French, Arabic, Wolof, Bambara, English, Berber, Soninke and other Mande languages. In general, borrowings from these languages are assigned to the “O” class as illustrated in (2)

2)			
Borrowing	Origin	Gloss	
aduna (o)	Arabic	"world"	
asamaan (o)	Arabic	"sky"	
bituk (o)	French	"shop"	
bal (o)	French	"ball"	
kastiloor (o)	French	"frying pan"	
geese (o)	Mande	"weaving materials"	
hurke (o)	Mande	"saddle"	
kaani (o)	Wolof	"red pepper"	
kaayit (o)	Wolof	"sheet of paper"	

Contrary to expectations and predictions, other borrowings do not occur in the "O" class. Actually, various borrowings occur in other classes. The data in (3) illustrates borrowings that occur in the "Nde" class.

3)				
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang	Form	Gloss
wasalde (nde)	Arabic	"basala"		onion
deeficere (nde)	Wolof	"deefic"		small shop
fatareere (nde)	Mande			
harfeere (nde)	Arabic	"al-harf"		letter
haayre (nde)	Arabic	"hajar"		stone
hunde (nde)	Serer	"kin"		clan
hoodere (nde)	Serer	"hoor"		star
saabunde (nde)	Arabic	"saabuun"		soap
sibre (nde)	Arabic			measurement
teemedere (nde)	Berber			hundred
wakande (nde)	Wolof			trunk
yaakaare (nde)	Wolof	"yaakaar"		hope

In addition to the "Nde" class, borrowings may also occur in the "Ndu" class as illustrated in (4).

4)				
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang	Form	Gloss
boleeru (ndu)	Mande			room
faaburu (ndu)	Serer	"faab"		toad
fittaandu (ndu)	Wolof	"fit"		soul

Borrowings can also occur in the "Ngal" class as in (5).

5)				
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang	Form	Gloss
alluwal (ngal)	Arabic	"allawh"		writing tablet
asakal (ngal)	Arabic	"azzakkaat"		tithe
dutal (ngal)	Serer	"tud"		vulture
lajal (ngal)	Arabic	"al-ajl"		deadline

Aside from the "Nde", "Ndu" and "Ngal" classes, borrowings may be assigned to the Ngu class. The data in (6) exemplifies such borrowings.

6)			
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang Form	Gloss
mbaalu (ngu)	Serer	"mbaal"	sheep
keefeeru (ngu)	Arabic	"kufi"	transgression
lungu (ngu)	Serer	"lip"	fish
malu (ngu)	Arabic	"maal"	fortune
molu (ngu)	Serer/Wolof	"mol"	baby animal
mbiru (ngu)	Mande		woven reed

Borrowings can also occur in the "Ngo" class as illustrated by the data in (7)

7)			
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang Form	Gloss
asko (ngo)	Arabic		tithe
daago (ngo)	Mande		mat
habbiraango (ngo)	Arabic	"takbir"	prayer beginning
holfo (ngo)	Serer	"kolof"	spoon
morso (ngo)	French	"morceau"	piece of fabric
sorbo (ngo)	Arabic		visit for pleasure

Furthermore, borrowings into Fula can also be assigned to the "Ba" class as exemplified by the data in (8)

8)			
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang Form	Gloss
mbabba (ba)	Wolof	"mbaam"	donkey
ngelooaba (ba)	Arabic via Wolof	"jamal"	camel
kooba (ba)	Serer	"koob"	antelope
ñiwa (ba)	Serer	"ñiik"	elephant

The data in (8) appear to provide some support to the assumption according to which semantic considerations determine the assignment of borrowings outside the "O" class.

Finally, borrowings into Fula can also occur in the "Ka" class as illustrated by the data in (9)

9)			
Borrowing	Origin	Donor Lang Form	Gloss
cakka (ka)	Wolof	"cakk"	necklace
lampa (ka)	French	"lamp"	lamp
tata (ka)	Wolof		wall
tiba (ka)	Mande		round house
wana (ka)	Soninke		sheath

Two observations can be made about the data in (2) through (9). First, many borrowings are excluded from the "O" class. Second, borrowings may be assigned to various classes. In what follows, an analysis is proposed that accounts for these so-called "problematic" cases. Since the

analysis rests on initial consonant alternation, a general overview of initial consonant alternation is provided.

### Consonant alternation

The consonant alternation relevant to this analysis refers to the alternation of initial consonants due to number distinctions. The general features of initial consonant alternation (Sylla, 1982) and examples illustrating this alternation are provided in (10)

10a)

sing	f	s	h	r	w	ʔ	y
					\   /		
plur	p	c	k	d	b	g	ɟ
plur dim	p	c	k	nd	mb	ng	ɲj

The data in (10b) illustrate the alternation chart in (10a)

10b)

Singular	Plural	Plur dim	Gloss	
faɕo	paɕe	paɕon	shoe /s	little shoes
sekko	cekke	cekkon	woven reed /s	little woven reeds
haayre	kaaɽe	kaaɽon	stone /s	little stones
rajalde	daɽaale	ndaɽalon	backside /s	little backsides

Unlike other consonants that show a one-way alternation between singular and plural, /w/ and /y/ may have a two-way alternation between singular and plural as illustrated by the data in (11)

11)

Singular	Plural	Plural diminutive	Gloss	
wudere	gude	ngudon	sarong	little sarongs
wowru	boɓɪ	mboɓon	mortar	little mortars
yertere	gerte	ngerton	peanut	tiny peanuts
yeeso	jeese	njeeson	face	little faces

The consonants ɓ, ɗ, ɽ, m, n, ŋ, ñ, l and t do not alternate. The consonant alternation may be motivated by number distinctions as in (12) or distinctions pertaining to diminutive and augmentative considerations as in (13)

12)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
yeeso	jeese	face	faces
wudere	gude	sarong	sarongs

13)

Singular	Diminutive	Augmentative	Gloss		
faɕo	paɕel	paɕal	shoe	little shoe	big shoe"
hello	kellel	kellal	slap	little slap	big slap"

Consonant alternation may fail to occur when normally expected as in (14)

14)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
haala	haalaluujɪ	speech	speeches
haako	haakoojɪ	leaf	leaves
sifaa	sɪfaajɪ	description	descriptions
saan	saanuuɪ	worm	worms
faasko	faaskoojɪ	pubic hair	pubic hair (plural)
faamaamuya	faamamuyaaɪ	understanding	understandings

The initial consonants of the singular forms in (14) are expected to undergo alternation from singular to plural in conformity with the consonant mutation paradigm in (10). This expected alternation, however, does not occur. Instead, the plural is marked by the addition of the -ɪ suffix.

Following these introductory remarks, the next section focuses on the proposed analysis beginning with the conditions that motivate the assignment of borrowings to the "O" class.

#### *Borrowings into the "O" class*

In general, the plural of nominal borrowings into Pulaar is marked either by consonant alternation or the addition of the -ɪ suffix. The plural forms of borrowings that occur in the "O" class are marked by the addition of the -ɪ suffix as in (15).

15)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
aduna (o)	adunaajɪ (ɗɪ)	world	worlds
daabaa (o)	daabaajɪ (ɗɪ)	animal	animals
ɗiɾwaan (o)	ɗiɾwanuuɪ (ɗɪ)	region	regions
gaana (o)	gaanaajɪ (ɗɪ)	handicap	handicaps
geewu (o)	geewuuɪ (ɗɪ)	arena	arenas

In (15), the plural is marked by the addition of the -ɪ suffix. The addition of this suffix leads to the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The forms in (15) did not undergo initial consonant alternation from singular to plural. The data in (15) seem to support the observation according to which a borrowing whose plural is marked by the addition of the -ɪ suffix is assigned to the "O" class. The validity of this suggestion is tested against additional data in (16).

16)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
farilla (o)	farillaajɪ (ɗɪ)	obligation	obligations
mbedda (o)	mbeddaajɪ (ɗɪ)	street	streets
sokla (o)	soklaajɪ (ɗɪ)	need	needs

As illustrated in (10), unlike the forms in (15), the initial consonant of the forms in (16) are normally expected to alternate from singular to plural. Instead, the suffix -ɪ is added. The absence of the expected alternation cannot be attributed solely to the addition of the suffix -ɪ, a fact illustrated later in (18) and (19). The important factor relevant to the argument under

consideration is the absence of alternation between singular and plural forms of the nominal under consideration

The data presented thus far seem to indicate that the absence of consonant alternation and the addition of the -jɪ suffix lead to the assignment of borrowings to the "O" class. In what follows, the adequacy of the observation is tested further against data illustrating the exclusion of borrowings from the "O" class

*Exclusion of Borrowings from the "O" Class*

If the inclusion of borrowings into the "O" class is motivated by the presence of the -jv suffix, the absence of this suffix may be viewed as the motivation for the exclusion of borrowings from the "O" class. The validity of this suggestion is tested against the data in (17)

17)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
wasalde (nde)	basalle (ɗe)	onion	onions
haayre (nde)	kaaŸe (ɗe)	stone	stones
sibre (nde)	ciɓe (ɗe)	measurement	measurements
mbabba (ba)	bamɗi (ɗi)	donkey	donkeys
ngelooɓa (ba)	gelooɗi (ɗi)	camels	camels

In (17), plurality is not marked by the addition of the -jv suffix. In fact, plurality is indicated by initial consonant alternation. The borrowings are excluded from the "O" class. The data in (17) appears to lend support to the observation according to which the absence of the -jv suffix motivates the exclusion of borrowings from the "O" class. This observation is tested against additional data in (18) where number distinctions involve both initial consonant alternation and the addition of the plural suffix -jv

18)

Singular	Plural
harfeere (nde)	karfeeje (ɗe)
haatumeere (nde)	kaatumeeje (ɗe)
fatareere (nde)	patareeje (ɗe)

In (18), both initial consonant alternation and suffixation occur in the plural forms. The borrowing is excluded from the "O" class. The data in (18) do not support the observation according to which the presence of the -jv suffix motivates the inclusion of borrowings into the "O" class. Indeed, despite the presence of the -jv suffix, the borrowings in (18) are excluded from the "O" class. The inadequacy of the above observation is tested further against additional data in (19).

19)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
baagal (ngal)	baage (ɗe)	waterholder	waterholders
boolumbal (ngal)	boolumbe (ɗe)	bird	birds
dutal (ngal)	dute (ɗe)	vulture	vultures
daago (ngo)	daage (ɗe)	mat	mats

In (19), no initial consonant alternation occurs between singular and plural forms. These types of borrowings are excluded from the "O" class. The singular forms being the borrowed forms (Ba, 1977), the anticipated plural forms are already present. Therefore, the need for restructuring does not arise. The validity of the previous generalization is tested against additional data in (20).

20)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
duballeewi (ki)	duballeeji (di)	tree type	tree types
bantijeewi (ki)	bantijeeki (di)	tree type	tree types
sorbo (ngo)	sorbooji (di)	visit	visits
saaño (ko)	saañooji (di)	bran	brans
sago (ngo)	sagooji (di)	wish	wishes
paaka (ka)	paakaaji (di)	knife	knives
wana (ka)	wanaaji (di)	sheath	sheaths

In (20), no initial consonant alternation is involved between singular and plural forms. Plurality in these forms is indicated by the addition of the plural suffix -Jv. Despite the addition of the -Jv suffix, these borrowings are excluded from the "O" class. A number of suggestions can be made concerning the data in (20). One alternative may suggest that the singular forms are the borrowed ones. Their plural is marked by the addition of the -Jv suffix only. Two weaknesses are associated with this alternative. First, this alternative does not account for the failure of consonant alternation to occur to indicate number distinctions. Second, and closely related to the first is why are such borrowings in (20) excluded from the "O" class? Another alternative may suggest that the borrowings entered the language in their actual Pulaar plural forms at least as far as the shape of the root is concerned. Since their normal pluralization process cannot be applied, the -Jv suffix is added. The restructuring of the plural initial consonant into its singular counterpart is not necessary since the expected singular initial consonant is the same as the plural form of the borrowing. This argument is not invalidated by the data in (21) illustrating the alternation of these forms in the plural diminutive.

21)

Plural diminutive	Gloss
nduballon (koñ)	"little tree types"
mbantujon (koñ)	"little tree types"
caañon (koñ)	"little brans"
paakayon (koñ)	"little knives"

This second alternative is not invalidated by the data in (19) whose plural diminutive forms are illustrated in (22).

22)

Plural diminutive	Gloss
mbaagon (koñ)	"little buckets"
nduton (koñ)	"little vultures"
ndaagon (koñ)	"little mats"

The adopted analysis leads to a number of generalizations concerning the exclusion of borrowings from the “O” class. When initial consonant alternation occurs between singular and plural forms, the borrowing is excluded from the “O” class. This observation is supported by the data in (17) and (18). When initial consonant mutation does not occur when normally expected, the borrowing is excluded from the “O” class. This observation is supported by the data in (16) and (20). When the initial consonant of the borrowing cannot mutate, borrowings are excluded from the “O” class. This observation is supported by the data in (19) and (20). The presence of the -jv suffix as the motivation for the inclusion of borrowings into the “O” class is not supported by the data in (16), (18) and (20).

In addition to the exclusion of borrowings from the “O” class, the analysis focuses on the restructuring of borrowings. In the literature on language contact, borrowings are said to be restructured when the structure of the borrowed items violates the syllable structure of the host language. Even though this argument is supported by some facts of Pulaar, borrowings may be restructured when they do not violate Pulaar syllable structure. In this latter case, borrowings, it is argued, are restructured because of the initial consonant alternation system. The analysis of restructuring focuses first on instances motivated by syllable structure and subsequently on those pertaining to initial consonant alternation.

#### *Restructuring due to constraints on syllable structure*

Constraints on Pulaar syllable structure can motivate the restructuring of many borrowed words. The restructuring can result in deletion, epenthesis or mutation. In Pulaar, consonant clusters are allowed only in word medial position (Niang, 1995a). In this particular case, only a sequence of two consonants is allowed where the first consonant in the cluster is more sonorous than the second consonant. The data in (23) illustrate restructuring due to a violation of sonority in a consonant cluster.

23)

Borrowing	Restructured form	Gloss
fajr	fajiri	first morning prayer

In (23), a vowel is inserted between the two consonants as the first consonant in the cluster is less sonorous than the second consonant.

Restructuring can also be observed in (24)

24)

Borrowing	Restructured form	Gloss
mahdi	maadi	construction
fahmu	faamaamuya	understanding
mahmuud	maamuudu	male first name
kaʔba	kaaba	holly site
saʔda	saada	male first name

In (24), both h and ʔ are deleted before a consonant and their deletion results in compensatory lengthening whereby the preceding previously short vowel becomes long. The deletion of h is optional while the deletion of ʔ is compulsory as the glottal stop must be an onset.

Restructuring can also be observed in (25)

25)

Borrowing	Restructured form	Gloss
annyyatu	ʔannyya	intent
annuuru	ʔannoore	brightness

In (25) a glottal stop is inserted in the restructured form due to the presence of the medial geminate that renders the word initial position a weight position (Niang, 1995a). In addition, vowel initial syllables are not preferred in Pulaar and this less favored situation is prevented by the insertion of the glottal stop.

In addition to syllable structure, borrowings may be restructured because of the initial consonant alternation system presented in (10).

#### *Initial Consonant Alternation*

As illustrated in (10), a number of consonants undergo consonant alternation. The type of consonant alternation under consideration here occurs in word initial position. The restructuring of many borrowings follows the regularity in the consonant alternation system.

#### *Singular borrowings*

Singular borrowings are illustrated in (26)

26)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
fatareere (nde)	patareeje (ɗe)	piece	pieces
harfeere (nde)	karfeeje (ɗe)	symbol	symbols
mbabba (ba)	bamɗi (ɗi)	donkey	donkeys

Singular borrowings with alternating consonants in word initial position are restructured in their plural forms in conformity with the consonant alternation system in (10). The validity of this observation is tested against additional data in (27).

27)

Singular borrowing	Plural borrowing	Gloss
daago (ngo)	daage (ɗe)	mat
deftere (nde)	defter (ɗe)	book
baagal (ngal)	baage (ɗe)	bucket
kooba (ba)	koobi (ɗi)	antelope

In (27), no initial consonant alternation occurs between singular and plural forms. If the plural forms are viewed as the borrowed forms, then the singular forms cannot be accounted for as the expected singular forms in (28) are not allowed.

28)

- \*rutal (ngal)
- \*raago (ngo)
- \*waagal (ngal)

- \*reftere (nde)
- \*woolumbal (ngal)
- \*hooba (ba)

Another alternative suggests that the singular forms be the borrowed forms. Since the anticipated plural forms are already present in the singular forms, the need for restructuring does not arise. Therefore, no restructuring occurs. This argument which accounts for the data in (27), is supported by additional data in (29).

29)

Singular	Plural	Gloss	
cakka (ka)	cakkaajɪ (ɗi)	necklace	necklaces
callalal (ngal)	callale (ɗe)	chain	chains
kanjal (ngal)	kanje (ɗe)	gombo	gombo (pl)
kawasal (ngal)	kawase (ɗe)	sock	socks
kellɪ (ki)	kelle (ɗe)	tree type	tree types
kooba (ba)	koobi (ɗi)	antelope	antelope

In (29), no initial consonant alternation occurs between singular and plural forms.

In addition to singular borrowings, plural borrowings can also be found in Pulaar. These forms however, are rare.

#### *Plural borrowings*

The plural forms under consideration are the types that are affected by the restructuring of the initial consonant. Some of these rare forms are illustrated in (30).

30)

Plural	Gloss
basalle (ɗe)	onions
gerte (ɗe)	peanuts

The attribution of plurality to these forms is motivated by three important considerations. First, these forms occur in the (ɗe) class, a plural entity class. Second, the donor language, Wolof (Ba 1977), does not have a singular form to designate a single unit of these forms other than the ones listed in (30). Third, if these borrowings entered Pulaar as singular forms, their restructuring in Pulaar is not expected since their singular form structures do not violate Pulaar structure. Contrary to expectations, however, such forms are restructured as illustrated in (31).

31)

Singular	Plural
wasalde (nde)	basalle (ɗe)
yertere (nde)	gerte (ɗe)

The type of restructuring in (31) is motivated by the initial consonant alternation system in (10). The singular form of /b/ being /w/, the plural form "basalle" is restructured into the singular form 'wasalde'. As to the restructuring of /g/ into its singular counterpart /y/, three options viz /w, ʔ, y/ may be possible forms. The glottal stop cannot occur because it occurs only before a

consonant as an onset Since the borrowing begins with a consonant, the glottal stop cannot occur The consonant /w/ is ruled out because it occurs before a vowel associated with the [+back] feature The exclusion of /ʔ/ and /w/ leave only /y/ as the only possible candidate, thus the mutated consonant in the singular is /y/

### **Conclusion**

The motivation of the above analysis was to account for the exclusion of borrowings outside the "O" class and their restructuring The adopted analysis has shown that the exclusion of borrowings from the "O" class is not a random phenomenon Previous suggestions according to which the addition of the plural suffix -Jv leads to the assignment of borrowings to the "O" class are not supported by an important set of data Even though borrowings assigned to the "O" class mark their plural forms by the addition of the -Jv suffix, many borrowings that take the -Jv suffix are not assigned to the "O" class Data was also presented that show that semantic considerations are not responsible for the exclusion of certain borrowings from the "O" class The adopted analysis which shows that consonant alternation is responsible for the exclusion of borrowings from the "O" class is supported by the data The absence of the expected alternation between singular and plural forms is accounted for by the form of the initial consonant when the borrowing entered Pulaar and whether the form was borrowed as a singular or plural form Theories of borrowing do not provide a satisfactory account of the exclusion of Pulaar borrowings from the "O" class Their concept of integration into the host language cannot account for the borrowings excluded from the "O" class as the assignment of such borrowings does not even follow the semantic features of the classes involved In addition, in many instances, according to theories of borrowing, restructuring is expected only when the structure of the host language are violated in the adoption process This assumption, too, is not supported by instances where restructuring in Pulaar occurred even when the original forms of borrowings do not violate Pulaar structure Furthermore, such theories do not account for why restructuring fails to occur when normally expected

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