

## Appendix

The following is a list of all deverbal nouns with initial mutation that I have identified in Diouf (2003).

<u>noun</u>		<u>verb</u>	
caaf l-	'roasted peanuts'	saaf	'roast'
cafaay l-	'sauce accompanying <i>laax</i> '	saf	'be tasty'
cafka l-	'flavor/taste'	saf	'be tasty'
càngaay l-	'shroud'	sàng	'cover'
cangaay l-	'protective holy water'	sang	'bathe'
cangat l-	'purifying bath'	sang	'bathe'
coow l-	'noise'	soow	'be noisy'
cosaan l-	'tradition/origin'	sos	'originate'
cuuraay l-	'incense'	suur	'smoke'
kaaraange l-	'protection'	aar	'protect'
kemtalaay g/l-	'limit/measure'	yem	'stick to'
kend(aay) l-	'spending the day'	yendu	'spend the day'
kiiraay l-	'protection'	yiir	'protect'
koddaay l-	'clothing (for woman)'	wodd	'dress (a woman)'
ndaag l-	'slow, elegant walk'	daagu	'walk slowly'
ndal l-	'reception (place)'	dal	'arrive (e.g. at an inn)'
ndam l-	'glory'	damu	'glorify'
ndàmpaay l-	'massage'	dàmp	'massage'
ndañ l-	'blow to the head'	dañ	'hit on the head'
ndeete l-	'end'	dee	'die'
ndéey l-	'secret'	déey	'whisper in the ear'
ndéeyoo l-	'whispering things'	déeyoo	'whisper to each other'
ndëgërlaay l-	'support'	dëgër	'be hard/solid'
ndëggu l-	'sole (of foot)'	dëgg	'have one's foot on'
ndem l-	'going'	dem	'go'
ndenceef l-	'reserve'	denc	'keep'
ndend l-	'close friend/neighbor'	dend	'be close to'
ndesit l-	'leftover'	des	'be left'
ndetteel l-	'falling on rear'	detteel	'make s.o. fall on rear'
ndëxënteef l-	'treasure'	dëxëñ	'hide/stow something'
ndigaale g/l-	'relations/ties btw. people'	digg	'be between'
ndigg l-	'hips/waist'	digg	'be between'
ndimmal l-	'help'	dimmali	'help'
ndogu l-	'meal to break fast'	dog	'cut/interrupt'
ndogal l-	'judgment'	dogal	'decide'
ndollent l-	'addition'	dolli	'add'
ndono l-	'inheritance'	donn	'inherit'
ndoorte l-	'beginning'	door	'begin'
ndoxaan l-	'courtship'	dox	'walk'
ngaañ l-	'wrong/injury'	gaañ	'injure'

ngëneel l-	'advantage/merit'	gën	'surpass/be better'
ngërëm l-	'thanks'	gërëm	'thank'
ngiir l-	'removing grain w/ finger'	giiru	'remove grain from stalk w/ finger'
ngistal l-	'exhibition/vanity'	gis	'see'
ngóob l/m-	'harvest'	góob	'harvest'
ngopp l-	'north'	(gopp y-)	'heads'
njaaxaanaay l-	'lying on one's back'	jaaxaan	'lie on one's back'
njam l-	'tattooing session'	jam	'poke/pierce'
njambaan l-	'watery mix of baobab/tamarind'	jamb	'mix'
njambat l-	'grievance'	jambat	'complain continually'
njàngaan l-	'student/apprentice'	jàng	'learn'
njàppu l-	'handle'	jàpp	'seize'
njariñ l-	'usefulness'	jariñ	'be useful for'
njarte l-	'ease of sales'	jar	'cost'
njébbal l-	'offering'	jébbal	'put'
njeexital l-	'ending of an action'	jeex	'be done'
njiglaay l-	'happy outcome'	jig	'be favorable/lucky'
njigtal l-	'good luck charm'	jig	'be favorable/lucky'
njiit l-	'leader'	jiit	'be first/lead'
njong l-	'circumcision ceremony'	jong	'be circumcised'
njudduwaale l-	'innateness'	juddu	'be born'
njuumte l-	'error/fault'	juum	'make a mistake'
càng g/m-	'fat around stomach'	sàng	'cover'
céebo/céebu m-	'first rain of rainy season'	sébbi	'begin to rain'
ciïñ m-	'gums'	siiñ	'show gums'
mba m-	'pardon'	ba	'let'
mbaal m-	'pardon'	baal	'let'
mbàcc m-	'threshing'	bàcc	'thresh'
mbay m-	'cultivation'	bay	'cultivate'
mbëgg m-	'desire'	bëgg	'love/want/like'
mbégte	'happiness'	bég	'be happy'
mbënn m-	'ear piercing'	bënn	'pierce'
mbër m-	'wrestler'	bëre	'wrestle'
mbërëngaan m-	'dung beetle'	bërëñ	'roll'
mbind m-	'writing'	bind	'write'
mbindeef m-	'creature'	bind	'create'
mbojj m-	'millet threshing'	bojj	'thresh'
mbokk m-	'relative'	bokk	'share/have in common'
mboob m-	'dry grass'	boob	'mow dry grass'
mboole m-	'entirety'	boole	'assemble'
mbooleent m-	'community'	boole	'assemble'
mbooloo m-	'crowd'	boole	'assemble'
mbootaay m-	'organization/club'	bokk	'share/have in common'
mbootu m-	'child-carrying cloth'	boot	'carry on the back'
mbooy m-	'inattentive moment'	booy	'be interrupted'

ndaas m-	‘sharpening’	daas	‘sharpen’
ndaje m-	‘meeting’	daje	‘meet’
ndàq m-	‘sending back’	dàq	‘send back’
ndikkaan m-	‘unwanted person’	dikk	‘come’
ndog m-	‘major obstacle’	dog	‘cut/interrupt’
ndugg m-	‘victuals’	dugg	‘buy victuals’
ngas m-	‘digging’	gas	‘dig’
nger m-	‘corruption’	ger	‘spoil’
ngóob l/m-	‘harvest’	góob	‘harvest’
njaay m-	‘commerce’	jaay	‘buy’
njàng m-	‘study/learning’	jàng	‘learn’
njàngale m-	‘teaching’	jàngale	‘teach’
njàpp m-	‘ablution’	jàpp	‘ablute’
njaxas m-	‘mix’	jaxas	‘mix’
njëmbët m-	‘transplanting’	jëmbët	‘transplant’
njénd m-	‘purchase’	jénd	‘buy’
nji m-	‘seeds’	ji	‘plant’
paj m-	‘healing’	faj	‘heal’
pecc m-	‘dance’	fecc	‘dance’
pénc m-	‘public square’	fénc	‘discuss in the public square’
péex m-	‘fresh air/rest’	féex	‘be cool’
peral m-	‘weaning’	feral	‘wean’
pexe m-	‘solution’	fexe	‘find a solution’
po m-	‘game’	fo	‘play’
póon m-	‘snuff (powdered tobacco)’	fóon	‘snort snuff’
portaat m-	‘gathering here and there’	for	‘gather’
pótít m-	‘washwater’	fóot	‘wash laundry’
purit/puurit m-	‘foam’	fuur	‘froth’
càcc g-	‘theft’	sàcc	‘steal’
càggan g-	‘negligence’	sàggan	‘be negligent’
càmm g-	‘livestock’	sàmm	‘watch over’
càng g/m-	‘fat around stomach’	sàng	‘cover’
cant g-	‘thanks’	sant	‘thank’
cawarte g-	‘energy/vitality’	sawar	‘be dynamic, etc.’
ceet g-	‘fortune-telling’	seet	‘look at/for’
céyt g-	‘wedding’	séy	‘wed’
cellte g-	‘purity’	sell	‘be pure/unblemished’
cēslaay g-	‘support’	sēs	‘prop against/be upright’
cet g-	‘cleanliness’	set	‘be clean’
cobte g-	‘unruliness’	sob	‘be unruly’
cofeel g-	‘love/sympathy’	sopp	‘love’
col g-	‘clothing’	sol	‘wear’
colaay/colin g-	‘manner of dress’	sol	‘wear’
cong g-	‘attack’	song	‘attack’
coobare g-	‘will’	soob	‘please’

coppite g-	‘change’	soppi	‘change’
coxor(te) g-	‘malice/cruelty’	soxor	‘be wicked/cruel’
kàddu g-	‘speech/word’	àddu	‘answer verbally’
kaññaan g-	‘jealousy’	aññaan	‘be jealous’
karaw g-	‘couscous granule’	araw	‘roll flour’
kàttan g-	‘power/aptitude’	àttan	‘be capable’
kéemtaan g-	‘mystery’	yéem	‘marvel’
kéewaange g-	‘environment’	yéew	‘circle around’
kemtalaay g/l-	‘limit/measure’	yem	‘stick to’
kilifa g-	‘chief/boss’	yilif	‘command’
kóolute g-	‘trust’	wóolu	‘trust’
koor g-	‘fast/Ramadan’	woor	‘fast’
kor g-	‘betrayal’	wor	‘betray’
kubéer g-	‘lid’	ub	‘close’
kujje g-	‘rivalry’	wujje	‘compete/be co-wives’
mbaax g-	‘goodness/generosity’	baax	‘be good’
mbañ g-	‘enemy’	bañ	‘hate’
mbañeel g-	‘hate’	bañ	‘hate’
mbéeru g-	‘urinal’	béeru	‘urinate’
mbëggeel g-	‘love’	bëgg	‘love/want/like’
mbetteel g-	‘surprise’	bett	‘surprise’
mbombu g-	‘scouring sponge’	bomb	‘scrub’
mbon(eel) g-	‘evilness’	bon	‘be evil’
mbooy g-	‘fallow ground’	booy	‘be overgrown/fallow’
ndekkite g-	‘resurrection’	dekki	‘resurrect’
ndëngte g-	‘dishonesty’	dëng	‘be dishonest’
ndigaale g/l-	‘relations/ties btw. people’	digg	‘be between’
ndof g-	‘madness’	dof	‘be crazy’
ngaana g-	‘leper’	gaana	‘have leprosy’
ngëm g-	‘faith’	gëm	‘believe’
ngëmadi g-	‘lack of faith’	gëmadi	‘doubt’
ngën g-	‘the best’	gën	‘surpass/be better’
ngiñ g-	‘swearing’	giñ	‘swear’
ngor g-	‘honesty’	gore	‘be honest’
njàqare g-	‘confusion/worry’	jàq	‘be worried’
njiiteef g-	‘leadership’	jiit	‘be first/lead’
njoowaan g-	‘hammock’	joow	‘swing’
njot g-	‘redemption’	jot	‘attain, etc.’
njub g-	‘honesty’	jub	‘be straight/honest’
njur g-	‘giving birth’	jur	‘give birth’
njureel g-	‘maternity’	jur	‘give birth’
pal g-	‘election’	fal	‘elect’
pase g-	‘divorce/renouncing’	fase	‘divorce’
pay g-	‘leaving the home in anger’	fay	‘leave the home in anger’
pey g-	‘salary, pay’	fey	‘pay’

caalit b-	'losing one's mind'	saalit	'lose one's mind'
car b-	'small branch, splitting'	sar	'stick through'
coono b-	'tiredness/exertion'	sonn	'be tired'
cox b-	'bran'	soq	'pound to remove bran'
cuub b-	'dying/dyed cloth'	suub	'dye'
mbindafoon b-	'creature'	bind	'create'
ndem-dellu b-	'U-shaped mouse hole'	dem	'go' ( <i>dellu</i> 'return')
ngàttaan b-	'short person' ( <i>m-</i> in B&L)	gàtt	'be short'
njàppaan b-	'wildcat sp.' (seizes chickens)	jàpp	'seize'
pàddu b-	'vital point of the body'	fàdd	'kill with a blow'
parlukaay	'pasture'	faral	'lead animals to pasture'
pas-pas b-	'knot/decision'	fas	'knot/conclude'
pastéef b-	'will/determination'	fas	'knot/conclude'
peeñu b-	'apparition'	feeñ	'appear'
peesu b-	'skinning place'	fees	'skin an animal'
péexlukaay b-	'place to take fresh air'	féexlu	'take the air'
penku b-	'east' (where the sun appears)	fenk	'appear'
perantal b-	'weaned baby that suckles'	fer	'be weaned'
perlukaay b-	'place for weaning'	feral	'wean'
peyoor b-	'payday'	fey	'pay'
póotu b-	'laundry place'	fóot	'wash laundry'

Given below are all of the *b*- class nouns in Kobès's dictionary exhibiting the fortis mutation pattern originally triggered by the prefix \**ba*<sup>x</sup>-. Recall that this pattern involves only /s, f/ hardening to /c, p/, crucially without nasalization. Note that some of these nouns have been reassigned to the mutating classes *m*- or *g*- in the modern language.

<u><i>b</i>- noun in Kobès</u>		<u>verb</u>	
cangaay	'bath'	sang	'bathe'
caay-caay	'mischief/debauchery'	saay-saay	'be debauched'
cax	'young grass/millet'	sax	'sprout'
càng	'stomach fat'	sàng	'cover'
	(cf. <i>ncàng l</i> - 'mesentery'; modern <i>càng g</i> - or <i>m</i> - 'stomach fat')		
céebo	'first rain of rainy season'	sébbi	'begin to rain'
	(syn. <i>ncéebo m</i> -, cf. modern <i>céebo m</i> -)		
cëqeef	'foliage'	sëq	'grow abundantly'
	(modern <i>cëq m</i> -)		
célit	'second branching off'	sél	'branch off'
cëriñ	'chief marabout's residence'	(sëriñ b-)	'marabout'
cibeel	'hate'	sib	'hate'
col, colin	'(manner of) dress'	sol	'wear (clothes)'
	(modern <i>colin g</i> -)		
coono	'tiredness/exertion'	sonn	'be tired'
cox	'bran'	soq	'pound to remove bran'
cuub	'dying/dyed cloth'	suub	'dye'
cuux	'watering'	suux	'water'
pàdd	'vital point of the body'	fàdd	'kill with a blow'
pan	'day'		(equivalent to <i>fan w</i> -)
paraale	'best man (at wedding)'	(far w-)	'young man/fiancé'
parlu	'pasture'	faral	'lead animals to pasture'
pas	'knot'	fas	'knot/conclude'
pas-pas	'knot/decision'	fas	'knot/conclude'
penku	'east' (where the sun appears)	fenk	'appear'
pepp	'single grain'		(equivalent to <i>fepp w</i> -)
përanqal	'stick leaned against a door to keep it closed'	fër	'lean against'
perlit	'newly weaned infant'	feral	'wean'
pettale	'blooming/flowering'	fett	'bloom/flower'
pey	'capital'	fey	'pay'
pirit	'threads of frayed cloth'	firi	'fray'
poantu	'trifle, plaything'	foantu	'play, amuse oneself'
póon	'snuff (powdered tobacco)'	fóon	'snort snuff'
	(modern <i>póon m</i> -)		
póotu(kaay)	'laundry place'	fóot	'wash laundry'
poroxal	'anything fermented'	forox	'be sour/fermented'
pullite	'destitution, degradation'	fulli	'depose, disgrace, degrade'
putt	'blister on hands or feet'	futt	'have blisters on hands/feet'