AN EXAMINATION OF CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES OF PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN FULFULDE

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ABSTRACT
Passive voice is associated with the arrangement of a verb used when the subject is affected by the action of the verb involving a specific construction in different languages (see Tomori (1999), Hornby (2010) and O'Grady, Archibald and Katamba (2011). According to Khumalo, (2007) passivization is generally, the promotion to grammatical subject of an object NP. That is, passivization tropicalizes the patient which becomes the new grammatical subject. This implies that passive construction is obtained by the attaching a verbal extension morpheme (suffixes) which because its effect on the sentence structure is called passive Doke (1943); Guthrie (1967); Meeussen (1967) and Schadeberg (2003) since it turns the patient of the active sentence into a grammatical subject. In Fulfulde, it is described as a grammatical construction in which the subject of a clause or sentence becomes the thing that is acted upon Breeveld, (1995) In other words the verb form changes so that the thing that is acted upon comes first, while the acting agent comes second or doesn't appear at all McIntosh (1984). Based on the descriptions mentioned above, Fulfulde scholars are of the view that all the conjugational suffixes n Fulfulde have different forms when they combine with active voice verbs, with middle voice verbs or with passive voice verbs. The present study aims at describing and analyzing conjugational suffixes of Fulfulde passivized verbs as are obtainable in Magama-Gumau in Toro LGA of Bauchi state. The data for the study are gathered through the ethnographic method where unstructured interviews and observations were used. The objectives of the study are to identify conjugational suffixes used in passivization, their forms and syntactic usage. To achieve this, the study is guided by the transformational generative grammar (TGG) as propounded by Chomsky (1957) and expanded by Tomori (1999); Syal and Jindal (2013); Prasad (2014); and Abgedo (2015). The findings of

the study revealed that conjugational suffixes for passivized verb were identified as belonging to five (5) different groups. Base on this, the study discovered -ake, -aaki/kim, -oto and -ataako for affirmative and negative absolute/thoroughness of passive verbs in this category. The investigation established -aama, -a-noo-ma,-naama, -aa, -a, for completive positive and negative. The research also uncovered -etee-ndi, etee-gol, -ataake, -eteende and suffixes for incompletive positive/negative polarity. Additionally, the investigation exposed -ee, -ataake, -etee-nde, -ataako, and -eego/eeki as suffixes for progressive/continuous. Finally, the study identified -etee-ngu, -eema, and -etee as suffixes for vague and habitual suffixes.

Introduction

Fulfulde scholars are of the view that all the conjugational suffixes in Fulfulde verbs have different forms when they combine with active voice verbs, with middle voice verbs or with passive voice verbs. In other words, Ahmed (2019:28) stated that "voice category in Fulfulde consists of three (3) different series of tenses which are also referred to as voices which are subdivided into Active, Middle and Passive (AMP) voices in Fulfulde."Investigation further established that Fulfulde allows a number of passive constructions which are not possible in many other languages with similar passive formations. Hence, the current study focuses on the passive voice and specifically its conjugational suffixes. Scholars like Baker, (1978:102), described passive using transformational terms as:

> *"… first moving the subject NP to the end of the sentence and inserting **by** before it; secondly, moving the NP following the verbintosubject position;*
> *and third, inserting the appropriate form of **be** before the verb and putting the verb in participial form."*

The term passive has been described severally by different linguists and in different languages. Crystal (2008:353) sees passive as "a term that is used in grammatical analysis of voice referring to a sentence, clause or verb form where grammatical subject is typically the recipient or goal of the action denoted by the verb." Briton and Briton (2010:117) is of the view that "while the active is expressed by the simple forms of the verb, the passive is expressed periphrastically –by be + the past participle."Describing passive in Hausa, Newman (2000:666) is of the opinion that "it is stylistically common to put a Gr7 passive clause after a corresponding active clause in the same sentence to emphasize the thoroughness of an action." This refers that in the Hausa language, one needs to note that the key function of Gr7 is to indicate an agentless passive where the syntactic subject is realized as patient affected by the action of the verb in Gr7 where the final vowel of the verb is realised as /-a/ → /-u/. In another literature, Abdoulaye (1992) asserted that in the Maraɗi variety, *"ga"* phrase functions very much like the "*by*" phrasein English passive to specify the thematic agent in the construction. Bature (1991) also gives Gr7 passive sentences in which the prepositional phrase consisting of the term *wajen* + NP is treated as equivalent to a *"by"* phrase in English. In a brief description of passive sentences, Prasad (2014:101-102) states that passive sentences cannot be generated from active ones maintaining similarity in meaning. However, to maintain structural and semantic accuracy in the generation, Prasad (2014:102) states that "we need a rule that changes the order of the symbols and not one that simply expands one symbol into another or others."

Syal and Jindal (2013:130) affirm that "if a subject of the active sentence is one or someone, it can be deleted after passivization by applying the agent deletion rule." Huddleston (2005) observes that English passive constructions can be derived from the active voice by applying three transformations. These include; firstly, changing the function of the subject NP to become the complement of the by preposition in the active construction. Secondly, the function of the object in the active voice is changed to become the subject of the passive construction. Thirdly, be catenative verb is added and realized as the superordinate to the original verb. In addition, Huddleston (2005:176) is of the view that the distinction between active and passive can be in active voice, the subject normally corresponds to the actor (the active participant), and in passive voice it normally corresponds to the patient or the under-goer (the passive participant).

McIntosh (1984:108) described passive voice as associated with actions performed on subject by an unspecified agent." Additionally, the work revealed that there is no passive voice in imperative conjugational suffixes. In an attempt to describe suffixes of the three (3) voices in Fulfulde, Daudu (2005:104) identified *-ee, aama, ete* and *-ataako* as suffixes for passive voice. In her own contribution in the description of the suffixes of passives, Ahmedlya (2011:22) revealed that passive voice is marked by *-aama,-etee* and *-do…e* in the affirmative past, future and continuative tenses respectively."The present study aims at describing and analyzing conjugational suffixes (completive and in-completive tenses) of Fulfulde passivized verbs as are obtainable in Bauchi South senatorial zone (specifically Magama-Gumau in Toro LGA of Bauchi state and Babale in Jos North LGA of Plateau state). These areas formed the geographical scope of the study. The data for the study are gathered through the ethnographic method where unstructured interviews and observations were used to obtain the data for the study. The objectives of the study are to identify and analysethe various conjugational suffixes used in the completive aspect and in-completive aspect of the passivized verb. It also takes into account of their forms and syntactic usage. To achieve this, the study is guided by the theory of Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) in which "Passive Formation Rules" that relates an active sentence to its passive counterpart of the ST version as propounded by Chomsky (1957) and expanded by Tomori(1999); Huddleston (2005); Syal and Jindal (2013); Prasad (2014); and Abgedo(2015) in analyzing data gathered for the study as they occur in Central Northern Nigerian Dialect (henceforth, CNND).

Passivation Rule

NP1 -AUX – V - NP2 NP_2 – AUX – be – en– V – by – NP_1

DS – Audu likes Weeti**SS** –Weeti is liked by Audu.

(cf. Syal& Jindal 2013:131 and Prasad, 2014:103)

The choice of this approach is because a transformation is concerned with a relationship between two structures "active and passive"and not simply between words in a language, Fulfulde inclusive.

Types of Passive Sentences/Voices

Structurally, passive sentences vary from one language to another considering the components of a structure that can be described as passive sentence. Basically, there are two types of passive sentences. These are:

Agentless passive sentence.

Agentive passive sentence(cf. Crystal, 2015:17)

Agentless passive sentence refers to a passive sentence that the agent of the sentence is unknown. It is also known as short passive voice sentence because it does not require the presence of the *by-phrase agent* is an optional elementin its structure (cf. Huddleston, 2005). Fulfulde and Hausa areamong the languages that exhibit this phenomenon.

The second type of passive sentence which is known as *agentive passive sentence* or *longpassivevoicesentence.* This is when the

subject and the object change places for instance English language.

Uses of Passive Voice in Fulfulde

Native speakers of the Fulfulde language use passive voice for different purposes. They use the constructions when:

- The agent in the construction is unknowable to the speaker.
- To reduce redundancy of the agent in the construction.
- The speaker wants to emphasize the receiver or result of the action.
- When the speaker wants to make a statement sound objective without revealing the source of information.
- The speaker wants to be tactful or evasive by not mentioning the agent.

Data Presentation and Analysis

This section of the paper presents and analyses data gathered for the study during field work or pilot study. For easy analysis and clear understanding of the conjugational suffixes of passive voices, the data are analysed base on their forms, functions of their VAP while on the other hand person and number of the object playing the role of subject of the passive constructions. This implies that the paper focuses on the description of their (VAP) form base on aspect (compl./incompl), polarity (positive/negative) and voice which centres on their on their passivity. These forms some of the different subsections of the paper in illustrating the passivation process in the language for clarity and understanding.

Fulfulde Passivation theCompletive Aspect

This subsection of the paper focused on the description of Fulfulde passive constructions in the completive aspect. The data to be analyzed in (1a-d) involve affirmatives, negatives, (singular and plural) as illustrated in the following examples:

Active → Passive

a. Oorinyaam-inyiiri Nyiirinyaam-**aama**

N_1 V VAP N_2N_2 V VAP

"Oori ate food" " Food has been eaten"

Oorinyaam-ii nyiiriNyiirinyaam-a-noo-ma

N_1 V VAP N_2N_2 V VAP

"Oori ate food" "Food was eaten"

Oorinyaam-**aayi**nyiiriNyiirinyaam-**aaka**

N_1 V VAP N_2N_2V VAP

"Ooridid not eat food""Food was not eaten"

Jaa'ennyaam-n-ii kutiiruKutiirundunnyaam-n-aama

N_1 V VAP N_2N_2Art. V VAP

"Jaa'e fed the dog" "The dog has been fed"

In examples (1a-e), we have both active and passive constructions that are in the completive aspects (simple past) which require description to point out the processes that have taken part in their Voice, Aspect and Polarity (henceforth, VAP). Base on this, (1a), which hasits Voice realized as *passive*is marked by the VAP suffix where the aspect is identified as:-*aama,* or what Arnott (1970)termed as general completive. Equally, in (1b) our sample demonstrated that the VAP suffix for the passive sentence is realized as:-*a-noo-ma* which is marking complete aspect with positive polarity. The occurrence of the -*noo*- preterit morpheme in the suffix substituted one of thelong vowels **-aa-** occurring in -***aa****ma*where it is realized as -***a-****noo-ma* with only a single**-a** vowel occurring before the preterit -*noo*- element in Fulfulde.In (1c), the data exhibits

a construction with active verb and its counterpart in the passive voice. Apart from distinguishing the two from their word order, still they can be distinguished from the VAP suffixes attached to the radicals. The active sentence has **-aayi**as its suffix marking negation in the completive aspect while its counterpart in the passive form has –**aaka**its negation marker for in the completive aspect. Additionally, in (1d) the suffixes for both active and passive consists of -n- verbal extension morpheme functioning as marker benefactive in Fulfulde. However, the VAPs of the twostructures can be distinguished whereas active occurs with -ii completive suffix, the passive takes **-n-aama**as its VAP suffix in completive aspect.

Fulfulde Passivation in the Incompletive Aspect

Here, he description of the VAP of the passive constructions centred on the verbsthat are in the incomplete form. The data comprise affirmatives, negatives, and thoroughness as indicated by the VAP suffixes. This process is displayed as in the following examples

Active → **Passive**

1) a. Sukanyaam-a nyiiri
Nyiirinyaam-**ee**
N_1 V VAP N_2N_2 V VAP
"Lad ate food."
"Food was eaten."

b. Suka loot-(a)taajuuɗeJuuɗe loot-**(a)take**
N_1 V VAP N_2N_2 V VAP
"Lad washed hands."
"Hands were washed."

c. Suka loot-(u) ma juuɗeJuuɗe loot-**eema**
N_1 V VAP N_2N_2 V VAP
"Lad may wash hands."
"Hands may be washed."

Our data in (2a-c) demonstrate passivisation involving structures in the incompletive form. In (2a), the on the left side is in the active aspect and its VAP illustrates incomplete identified as: -*a* morpheme attached to the radical. On the right, the structure exhibits a verb in the passive form with the suffix established as: *-ee* demonstrating incompletive aspect of the passivized verb and realized as *nyiiri*side*nyaam-ee*meaning "food has been eaten". Correspondingly, example (2c) on the left indicates active construction denoting: "lad will no washhands". So far, the construction in (2b) on the right exposed a passive sentence with the passiveverb understood as: "hands will not be washed". To mark the passivation, the verb takes *–(a)take* as the suffix attached to the radical. Also, in (2c) the data illustrated that active voice takes the *–(u)ma* as suffix foe active verb in Fulfulde. Observing sentences on the right, it would be comprehended that the sentence in (2c) has *-eema* as the conjugational suffix for *loot-* passive verb in the construction. Furthermore, it worth to note that both the active and passive sentences in (2c) are described as vague considering the form of the VAP.

Progressive or Continuous in Fulfulde Passive Voice

This refers to grammatical description of verb forms in contrast of temporal and durative kind of the verb. It is sometimes handled under tense and sometimes under aspect. Crystal (2008) is of the view that progressive can also be viewed as continuous. Hence, progressive in Fulfulde ca be considered as aspectual referring to time as incompletive or on-going activity. This can be illustrated as in the following samples:

Active Aspect → **Passive Aspect**

2) a. Sukae piy-*a*baggu
Bagguepiy-***ee***
N_1AUXV VAP N_2N_2 AUX V VAP

"A lad is playing drum""A drum is been played"

b. Sukae*n*yaam-*a*nyiiri
Nyiirie*n*aam-***ee***

N_1AUX V VAP N_2N_2 AUX V VAP
"A lad is eating food"
"Food is been eaten"

c. Sukapiy-*ataa*bagguBaggupiy-***(a)take)***

N_1 V VAP N_2N_2 V VAP
"A lad is not playing drum"
"A drum is not being played."

Considering the samples given in (3a-c), our investigation discovered in (3a) the conjugation of the verb -*piy*- in the active form takes -a as the appropriate suffix to be attached to the verb while an auxiliary *e* element denoting "is" in English precedes the verb literary meaning: beating the drum to mean: "is drumming". However, in the passive construction, the verb takes -*ee* as its suffix literary, denoting *beating the drum,* technically meaning drumming at the time of reporting. In (3b), the verb *nyaam*- "to eat" has an auxiliary *e* signifying "is" occurring before the radical and the aspectual marker; -*a* is attached to the verb to indicate continuous aspect of the action meaning "is eating". In the case of its passive form, the auxiliary *e* has no place to occupy while the suffix attached to the verb is realized as -*ee* representing; "-*ing*" morpheme signifying present continuous. Similarly, in (3c), active construction to the left has -*ataa* negating the meaning of the structure. Yet, in the circumstance of the passive structure, the auxiliary that featured in (3a-b) is elided while the conjugation of the verb is recognized as; -*(a)taa* where the first vowel is optional. Literary, the passive sentence is understood as: *drum is not being beaten* and technically realized as; "the drum is not sounding/playing".

Fulfulde Passivation in the Future

From the data collected, it has been observed that different VAP suffixes are employed to mark future aspects in Fulfulde. Hence, the data described in (3a-c) comprise those with positive and negative polarity while in number, they involve both singular and plurals as demonstrated below:

Active →
Passive

3) a. Sukaceek-***ataa***ɗerewolngol
Ɗerewolngolceek-**ataake**
N_1 V VAP N_2Art$_2$ArtV VAP
Lad tear-notpaper the
"The paper will betorn"

b. Maryam ceek-***ay***derewolngolƊerewolngolceek-**etee**ngol
N_1 V VAP N_2N_2Art V VAPEmph
"Maryam will tear the paper." "The paper will be torn"

c. Sukaɓorn-***oto***toggoore
Toggooreɓorn-**etee**-nde
N_1 V VAP N_2N_2V VAPEmph
"Lad will weara shirt." "A shirt will be worn"

d. Maryam nyaam-***ay***nyiiriNyiirinyaam-**etee**ndi
N_1V VAP N_2N_2 V VAPEmph
"Maryam will eat food." "Food will be eaten"

Fulfulde Passivation in Absolute/Thoroughness Constructions

Unlike in Hausa where Newman (2000:666) is of the opinion that "it is stylistically common to put a Gr7 passive clause after a corresponding active clause in the same sentence to emphasize the thoroughness of an action, Fulfulde expresses active sentence in one sentence and its counterpart (passive) in a different sentence.

Scholars are of the view that in the Hausa language, one needs to note that the key function of Gr7 is to indicate an agentless passive where the syntactic subject is realized as patient affected by the action of the verb in Gr7 where the final vowel of the verb is realized as /-a/ → /-u/. Yet, Fulfulde uses the absolute/thoroughness passives for emphasis as demonstrated in the following illustrations:

Active → **Passive**

4) a. Sukaaɓepiy-**ii**gujjo on Gujjo'onpiy- **ake**
N_1V VAP N_2N_2Art VAPVAP
Lads beat the thief "The thief has been thoroughly beaten"

b. Jaa'enyaam-**aa**yinyiirindinNyiirindinnyaam-**aaki**
N_1 V VAP N_2 ArtN_2ArtV VAP
"Jaa'e did not eat the food" "The food is not thoroughly eaten"

c. Weetijonng-**ii**nyiirimbelndiNyiirinyaam-**oto**
N_1 V VAP N_2AdjtN$_2$ V VAP
"Weeti cooked delicious food." "Delicious food will be thoroughly eaten"

d. Aabujonng-**ataa**nyiirimbelndiNyiirindinnyaam-**ataako**
N_1V VAP N_2AdjtN$_2$Art. V VAP
"Aabuwill not cookeddelicious food.""The food willseriously be uneatable."

e. Jaa'ohaɓɓ-**ay**gaarindinboodɗumGaarindinhaɓɓ-**oto**
N_1V VAP N_2Art.djtN$_2$Art. V -VAP
"Jaa'o will tire a bull systematically." "The bull will be tied thoroughly."

Considering our samples in five (5a-e) consists of active sentence and a counterpart in the passive forms. Our investigation established that (5a) illustrated an active construction with **-ii** as suffix for general completive while its counterpart in passive voice has *-ake* for the thoroughness in completive aspect positive polarity. Example (5b) exposed the two sentences can be distinguished for position of N_1 and N_2 and structures of their VAP respectively. For instance, active sentence exhibited negation suffix realized as **-aayi** and the passive has **-aaki** as suffix markers for thoroughness in completive aspect, the sentence on the right is of passive Sample (5d) on the is of the active with its suffix realized as **-ay** marking incomplete aspect. Similarly, the sentence on the right demonstrated passive construction with **-ataako** as its suffix marking negative incomplete aspect. This implies that both active and passive in (5d) are incomplete and in the negative polarity. In (5e), our sample illustrated that while the active voice has **-ay** as its suffix, its counterpart in the passive form takes **-oto**as intensified aspect of the action word in the construction.

Conclusion

This paper investigated varieties of conjugational suffixes as they occur in passive in contrast to those occurring in active voice. Conclusively, the research focused on the description of VAP suffixes as they occur in completive aspect (past tense), incompletive, progressive/continuous tense, completive with preterit or what McIntosh (1984) term anteriority marker. The paper also looked at conjugational suffixes of passive construction in negative polarity and paradigms of absolute/thoroughness in passive aspect. In view of the investigation, the paper showed the following findings indicate that for conjugational suffixes for completive are: *-aama*, a-noo-*ma*,*aaka* and *-n-aama*. For incompletive, the research discovered *-ee*, (*a*)*take* and *-eema*.

The study also revealed that for progressive the conjugational suffixes include -*ee* and (a)*take*. In the case of future, the investigation identified –*ataake* and *etee* as suffixes for future tense. Finally, the study established -*ake*, -*aaki*, -*oto* and -*ataako* as conjugational suffixes for various varieties

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