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A Study of Fula Dialects : Examining the Continuous/Stative Constructions

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A Study of Fula Dialects: Examining the Continuous/Stative Constructions[1)]

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Abstract

Due to the complex distribution of its speakers, Fula is difficult to explore in its dialectal aspects. However, it is well recognized that there is a great dialectal difference between the language as spoken westward from northwestern Nigeria and as spoken eastward, i.e. the so-called Adamawa dialect. This paper attempts to find exactly where the west/east boundary of Fula dialects lies, through examining the elements which mark continuous/stative aspect, such as personal pronouns (*mido, emi, hida,* etc.) and constructions with *na/no*. In the course of the study it becomes quite evident that the continuous/stative markers can be a good indicator for Fula dialect studies. As a result, although we need more data to draw a clearer demarcation line, it seems from this research the line is somewhere around the Sokoto area of Nigeria.

1. Introduction

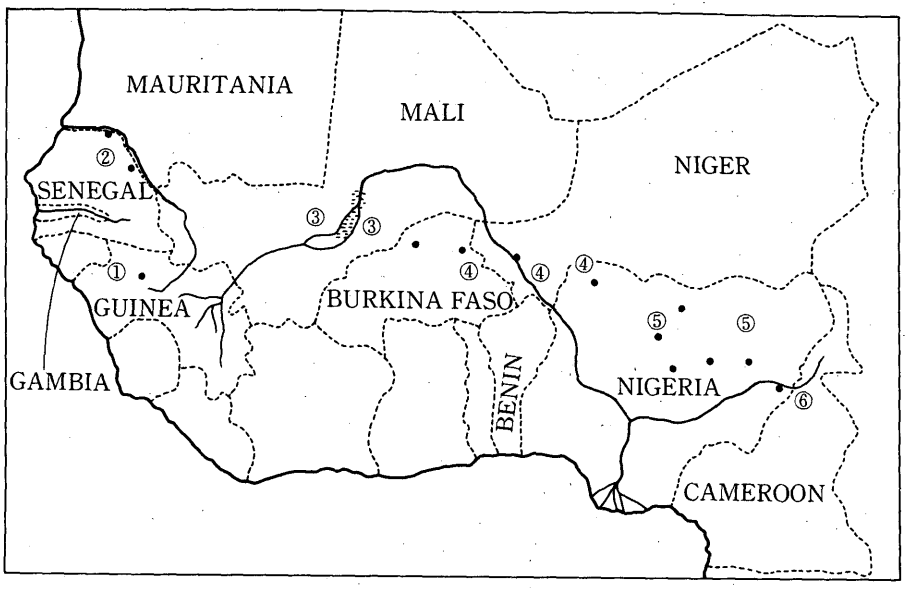
When discussing ethnicity, language is one of the crucial elements. Consequently, we have to investigate linguistic aspects of the Fulbe when we consider the "Fulbeness" or the Fulbe identity.

Fula[2)] (a term adopted by many, mainly English-speaking scholars to refer to the language of the Fulbe), supplies linguists with various kinds of interesting data. It is probably the most widely spread indigenous language in sub-Saharan Africa, being spoken by the Fulbe from Senegal in the west to as far east as the Sudan. It drew the attention of many European administrators, missionaries, travelers, and researchers, resulting in a fairly good amount of detailed description of various Fula dialects.

Despite the availability of data, it is, not surprisingly, extremely difficult to draw clear lines of dialect boundaries, because of (a) the difference between political

1) I am grateful to all the participants who gave me comments on the preliminary paper I presented at the symposium. My special gratitude should go to Professor D. W. Arnott, who gave me detailed comments on my work and all of his original data on the continuous/stative paradigms. I deeply admire his generous attitude. I hope I can contribute something to Fula linguistics as Professor Arnott has so much. I also owe much to Professor P. K. Eguchi, who read the draft and gave me a lot of practical advice.

2) As for the term "Fula," refer to Arnott (1970 : 1–2).



① Futa Toro (Senegal), abbreviated F.T.
② Futa Jallon (Guinea), F.J.
③ Massina (Mali)
④ Sokoto and western Niger, with parts of Burkina Faso
⑤ Central Northern Nigeria (roughly Katsina, Kaduna and Kano States, the Jos Plateau, Bauchi State and the northern Bornu sections of Bornu State)
⑥ Adamawa (in both Nigeria and Cameroon)
(Cited from Arnott 1974 : 9, some names have been up-dated by the author.)

Map The Main Dialects of Fula

and cultural boundaries; and (b) the complicated movements of the Fulbe people, including the mixture of major and old migrations and smaller-scale, recent movements and seasonal transhumance. There are social dialects as well as geographical ones, for example, within the same society the difference in speech between aristocratic Fulbe and commoner Fulbe who live in urban areas.

D. W. Arnott has proposed six main geographical dialects of Fula, to which no objection, as far as I know, has been made so far (see above map).

Arnott's study (1974) is perhaps the only linguistic work which considers the dialectal differences of the whole Fula-phone area (excluding the area east of Adamawa). It is an overall survey of the Fula dialects, although in rather a sketchy style, and gives us clues to further investigations of Fula dialectology. One of the features that Arnott suggests as indicators of the dialectal differences is the continuous tense subject elements, that is, the long form of personal pronouns such as *mido, emi, hida, emo,* etc.[3]

3) Cf. Arnott (1974 : 16–17).

This paper attempts to show the diversity and the unity of the Fula language, through the examination of one of the important linguistic elements just mentioned. I will focus mainly on the continuous/stative constructions, although I am aware that it is necessary for the dialectal survey of a language to examine as many linguistic factors as possible, namely, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical aspects. The reason I have chosen this topic is that in the Fula verbal system the subject elements involving *e, ɗon* and other morphemes show one of the most diverse variations.

First, we will see the patterns of the so-called "short forms" and "long forms" of personal pronouns in Fula. Secondly, the historical development of the latter forms will be investigated, and, finally, a point about dialect division will be mentioned.

2. Short Forms and Long Forms

In all dialects of Fula, there are four types of personal pronouns that function as subject elements in a sentence structure, viz. (a) independent or emphatic; (b) short; (c) long; and (d) inverted forms. For example, Pulaar, a dialect in Senegal has the following sets :

(1) Subject Personal Pronouns

	inde./emph.	**short**	**long**	**inverted**
1)[4] 1st.sg.	*miin*	*mi*	*miɗo*	*-mi*
2) 2nd.sg.	*aan*	*a*	*aɗa*	*-ɗaa/-aa*
3) 3rd.sg.	*kaŋko*	*o*	*omo*	.
4) 1st.pl.ex.	*minen*	*min*	*amin*	.
5) 1st.pl.in.	*enen*	*en*	*eɗen*	*-ɗen/-en*
6) 2nd.pl.	*onon*	*on*	*oɗon*	*-ɗon/-on*
7) 3rd.pl.	*kamɓe*	*ɓe*	*aɓe*	.

Before turning into the analysis of long and short forms, each type of personal pronouns should be briefly explained.

As for independent or emphatic forms of pronouns, they function as emphasized elements in a sentence, e.g.

(2)

miin waddi-ɗum '(it was) *I* (who) brought it'
to 'aan njahat-aa? 'where are *you* going?'

(Arnott 1970 : 144)

The terms "short" and "long" personal pronouns are not commonly used. They are rather my own usage. It should be noted that these terms are not adopted

4) 1), 2)...7) indicates 1st person singular; 2nd person singular, and so forth, respectively. The same convention is adopted for the rest of the paper.

on the basis of their functions or features as emphatic and inverted forms, but only for the sake of convenience. The short forms are "basic forms" in Arnott's term (Arnott 1970, § 25. I), indicating that they are not specialized forms, such as independent and inverted ones, which are used in verbal complexes of certain types and certain aspects. The long forms occur in stative and continuous aspects (series 2 and 3 of subject elements in Arnott's term, cf. Arnott 1970, § 33). In terms of aspects, the short forms can be used in completives, that is, to refer to actions that are already completed, while the long forms are manifested in incompletives, especially progressive, continuous, or stative aspects. In fact, there is a diversity among dialects with respect to which aspect is associated with the long forms. However, among the dialects researched here, the common feature of the aspect is "continuity" or "progressiveness", that is to say, a certain action or a certain state of the situation is in process.[5] To compare the two forms, see:

(3)

completive:	*o ronndake* (short form)	'she (has) put her headload on'
incompletive:	*e-mo ronndii* (long form)	'she is carrying a headload'

(McIntosh 1984 : 123)

Finally, as to inverted froms, they appear in relative and subjunctive clauses, e.g.

(4)

relative clause
ndaa nagge (ŋge) shoodu-mi 'This is the cow (which) I (have) bought'
(Arnott 1970 : 319)

subjunctive clause
sey ngurto-ɗaa 'you ought to come out'
(Arnott 1970 : 302)

The sets other than the long forms are fairly homogeneous throughout all the dialects with some slight phonological differences. The following are the sets of the short-form personal pronouns ("short forms" below) of the dialects I checked.[6] They are listed in west-east order from left to right. The original orthography from the source is slightly modified, in particular the glottal stop before the initial vowels is not marked as such:

5) For discussion of the theoretical terminology including the tense-aspect distinction in Fula, refer to McIntosh 1984.

6) The sources of the data are as follows:
Futa Toro ..... Labouret 1952, Diallo 1979, Sylla 1982.
Gambia ..... Swift & Tambadu 1985, Gamble *et al.* 1982.
Futa Jallon ..... Reichardt 1876, Arensdorff 1913, Diallo 1979. ↗

(5) Short Forms

	F.T.	Gambia	F.J.	Liptaako	Sokoto	Zaria	Gombe	Dageeja	Adamawa
1)	*mi*	*mi*	*i*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi*	*mi*
2)	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*
3)	*o*	*o/mbo*	*o*	*o*	*o*	*o*	*o*	*mo*	*o*
4)	*min*	*men/min*	*men*	*min*	*men/min*	*min*	*min*	*min*	*min*
5)	*en*	*en/ɛn*	*eŋ/en*	*en*	*en*	*en*	*en*	*el*	*en*
6)	*on*	*on/ɔn*	*oŋ/on*	*on*	*on*	*on*	*on*	*ol*	*on*
7)	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*	*ɓe*

The list shows that the short forms are quite clearly uniform, even with some slight phonological differences. On the other hand, the long forms show a greater variation :

(6) Long Forms

	F.T.	Gambia	F.J.	Massina	Liptaako	N.W.Niger
1)	*miɗo/mboɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*
2)	*hiɗa/aɗa*	*aɗa/aɗo*	*hiɗa*	*aɗa*	*aɗa*	*aɗo/aɗa*
3)	*himo/omo/ombo*	*mboɗi/mbo'i*	*himo*	*omo*	*omo/mo*	*imo*
4)	*meɗen/amin/ emin*	*miɗen*	*meɗen*	*miɗon*	*miɗon*	*miɗon*
5)	*hiɗen/eɗen*	*eɗen*	*hiɗen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*
6)	*hiɗon/oɗon*	*oɗon*	*hiɗon/ hiɗoŋ*	*oɗon*	*oɗon*	*oɗon*
7)	*hiɓe/aɓe*	*ɓeɗi*	*hiɓe*	*eɓe*	*iɓe*	*iɓe*

	Benin (2 sets)		S. W. Niger (W. of Nigeria)	Sokoto	Zaria	Gombe (2 sets)	
1)	*mii*[7]/*emi*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*emi*	*emi*	*miɗon*
2)	*aa*	*aɗa*	*aɗa/aɗo*	*aɗa/aɗo*	*aa(<e+a)*	*e'a*	*aɗon*
3)	*omo*	*omo*	*omo*	*omo*	*emo*	*emo*	*oɗon*
4)	*emen/emin*	*miɗen*	*miɗon*	.	*emin*	*emin*	*minɗon*
5)	*een*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	.[8]	*e'en*	*enɗon*

↗ Massina ..... Arnott 1979, CRDTO 1970.
Niger ..... CRDTO 1970.
Benin ..... CRDTO 1970.
Sokoto ..... Krause 1884, Westermann 1909, Leith-Ross 1922. Miyamoto 1989.
Zaria ..... McIntosh 1984.
Gombe ..... Arnott 1970.
Dageeja ..... Labatut 1973.
Adamawa ..... Klingenheben 1963, Taylor 1921, Stennes 1976.
All of the above ..... Arnott, personal communication, 1991.

7) ∧ shows "falling tone."

8) The vacant column means either there is no entry in the dialect or I could not find any from my source.

6)	*ôon*	*od'on*	*od'on*	*od'on*	.	*e'on*	*ond'on*
7)	*ɓêe/eɓe*	*iɓe*	*eɓe*	*eɓe*	*eɓe*	*eɓe*	*ɓed'on*

	Dageeja (2 sets)		**Adamawa** (2 sets)	
1)	*emi*	*mid'on*	*emi*	*mid'on*
2)	*e'a*	*ad'on*	*ea*	*ad'on*
3)	*emo*	*mod'on*	*emo*	*od'on*
4)	*emin*	*mind'on*	*emin*	*mind'on*
5)	*e'el*	*eld'on*	.	*end'on*
6)	*e'ol*	*old'on*	*e'on*	*ond'on*
7)	*eɓe*	*ɓed'on*	*eɓe*	*ɓed'on*

Seeing the patterns of the long forms in (6), any one who is familiar with the language should immediately recognize the words, *d'o, d'on, hi* and *e/i*. Especially in eastern dialects, such as Gombe, Dageeja and Adamawa, it is easy to identify the elements, *e* or *d'on*. Indeed, I could have shown the eastern patterns of long forms as "*e* + short form" and "short form + *d'on*." Then, one may wonder if these *e* and *d'on* elements are the same lexiques as those originally meaning "and, in, with, etc.," or "here." In fact, quite a number of linguists have already noticed it.[9] While the eastern dialects show easily identifiable patterns, in western dialects, the situation is more complicated, thus, *mid'o, hid'a, omo, himo, ad'a,* etc.

Among historical linguists, there is a consensus that the Fula language came from the Senegambia area where all the related West Atlantic languages are found. Thus, the fact that there is more diversity in certain kinds of linguistic elements in western dialects than in eastern ones suggests that it is easier and more fruitful to consider the case diachronically (historically) than synchronically. We will thus consider the historical development of the long form personal pronouns in the following section.

3. Diachronic Development

Compare the following expressions :

(7)

a.	*e wuro* at/in/with house	'at home'
b.	*baaba he/hi inna* father and/with mother	'father and mother' (Gambia, Sokoto) (Cf. Labouret 1952, 1955 ; Lacroix 1963 : 51 ; Swift and Tambadu 1965 : 41 ; Arnott 1970, Ard 1979 ; McIntosh 1984)
c.	*ɓe cottori d'on* they moved there	'They moved from there' (Adamawa) (Taylor 1932 : 37)

9) Cf. Labouret (1952, 1955), Lacroix (1963 : 51), Swift and Tambadu (1965 : 41), Arnott (1970), Ard (1979), McIntosh (1984).

		F. T.	Gambia	F. J.	Massina	Liptaako	N. W. Niger	Benin (2 sets)		S. W. Niger (W. of Nigeria)	Sokoto	Zaria	Gombe (2 sets)		Dageeja (2 sets)		Adam
Long Forms	1)	*miɗo/mboɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miî / emi*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*miɗo*	*emi*	*emi*	*miɗon*	*emi*	*miɗon*	*emi*
	2)	*hiɗa/aɗa*	*aɗa/aɗo*	*hiɗa*	*aɗa*	*aɗa*	*aɗo/aɗa*	*âa*	*aɗa*	*aɗa/aɗo*	*aɗa*	*aa* (<*e*+*a*)	*e'a*	*aɗon*	*e'a*	*aɗon*	*e'a*
	3)	*himo/omo/ ombo*	*mboɗi/ mbo'i*	*himo*	*omo*	*omo/mo*	*imo*	*omo*	*omo*	*omo*	*omo*	*emo*	*emo*	*minɗon*	*emo*	*moɗon*	*emo*
	4)	*meɗen/amin/ emin*	*miɗen*	*meɗen*	*miɗon*	*miɗon*	*miɗon*	*emen/ emin*	*miɗen*	*miɗon*	*miɗon*	*emin*	*emin*	*minɗon*	*emin*	*minɗon*	*emin*
	5)	*hiɗen/eɗen*	*eɗen*	*hiɗen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	*êen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	*eɗen*	.	*e'en*	*endon*	*e'el*	*eldon*	.
	6)	*hiɗon/oɗon*	*oɗon*	*hiɗon/ hiɗoŋ*	*oɗon*	*oɗon*	*oɗon*	*ôon*	*oɗon*	*oɗon*	*oɗon*	.	*e'on*	*ondon*	*e'ol*	*oldon*	*e'on*
	7)	*hiɓe/aɓe*	*ɓeɗi*	*hiɓe*	*eɓe*	*iɓe*	*iɓe*	*ɓee/eɓe*	*iɓe*	*eɓe*	*eɓe*	*eɓe*	*eɓe*	*ɓeɗon*	*eɓe*	*ɓeɗon*	*ɓe*
locative "in, at, with"		*he/e*	*he/e na/no*	*he/e*	*he/e*	he/e	e	*e*	*hi/e/ i*	*hi/he/ e*	*e*	*e*		*e*		*e*	*e*
"here"		*ɗo/ɗon*	*ɗo*	*ɗo*	.	.	*ɗo/ɗon*	*ɗon*	*ɗo*	*ɗon*	*ɗon*	*ɗo/ɗon*		*ɗoo*			*a*
other forms for cont./ stat.(after nouns)		*ina/ hina/ no/ e*+prn*	*na/no ɗi*	*ino /no hi*+prn	*ana/ina ani*	prn+ *na i*+prn	*na/no*	*ana/no*	*na/no*	*i*	*e*+prn+*ɗon*			*ɗon*			*a*

*prn : pronoun

Table 1
Dialectal Comparison of Continuous/Stative Constructions
(West → East)

d.	*déftere ɗón* book here/exists	'There is a book/A book exists'(Gombe) (Arnott 1970 : 32)
e.	*Sheehu e Sifaawa* in/exists?	'Shehu is in Sifaawa'(Adamawa) (Lacroix 1963 : 51, as is 7. f below)
f.	*Sheehu ɗon Sifaawa* exists	'(almost the same as above, but a slight difference in nuance)'
g.	*e'a jooɗi* you (are) seated	'you are seated'(Gombe, Dageeja, Adamawa, as is 7. h below)
h.	*aɗon jóoɗi* you (are) seated	'(same as above)'
i.	*hida jóoɗi* you (are) seated	'(same as above)'(F. J.)
j.	*omo jóodi* he (is) seated	'he is seated' (F. T., Massina, Liptaako, Sokoto)

Examples 7. a to 7. c show locative constructions in which *e/he/hi* functions as a preposition or a conjunction, and *ɗon* as a kind of adverb. In 7. d, 7. e, 7. f, on the other hand, *e* and *ɗon* are a kind of copula that has a verb-like function. In 7. g and 7. h, *e* and *ɗon* seem to be a part of the verbal complex, but their syntactic behaviors are different: *e* preposes the subject pronoun, *ɗon* follows the pronoun. In 7. i and 7. j, moreover, it is hard to separate locative elements from the pronouns[10].

The above data indicate that the long-form pronouns show similarity to the short-form pronouns and locative elements. Let us examine the possibility that the long forms developed from locative constructions.

3. 1. Locative → Existential → Progressive

The locative preposition *e,* sometimes pronounced as *i,* is found in all dialects of Fula. It is realized as *he* or *hi* in the areas westward of Sokoto (see Table 1). It means "with, and, in, nearby," usually conjoining nouns, as in 7. a and 7. b. above. *Ɗon* is also used all over the Fula-phone areas. It is the "referential form" (Arnott's term), meaning "the place referred to or known."

It is quite reasonable to suppose that the expressions with locatives such as *deftere ɗon* 'there is a book', which is now a neutral phrase meaning "a book is in existence," used to have only a deictic meaning "here, in this place, is a book." English has a parallel expression to this, namely, "there is/are ..." which involves a locative word "there," but it no longer has a demonstrative meaning opposed to "here." If a speaker wants to put a locative meaning on "there," there will be a stress on the word, as in "*thére* you are!" Possibly, in Fula, the semantic field has been gradually extended from existential to other aspects including con-

10) There is a difference in stress, too : when *ɗon* functins as a kind of verb, it is stressed as in *déftere ɗón,* on the other hand, when *ɗon* is a part of a long form, it is not stressed as in *aɗon-jóodi.* Cf. Arnott (1970 : 22, note 12).

tinuous/stative/habitual, etc. Thus, a continuous sentence, *o ɗon defa* or *omo ɗon defa* 'she is cooking' could mean "she is here, cooking."

In fact, in eastern dialects, it is clear that *ɗon* in the continuous/stative sentence retains the adverbial character. As McIntosh (1984 : 188–189) points out, *ɗon* in the Zaria dialect belongs to a paradigm of deictic adverbs, thus it can be replaced by other adverbs :

(8) a. *tummbuɗe e-ɗon keewi* 'the calabashes are full'
calabashes fill (vi)
b. *tummbuɗe e ton keewi* 'the calabashes are there, full'
there
c. *tummbuɗe e ɗoo keewi* 'the calabashes are here, full'
here

(McIntosh 1984 : 188)

Moreover, *ɗon* cannot co-occur with *ton* or *ɗoo* :

(9) a. *e-ɓe — ɗon — taar-a ŋga* 'they are tying it up'
they (are) tie it
b. **e-ɓe — ɗon — ɗoo — taar-a ŋga*
c. *e-mi-ɗon — heɗit-oo* 'I'm listening'
I (am) listen
d. *e-mi-ɗon-nii heɗit-oo* 'I'm just listening'
just
e. *e-mo-ɗon - dur-a na'i* 'he is grazing cows'
he (is) graze cows
f. **e-mo-ɗon — ton dur-a na'i*

(McIntosh 1984 : 80)

The *nii* adverb in 9. d can co-occur with *ɗon* because it has no locative meaning, whereas 9. b and f are unacceptable since a Fula speaker feels there is an unnecessary repetition of adverbs (McIntosh 1984 : 79–80). This fact clearly shows the locative feature of *ɗon*.

As for *he/hi/e/i*, it functions exactly the same way as *ɗon* in existential expressions, as in 7. d above, i. e. *déftere ɗón*. However, it has different syntactic behaviors : *he/hi/e/i* always comes before the subject pronoun as in 7. g, i. e. *e'a jooɗi* whereas *ɗon* comes after it as in 7. h, i. e. *aɗon jóoɗi*. Moreover, *e/i* occurs independently without a pronoun in a certain clause, as in 10. e below, while *ɗon* cannot. In Sokoto Fula, for example, *i* seems to convey the continuous/stative element alone, other than verbal suffixes. Thus :

(10) a. *lekki i towi* 'it (the tree) is tall'
b. *tummuɗe i ɓiro* 'it (the calabash) is leaking'

(Westermann 1909 : 245)

c. *i wooɗi* 'it is good'

d. *i ɗuuɗi* 'it is too much, too many' (Miyamoto 1989 : 28)

e. *Bello wurtii e — turii* 'Bello came out stooping' (Arnott 1970 : 284)

The fact is, however, that *i* always appears when the "notional subject" has already been mentioned or understood in the context. Thus, in 10. c and 10. d, the nominal subjects are understood from the situation. This is found not only in Sokoto but in other dialects, including Gombe where *e* can be used alone in subordinate clauses.

It seems that *he/hi/e/i* is more integrated into the Fula morphology than *ɗon* which retains the adverb-like feature. Incidentally, the above data remind us of the non-personal pronouns. Indeed, *he/hi/e/i* is used for non-personal pronouns. It is attached to class markers and makes the continuous/stative forms :

(11)

F. T.	Gambia	F. J.	Massina	Liptaako
ende	*nde (') i*	*hinde*	*inde*	*inde*
endi	*ndi (') i*	*hindi*	*indi*	*indi*
eŋgel	*ŋgel (') i*	*hiŋgel*	*iŋgel*	*iŋgel*
.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.

These are promising data in that even in western dialects where the personal pronouns are rather complex and the connection between *he/hi/e/i* and the long forms is clear, just as in eastern dialects, that is, long forms = *e/i/hi* + short form or short form + (')*i*.

In western dialects, it is difficult to separate locative elements from the long pronouns. However, it can be observed that there are two types, mixed, namely, Type 1 : short form + *ɗo(n),* and Type 2 : *e/he/hi* + short form. Thus, for example, in the Futa Toro, the Futa Jallon and the Sokoto dialects, the whole long pronouns are as follows :

(12)

	F. T.		F. J.		Sokoto	
1)	*miɗo/mboɗo*	(Q1)	*miɗo*	(Type 1)	*miɗo*	(Type 1)
2)	*hiɗa/aɗa*	(Type 1?)(Q2)	*hiɗa*	(Q3)	*aɗo*	(Type 1)
3)	*himo/omo/ombo*	(Q1, Q3)	*himo*	(Q3)	*omo*	(Q3?)
4)	*meɗen/emin/amin*	(Type 2)	*meɗen*	(Type 1?)(Q2)	*miɗon*	(Type 1?)(Q2)
5)	*eɗen*	(Type 2?)(Q3)	*hiɗen*	(Type 2?)(Q3)	*eɗen*	(Type 2?)(Q3)
6)	*oɗon*	(Type 2?)(Q2/Q3)	*hiɗon/ hiɗon*	(Type 2?)(Q3)	*oɗon*	(Type2?)(Q2/Q3)
7)	*eɓe*	(Type 2)	*hiɓe*	(Type 2)	*eɓe*	(Type 2)

Example 12 shows there are three problems to be addressed in analysis of the connection between locatives and long forms. The first is the 1st. sg. and the 3rd. sg. pronouns in Futa Toro (Q1). In *mboɗo* and *ombo* we find a locative element

ɗo and the pronoun-like *-o,* but *mbo-* and *omb-* are unusual. According to Arnott, the *m* > *mb* change is certainly well attested for some speakers in Senegal and Gambia. It is found in cases such as,

(13)	*ombo*	as against	*omo*
	mbiɗo	as against	*miɗo*
	mbiɗon	as against	*miɗon*
	mbeɗa	as against	*meɗa*

He found among the Jombonko of Gambia and the Jenngelbe near Linguere in Senegal that *mbo* was used by some speakers (in place of *mo* and *o*) as a subject pronoun, an object pronoun and as a relative element.

There are two possible reasons for this variation. Since the distribution of this unusual type is restricted to Futa Toro and Gambia, it may be due to the influence of other languages surrounding Fula in the areas. Alternatively, it may be a phonological analogy to the non-personal pronouns of which the common form is "nasal + consonant + vowel," that is, *ndi, ndu,* etc.

The second problem regarding location and long forms is the case of *aɗa, oɗon, meɗen,* and *miɗon,* which seem to be a modification of the combination of the short form and *ɗon* (Q2). This must be purely phonologically motivated with *aɗa* achieving a kind of vowel harmony, and *meɗen* and *miɗon* dropping *-n* from *men-* and *min-* to avoid the irregular combination of syllables CVC'CVC ('C=implosive). This indicates that the boundary between the pronominal element and the locative element is phonologically fairly weak resulting in the merger of two separate morphemes.

The third problem is of the phonological form following *e/hi* (Q3). The forms *eɗen, hiɗon,* etc. can be simplified as *e/hi* + *ɗ* + short form. As for this form, Ard (1979) has presented a good analysis. It will suffice here briefly to restate his thesis. When subject pronouns beginning with a glottal stop + a vowel, *'a, 'en* and *'on,* which follows a verbal stem with the vowel ending, the subject pronouns have the *ɗ* V- form. Thus, in relative clauses, the subject pronoun is postposed to the verbal root :

(14) *ndaa nagge (ŋge) shoodu-ɗaa/ɗen/ɗon* 'This is the cow (which) you.sg./we.in./you.pl. bought'
(Arnott 1970 : 319)

This analysis goes along well with the data of the *hi*-forms in F.J. and the forms for the non-personal classes as given in (11) above. This could also apply to *aɗa* as well as to *eɗen* and *oɗon,* with the shortening of *-ɗaa* to *-ɗa.* The possessive form *maaɗa, meeɗen, mooɗon* would support this analysis, especially when compared with *maagal,* etc.

It seems to be a phonological phenomenon that the insertion of *ɗ* is meant to avoid the consequence of two vowels with a glottal stop in-between. On the other hand, the -V'V- construction is quite often seen in Fula phonology at least where a

glottal stop is root- or stem-final, e.g. verbal roots, such as *fa'a, wa'a, sa'a, me'a, ne'a, re'a, te'a, wi'a, yi'a, si'a, nyo'a,* in combination with any of the many vowel-initial verbal suffixes, and nouns, such as *be'i, na'i, ga'i, ba'e (<waare), ko'e (<hoore), gi'al, le'al.* Therefore, it might be easy just to consider this as a common alernation {*ɗ* ~ ʔ (')}in Fula, viz. the implosive *ɗ* and the glottal stop alternate quite often.

The remaining problem in this domain is that of *-mo.* Even in some of the eastern dialects in which it is fairly systematic to make the long forms combining the *e* and the short forms, the 3rd. sg. form is always *e-mo* instead of the expected form **'e-'o* with the subject pronoun. Moreover, *mo* appears as a subject in several dialects: it is the regular form in Dageeja as in *mo wari,* and in Jos Plateau and S. W. Niger (Arnott, personal communication) ; it appears occasionally as a subject in Gombe, especially after a syllable with *e* or *ey* ; and it is a relative subject pronoun in Futa Toro, Liptaako, etc.

There is another datum to support the connection between the locative elements and the long forms. It is the fact that the distribution of the long form pronouns with *hi,* not *e/i,* coincides with that of the *hi* preposition, viz. only in western dialects. There is one problem here: *e/he* requires a 'possessive' pronoun to follow, both in the sense of "with" (e. g. *e maaɗa, e maako, e maɓɓe* etc.) and in the sense of "and" (e. g. *miin e maako,* not **miin e mo).* This fact counterargues our theory of the locative-origin of the long forms. However, it is true for most locative-based elements when they are used as a conjunctive, that is, followed by a sentential structure, it is a subject pronoun, not a possesive one that follows the locative element, e. g.

(15) *o yehi* *haa* *maɓɓe* 'he went home'
at,to,until
but
o fiyi mo haa o maayi 'he beat him until he died'
(Taylor 1932 : 69)

To summarize this section, I have tried to suggest that the development may have been something like this: locatives → existential (there is/are) → pronoun + locative → integrated pronoun (long forms). There is another kind of continuous/stative construction parallel to this, which is explained in the following section.

3. 2. na/no

An effect similar to that of the long-form pronouns can be obtained by the use of the particle *na/no.* Some examples are :

(16) a. *Demmba no*[11] *laaroya gaynaako am.*

11) Usually the Gambian regular form is *ɗi* as in : *reedu am ɗi muusa* 'my stomach is painful', *ɗi ɓornii manna* 'he has put on a hat', and *no,* where it occurs, is due to F.J. influence, according to Arnott (personal communication).

'Demba is in the state of going to look for my shepherd'

b. *Demmba no yaha* 'Demba is going'

(Swift and Tambadu 1965 : 41)

It is sometimes attached to *i* in Futa Toro :

(17) *dawaaɗi ina ŋgoodi* 'There are dogs'

< *wood-* 'exist'

(Labouret 1955 : 96)

This form is widely spread but only found in western dialects. According to Arnott, its distribution is as follows :

(18)	*ina* and *hina*	Futa Toro and the Ferlo in Senegal and edge of Mauritania
	ana	Mali (Massina, Bandiagara, and the Seno plain below Bandiagara
	na	Burkina Faso (Barani, Tougan, Thiou-Ouahigouya, Djibo, Dori), Gaoɓe in W. Niger
	na and *no*	Western Niger (Lamorde Bitinkoji, and near Niamey)
	no	Benin, Futa Jallon

Moreover, Eguchi adds the following information:[12)]

naa and *noo*	Dapango (Northern Togo)

The *na* is used in the Seno plain below Bandiagara, Barani, Thiou-Ouahigouya-Tougan area in combination with the pronoun, to give *mina, ana, ona* etc. instead of *miɗo, aɗa, omo/imo* etc.

Interestingly enough, *na/no* functions as a "locative particle" meaning "in, at." Thus :

(19) a. *galle mum no to hedde marse o* 'his house is near the market'

(Swift *et al.* 1965 : 344)

b. *wudere ne no to dow/yeeso/ley wakunde nde* 'the cloth is on etc. the chest'

(ibid. : 304)

c. *maccuɓe ɓen no ka ruunde* 'the slaves are in their wet-season compound'

d. *lando on no ka maɓɓe* 'the chief is at home'

(c. and d. are from F. J.)

(Arnott, personal communication)

The aspect that *na/no* conveys is "stative" or "qualitative." Thus :

(20)	a. *Demba no e jam*	'Demba is in peace'
	b. *ôo na rawni*	'he is white'
	c. *ôo no meerɗi*	'that person is worthless'

(Swift *et al.* 1965 : 41)

12) The form *a ɗon yaha* is also common (Eguchi, personal communication).

The syntactic behavior of *na/no* is quite parallel to that of *he/hi/e/i.* It follows the subject, full noun, or pronoun[13]. Another similarity is that *na/no* can appear independently in subordinate clauses. Compare the following with 10. c and 10. d.

(21) a. *na ɗuuɗi* 'there is much'
b. *na woodi* 'it is good'

(Bidaud *et al.* 1982 : 156)

In summary, this section shows that the syntactic behavior of *na/no* is quite similar to that of *he/hi/e/i.* It refers to both personal and non-personal subjects, and both seem to have some connection with locative elements. The interesting difference is that *na/no* paradigms are observed mainly in western dialects[14], while those with *he/hi/e/i* are found throughout all Fula-phone areas, as far east Cameroon.

4. Conclusion — A Dialect Division

As I mentioned in the introduction, it is not easy to draw clear boundaries for the Fula dialects. However, I would like to try to find a rough line between them. I have quite often used the terms "western dialects" and "eastern dialects" without clarifying which ones are western and which ones are eastern. By examining the linguistic constructions with *e*, *ɗon* and *na/no,* it has become clearer that this is a major distinction between the western and eastern dialects. The question which then arises is, "Where should the boundary be located?"

With regards to the long form personal pronouns, there is a division between the dialects eastward of Zaria, namely Gombe, Dageeja and Adamawa, where the long form pronouns can be regarded as "*e* + short pronouns" and "short pronouns + *ɗon,*" and those spoken in westward areas where the other forms are found (line Ⓐ in Table 2).

As far as the locative elements are concerned, there is a line between Sokoto where *he* is observed and Zaria where only *e* is used. *Ɗon* is fairly uniform throughout the whole areas (line Ⓑ in Table 2).

As for *na/no,* the line falls between Niger and Sokoto. In the areas westward of Sokoto, *na/no* is very common, being used as an alternative to the long form pronoun for personal and non-personal subjects, sometimes together with the *i*-suffix. In the areas east of Sokoto, including Sokoto, there is no trace of *na/no.* Rather it is *i* in Sokoto and *ɗon* in the eastern dialects that play a similar role after a noun (line Ⓒ in Table 2).

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13) According to Arnott, in the Fadan Gourma (Burkina Faso) and Kaya area of Benin some speakers gave *no* "preceding" pronominal forms in stative and continuous tenses, viz. *nom* (or *noŋ*), *nâa, nó* (') *ò, nomin, nó'èn/nêen, nó'oñ, noɓe.*

14) It is, however, found in eastern dialects, but in limited areas. I suspect it is due to the influence of western dialects as a result of recent migrations and so on.

Table 2

	FJ	GA	FJ	M	L	N	S	Z	GO	D	A
Long Forms		*mido (n)*						Ⓐ			
		ada/hida/ado									
		omo/imo							*e*+short		
		miden/eden/meden							and		
		hiden/eden							short+*don*		
		odon/hidon									
		eße/hiße/iße/ßedo									
Locative		*hi/he/e*						Ⓑ	*e*		
na/no		*(i)(hi)(a)na/no*					Ⓒ		ϕ		

<Abbreviations>

FT =	Futa Toro	S =	Sokoto
GA =	Gambian	Z =	Zaria
FJ =	Futa Jallon	GO =	Gombe
M =	Massina	D =	Dageeja
L =	Liptaako	A =	Adamawa
N =	Niger		

As we have seen so far, the boundary of the east vs. west division is somewhere around Sokoto, although I am aware that there are a great many criteria for dialect division, some of which cut across this division. Whether Sokoto itself is western or eastern is still undecided (cf. Miyamoto 1989). When more data are collected, we will be able to draw a clearer map. One thing I would like to emphasize, in conclusion, is that the long forms of pronouns together with the constructions with *na/no* form a useful, and indeed a major diagnostic criterion for the dialect division of Fula.

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