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Form and meaning in Fulfulde: a morphophonological study of Maasinankoore

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Appendix one

FEATURE SPECIFICATION

The Fulfulde speech sounds are ordered according to degree of sonority. Not included are nasalized, laryngealized, and voiceless vowels.

	a	ɛ	ɔ	e	o	i	u	y	w	ɥ	r	l	m	n	ɲ	β	ʃ	f	s	b	d	ɟ	ɡ	p	t	c	k	ɓ	ɗ	ʝ	mb	nd	nj	ng	ʔ	h			
sonority	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0			
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Appendix two

RESULTS OF THE PHONETIC EXPERIMENT ON VOWEL LENGTH

The length of the underlined vowels in the following utterances have been measured with a gate in the laboratory of the Phonetics Department of the Leiden University. An oscillogram was used to mark the audible part of the utterance. With the gate, parts of the utterances were omitted until only the vowel was audible. This part was measured as the length of each vowel. The utterances were recorded with a Sony-walkman on an Agfa ferro cassette in Paris, May 1989. The utterances were pronounced by one informant, T. Tioulenta, a speaker of the Fulfulde dialect of Maasina. When the same vowel is listed twice, then the measurements are taken from different pronunciations of the same word. The vowels are divided into eight groups, based on a division according to the three factors that could influence vowel length: stress, syllable structure (open or closed), and phonological vowel length.

	phonological vowel length	
	short	long
unstressed in closed syllable	1. <u>c</u> yc	5. c <u>y</u> yc
unstressed in open syllable	2. c <u>y</u>	6. c <u>y</u> v
stressed in closed syllable	3. c <u>y</u> c	7. c <u>y</u> yc
stressed in open syllable	4. c <u>y</u>	8. c <u>y</u> v

The measurements of vowel length in the Fulfulde of Maasina resulted in the following data:

Group 1: unstressed short vowel in closed syllable: cyc

1. <u>rent</u> ĩn ⁿ de	'to gather'	<u>e</u>	= 59 ms	
2. <u>ɓ</u> ɔccɔɔɗɗe	'eggs'	<u>ɔ</u>	= 46 ms	
3. <u>j</u> ɔm-bàawɗe	'the almighty'	<u>ɔ</u>	= 99 ms	
4. <u>ɓe</u> ⁿ dewrĩi	'they have agreed'	<u>e</u>	= 61 ms	
5. <u>j</u> allĩn ⁿ de	'to greet in the afternoon'	<u>a</u>	= 43 ms	
6. mɔjjàa	'it's not good'	<u>ɔ</u>	= 70 ms	
7. wittĩi	'has left'	<u>i</u>	= 52 ms	
8. narratàa	'do you hear with?'	<u>a</u>	= 66 ms	
9. fãmdĩn ⁿ de	'to make small'	<u>a</u>	= 48 ms	
10. [?] an ⁿ dàama	'has been known'	<u>a</u>	= 92 ms	
11. [?] an ⁿ dàa	'don't know'	<u>a</u>	= 86 ms	
12. [?] annĩi	'here it is'	<u>a</u>	= 64 ms	average = 65, 5 ms

Group 2: unstressed short vowel in open syllable:

1. làb <u>a</u> gal	'bridle'	<u>a</u>	= 60 ms
2. [?] ɔmɔ wàawi	'he can'	<u>ɔ</u>	= 52 ms

(group 2 continued: *cɥ*)

3.	ʔomɔ wàawi	'he can'	<u>ɔ</u>	= 70 ms
4.	kàartudi	'sputum'	<u>u</u>	= 60 ms
5.	ʔana	(locative copula)	<u>a</u>	= 60 ms
6.	ʔana	(locative copula)	<u>a</u>	= 43 ms
7.	hòyninɔ	'had underestimated'	<u>i</u>	= 90 ms
8.	hòynude	'to underestimate'	<u>u</u>	= 50 ms
9.	gòlle ʔɔɔ	'that work'	<u>e</u>	= 46 ms
10.	joomiràadɔ	'lord, master'	<u>i</u>	= 46 ms
11.	fijude	'to play'	<u>u</u>	= 49 ms
12.	ŋe ʔjeewfii	'they have enjoyed'	<u>e</u>	= 48 ms
13.	rèwrude	'to agree'	<u>u</u>	= 43 ms
14.	binta	'Binta' (girl's name)	<u>a</u>	= 59 ms
15.	narratàa	'do you hear with'	<u>a</u>	= 32 ms
16.	nanirde	'to hear with'	<u>a</u>	= 70 ms
17.	fàtumata	'Fatumata' (girl's name)	<u>u</u>	= 47 ms
18.	fàtumata	'Fatumata' (girl's name)	<u>a</u>	= 39 ms
19.	ɲàrdufe	'beautiful (people)'	<u>u</u>	= 50 ms
20.	welàa	'isn't nice'	<u>e</u>	= 82 ms
21.	lèetere	'letter'	<u>e</u>	= 33 ms
22.	kanàa	'should'	<u>a</u>	= 48 ms

average = 53,5 ms

Group 3: stressed short vowel in closed syllable: *cɥc*

1.	ɲàrdufe	'to be beautiful'	<u>à</u>	= 83 ms
2.	lobbidinⁿde	'to be kind'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 118 ms
3.	nàwre	'lake'	<u>à</u>	= 70 ms
4.	famdinⁿde	'to make small'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 74 ms
5.	hòyninɔ	'had underestimated'	<u>ò</u>	= 60 ms
6.	gòlle ʔɔɔ	'that work'	<u>ò</u>	= 73 ms
7.	hòynude	'to underestimate'	<u>ò</u>	= 59 ms
8.	rèwrude	'to agree'	<u>è</u>	= 129 ms
9.	rèwrude	'to agree'	<u>è</u>	= 78 ms
10.	sàanne	'much'	<u>à</u>	= 58 ms
11.	ɲallinⁿde	'to greet in the afternoon'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 69 ms
12.	hinnude	'to greet in the evening'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 124 ms
13.	lèkki cùkkuki	'tree with dense foliage'	<u>è</u>	= 76 ms
14.	lèkki cùkkuki	'tree with dense foliage'	<u>ù</u>	= 48 ms
15.	rentinⁿde	'to gather'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 34 ms
16.	hùuⁿde wònⁿde	'another thing'	<u>ò</u>	= 98 ms
17.	sàwru	'staff'	<u>à</u>	= 59 ms
18.	binta	'Binta' (girl's name)	<u>ĩ</u>	= 80 ms
19.	binta	'Binta' (girl's name)	<u>ĩ</u>	= 62 ms
20.	nanirde	'to hear with'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 43 ms
21.	ṭikkude	'to be sad'	<u>ĩ</u>	= 31 ms
22.	wònⁿde	'to be'	<u>ò</u>	= 78 ms

(group 3 continued: cȳc)

23. w̄n ⁿ de	'to be'	̄ = 74 ms	
24. ḡàrdufe	'beautiful (people)'	à = 68 ms	
25. h̄nnɔ	'may take care'	ī = 69 ms	
26. ʔàlla	'god'	à = 98 ms	
27. dèbbɔ	'woman'	è = 68 ms	average = 72, 2 ms

Group 4: stressed short vowel in open syllable: cȳ

1. f̄je	'pimples'	ù = 76 ms	
2. l̄ba ⁿ gal	'bridle'	à = 82 ms	
3. f̄jude	'to play'	ī = 70 ms	
4. h̄dum	'what'	ò = 46 ms	
5. f̄atumata	'Fatumata' (girl's name)	à = 39 ms	
6. m̄ ⁿ de	'when'	à = 75 ms	
7. ʔana w̄eli	'it's nice'	è = 56 ms	
8. w̄onude	'to be'	ò = 61 ms	
9. j̄awɔ	'bracelet'	à = 60 ms	
10. f̄e ⁿ gàd̄i	'they have done'	à = 88 ms	
11. d̄uwene	'may bless you'	ù = 53 ms	average = 64, 2 ms

Group 5: unstressed long vowel in closed syllable: cv̄vc

1. ḡɔrnàade	'to be sad'	ɔɔ = 106 ms	
2. waançàade	'to wander around'	aa = 130 ms	
3. cuunnòɔɔ	'who had hidden'	uu = 167 ms	
4. f̄e ⁿ jeew̄ii	'they have enjoyed'	ee = 69 ms	
5. laattòɔ	'will become'	aa = 95 ms	average = 113, 4 ms

Group 6: unstressed long vowel in open syllable: cv̄v

1. joomir̄aad̄ɔ	'lord, master'	oo = 135 ms	
2. cuud̄unòɔɔ	'who had hidden'	uu = 99 ms	
3. juuf̄ii	'has prayed'	uu = 91 ms	
4. yeew̄ède	'to miss'	ee = 176 ms	
5. yeew̄àama	'miss'	ee = 174 ms	
6. loofiima	'has washed him/herself'	oo = 133 ms	average = 134, 7 ms

Group 7: stressed long vowel in closed syllable:

1. ḡaam ⁿ du	'food'	àa = 172 ms	
2. f̄eemri	'withdrawal of flood'	èe = 124 ms	
3. f̄eemri	'withdrawal of flood'	èe = 144 ms	
4. m̄ilde	'to think'	īi = 187 ms	
5. hàayre	'stone'	àa = 134 ms	
6. w̄aawde	'to be able'	àa = 128 ms	
7. f̄uuyde	'to be lazy'	ùu = 150 ms	
8. m̄ɔ p̄uuyd̄ɔ	'he is lazy'	ùu = 138 ms	
9. n̄aarre	'entrance of flood'	àa = 181 ms	

10. kàartudi	'sputum'	àa = 132 ms
11. dàaw ⁿ gal	'crow'	àa = 128 ms
12. jəm-bàawɗe	'the almighty'	àa = 122 ms
13. pùuy ⁿ dam	'laziness'	ùu = 105 ms
14. yèewtude	'to amuse, enjoy o.s.'	èè = 62 ms
15. ⁿ jèewti	'are amused'	èè = 69 ms
16. tèew	'meat'	èè = 90 ms
17. jàaw ⁿ gal	'guinea fowl'	àa = 125 ms
18. mòottude	'to assemble'	òò = 86 ms
19. mòotti	'Mopti'	òò = 113 ms
20. kɔ̀ɔrdɔ	'female slave'	ɔɔ = 118 ms
21. hɔ̀ɔrɓe	'female slaves'	ɔɔ = 154 ms
22. jɔ̀ɔn ⁿ de	'seat, position'	ɔɔ = 153 ms
23. jɔ̀ɔn ⁿ de	'seat, position'	ɔɔ = 142 ms
24. hòownude	'to beat offensively'	òò = 117 ms
25. pɔ̀ɔy ⁿ dam	'meagreness'	ɔɔ = 142 ms
26. wɔ̀ɔɓɓe	'beautiful (people)'	ɔɔ = 107 ms
27. jùulde	'to pray'	ùu = 75 ms
28. wèennude	'to greet at noon'	èè = 121 ms
29. cùur ⁿ gol	'band'	ùu = 88 ms
30. [?] òoldi	'yellow (bull)'	òò = 153 ms
31. lèkki cùukki	'tree that has hidden'	ùu = 158 ms
32. wùurnu	'may cause to live'	ùu = 181 ms average = 128,1 ms

1. waapcàade	'to wander around'	àa = 191 ms
2. ʔɔmo wàawi	'he can, he is able'	àa = 202 ms
3. ʔɔmo fùuji	'he is lazy'	ùu = 134 ms
4. ɛccɛɛɛ	'eggs'	ɔɔ = 111 ms
5. joomiràadɔ	'lord, master'	àa = 152 ms
6. hùuⁿde	'thing'	ùu = 227 ms
7. hùuⁿde	'thing'	ùu = 156 ms
8. kàaje	'stones'	àa = 147 ms
9. ɣɔɔrnàade	'to be sad'	àa = 140 ms
10. yeeewèede	'to miss'	èe = 149 ms
11. yeewàama	'have missed'	àa = 144 ms
12. cuunnɔɔɔɔ	'who had hidden'	ɔɔ = 153 ms
13. cuudunɔɔɔɔ	'who had hidden'	ɔɔ = 98 ms
14. ɛèeɛude	'to dry up'	èe = 111 ms
15. wòodude	'to be beautiful'	òo = 172 ms
16. ʔanⁿdàama	'has been known'	àa = 131 ms
17. lèetere	'letter'	èe = 144 ms
18. maⁿde ɛe nàami	'when did they eat'	àa = 118 ms
		average = 148.9 ms

The conclusions on the length of vowels are based on the comparison of the variants that occur in two groups, differing in one feature: phonological vowel length (short versus long), stress (stressed versus unstressed), and syllable structure (open versus closed).

group	range	average vowel length	standard deviation
2. CV	43-99 ms	53,5 ms	14,5
4. C $\bar{V}$	33-90 ms	64, 2 ms	15,4
1. CVC	31-129 ms	65,5 ms	18,4
3. C $\bar{V}$ C	39-88 ms	73,4 ms	24,0
5. CVVC	69-167 ms	113,4 ms	37,1
7. C $\bar{V}$ VC	62-187 ms	128,1 ms	32,2
6. CVV	91-176 ms	134,7 ms	35,9
8. C $\bar{V}$ V	98-227 ms	148,9 ms	32,9

The conclusions of the t-test are that the duration of vowels in stressed vs. unstressed vowels is significantly different when all data are entered. This difference is not significant with a smaller amount of data. The difference in duration of a vowel in CV vs. CVC is significant in a comparison of short vowels only. The duration of vowels in a CVV vs. CVVC syllable is significantly different in a comparison of only long vowels. The effect of a coda which closes the syllable on vowel length does not come out in a comparison of all data, since the effects are opposite for long vs. short vowels (see also section 4.3.2).

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