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Form and meaning in Fulfulde: a morphophonological study of Maasinankoore

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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. <u>c</u> yc |
| unstressed in open syllable | 2. c <u>y</u> | 6. c <u>y</u> |
| stressed in closed syllable | 3. <u>c</u> yc | 7. <u>c</u> yc |
| stressed in open syllable | 4. c <u>y</u> | 8. c <u>y</u> |

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> in ⁿ de | 'to gather' | <u>e</u> = 59 ms | |
| 2. <u>ɓ</u> ccɔɔɗɗe | 'eggs' | <u>ɔ</u> = 46 ms | |
| 3. <u>j</u> m-bâawɗe | 'the almighty' | <u>ɔ</u> = 99 ms | |
| 4. <u>ɓe</u> ⁿ dewrii | 'they have agreed' | <u>e</u> = 61 ms | |
| 5. <u>j</u> allin ⁿ de | 'to greet in the afternoon' | <u>a</u> = 43 ms | |
| 6. <u>m</u> jjàa | 'it's not good' | <u>ɔ</u> = 70 ms | |
| 7. <u>w</u> ittii | 'has left' | <u>i</u> = 52 ms | |
| 8. <u>n</u> arratàa | 'do you hear with?' | <u>a</u> = 66 ms | |
| 9. <u>f</u> amɗin ⁿ de | 'to make small' | <u>a</u> = 48 ms | |
| 10. [?] <u>a</u> n ⁿ dàama | 'has been known' | <u>a</u> = 92 ms | |
| 11. [?] <u>a</u> n ⁿ dàa | 'don't know' | <u>a</u> = 86 ms | |
| 12. [?] <u>a</u> nnii | 'here it is' | <u>a</u> = 64 ms | average = 65, 5 ms |

Group 2: unstressed short vowel in open syllable:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|------------------|
| 1. là <u>b</u> a ⁿ gal | 'bridle' | <u>a</u> = 60 ms |
| 2. [?] <u>ɔ</u> mɔ wàawi | 'he can' | <u>ɔ</u> = 52 ms |

(group 2 continued: *cɥ*)

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

average = 53,5 ms

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

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

(group 3 continued: c̀̀c)

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------|
| 23. ẁ̀n ⁿ de | 'to be' | ̀̀ = 74 ms | |
| 24. ̀̀ardu ^{be} | 'beautiful (people)' | ̀̀ = 68 ms | |
| 25. h̀̀nnɔ | 'may take care' | ̀̀ = 69 ms | |
| 26. ̀̀alla | 'god' | ̀̀ = 98 ms | |
| 27. d̀̀bbɔ | 'woman' | ̀̀ = 68 ms | average = 72, 2 ms |

Group 4: stressed short vowel in open syllable: c̀̀

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------|
| 1. f̀̀je | 'pimples' | ̀̀ = 76 ms | |
| 2. l̀̀ba ^{gal} | 'bridle' | ̀̀ = 82 ms | |
| 3. f̀̀jude | 'to play' | ̀̀ = 70 ms | |
| 4. h̀̀dum | 'what' | ̀̀ = 46 ms | |
| 5. f̀̀atumata | 'Fatumata' (girl's name) | ̀̀ = 39 ms | |
| 6. m̀̀ ⁿ de | 'when' | ̀̀ = 75 ms | |
| 7. ̀̀ana ẁ̀eli | 'it's nice' | ̀̀ = 56 ms | |
| 8. ẁ̀nude | 'to be' | ̀̀ = 61 ms | |
| 9. j̀̀awɔ | 'bracelet' | ̀̀ = 60 ms | |
| 10. ̀̀e ⁿ g̀̀di | 'they have done' | ̀̀ = 88 ms | |
| 11. d̀̀wene | 'may bless you' | ̀̀ = 53 ms | average = 64, 2 ms |

Group 5: unstressed long vowel in closed syllable: c̀̀vc

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. ̀̀ɔrnàade | 'to be sad' | ̀̀ = 106 ms | |
| 2. waan ^{cà} ade | 'to wander around' | ̀̀ = 130 ms | |
| 3. cuunn ^ɔ ɔ | 'who had hidden' | ̀̀ = 167 ms | |
| 4. ̀̀e ⁿ jeeẁ̀ii | 'they have enjoyed' | ̀̀ = 69 ms | |
| 5. laatt ^ɔ | 'will become' | ̀̀ = 95 ms | average = 113, 4 ms |

Group 6: unstressed long vowel in open syllable: c̀̀v

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. joomir ^à ad ^ɔ | 'lord, master' | ̀̀ = 135 ms | |
| 2. cuud ^{un} ɔɔ | 'who had hidden' | ̀̀ = 99 ms | |
| 3. juufii | 'has prayed' | ̀̀ = 91 ms | |
| 4. yeew ^è ede | 'to miss' | ̀̀ = 176 ms | |
| 5. yeew ^à ama | 'miss' | ̀̀ = 174 ms | |
| 6. loofiima | 'has washed him/herself' | ̀̀ = 133 ms | average = 134, 7 ms |

Group 7: stressed long vowel in closed syllable:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|--|
| 1. ̀̀aam ⁿ du | 'food' | ̀̀ = 172 ms | |
| 2. ̀̀eemri | 'withdrawal of flood' | ̀̀ = 124 ms | |
| 3. ̀̀eemri | 'withdrawal of flood' | ̀̀ = 144 ms | |
| 4. m̀̀ilde | 'to think' | ̀̀ = 187 ms | |
| 5. h̀̀ayre | 'stone' | ̀̀ = 134 ms | |
| 6. ẁ̀awde | 'to be able' | ̀̀ = 128 ms | |
| 7. f̀̀uuyde | 'to be lazy' | ̀̀ = 150 ms | |
| 8. m̀̀ɔ p̀̀uyd ^ɔ | 'he is lazy' | ̀̀ = 138 ms | |
| 9. ǹ̀arre | 'entrance of flood' | ̀̀ = 181 ms | |

(group 7 continued: *c̀̀yc*)

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 10. kàartudi | ‘sputum’ | àa = 132 ms |
| 11. dàawⁿgal | ‘crow’ | àa = 128 ms |
| 12. jòm-bàawdɛ | ‘the almighty’ | àa = 122 ms |
| 13. pùuyⁿdam | ‘laziness’ | ùu = 105 ms |
| 14. yèewtude | ‘to amuse, enjoy o.s.’ | èe = 62 ms |
| 15. ⁿjèewti | ‘are amused’ | èe = 69 ms |
| 16. tèew | ‘meat’ | èe = 90 ms |
| 17. jàawⁿgal | ‘guinea fowl’ | àa = 125 ms |
| 18. mòottude | ‘to assemble’ | òo = 86 ms |
| 19. mòotti | ‘Mopti’ | òo = 113 ms |
| 20. k̀̀ɔ̀̀rdɔ̀̀ | ‘female slave’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 118 ms |
| 21. h̀̀ɔ̀̀rɛ | ‘female slaves’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 154 ms |
| 22. j̀̀ɔ̀̀nⁿde | ‘seat, position’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 153 ms |
| 23. j̀̀ɔ̀̀nⁿde | ‘seat, position’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 142 ms |
| 24. h̀̀oownude | ‘to beat offensively’ | òo = 117 ms |
| 25. p̀̀ɔ̀̀yⁿdam | ‘meagreness’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 142 ms |
| 26. ẁ̀ɔ̀̀ɛɛɛ | ‘beautiful (people)’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 107 ms |
| 27. j̀̀uulde | ‘to pray’ | ùu = 75 ms |
| 28. wèennude | ‘to greet at noon’ | èe = 121 ms |
| 29. c̀̀urⁿgol | ‘band’ | ùu = 88 ms |
| 30. ⁿòoldi | ‘yellow (bull)’ | òo = 153 ms |
| 31. lèkki c̀̀ukki | ‘tree that has hidden’ | ùu = 158 ms |
| 32. ẁ̀urnu | ‘may cause to live’ | ùu = 181 ms average = 128,1 ms |

Group 8: stressed long vowel in open syllable: *c̀̀y*

| | | |
|--|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. waajcàade | ‘to wander around’ | àa = 191 ms |
| 2. ⁿɔ̀̀mɔ̀̀ wàawi | ‘he can, he is able’ | àa = 202 ms |
| 3. ⁿɔ̀̀mɔ̀̀ f̀̀ujji | ‘he is lazy’ | ùu = 134 ms |
| 4. ɛ̀̀ɔ̀̀cc̀̀ɔ̀̀dɛ | ‘eggs’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 111 ms |
| 5. joomiràadɔ̀̀ | ‘lord, master’ | àa = 152 ms |
| 6. h̀̀uuⁿde | ‘thing’ | ùu = 227 ms |
| 7. h̀̀uuⁿde | ‘thing’ | ùu = 156 ms |
| 8. kàaje | ‘stones’ | àa = 147 ms |
| 9. ɛ̀̀ɔ̀̀rnàade | ‘to be sad’ | àa = 140 ms |
| 10. yèewèede | ‘to miss’ | èe = 149 ms |
| 11. yèewàama | ‘have missed’ | àa = 144 ms |
| 12. cuunǹ̀ɔ̀̀dɔ̀̀ | ‘who had hidden’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 153 ms |
| 13. cuuduǹ̀ɔ̀̀dɔ̀̀ | ‘who had hidden’ | ̀̀ɔ̀̀ = 98 ms |
| 14. ɛ̀̀èɛbude | ‘to dry up’ | èe = 111 ms |
| 15. ẁ̀oodude | ‘to be beautiful’ | òo = 172 ms |
| 16. ⁿanⁿdàama | ‘has been known’ | àa = 131 ms |
| 17. lèetere | ‘letter’ | èe = 144 ms |
| 18. maⁿde ɛ̀̀ɛ 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. CV | 33-90 ms | 64, 2 ms | 15,4 |
| 1. CVC | 31-129 ms | 65,5 ms | 18,4 |
| 3. CVC | 39-88 ms | 73,4 ms | 24,0 |
| 5. CVVC | 69-167 ms | 113,4 ms | 37,1 |
| 7. CVVC | 62-187 ms | 128,1 ms | 32,2 |
| 6. CVV | 91-176 ms | 134,7 ms | 35,9 |
| 8. CVV | 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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