11
Fula
(Northern, Senegambian, Atlantic)

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11.1 General

Fula (aka Fulfulde[1]) has proven to be a classification puzzle, with some early scholars judging it more Semitic than Niger-Congo[2]. The language is widely spoken in a continuum from West to East in countries including Senegal, Mauritania, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Burkina Faso, northern Benin, Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, with some speakers reported as far East as Sudan.

Estimates of the number of speakers vary wildly. Gordon (2005) puts the number at approximately four and a half million, but suggests that in total, speakers may number as high as twelve million. The UCLA Language Materials Project (www.lmp.ucla.edu) puts the number at between 12-15 million speakers.

Estimates of dialects vary from two (as in Taylor (1953)) to six (as in Arnott (1970:3). Arnott's monograph is based on the Gombe dialect, spoken in Northeastern Nigeria, which he considers "more typical of Fula as a whole" (1970:4). Unless otherwise indicated, we refer to the latter in this chapter.

Fula is a five vowel language (with contrasting long vowels). There are no tones. However, Arnott marks what he terms the "salient syllable" with the diacritic (') over the relevant vowel (1970:63, 64). The consonant system contains 28 members, including four "glottalized" consonants (ɓ, ɗ,'y, and ')[3]. The language allows geminated consonants and has a full array of pre-nasalized stops.

Fula boasts a complex and unusual system of suffixally-marked noun class and concord. Each class suffix has several allomorphs (or "grades" as Arnott calls them (1970:88-89)), which combine with stems of the same "grade". This fact has an effect on agreement morphology: since the "grade" of the suffix is determined by the individual stem, agreement phrases show suffixes of the same class, but not necessarily the same form:

(1) **loo-ŋgel**   **ɓalee-yel**
     pot-class 3 (smallness singular)   black-class 3 (smallness singular)
     'a small black pot' (Arnott 1970:92, Appendix 5)

(2) **Examples of the Noun Class System of Fula**
     (after Arnott 1970:75, Appendix 4):

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[1] Depending on country of speakers, the language is also variously known as Pulaar, Pular, Fulbe, Fulani, among others.

[2] Even today, says Wilson (1989:87), " eminent libraries catalogue Fula under 'Hamitic'". This early identification (as by Meinhof 1912) was clearly wrong-minded. Childs (2003:35) goes so far as to call it "shameful". See Sanders (1996) for the history of, and rationale for, the "Hamitic Hypothesis".

[3] /'/ is a glottal stop in slow speech; in normal speech, it may be realized as a "glottal creak" in initial position, as an intervocalic glide in medial position (Arnott 1970:385).

Class 1	Animate (human) (s)	**-o**	**gork-o** 'man'
Class 2	Animate (human) (p)	**-ɓe**	**wor-ɓe** 'men'
Class 3	Small person/thing (s)	**-ŋgel**	**ɓiŋ-ŋgel** 'small child'
Class 6	Small persons/things (p)	**-kon**	**ɓik-kon** 'small children'
Class 7	Large item/quantity (s)	**-ŋga**	**ɗem-ŋga** 'big tongue'
Class 8	Large items/quantities (p)	**-ko**	**ɗem-ko** 'big tongues'

An especially intriguing feature of the concord system, seen in the singular/plural pairs in classes 1 and 2 above, involves the alternation of the stem-initial consonants. This consonant alternation (referred to by some authors as "phonetic chiasmus", from the Greek letter chi (X), by others as "consonant mutation") is exemplified below[4]:

(3) **The consonant alternation system of Fula** (Sapir 1971:67, reproduced in Childs 2003a:74). Each column represents a single phoneme, with allomorphs of increasingly "stronger" grades: thus, for instance, [g] is a stronger variant of [w], [p] a stronger variant of [f], etc.

I.	f	t	s	h	w(b)	r (d)	y (j)	y	w	ʔ (g)
II.	p	t	c	k	b	d	j	g	g	g
III.	p	t	c	k	mb	nd	nj	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg

11.2 Word Order

Fula is generally S V (IO) (DO). This is the default order in main clauses. In some subordinate clauses (as in examples (5) and (6)), the order of subject and verb is reversed. There is an morphologically-based change in position of the invariable element -**no**-.[5] It appears at final, after the suffix and negative marker in what I am calling "simple" forms (as in Arnott's "General Past" and "Future"; see below and Overview in §11.11), but after the "auxiliary-type" element **ɗon** (as in template in (14)) in "complex" forms.

The following examples show the default word order including objects, both pronominal and nominal, in main clauses.

(4) a. One object:

mi-sood-ii[6]   **nagge**

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[4] Consonant alternation is "widespread and robust" throughout Northern Atlantic (Childs 2003:73ff), less so in neighboring Mande. It is not unknown in other language families: a similar system obtains in Celtic languages.

[5] Although Arnott calls this a "preterite" marker, it could be interpreted as a "shifter", as its use "places the action or process one stage further back in time, usually with an implication of an intervening change in the situation" (Arnott 1970:216). Arnott analyses Fula as having tenses and aspects. I analyse the system in terms of aspects, and put his terms in following brackets. In glossing, I put his terms in inverted commas.

[6] Arnott does not segment the verbal root (here **-sood**- 'buy') from the AMVN suffix (here **-ii**, the marker of the "General Past Active"). He does use hyphens to indicate the "essential unity" of certain "inseparable" verbal constituents. Thus **mi-soodii** is identified as a verbal "complex", both because of the "inseparability of its constituent parts and its frequent morphophonemic interdependence" (1970:15,174,229ff). Other hyphenated elements (besides subject pronouns) include object pronouns and the element -**no**- (which we are calling a "shifter"):

1s-buy-"General Past Active"   cow (DO)
'I bought/have bought a cow.' (Adapted from Arnott 1970:319)

  b. Two pronominal objects:

ɓe-hokk-ii-no-mo-ɗum
3p-give-"General Past Active"-shifter-IO (him)-DO (it)
'They had given him it.'

However, in the case where both a (pronominal) "object element" and a "noun object" occur, "the object element (being part of the "verbal complex") always precedes the noun object" (Arnott 1970:175):

  c. Two objects (one pronoun, one NP object):

mi-hokk-ii-ndi   **puccu** **'am**
1s-give-"General Past Active"-DO (it = **gawri** 'corn') horse (IO) my
'I gave it to my horse.'

Predications with three objects are possible, but rare, and invariably involves a verbal extension which 'licenses' the third object. Here, the noun "care" is licensed by the extension -**ir**-:

  d. Three NP objects:

'o-maɓɓ-it-ir-an-ii   **Bello yolnde hakkilo**
3s-close-reversive-"modal"[7]-dative-"General Past Active" Bello door care
'He carefully opened the door for Bello.' (Arnott 1970:27)

  So-called "relative tenses" (Arnott 1970) may appear in all three voices. They generally occur in subordinate clauses, resultative clauses, after certain particles including question particles, and in reported speech. In relative tenses, the past perfective ("General Past Active") suffix **-ii** is replaced by **-u** and the order of subject and verb can be reversed in some, but not all, persons:

(5) a. **ndaa nagge (ŋge) shood-u-mi**
     this cow (which) buy-"Relative Past Active"-1s
     'This is the cow (which) I bought.' (Arnott 1970:319)

    Compare: **mi-soodii nagge** ('I bought a cow.')

ʼo-hokkii-no-mo-ɗum 'he had given him it'. Not all authors who write on Fula do this: most write subject pronouns as independent items. All other tense or aspect markers, auxiliary-type elements **ɗon** and **'e** as well as extensions, are not segmented by Arnott. I have added hyphens between such morphemes to clarify morphological analysis for the reader.
[7]Arnott's "modal" = Instrumental.

The S V order is reversed in certain persons in subordinate clauses in the "Relative Future" as well:

(6) **wi'-am mo   nodd-ay-mi**
      tell-me   whom call-"FUT"-1s
      'Tell me whom I am to call.' (adapted from Arnott 1970:149)

11.3 Verb Structure

Fula has an extremely complex verbal system. The sheer number of possible forms is daunting: there are three voices (Active, Middle and Passive, all marked at final), several moods, fifteen different forms (Arnott's "tenses" 1970:4), and nineteen radical extensions. The default template is given below (but see (12)):

(7)   (NEG) (SM)-root-(EXT)**-**AMV(NEG)-(**no**)-(IO)-(DO)-(LOC/INST)

A minimal finite verb form (such as the Imperative[8]) involves a root with suffixal AMVN markers (see §11.9 for Negatives). In these minimal Imperatives, the category *voice* must be specified (thus **-u** for active voice Imperative, **-a** for middle voice Imperative. There is no passive Imperative):

(8)   **wart-u**   **waal-a**
          return-Imperative Active   lie down-Imperative Middle
          'Come back!'   'Lie down!'

Several objects may occur:

(9)   **hokk-u-mo-nga**
          give-Imperative Active-him(IO)-it(DO)
          'Give him it!'

As above, if the "shifter"-**no**- appears, it is located after the AMVN suffix, but before any pronominal objects (compare the syntax with -**ɗon**- or -**'e**, discussed below).

(10)   a   **mi-yɗaf-oto-no-mo**
                  1s-forgive-"Future Middle"-shifter-him (DO)
                  'I was going to forgive him.' (Arnott 1970: 229)

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[8] Imperatives are possible in several "tenses"/aspects, including an habitual (actually, a future used as an habitual) imperative: **wolw-at-ay** 'keep on talking!', but only two voices, there being no Passive Imperative (Arnott 1970:248). Other modal forms include a desiderative (suffixes -**u**, -**o**, or -**Ø**): '**Alla wall-am** 'God help me'; '**Alla hinno-mo, faranoo-mo** 'God have pity on him and pardon him', and a subjunctive (voice-related suffixes -**a**/-**u**, -**oo**/-**o**, -**ee**/-**e**, or -**Ø**) with a wide range of meanings and uses, including injunctions: '**o-wart-a** 'He is to come back!'. The subjunctive occurs regularly in subordinate clauses, often introduced by particles such as **haa** or **sey** (borrowed from Hausa): **haa mi-nodd-a Bello** 'Let me call Bello'; **sey 'o-nodd-ee** 'He should be called' (Arnott 1970:299-315).

b **ɓe-hokk-ii-no-mo-ɗum**
3p-give-"General Past Active"-shifter-him(IO)-it(DO)
'They had given him it.'

c **'o-haɓɓ-ir-ii-mo-ŋgo**
3s-tie-"modal"-"General Past Active"-him (DO)-it
'He tied him up with it.'

11.3.1 Extensions[9]

Arnott (1970:333) lists 19 different extensions, located between the verbal root and the AMVN suffix. There are very few limitations on which extensions may combine; however, there are certain restrictions on the *order* in which they may occur. Arnott suggests that the order (-**t**- > -**d**- > -**n**- > -**r**- > followed by -**an**- > -**law**- > -**oy**-) is phonologically not semantically motivated (1970: 334, 366)[10].

(11) Possible combinations and ordering of extensions
(adapted slightly from Arnott 1970:367)

'o-maɓɓ-ii yolnde   'He shut the door.'
'o-maɓɓ-it-ii yolnde   'He *opened* the door.'   **-it**- (reversive)
'o-maɓɓ-it-id-ii jolɗde (fuu) 'He *opened all* the doors.'   **-id**-(comprehensive)
'o-maɓɓ-it-id-ir-an-oy-ii-mo   **jolɗd**
he-close-rev.-comprehensive-"modal"-dative-distantive-past-him doors slowly
'He went and opened all the doors slowly for him.'

The more productive of Fula extensions are exemplified below. Note that certain extensions occur only in certain voices. Despite a substantial amount of shared allomorphy (as in the reversive, repetitive, reflexive and retaliative), these extensions do not lend themselves to reduction to a common meaning.

Reversive (allomorphs -**t**-/-**it**-/-**ut**-)   (used with all voices)

fiɓ-a 'tie'   >   **fiɓ-t-a** 'untie'
maɓɓ-a 'close'   >   **maɓɓ-it-a** 'open'
hufn-o 'put on a cap'   >   **hufn-it-o** 'take off a cap'[11]

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[9] There are several derivational elements which are not discussed here, for reasons of space. A single example will suffice: the element -**w** is productively used to derive stative verbs: **ɓalw**-'be black', **nyaw** 'be ill', **tow** 'be tall', **foow** 'be hot', **nayw** 'be old', **ranw** 'be white', **feew** 'be cool', **heew** 'be full'. Even **wolw**- 'talk' apparently bears this apparently separable morpheme: **wol-it-o** 'speak to self' (root-reflexive-middle), **wol-d-a** 'speak with' (root-associative-active).

[10] See Hyman (2004:86) for a discussion of the order of these extensions vis-à-vis (Proto-) Bantu.

[11] Here, the FV alone marks middle voice. The transitive version meaning 'put a cap on (somebody else)' is **hufna** (Arnott 1970:340, nt.1), reflecting the final vowels associated with voice: -**a, -o, -e** (active, middle, passive, respectively) (Arnott 1970:259, 260). Thus:
     war-a (come-active) **jooɗ-o** (sit down-middle) **weel-e** (be hungry-passive)

Repetitive (allomorphs -**t**-/-**it**-/-**ut**-) (majority of uses are middle)

ɗaan-o 'go to sleep'	>	**ɗaan-t-o** 'go to sleep again'
loot-a 'wash'	>	**loot-it-o** 'rewash'

This suffix is often used in close proximity to the simple radical, as in**:**

'o-jali, 'o-jalitii 'He laughed, and laughed again' (Arnott 1970:341).

Reflexive (allomorphs -**t**-/-**it**-) (middle only)

war-a 'kill'	>	**war-t-o** 'kill oneself'
jal-a 'laugh'	>	**jal-it-o** 'laugh at oneself'

Retaliative (allomorphs -**t**-/-**it**-) (middle only)

lat-a 'kick'	>	**lat-it-o** 'kick back'

This suffix occurs regularly in these types of sentences: **tò 'o-fiyii-yam, mi-fiitoto-mo** 'if he hits me, I'll hit him back' (Arnott 1970:343).

Iterative (reduplication and -**i**-/-**in**-) (all voices)

war-a 'come'	>	**war-i-war-in-a** 'keep on coming'
darn-a 'stop'	>	**darn-i-darn-in-a** 'keep on stopping'

11.4 Aspect, Mood, Voice, Negative (AMVN)

Despite Arnott's tense-heavy terminology ("Past", "Future"), I believe Fula to be an aspect-prominent language, and I have analysed it as such. Nevertheless, I maintain an open mind on the possibility that there may be both a future tense (marked by -**ay**-/-**t**-, etc)) and a past tense (marked by the shifter -**no**-). I believe the form which Arnott identifies as "Vague Future" to be modal, and his "Emphatic Past" to be verbal focus.

Fula verbal endings mark a (not-easily-segmentable) combination of aspect, mood, voice and negative. Because Fula verbal endings involve quite a bit of imbrication, I gloss certain such endings as AMVN. Because Fula has three voices, most examples are given in a tabular form, which I believe best presents the relevant contrasts. For a quick overview, the reader is referred to the matrix in §11.11 which provides a summary of major categories.

It is possible to divide Fula verbs into two (morphologically based) categories: "simple" verbs which involve a single main verb, and "complex" verbs which involve a main verb and a grammaticalized auxiliary (copular) element (either -**ɗon**- or -**'e**-). Aspectual divisions do not break down into such easy categories, however. Whereas all the "complex" forms may be considered imperfective (with subsets continuous and habitual), included in the "simple" verbs are both perfectives (the "General Past"), and some imperatives; other imperatives and the

"Future" are habitual. The "Stative" is a combination of both perfective and imperfective. All are exemplified below.

The "shifter" -**no**- is used in both simple and complex forms, but in different locations: after the lexical verb in simple predications, after the auxiliary element in the complex. The position of the object remains the same in both aspects: after the lexical verb.

11.5 Simple forms (forms which do *not* contain an auxiliary element)

11.5.1 Perfective aspect

a. "General Past Active/Middle/Passive"[12]

These forms denote "a completed action, or a completed process" (Arnott 1970:262). (All examples adapted from Arnott's Appendix 13):

ACTIVE (-**ii**)	MIDDLE (-**ake**)	PASSIVE (-**aama**)
'o-loot-ii 'He washed (someone)'	**'o-loot-ake** 'He washed (himself)'	**o-loot-aa-ma** 'He was washed'
NEG ACTIVE (-**ȧa-yi**)	NEG MIDDLE (-**ȧa-ki**)	NEG PASSIVE (-**ȧa-ka**)
'o-loot-aa-yi 'He didn't wash (anyone)'	**'o-loot-ȧa-ki** 'He didn't wash (himself)'	**'o-loot-ȧa-ka** 'He has not been/ isn't washed'

If the "shifter" –**no** is added to this form, it produces a pluperfect. Thus:

(12) a **mi-wind-ii**
       1s-write-PFV/PFT
       'I wrote/have written.'

     b **mi-wind-ii-no**
       1s-write-PFV/PFT-"shifter"
       'I had written.'

b.   Imperatives

The Perfective Imperatives (and their negative forms (= prohibitives)) are exemplified below:

ACTIVE (-**u**/-Ø)	MIDDLE (-**a**)	PASSIVE (-**aama**)
wind-u or wind 'Write!'	**jooɗ-a** 'Sit down!'	
NEG (**tȧa** + -**u**)	NEG (**tȧa** + -**a**)	No form

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[12] The "Emphatic Past" is also perfective. For this form, see under Focus.

tåa wind-u/wind 'Don't write!'	**tåa jooɗ-a** 'Don't sit down!'	

11.5.2 Imperfective aspect

a "Future"

What Arnott terms the "Future" occurs in all three voices, again each with its own endings. It may have both future tense value or habitual/gnomic aspectual meaning, denoting a habit or normal practice (**naaŋge fuɗ-ay** 'the sun rises'). Both meanings may be subsumed under the banner of "non-completeness" (Arnott 1970:270). Note that there is often a meaning change in the negative middle and passive: e.g. negative middle future **'o-loot-åako** means 'he doesn't wash', not * 'he won't wash'; similarly, negative passive future **'o-loot-åake** means 'he isn't being washed' not *'he won't be washed'.

ACTIVE (-**ay**/-[**e**]**t**)	MIDDLE (-[**o**]**to**/-[**e**]**t**)	PASSIVE (-[**e**]**te**)
'o-loot-ay 'He will, is about to wash, washes habitually'	**'o-loot-(o)to** 'He will wash'	**'o-loot-(e)te** 'He will be washed'
NEG ACTIVE (-[**a**]**taa**)	NEG MIDDLE (-[**a**]**taako**)	NEG PASSIVE (-[**a**]**taake**)
'o-loot-åtaa 'He won't wash'	**'o-loot-åako** 'He doesn't wash'	**'o-loot-åake** 'He isn't being washed'

Taylor (1953:76) provides the following example using the alternate Future marker with –**t**-.

(13)   **mi-wind-ata**
           1s-write-FUT/IPFV
           'I shall write.'

11.6 Complex Forms (forms which do contain an auxiliary element)

11.6.1   Imperfective aspect

All complex forms involve grammaticalized elements, (either **ɗon** or **'e**) in complementary distribution, with **ɗon** far more common than **'e**, and "indicate an action or a process taking place at the time of the utterance" (Arnott 1970:282). There is a positional difference between the two: **ɗon** follows the SM, whereas **'e** precedes it (see template in (14), below. According to Arnott, there is no meaning difference between the two. There may be a syntactic difference: **'e** seems far more common in subordinate clauses. The templatic order for these forms is as follows:

(14)   SM-**ɗon**-(**no**)-root-A/M/V/N-(O)   or   **'e**-SM-(**no**)-root-A/M/V/N-(O)

Arnott does not identify these two auxiliary elements, other than to say they are "part of the subject element in the Continuous and Stative tenses" (1970:32), nor does he segment them

from the person markers (although they are clearly segmentable, as I hope to have clarified in the examples). Some authors (e.g. Taylor 1953) do write the element **ɗon** as a separate word. Given the position, function, stress patterns[13] and meaning of these items, I interpret them as grammaticalized copular/auxiliary-type elements. Thus, in the examples, I have glossed both **ɗon** and **'e** as AUX and have segmented Arnott's examples to highlight their morphemic structure within the verb.

a.   *Imperfective complex forms using auxiliary* **ɗon**

Arnott calls a virtually identical independent lexical item **ɗon** 'exists', 'is present'[14] a "stabilizing element"(1970:32) which occurs as an independent verb in such predications as:

(15)   **deptere ɗʊn**   'There is a book.'
       Bello ɗʊn   'Bello is present, is here.'
       mi ɗʊn-no   '**I was present.'

He bases his claim that the independent verb **ɗon** (as in (15)) is not the same **ɗon** as in the complex forms on intonational criteria: "the latter is pronounced on a level pitch (at any rate by my informants), whereas the stabilizing element **ɗon** is marked by a falling pitch" (1970:32, nt.12). Elsewhere, he identifies an independent, morphologically identical item **ɗon** as a locative "adverbial" meaning 'there (at the place in question)'(1970:418). I assume that they are identical. Forms with this auxiliary, in combination with Final Vowel –**a** in the active voice (examples (16), (17) and (18a), -**oo**/-**o**, -**ee**/-**e** in middle and passive, respectively (as in (18b, c), represent ongoing, progressive actions:

(16)   **mi-ɗon-wind-a**
       1s-AUX-write-PROG
       'I am writing. '   (lit: 'I- am there –(I) writ(ing)')

If the shifter is added, a past reference results. (Note the position of the shifter):

(17)   **mi-ɗon-no-wind-a**
       1s-AUX-shifter-write-PROG
       'I was writing' (lit: 'I was there I writing')

Again, the time frame and meaning interact with voice:

(18)   a   ACTIVE   **'o-ɗon-war-a**
                            3s-AUX-come-ACT.PROG
                            'He is coming.'

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[13] Generally, it is the first syllable of the verbal radical which is the "salient syllable" of the verbal complex (Arnott 1970:229). In the stative and continuous forms, the auxiliary element **ɗon** steals this distinction away from the (following main) verb.

[14] As opposed to **ton** 'is present yonder' : **'o tʊn haande** 'he is there today'

’o-ɗon-no-maɓɓ-it-a-ɗum
3s-AUX-shifter-close-reversive-ACT.PROG-it
‘He was opening it.’ (Arnott 1970: 229)

b   MIDDLE   **’o-ɗon-jooɗ-oo**
3s-AUX-sit.down-MID.PROG
‘He is in the process of sitting down.’

c   PASSIVE   **a**-**ɗon-nodd-ee**
2s-AUX-call-PASS.PROG
‘You are being called.’

Arnott notes (1970:282) that the tendency to use these forms with habitual meaning is especially pronounced in Fulani speakers who are also fluent in Hausa.

b.   *Imperfective complex forms using auxiliary ’e*

’e is identified as a preposition meaning ‘with’ (Arnott 1970:142) or ‘in the vicinity of’ (1970:420). Forms with this particular auxiliary are used in answer to the question ‘What does he do for a living?’. Compare the progressive form with **ɗon mi-ɗon-wind-a** ‘I am writing.’

(19)   **’e-mi-wind-a**
        AUX-1s-write-IPFV
        ‘I write.’

Although Arnott claims that there is no difference between the two AUX’s, **’e** seems far more common in subordinate structures, where the (following) clause, introduced by **’e,** is typically translated as a verbal noun:

(20)   a   **mi-yi’-ii-mo   ’e-mo-jooɗ-ii**
             1s-see-PFV-him AUX-3s-sit.down-MID.PFV
             ‘I saw him **sitting** (= ‘having sat’) down.’ (Arnott 1970:285)

        b   **mi-taw-ii-ɓe   ’e-ɓe-kaɓ-a**
             1s-find-PFV-them   AUX-3p-fight-ACT.IPFV
             ‘I found them **fighting**.’ (Arnott 1970:285)

        c   **’a-taw-ay-ɓe   ’e-ɓe-ŋgin-oo**
             2s-find-FUT-them   AUX-3p-swim-MID.IPFV
             ‘You will find them **swimming**.’ (Arnott 1970:282)

c.   *Mixed aspects*

What Arnott refers to as the "stative" combines perfective and imperfective aspects. It always includes a perfective aspect marker appended to the main verb (-**i** (active), -**ii** (middle), -**aa** (passive), and an auxiliary element. It is "used to indicate a state, position, or situation as the

result of the action or process indicated by the radical" (Arnott 1970:279). Notice that the middle voice is especially common in this form. In the active voice, the meaning is a state which may be temporary, as in: **'o-ɗon-tikki** 'He's in a temper'. (Compare the simple perfective form **'o-tikk-ii** 'He's angry (has become angry).')

The mixed aspect forms can refer to any time frame (present, past or future), with the interpretation often depending on which voice is used, and/or other sentential components such as the adverbial **wakkati nden** 'then' (= past) (21b) or the future marker –**ay**- in the main clause (21c).

(21)   a   present reference   **'o-ɗon-suuɗ-ii-yam**
                                  3s-AUX-hide-MID.PFV-you
                                  'He is in hiding from you.'

                                  'o-ɗon-haɓɓ-aa
                                  3s-AUX-tie/bind-PASS.PFV
                                  'He is bound, tied up.'

       b   past reference   **wakkati nden, 'o-ɗon-jooɗ-ii**
                                  time that, 3s-AUX-sit-MID.PFV
                                  'At the time, he was seated.'

                                  wakkati nden, 'o-ɗon-no-jooɗ-ii
                                  time that, 3s-AUX-shifter-sit-MID.PFV
                                  'At the time, he was seated (but later got up).'

                                  mi-taw-ii-ɓe   'e-ɓe-mbaal-ii
                                  1s-find-ACT.PFV-3p   AUX-3p-lie.down.MID.PFV
                                  'I found them lying down.'
                                  (Lit: 'I found them, there they had lain down')

       c   future reference   **tò ɓe-ɗon-njooɗ-ii, mi-wi'ay-ɓe**
                                  when 3p-AUX-sit-MID.PFV, 1s-tell.FUT-3p
                                  'When they are seated, I'll tell them.'

                                  'a-taw-ay-mo   'e-mo-ɗaan-ii
                                  2s-find-FUT-3p   AUX-3s-sleep-MID.PFV
                                  'You will find him asleep.'

In these mixed forms, AMVN markers and objects follow the main verb, not the AUX:

(22)   **'o-ɗon-mammb-ii-ŋgel**
       3s-AUX-embrace-MID.PFV-it
       'She is embracing it.'

11.7 Mood

Fula has a subjunctive (with forms in all three voices) whose uses are "numerous and varied" (Arnott 1976:299). The use of the subjunctive may indicate an injunctive form:

(24) a **ŋgadd-aa-ɗum**
        Ø-bring-(active SBJ)-it
        'Come on, bring it along!' (1976:300)

      b **ɓe-njooɗ-oo**
        3p-sit.down-(middle SBJ)
        'They are to sit down.'

For prohibitions, the sentence initial particle **tó** is used:

      c **tó ɓe-njooɗ-oo**
        NEG 3p-sit.down-(middle SBJ)
        'They are not to sit down.'

The subjunctive may express a wish or a prayer:

(25) **njuut-aa balɗe**
      Ø-be.long-(active SBJ) days
      'Long may you live!' (= 'may you be long in days')

Subjunctives also appear with certain particles to indicate such things as requests for permission (with particle **haa**) (26a), or obligation (with particle **sey**)[15] (26b) :

(26) a **haa   mi-nodd-a   Bello**
        PRT   1s-call-(active SBJ) Bello
        'Let me call Bello.' (Arnott 1976:302)

      b **sey ’o-nodd-ee**
        PRT 3s-call-(passive SBJ)
        'He should be called.' (Arnott 1976:302)

The subjunctive occurs often in subordinate clauses following a verb **haan**- meaning 'be appropriate', where the first verb may be considered the main verb, similar to French *il faut que* +SBJ:

(27) **haan-ii   ’yam-en   moodibbo**
      be.appropriate-PFV   ask-2INCL (SBJ)   teacher
      'We ought to ask the teacher.' (= 'It is appropriate that we should ask the teacher')
      (Arnott 1976:311)

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[15] Arnott says that this particle is "clearly borrowed from Hausa" (1976:302).

What Arnott (1970:275ff) calls the "Vague Future" I interpret as a modal. It occurs much less frequently than the 'plain' future, and in subordinate clauses. Its use implies "a likelihood or vague possibility rather than a prospect or intention" (Arnott 1970:275), and, occasionally, a vague threat. Arnott says (1970:199) that the **-ma** element is best treated as part of the suffix and not as a separate particle, as an object element follows in such predications as **mi-nodd-uma-mo** 'I'll call him'. I think **-ma** is better analyzed as a modal particle.

ACTIVE (-**u-ma**)	MIDDLE (-**oo-ma**)	PASSIVE (-**ee-ma**)
Yahu 'a-yi'uma 'Off you go (and) you'll see.' (Arnott 1970:275)	**tò 'a-'yeeŋgii ɗo'o, 'a-do'y'yooma** 'If you climb up there, you'll fall.'	**tò 'o-wartii ɗo'o, 'o-naŋŋgeema** 'If he comes back here, he's liable to be caught.'

11.8   Non-finite forms

In addition to a large number of possible finite verb forms, Fula has an extensive array of non-finite forms (infinitives and participles). Arnott (1970:18) indicates that these "hybrid" forms are marked for both verbal and nominal inflection.

(28)   Infinitives   **loot-u-ki**   'to wash' (ACTIVE)
                      loot-aa-ki   'to wash oneself, get washed' (MIDDLE)
                      loot-ee-ki   'to be washed' (PASSIVE)

       Participles   **loot-u-ɗo**   '(one) who has washed (something)' (ACTIVE)
                      loot-otoo-ɗo '(one) who will wash himself' (MIDDLE)
                      loot-aa-ɗo   '(one) who has been washed' (PASSIVE)

11.9   Negation

Fula has several negation strategies. The default (primary) negative appears at suffix, incorporated into the AMVN markers as in the following examples:

(29) **'o-loot-ii** 'He washed (someone).' > **'o-loot-ȧayi** 'He didn't wash.'
     'o-loot-ake 'He washed (himself).' > **'o-loot-ȧaki** 'H didn't wash (self).'
     'o-loot-aama 'He was washed.'   > **'o-loot-ȧaka** 'He has not been/isn't washed.'
     'o-loot-(e)te 'He will be washed.' > **'o-loot-ȧake** 'He isn't being washed.'

A second strategy uses a pre-posed independent particle. This can be **tȧa** (singular)/ **tȯ** (plural) (Arnott suggests **tȧa** is from **tȯ** 'if' + **'a**) (1970:251, nt.2) used in Imperatives (a. examples) or **nȧ a,** used to negate the "Emphatic Past" (b. example):

(30)   a   **wart-u** 'Come back!'   >   **tȧa wart(u)** 'Don't come back (singular)!'
           wolw-atay 'Keep on talking!'   >   **tȧa wolw-atay** 'Don't keep on talking!'

b **'o-loot-(u)** 'He *washed*/has *washed*.' > **nȧa 'o-loot-(u)** 'He has not *washed*.'

11.10 Focus

Emphasis or 'focus' in African languages is commonly accomplished using one or more of the following strategies: (1) changes in the form of the main verb or use of auxiliary verb forms; (2) use of special words ('particles'); (3) use of cleft-type constructions; and (4) actual change in the basic word order…' (Watters 2000:214,215).

Fula employs several of these strategies to emphasize sentence components. Some of these are exemplified here. Verb focus is achieved by the use of the "Emphatic Past" whose use serves to "emphasize a particular action or process, in opposition (expressed or implied) to some other action or process" (Arnott 1970:267). An example of these forms appears in (31) and in the examples in (32):

(31)   "Emphatic Past"

ACTIVE (-**u**/-**Ø**)	MIDDLE (-**i**/-**Ø**)	PASSIVE (-**a**)
'o-loot-(u) 'He *washed*/has *washed*'	**'o-loot-i** 'He *washed* (himself)'	**'o-loot-a** 'He was *washed*'

(32)   Verb focus using "Emphatic Past":

a **ii, gooŋga, mi-yejjut-u**   (verb **yejjit**- 'forget')
   yes true   1s-forget-FOC
   'Yes, it's true, I *forgot*.' (Arnott 1970:267)

b **'o nawn-u-ndi,**   **naa 'o-faɗɗ-u-ndi**
   3s-wound-FOC-it   NEG 3s-kill-FOC-it
   'He *wounded* it, he didn't *kill* it.'(Arnott 1976:268)
   (**naa** is used as a negator in combination with the emphatic past)

c **mi-hokk-a-ɗum,**   **naa mi-wu'y-a-ɗum**
   1s-give-FOC-it   NEG 1s-lend-FOC-it
   'I was *given* it, not *lent* it.' (Arnott 1976:268)

For focus of nominal or adverbial sentence components, changes in word order are used. The focussed element is pre-posed and receives the main stress (") (all examples from Arnott 1976:30). Arnott indicates that there are, as well, "certain restrictions on the tense of the verbal" (1976:30).

(33)   Constituent focus:

a   focus on S: **Bëllo waddi sheede hannde**
                    Bello brought money today   (SVO (Other))
                    '*Bello* brought money today.'

b focus on O: **shëede Bello waddi hannde**
money Bello brought today   (OSV (Other))
'Bello brought *money* today.'

c focus on Other: **hännde Bello waddi sheede**
today Bello brought money   ((Other) SVO)
'Bello brought money *today*.'

11.11 Overview of Fula verbal forms

SIMPLE FORMS		
ACTIVE **wind**- 'write'	MIDDLE **laat**- 'become'	PASSIVE **yech**- 'tell'
PERFECTIVE ASPECT		
wind-u 'Write!'	**laat-a** 'Become!'	[No passive imperative]
taa wind-u 'Don't write!'	**taa laat-a** 'Don't become!'	**taa yech-e** 'Don't be told!'
mi-wind-ii 'I wrote/have written'	**mi-laat-ake** 'I became'	**mi-yech-aama** 'I was told'
mi-wind-ȧayi 'I didn't write/have not written'	**mi-laat-ȧaki** 'I did not become/have not become'	**mi-yech-ȧaka** 'I wasn't told/have not been told'
mi-wind-ii-no 'I had written'	**mi-laat-ake-no** 'I had become'	**mi-yech-aa-no-ma** 'I had been told'
mi-wind-ai-no 'I had not written'	**mi-laat-aaki-no** 'I had not become'	**mi-yech-aaka-no** 'I had not been told'
IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT		
mi-wìnd-a-t-a 'I shall write'	**mi-laat-o-t-o** 'I shall become'	**mi-yech-e-t-e** 'I shall be told'
mi-wind-ȧtaa 'I shall not write'	**mi-laat-ȧako** 'I shall not become'	**mi-yech-ȧake** 'I shall not be told'
mi-wind-ata-no 'I should write'	**mi-laat-oto-no** 'I should become'	**mi-yech-ete-no** 'I should be told'

COMPLEX FORMS		
IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT		
'e- ..... -a / ɗon ....-a	**'e- ..... -o / ɗon ....-o**	**'e- ..... -e / ɗon ....-e**
'e-mi-wind-a 'I write'	**'e-mi-laat-o** 'I become'	**'e-mi-yech-e** 'I am told'
mi-wind-ata 'I do not write'	**mi-laat-ataak-o** 'I do not become'	**mi-yech-ataak-e** 'I am not told'
mi-ɗon-wind-a I am writing'	**mi-ɗon-laat-o** 'I am becoming'	**mi-ɗon-yech-e** 'I am being told'
mi-wind-ata 'I am not writing'	**mi-laat-ataak-o** 'I am not becoming'	**mi-yech-ataak-e** 'I am not being told'
mi-ɗon-no-wind-a 'I was writing'	**mi- ɗon-no-laat-o** 'I was becoming'	**mi-ɗon-no-yech-e** 'I was being told'
mi-wind-ataa-no 'I was not writing'	**mi-laat-ataak-o-no** 'I was not becoming'	**mi-yech-ataak-e-no** 'I was not being told'
MIXED ASPECTS		
-ɗon/'e + -i	**-ɗon/'e + -ii**	**-ɗon/'e + -aa**
'o-ɗon-tekk-i 'He is fat.'	**'o-ɗon-njooɗ-ii** 'He is seated.'	**'o-ɗon-haɓɓ-aa** 'He is bound.'
'e-mo-wooɗɗ-i 'He is far away.'	**'e-mo-njooɗ-ii** 'He is seated.'	**'e-mo-shuɗɗ-aa** 'He is hidden.'

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