REFERENCES

1. The verses in this lecture have been taken from chapters 3 and 4 of my book *KIMWONDO: A Kiswahili Electoral Contest (1990)*. The points discussed here, like many others, were left out of the book to allow readers to draw their own lessons to suit their peculiar conditions of life.
2. Even though I retain some of my original translations of the poems in the lecture, in many places, I have changed the translation whenever I felt this would bring out the meaning more clearly.
3. The term "illiterate" is used here only in the sense of being educated in the Western European sense. Many Waswahili men and also women are educated in the Islamic tradition and are literate. However, the Koranic education is limited in scope for most of the Waswahili and does not equip them adequately to read and write English or French etc., the languages by means of which they are governed and ruled today.
4. This line of verse has been taken from a poem by Mathias Mnyampala (1965:67)
5. The line could also mean: 'let us cling on to the office, which God has given to us.'

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THE EASTERN FULA AUXILIARIES 'DON AND 'E AND THEIR HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP TO WESTERN FULA LONG SUBJECT PRONOUNS*

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SUMMARY

Eastern Fula has two 'auxiliaries', don and 'e, that are used *inter alia* in progressive constructions and certain locative constructions. It has traditionally been assumed that don is etymologically related to the locative element do / doo / do'o "here" and don "there (at the place in question)", while 'e has been assumed to be related to the locative preposition 'e "in, in the vicinity of". Furthermore, it has been assumed that Western Fula 'long subject pronouns' (LSPs) are the result of suppletion of the Eastern Fulfulde pronoun+don and 'e+pronoun complexes. In this article, a more or less inverse hypothesis is argued for, that is, that Western Fula LSPs are the archaic ones, and that the Eastern Fula auxiliary don has come into existence through a series of analogical reanalyses and transformations; the Eastern Fula auxiliary 'e is probably a survival of the Common Fula auxiliary, also found for example as the first syllable of Western Fula auxiliaries like 'ina / 'ana. The etymological relationship between the auxiliary 'e and the preposition 'e cannot be taken for granted.

THE FULA LANGUAGE

The Fula language is classified as a member of the West Atlantic branch of the Niger-Kordofanian family. It is the first language of approximately twenty million people in West Africa, from Senegal and Mauritania in the west to Cameroon in the east. In western dialects the language is called *Pulaar* or *Pular*, while from Mali and eastwards, it is referred to as *Fulfulde*. As this is a cross-dialectal study, I have decided to use the non-Pulaar/Fulfulde name *Fula* for the language as a whole. Dialects here referred to as *Eastern Fula* are those in Cameroon and central and eastern Nigeria, while dialects further west are called *Western Fula*.

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1 PERIPHRASTIC VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Fula has several periphrastic verbal constructions containing an *auxiliary*, AUX, that is also used in certain locative constructions. Consider the sentences in (1), (2), and (3), from Eastern Fula:[1]

(1) *Simple verbal forms (Eastern Fula)*

	SUBJ.	AUX	VERB	
(a)			**'O-yimii**	"S/he sang"
			s/he-sing/PVE	
(b)	**Debbo**		**yimii**	"The woman sang"
	woman		sing/PVE	

(2) *Periphrastic verbal constructions (Eastern Fula)*

	SUBJ.	AUX	VERB	
(a)			**'O-don**	"S/he is singing"
			s/he–AUX	yima
			sing/SUB	
(b)	**Debbo**	**don**	**yima**	"The woman is singing"
	woman	AUX	sing/SUB	

(3) *Locative constructions (Eastern Fula)*

	SUBJ.	AUX.	PLACE	
(a)			**'O-don**	"S/he is at home"
			s/he–AUX	saare
			compound	
(b)	**Debbo**	**don**	**saare**	"The woman is at home"
	woman	AUX	compound	

The sentences in (1) contain simple verbal forms that are active and perfective; those in (2) contain periphrastic verbal forms that are active and progressive; and those in (3) are non-verbal locative sentences. What the periphrastic verbal construction and the locative construction have in common is the AUX **don**.

In many Eastern Fula dialects there is also a second AUX **'e**. In the Gommbe dialect of eastern Nigeria it can be used instead of **don**, for example, to express a concomitant action or process (cf. the examples in (4), taken from Arnott 1970).[2] In the Kaceccereere dialect of Central Nigeria, **'e** is used optionally *in addition to* **don**, apparently without any difference in meaning or function (cf. the examples in (5), taken from McIntosh 1984).[3] In most dialects in Cameroon only **don** (and the shorter form **do**) is used (cf. for example Noye 1974).

The AUXes **don** and **'e** constitute a syntactic constituent between the subject and the rest of the sentence (cf. the analysis in (1)-(3)). Dependent subject pronouns are attached clitically to the auxiliaries, proclitically to **don** and enclitically to **'e**. These clitic subject pronouns will hereafter be referred to as *short subject pronouns* (SSPs).

(4) *Periphrastic verbal constructions (Gommbe)*

(a)	**'O-don**	**wara**	**'e-mo**	**yima**
	s/he-AUX	come/SUB	AUX-s/he	sing/SUB
	"S/he is coming along singing"			
(b)	**Debbo**	**don**	**wara**	**'e**	**yima**
	woman	AUX	come/SUB	AUX	sing/SUB
	"The woman is coming along singing"				

(5) *Periphrastic verbal constructions (Kaceccereere)*

(a)	**Mi-don**	**sooda**	**nagge**	"I'm buying a cow"
	I-AUX	buy/SUB	cow	
(b)	**'E-mi-don**	**sooda**	**nagge**	"I'm buying a cow"
	AUX-I-AUX	buy/SUB	cow	
(c)	**Muusa**	**don**	**jaŋŋga**	**to Kano**
	Musa	AUX	study/SUB	in Kano
	"Musa is studying in Kano"			
(d)	**Muusa**	**'e-don**	**jaŋŋga**	**to Kano**
	Musa	AUX-AUX	study/SUB	in Kano
	"Musa is studying in Kano"			

In verbal sentences without an AUX, the SSPs are attached clitically to the verb; some SSPs are sometimes proclitic, sometimes enclitic, (cf. (6)), while others are always proclitic (cf. (7)).

(6) *I subject pronouns*

(a)		**'A-yimii**	"You sang"
		you(sg)-sing/PVE	
(b)	**Ndey**	**ngim-daa?**	"When did you sing?"
	when	sing/PVE-you(sg)	

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(7) S/he subject pronouns

(a)   'O-yimii   "S/he sang"
                    s/he-sing/PVE

(b)   Ndey   'o-yimi?   "When did s/he sing?"
      when   s/he-sing/PVE

1.1 SUMMARY OF FORMS

Now I will present a more detailed analysis of the forms involved in the constructions we have discussed thus far (cf. (8)). The material is drawn from Arnott (1970).

For practical purposes, I shall refer to the SSP-AUX and AUX-SSP complexes as *long subject pronouns* or LSPs. An auxiliary that occurs in sentences with a noun phrase subject as in (1b), (2b), (3b), (4b), and in (5cd), will be referred to as an *isolated auxiliary* or IS-AUX.

As can be seen from (8), LSPs in eastern dialects consist of a SSP followed or preceded by an AUX, except in the case of the LSP 'e-mo "AUX-s/he". In most Fula dialects, **mo** is the clitic 3sg personal object pronoun. There are reasons to believe, however, that **mo** was the original clitic 3sg personal subject/object pronoun, while **'o** was a demonstrative pronoun only. This is still the situation in some conservative nomad dialects in several parts of the Fula-speaking area. The very fact that **'e-mo** is used instead of **'e-'o** is undoubtedly a reflection of this earlier stage.

(8) Eastern Fula SSPs, LSPs, and IS-AUXes[4]

	SSP PROCLITIC	SSP ENCLITIC	LSP AUX = ɗon	LSP AUX = 'e
"I"	mi-	-mi*	mi-ɗon	'e-mi
"you(sg)"	'a-	-ɗaa ; -aa	'a-ɗon	'e-'a
"s/he"	'o-	†	'o-ɗon	'e-mo
"we(excl)"	min-	†	min-ɗon	'e-min
"we(incl)"	'en-	-ɗen ; -en	'en-ɗon	'e-'en
"you(pl)"	'on-	-ɗon ; -on	'on-ɗon	'e-'on
"they"	ɓe-	†	ɓe-ɗon	'e-ɓe
IS-AUX			ɗon	'e

* Used in fewer cases than other enclitic SSPs.
† There is no enclitic form; a proclitic form is used instead.

2 TRADITIONAL VIEWS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE AUXILIARIES

It is commonly assumed among Fula scholars that the historical origin of the two AUXes is unproblematic (cf. Klingenheben (1960: 76), Noye (1974:58), Ard (1979), Labatut (1982:205-6), and McIntosh (1984:187-9)). The traditional view is summed up by Ard (1979), who presents the claims in (9).

(9) The traditional view on the origin of the auxiliaries

a. The periphrastic verbal constructions like those in (2) (e.g., **'O-ɗon yima** "S/he is singing") have their origin in locative constructions like those in (3) (e.g., **'O-ɗon saare** "S/he is at home").
b. The AUX **ɗon** is etymologically related to the locative elements **ɗo / ɗoo / ɗo'o** "here" and **ɗon** "there (at the place in question)".
c. The AUX **'e** is etymologically related to the locative preposition **'e** "in, in the vicinity of".

The gist of the traditional view is that two words with a locative meaning, **ɗon** and **'e**, have developed into progressive markers through a process of *grammaticalization*, exemplifying a well-known metaphorically motivated semantic extension from a local domain to a temporal domain.

We shall now take a look at the Western Fula SSPs and LSPs, which differ from the eastern ones on some important points, (cf. (10), where the system of Fuuta Jaloo in Guinea Conakry is presented; the data is taken from Arensdorff (1913/1966) and Zubko (1980)).

(10) Western Fula SSPs, LSPs, and IS-AUXes

	SSP PROCLITIC	SSP ENCLITIC	LSP
I	mi-	-mi*	miɗo
you(sg)	'a-	-ɗaa ; -aa	hiɗa
s/he	o-	†	himo
we(excl)	men-	†	meɗen
we(incl)	'en-	-ɗen ; -en	hiɗen
you(pl)	'on-	-ɗon ; -on	hiɗon
they	ɓe-	†	hiɓe
IS-AUX			no‡

* Used in fewer cases than other enclitic pronouns.
† There is no enclitic form; a proclitic form is used instead.
‡ This IS-AUX will be discussed later in this paper.

We can see from (10) that Western Fula has only one set of LSPs. An idea which immediately suggests itself is that "the single set found in the west is the result of suppletion of the two sets in the east", as is proposed by Ard (ibid.), who goes on to compare the western and east-

ern LSPs as in (11), where eastern LSPs assumed to be etymological counterparts of western LSPs are written in italics.[5]

(11) *Ard (1979): A comparison of Western and Eastern Fula LSPs*

	WEST		EAST	
I	miɗo	=	*mi-ɗon*	'e-mi
you(sg)	hiɗa	=	*'a-ɗon*	'e-'a
s/he	himo	=	*'o-ɗon*	'e-mo
we(excl)	meɗen	=	*min-ɗon*	'e-min
we(incl)	hiɗen	=	*'en-ɗon*	'e-'en
you(pl)	hiɗon	=	*'on-ɗon*	'e-'on
they	hiɓe	=	*ɓe-ɗon*	'e-ɓe

An important assumption underlying the traditional view is *that the eastern LSPs are more archaic than the western ones.*

3 PROBLEMS WITH THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

I shall now try to demonstrate that the identifications made in (11) are not as evident as they may seem. If not only extreme western and extreme eastern LSPs, but also the LSPs of the dialects between them are taken into consideration, an interesting picture emerges. Confer (12), where I have presented a representative selection of forms.[6] Forms from each dialect are presented in columns, and forms are arranged horizontally in a way that should make cross-dialectal comparisons easier. Note that Fuuta Jaloo, Gambia, and Fuuta Tooro have not been distinguished in the *I* and *we(excl)* forms.

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[5] The correspondence West **hi-** = East **'e-** is phonologically unproblematic. This is seen more clearly from the fact that some western dialects have **'i-** instead of **hi-**, and that some eastern dialects have **he-** instead of **'e-** (cf. Klingenheben 1960).

[6] References:
Guinea (Fuuta Jaloo, abbreviated FJ), cf. Arensdorff (1913/1966) and Zubko (1980);
Senegal (Fuuta Tooro, abbreviated FT), cf. Fagerberg (1982) and Labatut & al. (1987);
Gambia, abbreviated Ga, cf. Swift & al. (1965);
Mali (Maasina, abbreviated Ma), cf. Fagerberg-Diallo (1984);
Burkina Faso (Liptaako, abbreviated Li), cf. Bidaud & Prost (1982);
western Nigeria (Sokkoto, abbreviated So), cf. Westermann (1909);
eastern Nigeria (Gommbe, abbreviated Go), cf. Arnott (1970) and Jungraithmayr & Abu-Manga (1989).

(12) *Comparison of LSPs in different Fula dialects*

⇐ WEST					EAST	⇒
GUINEA FJ	GAMBIA Ga	SENEGAL FT	MALI Ma	BURKINA FASO Li	WESTERN NIGERIA So	EASTERN NIGERIA Go
I meɗe moɗo miɗe miɗo miɗa mbeɗe mboɗo			miɗe miɗo	miɗo miɗa	miɗo	mi-ɗon 'e-mi
you(sg) hiɗa 'iɗa	 'aɗa 'aɗo	'aɗa	'aɗa	'aɗa	'e-'a 'a-ɗon
s/he himo 'imo	 'omo	'omo	'imo 'omo	'omo	'e-mo 'o-ɗon
we *(excl)* 'imin 'amin 'amen meɗen		miɗen	miɗan miɗon	meɗon menɗo	'e-min min-ɗon
we(incl) hiɗen	'iɗen	'eɗen	'eɗen	'eɗen	'eɗon 'enɗo	'e-'en 'en-ɗon
you(pl) hiɗon	'iɗon	'oɗon	'oɗon	'oɗon	'oɗon 'onɗo	'e-'on 'on-ɗon
they hiɓe	'iɓe ɓeɗo	'eɓe	'eɓe	'iɓe	'eɓe	'e-ɓe ɓe-ɗon

Although the number of LSPs in (12) may be confusingly high, it should still be possible to note some striking correspondences that are not discovered if only extreme western and extreme eastern forms are compared. The 1pl inclusive forms are used as an illustration in (13), where the AUX has been represented as a black square and the SSP as a white square, and where "SS-AUX-P" is meant to represent a stage where AUX is surrounded by the SSP.

(13) *The we(incl) LPs analyzed*

1	2A	2B	3	4	5
FJ, GA	FT, MA, LI	FT, MA, LI	So	So	GO
AUX-SSP	AUX-SSP	"SS-AUX-P"	"SS-AUX-P"	SSP-AUX	SSP-AUX
◼︎◻︎	◼︎◻︎	◻︎◻︎	◻︎◻︎	◻︎◼︎	◻︎◼︎
'i-ɗen	'e-ɗen	'e-ɗe-n	'e-ɗo-n	'en-ɗo	'en-ɗon

We can observe that the forms change gradually from west to east or vice versa:
• (13.1) **'iɗen** (or **hiɗen**) must be analyzed as a LSP where AUX precedes SSP, and there is a uniform AUX **hi-/'i-** in most of the paradigm (cf. **hiɗa, himo, hiɗon,** and **hiɓe**). The SSPs resemble proclitic or enclitic SSPs found outside the LSPs.
• (13.2) **'eɗen** is *morphologically ambiguous*, which I have shown by indicating the two alternative analyses as A and B:
 − (13.2A) **'e-ɗen** resembles (13.1). The only difference is that (13.2) has the same vowel in the first as in the second syllable.
 − (13.2B) **'e-ɗe-n** resembles (13.3), which is explained below.
• The second syllable of (13.3) **'e-ɗo-n** has the vowel o, which renders inevitable an analysis in which an AUX **-ɗo-** is surrounded by the SSP **'e-n**, which is comparable to the proclitic SSP **'en** "we (incl)".
• (13.4) **'en-ɗo** also resembles (13.3) **'e-ɗo-n**, but in (13.4) **'en-ɗo** AUX follows SSP, and SSP is not discontinuous.
• (13.5) **'en-ɗon** resembles (13.4) **'en-ɗo**. The only difference is the final **-n** in AUX.

While Ard (1979) emphasizes the similarity between the western LSP **hiɗen** and the western LSP **'e-'en**, the above presentation demonstrates the clear relationship between the western LSP **'iɗen** and the eastern LSP **'en-ɗon**. The inevitable conclusion is that both eastern LSPs, that is *both* **'en-ɗon** *and* **'e-'on**, resemble the western LSP **hiɗen**, a conclusion that creates considerable problems for the traditional view on the origin of the auxiliaries. The same picture emerges in the second person singular and plural. Let us make a summary of this conclusion (cf. (14)), where eastern LSPs that have been demonstrated above to have etymological counterparts in western dialects are written in italics.

(14) *Revised comparison of Western and Eastern Fula LPs*

	WESTERN		EASTERN	
I	miɗo	=	*mi-ɗon*	'e-mi
you(sg)	hiɗa	=	*'a-ɗon*	'e-'a
s/he	himo	=	'o-ɗon	'e-mo
we(excl)	meɗen	=	*min-ɗon*	'e-min
we(incl)	hiɗen	=	*'en-ɗon*	'e-'en
you(pl)	hiɗon	=	'on-ɗon	'e-'on
they	hiɓe	=	ɓe-ɗon	'e-ɓe

We have to conclude that the traditional view about the distinct historical origins of the two Eastern Fula auxiliaries is less evident. The western set of LSPs does not seem to be "the result of suppletion of the two sets in the east". There are reasons to suspect that , to a certain degree, forms in both Eastern sets of LSPs *have the same historical origin*, a state of affairs which clearly conflicts with the traditional view in (9). It should also be mentioned that no Fula scholar has ever worked out the traditional view in detail, beyond the general statements in (9). In the next section I shall attempt to demonstrate that the western LSPs are more archaic than the eastern ones.

4 TOWARDS A NEW EXPLANATION

A new explanation of the dialect variation found among Fula LSPs will be presented here. A postulated development from *Pre-Fula* via *Common Fula* to the modern dialects will be outlined, accompanied by arguments for each diachronic step.
 First, however, let me comment on the distinction made between Common Fula and Pre-Fula.
• *Common Fula* is the latest possible common stage from which all modern Fula dialects have developed. This stage is reconstructed from the modern dialects primarily through the use of the *comparative method*.
 When Common Fula has been reconstructed, however, nothing prevents us from trying to move even further backwards in time, by reconstructing Pre-Fula:
• *Pre-Fula* is any stage preceding Common Fula, but following the split between Fula and its closest West Atlantic relatives. Pre-Fula is reconstructed from Common Fula by using the methods of *internal reconstruction*.
 The postulation of a difference between Common Fula and Pre-Fula is not particularly controversial. It simply means postulating that all Fula dialects have undergone certain changes after having separated from their closest West Atlantic relatives.

4.1 FROM PRE-FULA TO COMMON FULA

I shall postulate the *Pre-Fula I* LSPs in Column 1 in (15). An element *ɗI is postulated as an IS-AUX / AUX in all Pre-Fula I LSPs; I shall return to the basis for this reconstruction. The vowel symbol *I is meant to signify {*i, *e}. I do not yet have any explanation for the (modern Fula) interdialectal variation between i and e in IS-AUXes, and it therefore cannot be determined which vowel was found in Pre-Fula I. Notice that *ɗI precedes the SSPs, except in the 1sg LSP.

The modern reflexes of Pre-Fula I *ɗI are ɗV and 'V, where V = any vowel. The distribution of ɗV and 'V is straightforward: ɗV is found when the AUX is not word-initial, while 'V is found word-initially. By postulating a sound change *Pre-Fula I *ɗ > Pre-Fula II [ʔ] (orthographically ')* in word-initial unaccented syllables, the modern distribution of ɗV and 'V is accounted for (cf. (16), where this sound change has been given the name ɗ-Weakening.)

(15) Reconstruction of Pre-Fula and Common Fula LSPs

	Column 1 Pre-Fula I	Column 2 Pre-Fula II	Column 3 Common Fula
I	*mi-ɗI	*mi-ɗI	*mI-ɗI
you(sg)	*ɗI-ɗa	*'I-ɗa	*'a-ɗa
s/he	*ɗI-mo	*'I-mo	*'o-mo
we(excl)	*ɗI-min	*'I-min	*'i-min / *mIɗIn[7]
we(incl)	*ɗI-ɗen	*'I-ɗen	*'e-ɗen
you(pl)	*ɗI-ɗon	*'I-ɗon	*'o-ɗon
they	*ɗI-ɓe	*'I-ɓe	*'e-ɓe

(16) ɗ-Weakening

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma[-accent] \\
| \\
ɗ \quad > \quad ʔ \quad / \quad \# \rule{1cm}{0.4pt}
\end{array}
$$

(ɗ is weakened to [ʔ] (orthographically ') in word initial unaccented syllables.)

There is some independent motivation for this sound change. The SSPs *you(sg)*, *we(incl)*, and *you(pl)* have an initial [ʔ] as proclitics, while they have an initial ɗ as enclitics, as can be seen from the perfective forms in (17), and from the summary in (8).[8] The corresponding pos-

sessive pronouns are included in (17), too, since they also have re-tained the ɗ.[9]

(17) Proclitic, enclitic, and possessive pronouns; **nyaam-** "eat"

	General perfective	Relative perfective	Possessive
you(sg)	'a-nyaamii	nyaam-ɗaa	maaɗa
we(incl)	'en-nyaamii	nyaam-ɗen	meeɗen
you(pl)	'on-nyaamii	nyaam-ɗon	mooɗon

ɗ-Weakening has taken place word-initially in unaccented syllables. In other environments, ɗ has been "protected" against weakening. How this sound change affected the LSPs is shown in Column 2 of (15), where the postulated Pre-Fula II LSPs are presented.

The postulated *Common Fula* LSPs (cf. Column 3 of (15)), differ from the Pre-Fula II forms by having the same vowel in both syllables, a state of affairs that is difficult or impossible to account for without postulating *a regressive vowel assimilation*, as formulated in (18): a vowel in an unaccented syllable assimilates totally to the vowel of the syllable to the right, if a single consonant intervenes.[10]

(18) Regressive Vowel Assimilation

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma[-accent] \\
| \\
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
V & C & V & > & 3 & 2 & 3 \\
1 & 2 & 3 & & & &
\end{array}
\end{array}
$$

(A vowel in an unaccented syllable assimilates totally to the vowel of the syllable to the right, if a single consonant intervenes.)

The fact that several western dialects have the same vowel in both syllables of the LSPs (cf. **moɗo / meɗe, 'aɗa, 'omo, meɗen, 'eɗen, 'oɗon,** and **'eɓe**) is a motivation in itself for the Regressive Vowel Assimilation, and furthermore an argument for the hypothesis that *the western LSPs are the more archaic ones*. All Fula dialects show clear effects of the Regressive Vowel Assimilation, as will be shown

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[7] I have postulated two Common Fulfulde "we(excl)" LSPs, *'i-min and *mIɗIn. This will be discussed in 4.2.2.

[8] After certain verb forms, the enclitic subject pronouns are "you(sg)" -aa, "we(incl)" -en, and "you (pl)" -on, i.e. without any initial consonant at all (cf. (8)). The verb forms involved are those having a suffix -a when not

followed by an enclitic pronoun, i.e. the active subjunctive and the active relative imperfective (cf. (20)). This is a separate problem that cannot be addressed here.

[9] Notice the vowel quantity difference between the proclitic 'a and the enclitic -ɗaa (and -aa; confer the preceding footnote) which will not be discussed here.

[10] The assimilation could of course have been formulated more elegantly within an autosegmental framework, but that is irrelevant for my argumentation.

below. Therefore, we have to conclude that when a word is a possible input to the Regressive Vowel Assimilation, but still has two different vowels where two identical vowels would be expected, the effects of the sound change have been removed, primarily by analogy. This is how I shall attempt to account for LSPs with two different vowels, which are found in Fuuta Jaloo, and increasingly as we move eastwards, starting in Maasina.

The effects of the Regressive Vowel Assimilation are seen in many words in all dialects of Fula, for example, in possessive non-concordant pronouns (cf. (19)).

(19) *Possessive non-concordant pronouns*

you(sg)	"s/he, it"	we(incl)	you(pl)
maa-ɗa	muu-ɗum	mee-ɗen	moo-ɗon

The initial part, the possessive element **mVV-**, has the same vowel as the final part, the element corresponding to the LSP, a situation presupposing a Regressive Vowel Assimilation.

The effects of the Regressive Vowel Assimilation are also seen for example in relative imperfective verb forms. (20) shows that the vowel of the imperfective suffix, **-Vt-**, is identical to that of the following suffix, which is identical to the subjunctive suffix.[11]

(20) *Relative imperfective and subjunctive forms of LOOTA "wash"*

	Relative imperfective	Subjunctive
Active	loot-at-a	loot-a
Middle	loot-ot-oo	loot-oo
Passive	loot-et-ee	loot-ee

The reason why [-accent] is included in the Regressive Vowel Assimilation, is that the root vowel of a Fula word (noun, adjective, verb) is never assimilated to the suffix vowel, not even when there is only one consonant intervening.[12] In fact, there are a few cases of *progressive* vowel assimilation from an accented root vowel.[13]

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[11] The imperfective suffix **-Vt-** is probably etymologically related to the repetitive/inversive derivational suffix **-(i)t-**.

[12] This is with the well-known exception of the verb **yah-** "go", which has the vowel **e** when the root is immediately followed by a front vowel, as in the perfective **yehii**. This is most probably the last remnant of a regressive assimilation of accented vowels that apparently only took place across **h**. Verbs that are less frequent than the high frequency verb **yah-** do not show this **a~e** alternation (cf. **mah-** "build with mud", perfective **mahii**).

[13] Progressive vowel assimilation is found in at least two cases. First, it is found in the independent personal pronouns **minin** "we(excl)", **'enen** "we

4.1.1 A COMPARATIVE NOTE

On the basis of the reconstruction *ɗI, one might start looking for cognates in related languages. Although the relationship between Fula and Wolof, also classified as a West Atlantic language, is clearly quite distant, and despite the fact the the exact phonological correspondences between the two languages remain to established, it is tempting, but perhaps a little speculative, to suggest a relationship between Pre-Fula I *ɗI and Wolof di, a word referred to by Njie (1982: 121) as an "auxiliaire du duratif".

4.2 FROM COMMON FULA TO MODERN FULA LSPS

How do we get from Common Fula LSPs to those found in the modern dialects? We shall start by considering one set of LSPs only, the *you(sg)* forms. According to my argumentation, the Common Fula *you(sg)* LSP was *'aɗa, which is still found in Fuuta Tooro, Maasina, Liptaako, and Sokkoto, confer (21).

(21) *The you(sg) LSPs*

⇐ WEST					EAST	⇒
GUINEA	GAMBIA	SENEGAL	MALI	BURKINA FASO	WESTERN NIGERIA	EASTERN NIGERIA
FJ	Ga	FT	Ma	Li	So	Go
hiɗa	'iɗa					'e-'a
		'aɗa	'aɗa 'aɗo	'aɗa	'aɗa	'a-ɗon

(incl)", and **'onon** "you(pl)", which can be analyzed as SPPs (**min**, **'en**, **'on**) followed by **-Vn**, where **V** is identical to the SPP vowel, indicating a progressive assimilation, which is also proposed by Labatut (1973:68). (However, Labatut's (ibid.) claim that forms like **minon** "we(excl)", which are found in some eastern Fula dialects (cf. (25)) are exceptions to this assimilation, seems to lack motivation.) Secondly, it is found in some verbs having an alternation between CVLm- and CVLVm-, where **L** = liquid, i.e., {**l**, **r**}, and the two Vs are identical, confer **ɗelmii** (pve, finite) / **ɗelemɗum** (pve participle) "be soft, tender" and **yurmii** (pve, finite) / **jurumɗum** (pve participle) "be an object of pity to"; the identity of the two vowels indicates a progressive assimilation.

From an etymological perspective, Common Fula *'aɗa has the morphological structure of (22), i.e., *'a- is the AUX, and *-ɗa is the SSP. From a synchronic perspective, however, *'aɗa is *morphologically ambiguous* – and the analyses presented in (22) and (23) are equally plausible; in (23) *'a- is the SSP, while *-ɗa is the AUX.
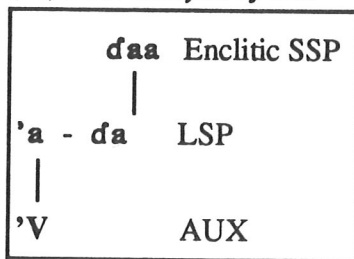
Note the following points concerning (22) and (23):
• The lines show the morphological identifications assumed by the two alternative analyses of *'aɗa.
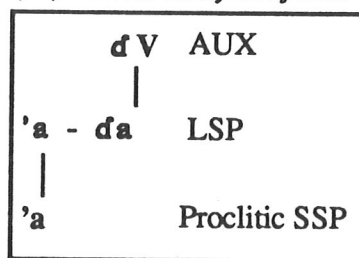• 'V is a schematic representation of the AUXes of the Common Fula LSPs *you(sg)* *'a-(ɗa), *s/he* *'o-(mo), *we(excl)* *'i-(min), *we (incl)* *'e-(ɗen), *you(pl)* *'o-(ɗon), and *they* *'e-(ɓe).
• ɗV is a schematic representation of the AUXes of the Common Fula LSPs *I* *(mI)-ɗI, *you(sg)* *('a)-ɗa, *s/he,we(excl)* *(mI)-ɗI-(n), *we (incl)* *('e)-ɗe-(n), and *you(pl)* *('o)-ɗo-(n).

(22) *First analysis of aɗa*

```
       ɗaa   Enclitic SSP
        |
'a - ɗa       LSP
        |
'V            AUX
```

(23) *Second analysis of aɗa*

```
       ɗ V    AUX
        |
'a - ɗa       LSP
        |
'a            Proclitic SSP
```

The reanalysis of (23), which is a condition for later developments, may have been triggered off by the *I* LSP, *mIɗI, which unambiguously had the structure SSP+AUX. The whole reanalysis is presented in (24).

The reanalysis has not necessarily taken place in all LSPs simultaneously. In fact, there are strong indications that it has occurred in "you (sg)" LSP, *'aɗa, before it occurred in the plural LSPs. In Maasina (cf. (12)), we find *I* miɗe/miɗo an *you(sg)* 'aɗa / 'aɗo, where the vowel o in 'aɗo makes a SSP-AUX analysis inevitable, while the plural LSPs still have the same vowel in both syllables: *we(incl)* 'eɗen and *you(pl)* 'oɗon. Nothing occurs in the plursl until we come to Sokkoto, confer *we(incl)* 'eɗon, with o instead of e in the second syllable. In Sokkoto, we furthermore observe the final stage of the AUX's "migration" through the SSP: "we (incl)" 'e-ɗo-n and *you(pl)* 'o-ɗo-n are changed to *we(incl)* 'en-ɗo and "you (pl)" 'on-ɗo, respectively.

(24) *Reanalysis of AUX-SSP*

	Before the reanalysis		After the reanalysis	
	AUX-SSP	SSP-AUX	AUX-SSP	SSP-AUX or SS-AUX-P
I		*mI-ɗI		*mI-ɗI
you(sg)	*'a-ɗa			*'a-ɗa
s/he	*'o-mo		*'o-mo	
we(excl)	*'i-min		*'i-min	
we(incl)	*'e-ɗen			*'e-ɗe-n
you(pl)	*'o-ɗon			*'o-ɗo-n
they	*'e-ɓe		*'e-ɓe	

Gradually, as we move eastwards, an analogical uniformation of the AUX has taken place, ultimately giving the vowel o throughout the whole paradigm in the easternmost dialects. But why should exactly the vowel o be generalized, and not some other vowel? At present, I have no satisfactory answer to this question, although it is worth comparing the LSPs with the independent personal pronouns (IPPs) (cf. (25)).

(25) *Independent personal pronouns in some Fula dialects*

	SSP	IPP Ga,FT,FJ	IPP Ma, Li	IPP Go	IPP Diamaré
I	mi	miin	miin	miin	min
you(sg)	'a	'aan	'aan	'aan	'an
s/he	'o / mo	kaŋko	kaŋko	haŋko	kaŋko
we(excl)	min / men	menen minen	minen	*minon*	minin
we(incl)	'en	'enen	'enen	'enen	'enen
you(pl)	'on	'onon	'onon	'onon	'onon
they	ɓe	kamɓe	kamɓe	hamɓe	kamɓe

The 1st and 2nd person IPPs have the structures CV(V)C (sg) and CVCVC (pl), and, generally, the bisyllabic ones, i.e., the plural ones, have the same vowel in both syllables. Note, however, the o in the second syllable of **minon** in the Gommbe dialect. It does not seem far-fetched to postulate a common explanation for this o and the o in the LSP meɗon / miɗon found from Liptaako and eastwards. Whatever this explanation is, the occurrence of o in this independent pronoun strengthens the hypothesis that there is no etymological connection between the auxiliary ɗo(n) and the locative elements ɗo / ɗoo / ɗo'o "here" and ɗon "there (at the place in question)".

The western LSPs with a uniform hi- / 'i- also have to be regarded as secondary compared to those with the same vowel in both syllables. Some kind of analogical uniformation must have taken place here, too, if no reasons can be found for why these dialects should have retained

forms resembling the Pre-Fula II. If such reasons should be found, however, this would have no consequences for the argumentation in this article, except for the fact that what I have called Pre-Fula II in (15), must be regarded as Common Fula, while the Common Fula in (15) constitute the reconstruction of one branch of Fula dialects. This problem must be left to a future study.

4.2.2 THE PROBLEMATIC CASE OF THE *WE(EXCL)* LSPS

The reconstruction of the Pre-Fula and Common Fula *we(excl)* LSP is particularly difficult. The relevant modern forms are repeated in (26), and my reconstructions in (27).

(26) *The we(excl) LSPs in different Fula dialects*

⇐	WEST				EAST	⇒
GUINEA FJ	GAMBIA Ga	SENEGAL FT	MALI Ma	BURKINA FASO Li	WEST. NIGERIA So	EAST. NIGERIA Go
'imin 'amin 'amen meɗen			miɗen	miɗan miɗon	meɗon menɗo	'e-min min-ɗon

(27) *Reconstruction of the Pre- and Common Fula we(excl) LSP*

Column 1 Pre-Fula I	Column 2 Pre-Fula II	Column 3 Common Fula
*ɗI-min	*'I-min	*'i-min / *mIɗIn

There are apparently two possible Pre-Fula I reconstructions for the *we(excl)* LSP: *ɗI-min and *min-ɗI. My main argument for selecting *ɗI-min is that there are no dialects with forms that uniquely presuppose a Pre-Fula I form *min-ɗI, that is, no dialect has forms like *minɗi, while the western forms 'imin, 'amin, and 'amen seem to presuppose a Pre-Fula I form *ɗI-min. As for the forms meɗen, miɗen, miɗan, miɗon, meɗon, etc., they appear to be analogical innovations (cf. (28)).

(28) *I and we(excl) SSPs and LSPs in western dialects*

	I	*we(excl)*
	X	X-n
SSP	mi	mi-n
LSP	meɗe	meɗe-n
	miɗa	miɗa-n
	miɗo	miɗo-n

The relationship between *I* mi and *we(excl)* min can be expressed by the formula X : X-n, and since the *I* LSPs are, *inter alia*, meɗe, miɗa, and miɗo, the *we(excl)* LS may have been changed, as innovations, in accordance with the same formula, rendering meɗe-n, miɗa-n, and miɗo-n. The postulated direction of the analogical change, that is, from *I* to *we(excl)* and not vice versa, is based on the well-known fact that high frequency forms (like 1sg forms) tend to influence low frequency forms (like 1pl forms).

5 THE ISOLATED AUXILIARIES (IA-AUXES)

One interesting fact seems to support the hypotheses presented above. Let us consider sentence (2b) again, repeated here as (29).

(29) *Eastern Fula progressive*
    Debbo ɗon   yima   "The woman is singing"
    woman AUX   sing/SUB

The eastern dialects differ in an interesting way from the western dialects with regard to the shape of the IS-AUX. In eastern dialects, ɗon and 'e are used, that is, the IS-AUXes correspond exactly to the AUXes of the LSPs.

In western dialects, on the other hand, there does not exist any IS-AUX resembling ɗon. There, the IS-AUX is *inter alia* no, na, ne, 'ina, 'ine, 'ene (Senegal, Gambia); 'ana (Maasina); ɗi (Fuladu, western Mali); and 'i (Sokkoto) (cf. the Fuuta Tooro Fula sentence in (30), taken from Fagerberg (1982)):

(30) *Fuuta Tooro Fula progressive*
    Gelaajo 'ine   ɗaanoo   "Gelaajo is sleeping"
    Gelaajo   IS-AUX   sleep/SUB

These western IS-AUXes seem to be analyzable as in (31), at least from a comparative-diachronic perspective.

(31) *Western Fula isolated auxiliaries*

	PART I		PART II
Guinea	Ø		no
Senegal & Gambia	Ø		na
Senegal & Gambia	Ø		ne
Senegal & Gambia	'i	-	na
Senegal & Gambia	'i	-	ne
Senegal & Gambia	'e	-	ne
Maasina	'a	-	na
Fuladu	ɗi		Ø
Sokkoto	'i		Ø

The IS-AUXes in (31) do not resemble the eastern ɗon, and cannot plausibly be derived diachronically from ɗon. Instead, part I resembles the Eastern Fula IS-AUX 'e / he, to which it is undoubtedly related. It also resembles, and certainly is related to, the 'V- / 'i- / hi- found in the LSPs in western dialects. The etymological relationship to Pre-Fula *ɗI reconstructed in 4.1 is also evident. [14]

The etymological identity of part II is less certain, and more research has to be carried out before any definite statement can be made. Still, I want to draw attention to the locative particles ni "here, voici" and na "there, voilà" found in Maasina Fula, confer the examples in (32) (Fagerberg-Diallo 1984, Part 2:19).

(32) *Maasina Fula*

(a.)
Omo	ni	defa.
AUX-S/HE	HERE	COOK-SUB

"Here she is (in the process of) cooking"

(b)
Omo	na	defa
AUX-S/HE	THERE	COOK-SUB

"There she is (in the process of) cooking"

IS-AUXes like 'ina, 'ine, 'ene, and 'ana may simply be the result of a merger of the IS-AUX 'i / 'e (< Pre-Fula *ɗI) and one of these locative particles, and the IS-AUXes no, na, and ne seem to indicate that they may even replace the IS-AUX 'i / 'e .

The boundary between dialects using the IS-AUX ɗon and dialects not using it seems to coincide exactly with the boundary between dialects with a uniform ɗon AUX in LSPs and those without. If the use

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[14] The Fuladu form ɗi, also found in the Gambian dialect of Firdu Fula (Gamble et al. 1984:40), is particularly interesting, since it resembles more than any other form my reconstructed Pre-Fulfulde I form *ɗI presented in paragraph 4.1. I do not have enough information about these dialects to explain why they have such a deviant form.

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of the IS-AUX ɗon had been an archaism, this would be an unexpected coincidence – ɗon would have been likely to occur at least in some dialects further west. On the other hand, if this use of ɗon is an innovation, in accordance with the view presented here, then it is to be expected that ɗon is only found as an IS-AUX in the area where a uniform AUX ɗon is found in LSPs.

When the uniform AUX ɗon had developed in LSPs, it changed its status from a bound morph to a free morph, and thus could be used as an IS-AUX, giving the eastern dialects two different IS-AUXes, 'e and ɗon (cf. (33)).

(33) *The development of the IS-AUX ɗon in Eastern Fula*

	STAGE I	STAGE II *Uniform AUX* *in LSPs*	STAGE III *The uniform AUX* *as a new IS-AUX*
I	miɗo	mi-ɗon	mi-ɗon
you(sg)	'aɗa	'a-ɗon	'a-ɗon
s/he	'omo	o-ɗon	'o-ɗon
we(excl)	meɗen	min-ɗon	min-ɗon
we(incl)	'eɗen	'en-ɗon	'en-ɗon
you(pl)	'oɗon	'on-ɗon	'on-ɗon
they	'eɓe	ɓe-ɗon	ɓe-ɗon
IS-AUX	debbo 'e	debbo 'e	debbo {'e, ɗon}

Probably, the development of two different IS-AUXes was the condition for a subsequent development of two sets of LSPs in the eastern dialects (cf. (8)). However, I do not claim to have thus reconstructed satisfactorily all the stages in this development, and leave this for a future study.

The reason why the two sets should acquire slightly different meanings and functions in the Gommbe dialect is not evident, and also requires further research. It is worth mentioning, however, that the Liptaako dialect has two s/he LSPs, 'omo and 'imo (cf. (12)), the usage of which resembles, or is identical to, the usage of 'o-ɗon and 'e-mo in the Gommbe dialect (cf. (34)). (Sentence (4a) is reproduced below as (34b).)

(34) *A comparison between Liptaako and Gommbe Fula*
(a) LIPTAAKO
'Omo	wara	'imo	yima
AUX+S/HE	COME/SUB	AUX-S/HE	SING

"S/he is coming along singing"

(b) GOMMBE
'O-ɗon	wara	'e-mo	yima
S/HE-AUX	COME/SUB	AUX-S/HE	SING

"S/he is coming along singing"

What distinguishes Gommbe from Liptaako is probably that a difference that first appeared in the *s/he* LSPs has spread to all personal pronouns, resulting in the two sets of LSPs typical of the Gommbe dialect. This development has probably taken place in all Eastern Fula dialects. (In the modern Aadamaawa Fula dialect of Cameroon and eastern Nigeria, the AUX / IS-AUX 'e is not used any more, although 'e / he is mentioned by Klingenheben (1963:77).)

6 CONCLUSION

According to the traditional view on the origin of the AUXes (cf. (9)) the Eastern Fula AUX ɗon is etymologically related to the locative elements ɗo / ɗoo / ɗo'o "here" and ɗon "there (at the place in question)". In this article, I have tried to demonstrate that this is not the case. Rather, the AUX ɗon has come into existence through a series of analogical reanalyses of forms originally resembling Western Fula LSPs.

It cannot be ruled out, however, that in the modern language, speakers sense a relationship between the auxiliary and the locative elements. In this connection, it should be mentioned that in several eastern dialects, it is possible to replace the auxiliary ɗon by the locative element **ton** "there" in certain progressive constructions. Note the examples from Kaceccereere Fula (McIntosh 1984:79-80) in (35)); in this dialect, **nii** "just" can also occur in this position (cf. (35c)).

(35) *ɗon replaced by ton and nii in Kaceccereere Fula*
(a)   'E-mo-ɗon   defa.
          AUX-S/HE-AUX   COOK/SUB
                          "S/he is cooking."

(b)   'E-mo-ton   dura   na'i.
          AUX-S/HE-THERE   GRAZE/SUB   COWS
                          "S/he is over there grazing cows."

(c)   'E-mi-nii   heɗitoo
          AUX-I-JUST   LISTEN/SUB
                          "I'm just listening"

McIntosh (1984:187-9) in fact uses such paradigms to support the traditional view in (9) about the origin of ɗon. On the basis of my argumentation in this article, however, this could rather be regarded as evidence for the last stage in a development that is exactly the opposite of the one presented in (9). Here, we should also take into consideration constructions like those from Maasina Fula in (32), constructions to which the Kaceccereere constructions in (35bc) may well be historically related; if so, the basis for construing a relationship between the

AUX ɗon / ɗV and the locative elements ɗo / ɗoo / ɗo'o "here" and ɗon "there (at the place in question)" was even stronger: the AUX ɗon / ɗV fit into an established pattern.

6.1 A FINAL NOTE ON 'E

What about the alleged relationship between the AUX / IS-AUX 'e (Pre-Fula I *ɗI) and the locative preposition 'e "in, in the vicinity of"? This relationship makes sense from a typological point of view. It is well-known from grammaticalization studies that progressive constructions have very often originated in locative constructions of the form [subject] + [preposition meaning "in, at"] + [verb / verbal noun], but still we cannot take this relationship for granted. The preposition seems to have the phonological shape 'e in all Fula dialects, while the AUX has the vowel e in some dialects and i in others. Unless this vowel quality variation can be accounted for, the identification of the AUX with the preposition is not sufficiently substantiated. Pre-Fula may have had a special AUX, *ɗI, which was etymologically unrelated to the locative preposition 'e.[15]

On the other hand, as was shown in (2) and (3), the AUX / IS-AUX used in progressive constructions is also used in locative constructions, and this is the case in all Fula dialects, whatever the forms of AUXes, IS-AUXes, or LSPs. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that progressive constructions like those in (2) *do* have their origin in locative constructions like those in (3), in accordance with the traditional view presented in (9), but this must have occurred much earlier than traditionally believed, and it does not necessarily imply that the grammaticalized locative elements still exist as locative elements in the modern language.

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[15] In Firdu Fula (Gambian dialect), the IS-AUX is ɗi, while the locative preposition is **he** (Gamble et al. 1984:32,40).

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THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN AFRICA TODAY
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The African continent and the nearby islands constitute one-fourth of the land surface of the earth. Approximately 460 million people live in Africa which is about 11% of the world's population. Of the estimated 6,200 languages and dialects in the world, 2,582 languages and 1,382 dialects are found in Africa. Some languages in Africa are spoken by more than 20 or 30 million people, e.g. Hausa-Fulani, Oromo/Galla and Swahili. Arabic is the most widely spread language on the continent and it is the mothertongue of more than 110 million Africans, whereas in Asia there are only half as many native speakers of Arabic. More than 50 languages are spoken by more than one million speakers each; and a couple of hundred languages are spoken by small groups of a few thousand, or a few hundred people. These small languages are disappearing at a fast rate. Altogether only 146 vernaculars are used as "operative languages" in different situations, and 82 of them are classified by linguists as "highest priority languages", i.e. they are used as "local languages" in different contexts by various authorities, aid organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in their projects and campaigns. Of the latter, 41 languages are widely used as "lingua franca" for inter-ethnic, regional and/or international communication.

All African languages compete with metropolitan/colonial languages, as well as with pidgin and creoles. However, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has recommended 50 languages to be supported along with Arabic and Swahili as the only native African working languages. The lingua francas in Africa are of two types: Type A is spread by Africans, e.g. Amharic, Hausa, Swahili and Wolof; while Type B is spread through foreign influence, e.g. Lingala and Swahili during the colonial period. Most lingua francas have both Type A and B features, and the common denominator for them all is that they have been, and many of them are today, languages which were used by soldiers and warrior groups and African conquerors, languages which were later employed by European colonialists in their African armies.

The languages of Africa can be divided into 5 language families: 1) Congo-Kordofanian, 2) Nilo-Saharan, 3) Afro-Asiatic, 4) Khoi-San and 5) Malayo-Polynesian on Madagascar. The Congo-Kordofanian and the Afro-Asiatic groups have many common cultural and historical ties, and together they account for almost three-fourths of all the languages of Africa.