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EDITORIAL

Every academic environment is sustained by learning through rigorous methods. Research is one and the focal point for assessment. A serious member of the academic community is measured by the quality and number of academic articles.

In spite of the desire to acquire many research reports, this edition has insisted on standards and quality. It is important to note that many articles have been rejected for not meeting our requirements.

The first and most obvious task of our journal is to provide a level playing field for researchers all over the globe in language-related disciplines, which is the vehicle for conveying knowledge. In this edition, seventeen (17) articles have undergone academic scrutiny from our blind reviewers.

To our esteemed contributors and readers, thought-provoking articles are expected and we are ready to publish them in the next volume.

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The “Jalingo Journal of Linguistics and Literary Studies” (JAJOLLS) is a publication of the Department of Language and Linguistics, Taraba State University, Jalingo, Nigeria. This journal publishes reports in relation to all aspects of linguistics, literary and cultural studies.

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The Influence of Hausa on Fulfulde – *Ji* Inflectional Suffix in Adamawa Dialect

Abstract

This article explores the impact of the Hausa language on the -ji inflectional suffix in the Adamawa dialect of the Fulfulde language. The study aims to assess the extent of this influence and analyse the affected aspects within the Fulfulde language. The study employs Hallidayan systemic functional grammar for analysis. Language contact, observed through apparent-time studies, is employed to understand ongoing linguistic changes. Data were gathered through introspection, observation, and discussion, with a focus on differences between the speech habits of older and younger generations. The research reveals that the influence of the Hausa language has led to changes in plural formation, including the adoption of the -ji suffix and its erroneous application in existing singular words. Additionally, native speakers often use the -ji suffix for emphasis on numerical volume in plural words.

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1.1 Introduction

The study of language in relation to society has come a long way in discussing the damages in the structures of individual languages caused by language power and pressure in a given society. The Phonology, morphology and syntax are the areas most affected. The structure of words and how they are formed and the structure of sentences are the most receiving ends in the cause of the relationships. Fulfulde as the most well-known language of West Atlantic language (Douglas 2009) has been influenced by Hausa language due to its contact in North-eastern Nigeria and Adamawa state in particular. Despite the difference in genetic classification between Hausa and Fulfulde; where Hausa belongs to the West Chadic of the Afro-asiatic family and Fulfulde belongs to the West Atlantic group of Niger-Congo family (Greenberg 1963), the two languages have great influence on one another in Northern Nigeria. The influence can be bi-directional where each language has exerted its pressure on another. However, there is another situation whereby Hausa language exert more pressure on Fulfulde or Fulfulde language on Hausa. These pressures can cause

a lot of damages in the word structure of either of the languages. It is therefore within the scope of this research to examine the influence of Hausa Language on the Fulfulde, to assess the extent of this influence and analyze the morphological aspects affected.

1.2 Language Contact

Language contact is when speakers of two different languages or varieties interact and influence each other. In language contact for effective communication to take place, speakers must possess the ability to use two or more in the social context (Weinreich, 1953). In due course some speakers will be able to alternate between languages and become bilinguals.

This contact could be as a result of migration, neighborhood, conquest and political unification of different tribal groups. Communities come into contact with each other under any one of these conditions, above, linguistics contact takes place out of the need for establishing communication between members of these communities. Language contact is speech communication between different linguistic communities (Rozenever, 1976).

1.3 Language Change

Language change can be universal, continuous and regular (Lyons, 2009). Although some changes can be linked to major social changes caused by wars, invasions and other upheavals, the most pervasive source of change in language seems to be in continual process of cultural transmission. Each new language user has to create for himself the language of the community, there is an unavoidable propensity to pick up some elements exactly and others only approximately. There is also occasional desire to be different. Giving this tenuous transmission process, it should be expected that languages will not remain stable, but change and variation are inevitable (Yule, 1991). Language changes due to the innovations of individuals, community, and historical reasons. Neighboring language and dialects also affect each other. A typical example is the Fulfulde dialects that share borders with Hausa language that have been affected by Hausa language. Take for instance Western and Central Fulfulde dialects where it borrowed many Hausa lexical items (Dakin-gari 1989), thus it can clearly be seen in the following

Example 1:

Fulfulde	Hausa language	Gloss
<i>katangawol</i>	<i>katanga</i>	wall
<i>kunnyawol</i>	<i>kunya</i>	ridge
<i>laujeeruu</i>	<i>laujee</i>	sickle
<i>maiwaari</i>	<i>maiwa</i>	millet
<i>jakaraari</i>	<i>zakara</i>	cock
<i>albasaaje</i>	<i>albasa</i>	onion
<i>konndooji</i>	<i>kwandoo</i>	basket

(Dakin-gari 1989).

These borrowings have occurred due to the boundary shared between the two languages such as in Dakin Gari local government area in Kebbi State.

However, in another way round, Hausa language is also being influenced by the Fulfulde as in the following examples:

Example 2:

Hausa language	Fulfulde	Gloss
<i>bukka</i>	<i>bukkaaru</i>	hut

<i>burtalii</i>	<i>burtol</i>	footpath
<i>nagge</i>	<i>nagge</i>	cow
<i>takwara</i>	<i>takora</i>	name's sake
<i>baffa</i>	<i>bappa</i>	paternal uncle
<i>kaawu</i>	<i>kaawu</i>	maternal uncle

(Dakin-gari 1989).

The concept of Language change is further divided into two sub categories as stated by Milroy (1992), that is:

- i. External change and
- ii. Internal change

The external change in a language occurs through social considerations. That is to say, the poverty of lexicons in the mind of the speakers of a particular language result to borrowing of concepts that denotes meaning that is available in the language that it is in contact with. Example, the *bukka* 'hut' and *burtol* 'path' are the two lexicons that are lacking in the minds of a Hausa speaker and therefore, the concepts are borrowed. The internal change occurs at the structural level. That is to say, the language changes at phonological, morphological levels where sounds and morphemes are changed, deleted or added. For example, *bappa* → *baffa* (/p/ → /f/), *bukkaaru* → *bukka* (ru → ø/ -#) in Fulfulde and Hausa respectively.

2. 1 Borrowing

Borrowing, as the name implies, is the structural adaptation of words, or sentences with their imports of two bordering languages, otherwise known as “interference”. (Haugen (1950), Weinreich (1953), Thomas and Kaulinman (1988). Borrowing can also be referred to as a linguistic form taken over by one language or dialect from another (Crystal, 2008). Nouns are borrowed more often than verbs or adjectives partly because nouns are far more numerous than other classes of words to begin with, partly because new things are more likely to be denoted by nouns than by other word classes, and partly because new nouns are often easier to accommodate within the grammatical system of the borrowing language (Miller, 2007).

The following are the examples of Fulfulde blends compound presented by Mohammed (1987) where they are borrowed from Hausa language and made some suffixes from their native language to provide a class marker of those borrowed words.

Example 3:

	Hausa	Fulfulde	suffix	
	Gloss			
a.	<i>maagani</i> Medicine	<i>maaganiiji</i>	<i>ji</i>	
b.	<i>buhuu</i>	<i>buhuure</i>	<i>re</i>	Sack
c.	<i>malafaa</i>	<i>malafaare</i>	<i>re</i>	Hat
d.	<i>laabule</i> Curtain	<i>laabuleeji</i>	<i>ji</i>	
e.	<i>lemaa</i> Umbrella	<i>lemaaru</i>	<i>ru</i>	
f.	<i>alkamaa</i> Wheat	<i>alkamaari</i>	<i>ri</i>	

(Mohammed 1987).

The above examples show that Fulfulde borrowed from Hausa but made some morphological amendments so as to match with the class markers of Fulfulde. The

class markers in the examples are *-nde* for *buhuure*, *malafaare*, *-di* for *maaganiiji*, *-ndi* for *alkamaari*, *-di* for *labuleeji* and *ndu* for *leemaaru*.

2.2 Noun in Fulfulde

Fulfulde has a noun class which is determined by suffixes and concords. Each class suffix has various grades (Arnott, 1970), which combined with stems of the same “grade”. Thus, it has a vicarious effect on 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.

Mohammed (1987) observed that Fulfulde has no gender distinction, but this does not in any sense mean that the language has no sex distinction. Hausa, for instance, has both sex and gender distinction and both are compatible; male always masculine and female is feminine. Fulfulde utilizes class in the same way that other languages use gender, and sex is marked in the language, for example in English, bovines are known as cow and bull and the sheep as ram and ewe for male and female respectively. Likewise in Hausa *shanu* are known as *sa* or *saniya*, *tumaki* known as *rago* or *tinkiya* for male and female respectively. Similarly, in Fulfulde bovines are called *na`i* while *ngari* for bull and *nagge* for cow and *baali* for sheep while *njawdiri* for ram and *mborta* for ewe respectively. In Fulfulde, though the females of bovines and sheep belong to one group of animals but they differed in class markers, the males are members of the same class markers of “*ndi*” while *nge* for *nagge* or *wiige* and *ngaa* for *mborta* respectively.

However, nouns in Fulfulde are classified based on the semantic constraint in that any given noun belongs to a class and has concord with its qualifiers and modifiers. The class marker also shows the number. The class makers in the Fulfulde consist of the following:

Example 4:

Class makers	Fulfulde	Hausa	meaning
o	<i>gorko</i>	<i>miji</i>	man
be	<i>worbe</i>	<i>maza</i>	men
nde	<i>hoodere/horre</i>	<i>tauraro</i>	star
ndi	<i>ngaari</i>	<i>bujimi</i>	bull
ndu	<i>suudu</i>	<i>ɗaki</i>	room
ɗam	<i>kosam</i>	<i>madara</i>	milk
ngal	<i>leggal</i>	<i>bishiya</i>	tree
nge	<i>nagge</i>	<i>sa</i>	cow
ngo	<i>junngo</i>	<i>hannu</i>	hand
ngu	<i>puccu</i>	<i>doki</i>	horse
ka	<i>ngaska</i>	<i>rami</i>	hole
ki	<i>labi</i>	<i>wuƙa</i>	knife
ko	<i>hudo</i>	<i>ciyawa</i>	grass
kal	<i>belam</i>	<i>gishiri</i>	salt
kon	<i>nyalahol</i>	<i>karsana</i>	calf
nga	<i>lelwa</i>	<i>barewa</i>	
gazelle			
ngel	<i>kusel</i>	<i>nama</i>	meat
ngol	<i>laawol</i>	<i>hanya</i>	path
ngum	<i>binngum</i>	<i>yaro</i>	child
de	<i>leece</i>	<i>gadaje</i>	beds

di	<i>lebbi</i>	watanni	
moons			
dum	<i>lammudum</i>	tsami	sour
etc.			

However; Fulfulde has other class markers which indicate personal classes, diminutive classes, augmentative classes, and non-personal classes. Consider the following:

Examples 5:

i. Personal classes:

a. **`o**: The personal singular class, each noun referring to a single human being. Example: gorko ‘‘man’’

b. **be**: The personal plural class, counterpart of class **`o**. Example: worbe ‘‘men’’

ii. Diminutive classes:

a. **ngel**: The diminutive singular class. Small persons or things; or implies disparagement or affection. Example: biɲgel ‘‘small child’’.

b. **kal**: small quantities. Example: nyaalahal ‘calf’

c. **ngum**: The pejorative diminutive class, implying disdain. Example: baggum ‘not ripped, strong’

d. **kon**: The diminutive plural class, plural counterpart of classes of ngel, **kal**, **ngum**. Example: bikkon ‘children’

iii. Augmentative classes:

a. **nga**: The augmentative singular class. Large or important persons or things; or implies dislike, dread etc. example: ngilnga ‘big maggot’

b. **ko**: The augmentative class, plural counterpart of class **nga**. Example: gilko ‘big maggots’

iv. non-personal classes:

a. **nde**: A wide range of meanings, including places and times, globular and annular objects. Example: tummude ‘calabash’

b. **ndi**: Male animals and birds; uncountable. Example: Pallaandi ‘lizard’

c. **ndu**: Circular and cylindrical objects. Example: suudu ‘room’

d. **nga**: Some animals, including large ones. Example: kunduga ‘big mouth’

e. **nge**: For cow, fire, sun. Example: naange ‘sun’

f. **ngo**: Various. Example: daago ‘mat’

g. **ngu**: Insects, worms, fishes, and some collectives and abstract nouns. Example: linngu ‘fish’

h. **ngal**: Parts trees and plants, plant and tree products, birds. Example: leggal ‘tree’

i. **ngol**: Long thin things. Example: boggol ‘rope’

j. **ka**: Various. Example: ngaska ‘pit’

k. **ki**: Tress; also bladed instruments. Example: kaafahi ‘sword’

l. **ko**: Grasses etc. example: hudo ‘grasses’

m. kol: calves. Example: nyaalahol calves.

n. **dam**: Liquids, collectives, and abstracts. Example: firaadam ‘milk’

o. **dum**: The ‘neuter’ class. Example: juuddum ‘it is long’

p. **de**: non-personal plural class-plural counterparts of the singular classes. Example: padɛ ‘shoes.’

q. **di**: non-personal plural class-plural counterparts of the singular classes. Example: bawdi ‘drums’

Examples 6:

Class of ‘‘-o’’ (human sing.) $gork + o = gorko$ ‘‘man’’.

Class of ‘‘-be’’ (human Pl.) $wor + be = worbe$ ‘‘men’’.

Class of ‘‘-ɲgel’’ Small person/thing (sing.) $biɲ + -ɲgel = biɲgel$ ‘‘small child’’.

Class of “kon” Small persons/things (Pl.) *lek + kon = lekkon* “small trees”.

Class of “nga” Large item/quantity (sing.) *dem + nga = demnga* “big tongue”.

Class of “ko” Large items/quantities (pl.) *dem + ko = demko* “big tongues”.

The above are some examples of Fulfulde noun examples with features of the concord system.

2.3 The -*ji* Suffix in plural marking

Before going into the analysis of the “-*ji*” suffix in plural marking of nouns in Adamawa dialect, it is necessary to give the Hausa borrowed words by the Fulfulde which the -*ji* suffix is being added to the singular word to become plural as follows:

Table 1: Plural Formation in borrowed Words

Borrowed word	singular form	plural form	with <i>ji</i> suffix	meaning
<i>keeke</i>	<i>Keeke</i>	<i>keেকে+ji</i>	<i>keেকেji</i>	bicycle
<i>cookali</i>	<i>cookali</i>	<i>cookalii+ji</i>	<i>cookaliiji</i>	Spoon
<i>biro</i>	<i>Biro</i>	<i>biroo+ji</i>	<i>birooji</i>	Pens
<i>riiga</i>	<i>Riga</i>	<i>riigaa+ji</i>	<i>riigaaji</i>	Shirts
<i>riijiya</i>	<i>Riijiya</i>	<i>riijiyaa+ji</i>	<i>riijiyaaaji</i>	Wells
<i>asibiti</i>	<i>Asibiti</i>	<i>asibitii+ji</i>	<i>asibitiji</i>	hospitals
<i>singileeti</i>	<i>Singileeti</i>	<i>singileetii+ji</i>	<i>singileetiiji</i>	Vests
<i>kaano</i>	<i>Kaano</i>	<i>kaanoo+ji</i>	<i>kaanooji</i>	roofing sheet
<i>gele</i>	<i>Gele</i>	<i>gelee+ji</i>	<i>geleeji</i>	Veils
<i>almakaci</i>	<i>Almakaci</i>	<i>Almakacii+ji</i>	<i>almakaciji</i>	scissors

The above examples are Hausa borrowed words in Fulfulde, the examples show how Fulfulde use suffix -*ji* in pluralizing the Hausa borrowed words. It might be observed that some of the Hausa words that contain double consonants such as /kw/ and /gy/ are being delabialized and depalatalized to by primary sounds /k/ and /g/ respectively as in *kaano* ‘roofing sheet’ and *gele* ‘veil’ instead of *kwaano* and *gyale*. This is due to the fact that such sounds do not exist in the language and therefore, can be replaced with the primary sounds. The vowel length is also indicated because orthography of the language permits such unlike in the Hausa language. Also, the last vowel is lengthened before the suffix -*ji* because most of the Fulfulde stems end with closed syllables, immediately followed by a class suffix. Therefore, whenever a stem ends with an open syllable then the vowel is lengthened before a -*ji* class suffix follows.

Fulfulde of Adamawa dialect form its plural by adding - ***ji* suffix** to a word. Fulfulde has plural noun classes such as: i. *be*; ii. *de*; iii. *di*; iv. *ko*; and v. *kon*. They are suffix to nouns to pluralize objects such as i. Human; ii. Animate and inanimate; iii. Animate and inanimate; iv. Augmentative; and v. diminutive respectively. However, with the influence of Hausa concept on plural formation, Fulfulde borrowed words follow the same pattern as that of Hausa by suffixing ‘-*ji*’ instead of using its only different plural classes as follows:

Table 2: Five Plural suffixes in Fulfulde

Categories	Singular class	Base	Plural class	Example		Gloss
				Singular	Plural	
Human	O	gork -	be	gorko	worbe	Man
non-human	Nde	faya -	de	fayande	payande	Pot
non-human	Ndu	waa-	di	waandu	baadi	monkey
augmentative	Nga	lekk -	Ko	legga	lekkko	big trees
diminutive	Ngel	bii-	kon	bingel	bukkonji	little donkey

The Fulfulde class markers that are illustrated above comprised the plural classes categorized into five groups which are: *be*, *di*, *de*, *ko* and *kon*. The plural classes go with all the singular classes in the language. It is only few that are selected as singular classes such as *o*, *nde*, *ndu*, *nga*, and *ngel* to serve as sample in the above table.

Besides the suffixing of a noun class to form plurals in Fulfulde, there is an initial consonant mutation. Consonant in Fulfulde changes depending on the environment which it occurs. An initial consonant mutation is a change in consonant in a word at the initial environment. An initial consonant becomes a stop or affricate if a singular word begins with fricative, liquid or glide, or vice-versa. That is to say, a consonant change from a weak sound to a strong sound at an initial environment as in the first three examples in the table as follows: *gorko* → *worbe*, *fayande* → *payande*, *waandu* → *baadi* (*g* → *w*, *f* → *p*, *w* → *b*).

Hausa suffixes are not stem specific. One cannot predict the singular stem of a given plural suffix. Example: the *-nnii* plural suffix in Hausa language as in *wàasa* ‘play’ to *wàasà-nnii* ‘plays’ or *kàakaa* ‘grandmother/father’ to *kàakà-nnii* and many different stems, attach the same plural suffix from a singular stem which does not give a hint on which stem supposed to be the singular unlike in Fulfulde where every plural suffix determines the stem of its singular as in the five plural suffixes in the above table. The following table shows how such concept of generalizing plural suffix to some unpredictable stems in Hausa language is applied in Fulfulde using the *-ji* suffix.

All the five plural classes mentioned have their own allomorphs. The *-ji* suffix is an allomorph of *di* plural class in Fulfulde. It has specific classes of noun which it can inflect. Example: *baajol* ‘rope’ of *ngol* class can have its plural as *baaji* ‘ropes’ with the *-ji* suffix which is an allomorph of *di* class. The *-ji* is always attached with its matching stem, representing the *di* class. However, nowadays, in Adamawa dialect, the *-ji* claims all stems with different category of classes from it. The following are some of the examples:

Table 3: The *-ji* Suffix and other Classes

Singular	Plural A	Plural B	Meaning
<i>deftere</i>	<i>Deftereejii</i>	<i>defte</i>	Books
<i>saaree</i>	<i>ci’eeji</i>	<i>ci’e</i>	Houses
<i>mbaala</i>	<i>baaliiji</i>	<i>baali</i>	Rams
<i>puccu</i>	<i>puciiji</i>	<i>pucii</i>	Horses

<i>ngaska</i>	<i>gasdeejji</i>	<i>gasde</i>	Holes
<i>mbeewa</i>	<i>be`iiji</i>	<i>be`i</i>	Goats
<i>gorko</i>	<i>worbeji</i>	<i>worbe</i>	Men
<i>laawol</i>	<i>Laabiiiji</i>	<i>Laabi</i>	Paths
<i>bikkoy</i>	<i>bikkoyiiji</i>	<i>bikkoy</i>	Children
<i>hoondu</i>	<i>kooliiji</i>	<i>kooli</i>	Fingers
<i>nagge</i>	<i>Naggeejji</i>	<i>na`i</i>	Cows

From the above table, the plural in B that is without the *-ji* suffix is the acceptable inflectional process in Fulfulde while the plural in A that is with the *-ji* suffix is unacceptable in the language. All the words that have *-ji* suffix, have double plural suffixation. This is not in the principles of Fulfulde morphology where only one plural suffix is needed to inflect a word. This is also as a result of idea which the native speaker has that the *-ji* suffix is being attached to a borrowed words from Hausa language to inflect. To conform to the principle of Fulfulde inflection that all the lexical items must belong to the numerous pronominal classes, but in that case the *-ji* suffix is attached to the existing plural of Fulfulde words as exemplified above. However, as it can be observed in the example, the initial consonants mutation which Fulfulde is well known for is intact. That is to say, despite all the abnormalities of *-ji* suffixing to inflect, it does not in any way affect the consonant mutation in the language. Example *saare* cannot be pronounced **saareejji* but *ci`eeji*, likewise in *mbaala*, *ngaska*, *mbeewa*, *gorko* and *hoondu*.

Likewise, the neutral words that do not require plural form such as *ceede*, *kosam*, *nyebbam* and *ndiyam* are being affected by the same *-ji* suffixation as their plural form in Adamawa dialect as in the following.

Table 4: The *-ji* suffix and Neutral Words

Singular	Plural form	Plural with suffix <i>-ji</i>	Meaning
ceede	Cede	*ceedeeji	Money
kosam	Kosam	*kosamji	Milk
nyebbam	Nyebbam	*nyebbamji	Oil
ndiyam	ndiyam	*ndiyamji	water
hudõ	hudõ	*hudõoji	Grass

In the above table, the plural form remains the same with the singular form while the one with the *-ji* suffix is unacceptable. The examples illustrated above show that in Adamawa dialect even the words that have no plural counterpart is being pluralized by attaching the suffix *-ji* to the word so as to serve in plural formation.

3.1 Conclusion

Hausa suffixes are not stem specific. One cannot predict the singular stem of a given plural suffix. Example: the *-nnii* plural suffix in Hausa language as in *wàasa* ‘play’ to *wàasà-nnii* ‘plays’ or *kàakaa* ‘grandmother/father’ to *kàakà-nnii* and many different stems, attach the same plural suffix from a singular stem which does not give a hint on which stem supposed to be the singular unlike in Fulfulde where every plural suffix determines the stem of its singular as in the five plural suffixes. Fulfulde of Adamawa dialect form its plural by adding *-ji* suffix to a word. Fulfulde has plural noun classes such as *be*, *de* and *dî*, *ko*, and *kon* suffixing to nouns to pluralize objects such as human,

animate and inanimate, augmentative, and diminutive respectively. However, with the influence of Hausa concept on plural formation, Fulfulde borrowed words follow the same pattern as that of Hausa by suffixing ‘-*ji*’ instead of using its only different plural classes as in table 2 where the plural classes go with all the singular classes

All the five plural classes mentioned have their own allomorphs. The -*ji* suffix is an allomorph of *di* plural class in Fulfulde. It has specific classes of noun which it can inflect. Example: *baajol* ‘rope’ of *ngol* class can have its plural as *baaji* ‘ropes’ with the -*ji* suffix which is an allomorph of *di* class. Also, *bookol* ‘cry’ to *bojji* ‘cries’, *meetalawol* ‘turban’ to ‘*meetalaaji* ‘turbans’ all of *ngol* class have their respective plural using -*ji* as an allomorph of *di* plural class. The -*ji* is always attached with its matching stem, representing the *di* class. However, nowadays, in Adamawa dialect, the -*ji* claims all stems with different category of classes from it, as seen in table 3.

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