Hausa Grammatical Sketch

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(01/04/2011)

1. Introduction

> Hausa has enjoyed a long tradition of linguistic studies with, to name but the most important early scientific works, two major dictionaries (Bargery 1934, Abraham 1962), a grammar (Abraham 1959), and a collection of articles by F. Parsons spanning from 1955 to 1975 which set the pace for modern Hausaist research. The recent years have seen the final results of these decades of scientific research with the successive publication of two monumental grammars (Newman, P. 2000 (760 p.) and Jaggar 2001 (754 p.)) and two major dictionaries (Newman, R.M. 1990 and Newman, P. 2007). This grammatical sketch owes much to Paul Newman's *The Hausa language : an encyclopedic reference grammar* (Newman 2000), which does exactly what its title announces: in 760 densely set pages, it sums up everything you ever wanted to know about Hausa, in a clear, precise, exhaustive series of 80 articles. Large passages of this work are a summary of the relevant parts of his grammar, examples include. Whenever possible, we have added some data and examples drawn from our own teaching and research experience. Thanks again to Paul for this amazing work.

Hausa belongs to the Chadic branch of AfroAsiatic languages. Whereas none of the other 170 Chadic languages has more than 200 thousand speakers, Hausa is estimated to be spoken by around 50 million people, ¾ of which live in Nigeria. The Hausa land proper straddles the Niger/Nigeria border, but Hausa communities have settled in Sudan, Cameroon, Togo and Ghana. Moreover, Hausa traders can be found in all big West African cities, and up to North-Africa (Tripoli, etc.). Presently, the Hausa community, which emerged over the centuries through the absorption of heterogeneous populations, is best defined by its common language. This on-going process of integrating vast non-Hausa speaking populations has left its imprint on the language. For example, the Hausa spoken in Bauchi and Zaria does not mark gender. A relatively weak dialect differentiation can be observed spreading from West to East, in stripes with a North-South orientation, with two main groups : Western Hausa, represented by Sokoto, and Eastern Hausa, represented by Kano. Kano Hausa has been chosen as a referent for the elaboration of a standard. The place with the greatest dialect dispersion, and the most "archaic" features is Sokoto, which is probably the origin of the dialect diffusion of the language.

The origin of the Hausa people has been situated in the Air mountain in Niger Republic. The movement from North to South took place under the pressure of the Tuareg populations driven by the Sahara desertification. The Hausa states as they exist today were founded in the 14th Century a.d. Following the *jihad* launched by Shehu Usuman Ɗan Fodio from 1804 to 1812, the Sokoto caliphate replaced the old Hausa kingdoms. That's when the Hausa Islamic poetry was born, which constitutes the first trace of Hausa written in *ajami*[2]. British colonization, with the generalization and standardization of Hausa spelling in roman script, witnessed the birth of a Hausa press and literature.

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[1]   This grammatical sketch of Hausa has been written as an annex to the annotated Hausa Corpus transcribed for the CorpAfroAs project (ANR-06CORP).

[2].   *Ajami* is the name given to the Arab alphabet adapted for the notation of African languages.

The current production consists in five periodicals, a well as novels, poetry, drama, textbooks, propaganda leaflets, political and commercial posters, etc.

The Hausa speakers recorded for the CorpAfroAs corpus were all born and brought up in the close vicinity of the city of Zaria, and all speak the same variety of Hausa called *Zazzaganci*, or Zaria Hausa. The main difference between this variety and the Standard Hausa of Kano, is its absence of grammatical gender. When relevant, notes concerning dialect particularities of Zaria Hausa will be introduced following the sign **<ZR>**

Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus

1.1 Grammar: general abbreviations

adj.	Adjective		pds	Pre-dative Suffix
adv.	Adverb		pl.	Plural
AP	Adjectival Phrase		PP	Prepositional Phrase
F	Falling tone		prep.	Preposition
f.	Feminine		SH	Standard Hausa
GL	Genitive Link		sufx	Suffix
gr	Grade		TP	Tone Pattern
H	High tone		v.	Verb
L	Low tone		VN	Verbal Noun
IP	Infinitive Phrase		VP	Verb Phrase
M	Mid tone		WH	Western Haus
m.	Masculine		ZH	Zaria Hausa
NP	Noun Phrase			

1.2 Corpus: glossing labels (\rx tier)

Label (\rx)	Meaning	Associated \ge labels and/or examples
ADJ	Adjective	red (*ɗaː*), evil (*muːgùː*)
ADV	Adverb	formerly (*dâː*), quickly (*dàwuɽi*)
ADV.DEICT	Deictic Adverb	now (*jànzu*), next_year (*bàdī*)
ADV.REL	Relative Adverb	how (*jaddà*), REL.LOC (*indà*)
ato	Apotony	IMP
CIRC	Circumfix	AGT (*ma-*); INS (*-iː*)
COMP	Complementizer	that_is (*ʧêːwaː*)
CONJ	Conjunction	if (*in*); until (*har*)
der	Derivation	DIR (*-oː*); NMLZ (*-waː*)
DET	Determinant	DEF (*-ǹ*)
DET.INDF	Indefinite Determinant	SOME.PL (*wasu*)
EXCL	Exclamation	eh (*ěː*); indeed (*àfeː*)
FILL	Pause filler	er… (*eːːː*)
HESIT	Hesitation	gwaː#
hom	Homonymy	COP2 (*dà*)
IDEOPH	Ideophone	strong (*kankan*); tight (*tsantsan*)
INTJ	Interjection	amen (*àːmin*); no (*aːʔàː*)
N	Noun	thing (*àbù*); work (*aikìː*)
N.P	Proper Noun	Amina ; Bashir
N.V	Verbal Noun	loan ; begging
NUM	Numeral	Four (*huɗu*)
ONOM	Onomatopoeia	mêː; galalan
PNG	Person-Number-Gender complex	2SG.M.GEN (*-ʃi*); 1PL.IDP (*kuː*)
PRO	Pronoun	So_and_So (*waːnè*)
PRO.DAT	Dative Pronoun	2.PL (*mukù*)
PRO.DEICT	Deictic Pronoun	ANAPH (*wânnan*); DIST (*wanʧàn*)

PRO.IDP	Independent Pronoun	2SG.F (*keː*); 3SG.M (*ʃiː*)
PRO.INDF	Indefinite Pronoun	some.M (*wani*)
PRO.UNIV	Universal Pronoun	anything (*koːmeː*)
PTCL	Particle	ANAPH (*ɗîn*); plus (*ʃâː*)
PTCL.NEG	Negative Particle	NEG2a (*bàː*); NEG3 (*bâː*)
PTCL.SYNT	Syntactic Particle	POSS (*mài*); GEN (*na*)
PTCL.TOP	Topicalizing Particle	indeed (*fa*); too (*kuma*)
red	reduplication	child\PL (*yâːyâː*); gather (*tattàːɽaː*)
REL	Relative	how (*jandà*); who (*wandà*);
STATIVE	Stative	together (*tàːɽe*); staying (*zàune*)
V	Verb	go.DIR (*tahoː*); say (*ʧêː*)
V.AUX	Auxiliary Verb	keep_on (*ɽingàː*)

1.3 Corpus: glossing labels (\ge tier)

Label (\ge)	Meaning	Associated \rx labels
ACC1	Accusative 1	ACC1 (*-i*)
ACC2	Accusative 2	ACC2 (*-eː*)
AGT	Agent	CIRC (*ma-*)
ALL	Allative	PTCL.SYNT (*zâː*)
ANAPH	Anaphoric	PRO .DEICT (*wânnan*) ; PTCL (*ɗîn*)
AOR	Aorist	TAM
BKL	Backchannelling	BKL (*m̀ːhmː*)
CONT	Continuous	TAM
COP	Copula	PTCL.SYNT (*dà*)
CTF	Counterfactual	CONJ (*dàː*)
DAT	Dative	PTCL.SYNT (*wà*)
DEF	Definite	DET (*-ǹ*)
DIM	Diminutive	ADV (*ɗan*)
DIR	Directional	der (*-oː*) ; PTCL.SYNT (*zâː*)
DIST	Distal	ADV.DEICT (*ʧân*)
DUR	Durative	TAM (*ta*)
EVD	Evidential	PTCL (*wai*)
F	Feminine	PNG (*ita*) ; der (*-annìjaː*)
FILL	Pause Filler	FILL (*èːːː*)
FOC	Focus	TAM (*jakèː*)
FUT	Future	TAM (*zâi*)
GEN	Genitive	PNG (*taːkù*)
HAB	Habitual	TAM (*kàn*)
HESIT	Hesitation	FILL (*dːːː*)
IDP	Independent	PNG (*suː*)
IMP	Imperative	TAM
INS	Instrumental	CIRC (*-aː*)
M	Masculine	PNG (*ʃiː*)
NEG	Negative	PTCL.NEG (*bâː*)
NFOC	Non-Focus	TAM (*nàː*)
NMLZ	Nominalizer	der (*-waː*)
PFV	Perfect	TAM (*jaː*)
PL	Plural	PL (-oːCiː)
PROX	Proximal	ADV.DEICT (*nân*) ; PRO.DEICT (*wannàn*)
REL.LOC	Place Adverb	ADV.REL (*indà*)
SBJV	Subjunctive	TAM (*jà*, *mù*)
SG	Singular	PNG ((*ʃiː*, *jaː*)
TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood complex	

2. Phonology

2.1 Syllable structure

There are three types of syllable structure in Hausa, divided into light (CV) and heavy (CVV and CVC). Initial vowels and consonant clusters, as well as syllable-internal long vowels are excluded. As a consequence, all words written with an initial vowel in the standard orthography[1] begin in fact with an initial glottal stop: *aikì:*, 'work' is in fact pronounced [ʔaikì:]. Words ending in a CVC syllable are often ideophones or loanwords.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Quality
Hausa has 5 vowels distributed over 3 degrees of aperture :

i	*u*
e	*o*
	a

2.2.2 Quantity
Length produces five more vowels :

i:	*u:*
e:	*o:*
	a:

On top of theses 10 vowels, Hausa has 2 diphtongs : /*ai*/ and /*au*/

2.2.3 Changes in quality due to length and distribution :
The phonetic realisation, and more particularly the quality of the vowel, is influenced by length and the situation of the vowel in the utterance. Short vowels are more open, more central, less rounded than long ones. They can be transcribed as follows[2]:

/*a*/ = [ʌ] (open, central, neutral lip position ; cf. English *but, cut*)

/*a:*/ = [a:] (open ; half-way between central and back)

/*e*/ = [ɛ] (front, half-open, neutral lip position ; cf. English *bet, get*)

/*e:*/ = [e:] (half-close, front, retracted lips ; cf. French *bébé*)

/*i*/ = [ɪ] (not quite close ; not quite front ; cf. English *bit, lid*)

/*i:*/ = [i:] (close, front, with retracted lips ; cf. French /**i**/))

/*o*/ = [ɔ] (half-open, back, rounded ; cf. English *god*)

/*o:*/ = [o:] (half-close, back, rounded ; cf French *peau*)

/*u*/ = [ʊ] (half-way between close and half-close ; not quite back ; less rounded than /*u:*/; cf English *book*)

/*u:*/ = [u:] (close, back, very rounded)

In final position, short vowels are realised with the same quality as long vowels, but are shorter, followed by a glottal stop. In a small number of words ending in a "long" vowels, these are realized half-long, and followed by a glottal stop. They are:

The final -*a* of the 1SG.GEN pronoun *na/ta* : *bà:ba:na:*, 'my father', *ɽì:ga:ta:*, 'my (man's) gown';
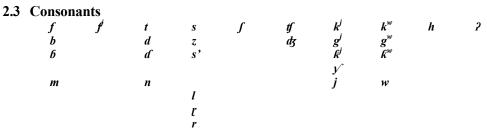
The final -*o* of class 6 verbs (ventive extention);

The final vowel of the following verbs : *ʤe:*, 'go' ; *ʤa:*, 'draw' ; *ʃa:*, 'drink' ; *so:*, 'want, love' ; *zo:*, 'come', *jo:/wo:*, 'go and do sth.' ; *bija:*, 'pay' ; *ʤiɽa:*, 'wait' ; *kiɽa:*, 'call' ;

The diphthongs in the words *kai*, 'carry' ; *hau*, 'ride' ; *kau*, 'take away'.

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[1]   It has been decided to follow the same convention as in the transcription of the CorpAfroAs corpus. Examples quoted from (Newman 2000) have been consequently converted to this transcription.

[2]   See (Carnochan 88) for a detailed account of Hausa vowels.

2.3 Consonants

f	ƒ	t	s	ʃ	ʧ	kʲ	kʷ	h	ʔ
b		d	z		ʤ	gʲ	gʷ		
ɓ		ɗ	s'			ƙʲ	ƙʷ		
						ƴ			
m		n				j	w		
			l						
			ɽ						
			r						

Comments : the consonant written /f/ in standard orthography is a bilabial whose pronunciation varies according to dialects and sociolects: [hʷ] in the West; [ɸ] (voiceless bilabial fricative) or [p] (voiceless bilabial plosive) in the East, depending on the social group of the speaker, the variant [ɸ] having a higher social connotation. It is pronounced [ɸ] and transcribed /f/ in the corpus.

The consonant written /ʤ/ in standard orthography is realized [ʒ] in the West, e.g. "*ʤaki*", 'donkey' is pronounced [ʤàːkiː] in Kano and [ʒàːkiː] in Sokoto. It is transcribed and pronounced [ʤ] in the corpus.

The standard orthography notes only one /r/. In the corpus, /r/ notes an alveolar trill, and /ɽ/ an retroflex alveolar tap.

2.3.1 Glottalisation

In the corpus, the glottal stop [ʔ] is not transcribed word-initially, transcribed /'/ word-internally, and /ʔ/ for non-lexical phenomena (hesitation, stuttering, aborted speech units, etc.).

Two types of glottalized consonants are generally distinguished in Hausa :
- the ejectives *ƙ*, *ƙʤ*, *ƙʷ* and *s'* (written "ts" in standard orthography), or voiceless post-glottalized;
- the injectives *ɓ*, *ɗ*, *ƴ*, also called implosives, or voiced pre-glottalized.

2.3.2 Long or geminated consonants

Hausa has long consonants (geminated) whose articulation is maintained longer than with normal consonants. Some words are opposed by the length of their consonants: *kulèː / kullèː* ('cat/lock') ; *manà/mannàː* ('DAT.1PL/glue').

2.3.3 Labialisation and palatalisation of consonants

/b/, /ɓ/, /k/, /ƙ/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips before /o/, /oː/, /u/ and /uː/. For example, in the words *bùhuː*, 'bag' ; *boːkòː*, 'schooling' ; *gudùː*, 'run', and *goːɽòː*, 'cola nut', the consonants /b/, /k/ and /g/ are pronounced with rounded lips, so that one can hear [bʷùhuː], [bʷoːkòː], and [gʷudùː].

/k/ and /g/ are palatalised in front of front vowels /i/, /iː/, /e/ and /eː/. For example, in the words *bàːkiː*, 'mouth' and *gidaː*, 'compound', /k/ and /g/ are palatalised into [bàːkjiː] and [gjidaː].

/t/, /d/, /z/, /s/, /ʃ/ and /w/ are realized /ʧ/, /ʤ/, /ʒ/ and /ʤ/ resp. in front of front vowels /i/, /iː/, /e/ and /eː/, except in recent loanwords, e.g. *tiːtìː*, 'street', a recent loanword borrowed from English via Yoruba.

2.3.4 Velarization of nasals

/n/ is pronounced [ŋ] in front of /k/, /ƙ/, /g/ and /'/. For example, *gwankiː*, 'antelope', is pronounced [gwaŋkiː] and *dankoː*, 'rubber', is pronounced [daŋƙoː].

Word-final /n/ and /m/ are pronounced [ŋ] too, as in *nân* [nâŋ], 'here' and *kullum*, [kulluŋ], 'always'.

2.4 Tone[3]

The tone-bearing unit in Hausa is the syllable. Hausa has three surface tones : Low (L), marked with a grave accent (*à* and *àː*); High (H), left unmarked (*a* and *aː*). Falling (F) marked with a circumflex accent (*â* and *âː*) are the combination of H+L tone on a single syllable. F tones only appear on heavy (CVV and CVC) syllables. Hausa does not have a Rising tone. When a combination of LH tones falls on a single syllable through historical or synchronic morphological processes, it is simplified to H or L, depending on the context.

Tone has lexical as well as grammatical functions. Some words are opposed only through their tone pattern: *kai*, 2.SG.M.IDP pronoun vs. *kâi*, 'head'; *suː*, 3.PL.IDP pronoun, vs. *sûː*, 'fishing'; *kuːkàː*, 'baobab', vs. *kuːkaː*, 'crying'; *wujàː*, 'neck', vs. *wùjaː*, 'difficulty'. Some plurals, imperatives and derivations are formed by changing the tone pattern only: *màːta:* (LH) 'wife, sg.' vs. *maːta:* (HH), 'wife,

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3   Cf. Newman 2000 : 597-614.

pl.'; *dafàː* (HL), 'cook' vs. *dàfaː* (LH), 'cook!'; *ma'aikataː* (H), 'working place' vs. *ma'àikàta:* (HLLH), 'workers'.

Tone patterns or melodies are associated to words or morphemes. The tones of a melody are assigned to the syllables from right to left: *suːnaːjeː*)^HLH is realised as *suːnàːjeː*, 'names' with HLH. If there are more syllables than tones, the last tone is repeated up to the first syllable: *makarantuː*)^LH is realised as *màkàràntuː*, 'shools'. Some suffixes have an associated tone pattern that overrides that of the suffixed word, e.g. *ɽìːgaː* (LH) + *-unaː*)^HL gives *ɽiːgunàː*, 'gowns' (HHL). These suffixes, called tone-integrating suffixes by P. Newman, can be stacked, in which case the melody of the last applied suffix overrides all preceding melodies: *daka*)^HL, 'pound' + *-akkeː*)^LHH past participle + *-uː*)^LH plural: *dakà:* > *dàkakkeː* > *dàkàkkuː*, 'pounded (pl.).

Some grammatical words have "polar tones"; i.e. they have no tone of their own, but instead they carry one that is the opposite of the preceding one. This is the case of the identifying copula *ʧeː*(f.)/*neː*(m., pl.): *moːtàː ʧeː*, 'it's a car' vs. *ɽìːgaː ʧèː*, 'it's a gown'.

When a final syllable is dropped the tone it bears remains floating, and is added to the preceding syllable. HL on a heavy syllable produces a F: *mùtumìː* (LHL) > *mútum ꜜ* > *mùtûm* (LF), 'man'. Since a Rising tone is excluded in Hausa, LH is usually simplified to H: *taː sàji naːmàː* > *taː sàjˊ naːmàː* > *taː sai naːmàː*, 'she bought food'.

Canonical tone patterns can be indentified in relation to the number and the structure of syllables (cf. Newman 2000:605-7).

2.5 Intonation

Intonation patterns are associated with phrasal and sentential units corresponding to minor and/or major intonation units. They are best identified through the variation in the pitch of tones. Following Newman (2000:612 ff.), we identify the following intonation patterns in Hausa:

- **The Declarative or neutral pattern**, is characterized by declination, accounted for by the general rule of downdrift : "each H tone after a L is a step lower than the preceding H" (Newman 2000:612).
- **Wh-questions** are characterized by a declarative intonation pattern and a L tone + vowel lengthening added to the end of the intonation unit. This L tone changes final H tones to F. It does not change final L[4].
- **Yes/No questions** are characterized by suspension of downdrift and key raising (↑) of the last H tone and all following L tones[5].
- **Sympathetic address** is an intonation pattern associated with units beginning with *tôː / habà*, 'well', followed by the name of addressee. They are characterized by a floating L tone added to the end of the name of the addressee.
- **The vocative pattern** is used when calling someone. It is characterized by raised pitch, lesser downdrift and lengthening of the final short vowel of the name of the addressee if it ends in such a vowel.

3. Word structure

The structure of the Hausa word is: < radical + affix>. The affix is composed of at least a final vowel and a tone pattern (TP). The radical *karant-*, 'read' is associated with the word 'teacher', which has 3 forms : *makarànʧiː* (n.m.; sufx. *-iː* ; HLH), *makaràntaː* (n.f.; sufx. *-aː* ; HLH), *màkàràntai* (n.pl. ; sufx. *-ai* ; TP BH). The notion of 'leaning on' (*dangan-*) is associated with the verb *dangànaː* (v.t.; sufx. *aː* ; TP HLH, 'lean, prop, put against'). Through the suffix *–t*, we get the derived verb *dàngantàː* 'to be linked to, comparable to' (v.t. sufx. *-t-aː* ; LHL) and the derived noun *dàngàntakàː* 'relationship' (n.f. : sufx. *-takà:* ; LHL). The affix can comprise and infix, which is frequent in the formation of nominal plurals, as e.g. in the noun *biɽniː*, 'city', pl. *biɽàːne:* (rad. *biɽn-*; infix *–aː-*; sufx. *–eː*; HLH). Only two prefixes are in use : *ma-*, used to derive nouns of agent, place, and instrument, and *ba-* used to form ethnonyms.

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[4]   Newman (2000:493) identifies this phenomenon as a question-morpheme ("q-morpheme"), and refuses to consider it as part of the intonation pattern.

[5]   See also § 17.2.2, p. 51.

4. Information structure

Two phenomena belonging to information structure are pervasive in Hausa: topicalisation and focus. They both operate through left-dislocation of an element of a sentence, but with very different morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic properties. The Topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance. The focus is part of the syntactic/predicative structure of the utterance. The topic only appears utterance-initially, whereas the focus, although extraposed sentence-initially, can be preceded by various elements belonging to the pragmatic preamble. The following example, borrowed from Newman (2000:615) shows a topic followed by a focus, and their respective structural position.

TOPIC			COMMENT				
			FOCUS		PRECONSTRUCT		
Hawan	*dokì:*	*dai,*	*Sulè:*	*ne:*	*ja*	*fi*	*ko:wa:.*
riding	Horse	indeed	Sule	COP	3S.M.PFV.FOC	exceed	everyone
	As for riding,			*it's Sule*		*who beats them all*	

4.1 Topicalisation

Topicalisation involves setting an NP at the beginning of an utterance, about which the rest of the utterance makes a *comment*. There can be multiple topics. The TAM of the rest of the sentence is not affected by the topicalization.

> *"The topic belongs to the pragmatic preamble of the utterance, and is separated from the rest by either (a) the intonation; (b) the insertion of a modal particle like* **dai** *'indeed',* **fa** *'well',* **kàm** *'really',* **kùwa** *(=* **kò(:)***) 'moreover', etc. (or a succession of such particles).' (Newman 2000:616[6])*

Example (HAU_BC_Conv_01_sp2_442)[7]:

[à: /]ᴸᴵᴳᴬᵀᵁᴿᴱ [da:wà: /]ᵀᴼᴾᴵᶜ [mukàn ijà sa:mùn bùhu: kàman go:mà hakà //]ᶜᴼᴹᴹᴱᴺᵀ
[Ah]ᴸᴵᴳᴬᵀᵁᴿᴱ, [guinea-corn]ᵀᴼᴾᴵᶜ, [we get like ten sacks.]ᶜᴼᴹᴹᴱᴺᵀ.

à:	*/*	*da:wà:*	*/*	*mukàn*	*ijà:*	*sa:mù*	*-n*	*bùhu:*	*go:mà*	*hakà*	*//*
er	/	guinea-corn	/	1PL.HAB	can	get	-GEN	sack	ten	like_this	//
FILL	/	N	/	PNG.TAM	V1.AUX	V2	-SYNT	N	NUM	ADV	//

[masàra: kuma/]ᵀᴼᴾᴵᶜ [mukàn ijà sa:mùn kàman bùhu::: / à::: go:mà fâ: bìjar]ᶜᴼᴹᴹᴱᴺᵀ
[As for maize]ᵀᴼᴾᴵᶜ, [we can get like ... er... fifteen sacks.]ᶜᴼᴹᴹᴱᴺᵀ

masàra:	*kuma*	*/*	*mukàn*	*ijà:*	*sa:mù*	*-n*
maize	too	/	1PL.HAB	can	get	-GEN
N	PTCL.TOP	/	PNG.TAM	V1.AUX	V2	-SYNT

kàman	*bùhu:*	*/*	*à:::*	*/*	*go:mà*	*fâ:*	*bìjar*	*//*
like	sack	/	FILL	/	ten	plus	five	//
PREP	N	/	FILL	/	NUM	PRT	NUM	//

4.2 Focus and subordination

When an element of a sentence is focused (contrastive emphasis with identification), it is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the subject pronoun associated with the verb is selected from a sub-set of paradigms, characterized as focus-compatible. Syntactically, the clauses identified by this subset of pronouns are characterized as being subordinated to the focused element. Pragmatically, their referential value is a preconstruct.Those that are compatible with focus [+FOC] are labelled FOC in the glosses; those that are incompatible [-FOC] are labelled NFOC. Wh-Questions are another instance of focus constructions, with the question word appearing at the initial of the sentence.

Two types of sentences are associated with [+FOC] subject pronouns: (1) sentences with focus; (2) Wh-Questions.

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[6]   As for all examples taken from (Newman 2000) the transcription has been adapted following CorpAfroAs conventions.

[7]   Edited example.

4.2.1 Focus

The focused element can be an NP, adverb or PP. It is contrasted whith a set of elements which could potentially have the same function. The focused element is optionally followed by the *ne:/ʧe:/ne:* copula, and it cannot be negated. The TAM that follows must be chosen among the +FOC paradigms.

PERFECTIVE	CONTINUOUS
*ja:ɽòn [ja:]*PFV.NFOC *ʧi na:mà: ʤijà* the boy ate meat yesterday ()	*ja:ɽòn [(ja)nà:]*CONT.NFOC *ʧîn na:mà: à kà:suwa:* the boy is eating meat at the market.
<u>*ja:ɽòn (ne:) [ja]*PFV.FOC *ʧi na:mà: ʤijà*</u> THE BOY ate meat yesterday	<u>*jaɽòn (ne:) ([ja)kè:]*CONT.FOC *ʧîn na:mà: à kà:suwa:*</u> THE BOY is eating meat at the market.
<u>*na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɽòn [ja]*PFV.FOC *ʧi ʤijà*</u> the boy ate MEAT yesterday	<u>*na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɽòn ([ja)kè:]*CONT.FOC *ʧî: à kà:suwa:*</u> the boy is eating MEAT at the market.
<u>*ʤijà (ne:) ja:ɽòn [ja]*PFV.FOC *ʧi na:mà:*</u> the boy ate meat YESTERDAY	<u>*à kà:suwa: (nè:) ja:ɽòn ([ja)kè:]*CONT.FOC *ʧîn na:mà:*</u> the boy is eating meat AT THE MARKET.
<u>*ʧîn na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɽòn [ja]*PFV.FOC *ji ʤijà*</u> the boy DID eat meat yesterday	<u>*ʧîn na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɽòn ([ja)kè:]*CONT.FOC *jî: à kà:suwa:*</u> <u>*ʧîn na:mà: (ne:) ja:ɽòn ([ja)kè:]*CONT.FOC *(jî:) à kà:suwa:*</u> the boy IS eating meat at the market.

4.2.2 WH-Questions

In Wh-Questions, the question functions as a request for an identification of the term on which the question is bearing. The whole utterance is subordinated to this term, and the +FOC subject pronouns indicate this subordination. The main question words are: *wà:(ne: nè:)* (m.), *wà:(ʧe: ʧè:)* (f.), *suwà: ne: nè:* (pl.) 'who'; *mè:(ne: nè:)* (m.), *mè:(ʧe: ʧè:)* (f.), 'what'; *ina:* 'where'; *jàuʃè: / jàuʃe:* 'when'; *jà:jà:*, 'how'; *nawà* 'how many'; *wànè* (m.) / *wàʧè* (f.) / *wàɗànnè* (pl.) 'which'[8].

> *nawà nawà kakè: bijan fensiro:rinkà?*
> *How much do you pay your biros ?*
>
> *wàʧè: hanjà: kikà bi?*
> *Which road did your follow ?*

5. Syntax of the simple sentence

A basic difference is made in Hausa between verbal and non-verbal sentences. The pivot of the verbal sentence is the verb through its Tense, Aspect and Mode (TAM) paradigms. In the case of non-verbal sentences, the pivot is a copula with no reference to TAM. A minimum non-verbal sentence is made of a Noun (or Noun Phrase) and a copula:

> **Mùtûm**   **ne:**
> man   COP1.NFOC
> N   PTCL.SYNT
> *It's a man.*

This particular syntactic frame (_____COP1.NFOC) is what defines a noun in Hausa. Verbs, prepositions, etc. cannot occur in this context. Conversely, verbs and only verbs are compatible with TAMs.

5.1 Non-verbal sentences -- Copulas

In a non-verbal sentence, the pivotal predicative function is held by copulas, whose syntactic and morphological properties set them apart from verbs. Non-verbal sentences are made of one (or two) Noun/Prepositional Phrases plus a Copula that gives them a reference value.

5.1.1.1 Identification: *ne:/ʧe:/ne:*

Positive assertion The identification corresponding to 'it is/are/was/were, etc.' is done with the *ne:/ʧe:/ne:* (COP1.NFOC) through the pattern : <X COP1> where X stands for an NP. The copula agrees in gender and number with the NP it identifies. *ʧe:* is the feminine marked form; *ne:* is the masculine and plural unmarked form. The tone of the copula is polar with that of the last tone of the NP.

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8   Cf. 6.2.1 & 17.1

Mu:sa: nè:	It's Musa.	*bankì: ne:*	It's a bank.
Kanò: ʧe:	It's Kano.	*àlʤànu: nè:*	It's spirits.
gaɽu:ɽuwà: ne:	It's towns.	*maʧì:ʤi: nè:.*	It's a snake.

When the NP is a pronoun, it belongs to the paradigm of independant pronouns.

ita	*cè:.*
3SG.F.IDP	COP1.NFOC
PNG	PTCL.SYNT
It's her.	

Negative assertion: The structure is <*bà:* X *ba nè:./ʧè:*>, < NEG4a *X* NEG4b COP1.NFOC>

bà:	*maʧì:ʤi:*	*ba*	*nè:.*
NEG4a	snake	NEG4b	COP1.NFOC
PTCL.NEG	N	PTCL.NEG	PTCL.SYNT
It isn't a snake.			

Yes/no question are done through intonation only, without any syntactic or morphological change[9].

maʧì:ʤi:	*nè:*	*?*
snake	COP1.NFOC	
N	PTCL.SYNT	Q
Is it a snake?		

Wh-Question: The question-word varies with animacy, gender and number :

- -human: *mè:ne: nè:* (m.); *mè:ʧe: ʧè:* (f.);
- +human: *wà:ne: nè:* (m.) ; *wà:ʧe: ʧè:* (f.); *su wà:ne: nè:* (pl.).

Nè: is used if the gendre of the item questioned is masculine or unknown, *ʧe:* if it is feminine.

Mè:ne: nè: wannàn?	What is this ?
Wannàn litta:fì: ne:	This is a book.
Wannàn kuʤè:ra: ʧè:	This is a chair.
Wà:ne: nè:?	Who is this? (woman)
Wà:ʧe: ʧè:?	Who is this? (man)
Suwà:ne: nè:?	Who are they?

5.1.1.2 Existence: *àkwai, dà*

àkwai (COP3). Structure: <*àkwai* X> 'there is/was/will be X'. *àkwai* is invariable.

Ex: *àkwai ɽuwa:.* 'There is water.' ; *àkwai àlbasà:.* 'There are onions.' ; *-àkwai kuɗi:? -i:, àkwai.* '-Is there any money? -Yes, there is.'

When the NP is a pronoun, it belongs to the paradigm of dependant pronouns: *àkwai tà !* 'Here she comes !'

dà (COP2)[10]. Same structure as *àkwai* : <*dà* X> 'there is/was/will be X', except that a complement is compulsory, whereas it could be understood in the case of *àkwai.*

dà	*dàli:lì:.*
COP2	reason
PTCL.SYNT	N
There is a reason.	

When the NP complement is understood, it is replaced by an independant pronouns:

-dà	*ʤàri:dà:?*	*- i:*	*dà*	*ita.*
COP2	newspapers	yes	COP2	3SG.F.IDP
PTCL.SYNT	N	INTJ	PTCL.SYNT	PNG
Are there any newspapers? - Yes, there are.				

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[9]   As the syntax of the formation of Y/N questions is minimal in Hausa, it will not be discussed any more in the rest of the presentation.

[10]   This copula is related to the preposition *dà* 'with'.

The copulas (*akwai* and *dà*) can be combined :

> *- dà àkwai kuɗi:? - i:, dà àkwai.*
> *- Is there any money ? – Yes, there is.*

Negation: bâ:/ba:bù (NEG3). Structure: <*bâ:/ba:bù* X >; meaning: <*there is/was/will be no* X>. In final position, only *ba:bù* is used.: *Bâ:/ba:bù mâi.*, 'There is no petrol' ; *-Àkwai mâi? -A:'à:, ba:bù.*, '-Is there any petrol? –No, there isn't.'; *-Bâ: mâi? - A:'à:, àkwai. / -I:, bâ: mâi. / -i:, ba:bù.*, 'Isn't there any petrol? – Yes there is (lit. No, there is.). / No (lit. Yes), there is no petrol. / No (lit. Yes) there isn't.'

When the NP following *bâ:/ba:bù* is pronominal, it belongs to the independant pronouns paradigm: *Ba:bù ʃi: = Bâ: ʃi:.* 'There isn't any. (lit. There is no him.)'

5.1.1.3 Presentation : *gà:*

Structure : <*gà:* X> ; meaning : < Here is X> :

> *Gà: kuɗinkà.*
>
> | *gà:* | *kuɗi: -n –kà* | | |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | COP4 | money –GEN –2SG.M.GEN | | |
> | PTCL.SYNT | N –PTCL.SYNT –PNG | | |
>
> *Here is your money !*

Pronominal NP's belong to the paradigm of dependant pronouns. The presentation copula *gà:* has no negative form.

5.1.1.4 Location: COP + PP

The existence or presentation can be specified in space trough a Prepositional Phrase (PP), an adverb or a deictic pronoun (e.g. *nân* 'here ; *ʧân* 'there').

> *Dà mutà:ne: ʧân ?*
> *Are there people there ?*

> *Gà: mo:tàr gàban gida:.*
> *The car is in front of the house*

> *Ba:bù ʃi: à gida:.*
> *He isn't at home.*

> *Àkwai mù ʧikin màganàr.*
> *We were concerned by the matter (lit. We were inside the talk.)*

See § 12 on Prepositions and § 10.4 on Preposition Phrases.

Wh-Question: ìna:. The Wh-Question word *ina:* does not generally use a copula.

> *-ìna: mutà:ne:? -gà: su.*
>
> | *ìna:* | *mutà:ne:* | *gà:* | *su* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | where | people | COP4 | 3PL.DPT |
> | PRO.Q | N.PL | PTCL.SYNT | PNG |
>
> *-Where are the people? –Here they are!*

5.1.1.5 The Allative (*zâ*:)

zâ: is a Sytactic Paarticle, glossed Allative (ALL) in the corpus, used to indicate movement in a direction. Structure: < *zâ:* X Location> = < *zâ:* NP PP/Adv/Deict >

> | *ìna:* | *zâ:* | *ka?* | | | |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | WHERE | all | 2SG.M.ACC | | | |
> | ADV.QUEST | PTCL.SYNT | PNG | | | |
>
> *"Where are you going?"*
>
> | *ja* | *ʧê:* | *zâ:* | *ni* | *mângaʤà:* | *nè:.* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | 3SG.M.PFV.FOC | say | ALL | 1SG.ACC | Mangaja | COP1.NFOC |
> | PNG.TAM | V* | PTCL.SYNT | PNG | N.P | PTCL.SYNT |
>
> *He said "I'm going to Mangaja."*

Followed by dependant nominal forms (PRO.DPT), it has developed into what looks like a paradigm of subject pronouns (see Table (1) below), but is has not developed into a full-fledged TAM as it is not related to time or modality but only denotes a spatial specification.

TABLE **1**. ALLATIVE		
	Affirmative	Negative
1	*zâ: ni*	*bà zâ: ni ... ba / bà zân ... ba*
2m	*zâ: ka*	*bà zâ: ka ... ba*
2f	*zâ: ki*	*bà zâ: ki ... ba*
3m	*zâ: ʃi / zâ: ja / zâi*	*bà <zâ: ʃi / zâ: ja / zâi> ...ba*
3f	*zâ: ta*	*bà zâ: ta ... ba*
1p	*zâ: mu*	*bà zâ: mu ... ba*
2p	*zâ: ku*	*bà zâ: ku ... ba*
3p	*zâ: su*	*bà zâ: su ... ba*
4	*zâ: a*	*bà zâ: a ... ba*

5.2 Verbal sentences -- TAM

The minimal verbal sentence consists in an intransitive verb with its conjugation marks. In Hausa, these are a TAM + PNG complex forming a word preceding the verb. In accordance with the Hausa tradition, instead of TAM.PNG, we may occasionally use the term "subject pronoun" to name this complex.

TAM.PNG	Verb
sun	*tsajà:*
3PL.PFV.NFOC	stop
They stopped.	

Actually, the sentence above is truncated, with the nominal, or lexical subject understood, leaving only the agreement morpheme, or light subject (PNG=3PL) inside the TAM-PNG complex.

A comple intransitive sentence is : Subject + [TAM.PNG + Verb]

Subject	TAM.PNG	Verb
ma:ta:	*sun*	*tsajà:*
femme.PL	3PL.PFV.NFOC	stop
The women stopped.		

A complete transitive sentence is : Subject + [TAM.PNG + [Verb+Object]]

Subject	TAM.PNG	Verbe	Object
ma:ta:	*sun*	*dafà*	*àbinʧi*
femme.PL	*3PL.PFV.NFOC*	*cook*	*food*
The women cooked food.			

The PNG component of the agreement complex is organized around the usual 3 persons, plus a 4th indefinite person, corresponding to the French '*on'*. Gender is marked in the singular, in the 2nd and 3rd person. This makes for conjugation paradigms with 9 TAM.PNG morphemes.

The basis of the Hausa conjugation system is 3-way opposition between the Perfect (PFV, with a completive meaning), the Continuous (CONT) and the Subjunctive (SBJV).

Hausa has two Futures: a (simple) Future (FUT), and a Potential or Indefinite Future (FUT.INDF) – a Habitual (HAB) and a Rhetorical (RHT[11]).

Hausa has developed special paradigms for verbs used in subordinate clauses. Subordination is linked with Wh-Questions, relative clauses and focus[12]. Thus, it has developed two Perfect and two Continuous paradigms, one which is compatible with focus, Wh-Questions and relativization

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[11] We have not found any instance of this aspect described by Paul Newman (2000:588-90).
[12]   Subordination is the syntactic manifestation of preconstruction. Cf. Caron 2000.

(PFV.FOC and CONT.FOC) and one which is not (PFV.NFOC and CONT.NFOC). The Subjunctive is not compatible with subordination, and instead the Future (FUT) is used.

Negation of verbal sentences is partially or totally integrated into to the subject pronouns, producing yet more paradigms.

5.2.1.1 Paradigms

TABLE **2**. PERFECT			
	Perfect (PFV)	Relative Perfect (PFV.FOC)	Negative Perfect (NEG1a.PFV... NEG1b)
1 s.	*na:*	*na*	*bàn... ba*
2 m.s.	*ka:*	*ka*	*bàkà... ba*
2 f.s.	*kin*	*kikà*	*bàkì... ba*
3 m.s.	*ja:*	*ja*	*bài... ba*
3 f.s.	*ta:*	*ta*	*bàtà... ba*
1 pl.	*mun*	*mukà*	*bàmù... ba*
2 pl.	*kun*	*kukà*	*bàkù... ba*
3 pl.	*sun*	*sukà*	*bàsù... ba*
4	*an*	*akà*	*bà'à... ba*

TABLE **3**. CONTINUOUS				
	Continuous (CONT)	Relative Continuous (CONT.FOC)	Negative Continous ("have" constructs) NEG2 CONT	Negative Continous (other constructs) NEG3 CONT
1 s.	*inà:*	*nakè: / nikè:*	*ba: nà:*	*bâ: ni*[13]
2 m.s.	*kanà:*	*kakè:*	*ba: kà:*	*bâ: ka*
2 f.s.	*kinà:*	*kikè:*	*ba: kjà:*	*bâ: ki*
3 m.s.	*janà: / ʃinà:*	*jakè: / ʃikè:*	*ba: jà:*	*bâ: ʃi*
3 f.s.	*tanà:*	*takè:*	*ba: tà:*	*bâ: ta*
1 pl.	*munà:*	*mukè:*	*ba: mà:*	*bâ: mu*
2 pl.	*kunà:*	*kukè:*	*ba: kwà:*	*bâ: ku*
3 pl.	*sunà:*	*sukè:*	*ba: sà:*	*bâ: su*
4	*anà:*	*akè:*	*ba: à:*	*bâ: a*

Etymologically, the Continuous is derived from a locative construction meaning "be at X" where X expresses an activity through a verbal noun, a noun of action or a nominalised verbal form. The Continuous subject pronouns also have non-predicative functions, and are then followed by locative or possessive constructions. When the nominal subject is explicit, the PNG index of the subject pronoun can me omitted:

> *ma:ta: (su)nà: dafà:wa:*
> *The women are cooking*

Contrary to all other paradigms[14], the Continuous subject pronouns are followed by an infinitive, a verbal noun (VN) or an action noun.

Infinitive. The infinitive is characterized by the *-̀waa* nominalising suffix which appears when the verb is not followed by a Direct Object:

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[13]   = <ZR> *bân*, e.g. *ni: bân wà:jo: na: san sâ: ba!* 'Me, I was not wise enough to have seen a bull!' (HAU_BC_Conv_01_sp2_303)

[14]   In Ader Hausa, the Future behaves like the SH Continuous, i.e. the subject pronouns are followed by a nominalised for of the verb. (Caron 1991).

	Perfect	Continuous
	Mu:sa: ja: tsajà:	*Mu:sa: janà: tsajà-:wa:*
	Musa has stopped	Musa is stopping

When the verb is followed by a Direct Object, it takes the same form as in the Perfect:

	Perfect	Continous
	sun ka:mà ɓàɽaunìja:	*sunà: ka:mà ɓàɽaunìja:*
	They have caught the robber.	They are catching the robber.
	sun ka:mà: ta	*sunà: ka:mà: ta*
	They have caught her.	They are catching her.

Verbal Noun. In the Continous, some verbs use a nominal form that behaves fully like a noun in so far as it uses a genitive link to form a Noun Phrase with its Direct Object. This is the verbal noun (NV) See *ʃa:*, 'drink', and its N.V *ʃâ:* (m.) :

	Perfect	Continous
	sun ʃa: ta:bà	*sunà: ʃân ta:bà*
	They have smoked tobacco.	They are smoking tobacco.

Action Noun. Action Nouns are a semantic subclass of nouns denoting an action. They are part of the basic vocabulary and have a plural form : *aikì:* (pl. *ajjukà:*, *àikàtʃe-àikàtʃe*) : 'work(ing)'; *wa:ƙà:* (pl. *wa:ƙo:ƙì:*, *wà:ƙe-wà:ƙe*) : 'sing(ing)'; *ɽawa:* (pl. *ɽàje-ɽàje*) : 'dance/dancing'; *ku:ka:* (m. ; pl. *kò:ke-kò:ke*) : 'cry(ing)'

jâ:ɽa: (su)nà: aikì: / wa:ƙà: / ɽawa: / ku:ka:
The children are working / singing / dancing / crying.

In the Perfect, these Action Nouns appear as Direct Objects of the verb *ji*, 'do':

jâ:ɽa: sun ji wa:ƙà:
They have played.

TABLE **4**. SUBJUNCTIVE		
	Sunjunctive (SBJV)	Neg. Subjunctive (NEG5 SBJV)
1	*ìn*	*kaɗà/kâr ìn*
2m	*kà*	*kaɗà/kâr kà*
2f	*kì*	*kaɗà/kâr kì*
3m	*jà*	*kaɗà/kâr jà*
3f	*tà*	*kaɗà/kâr tà*
1p	*mù*	*kaɗà/kâr mù*
2p	*kù*	*kaɗà/kâr kù*
3p	*sù*	*kaɗà/kâr sù*
4	*à*	*kaɗà/kâr à*

TABLE **5**. FUTURE		
	Future FUT	Negative Future NEG1a FUT… NEG1b
1	*zân / za: nì*	*bà/bà: zân … ba /* *bà/bà: za: nì … ba*
2m	*za: kà*	*bà/bà: za: kà … ba*
2f	*za: kì*	*bà/bà: za: kì … ba*
3m	*zâi / za: jà*	*bà/bà: zâi …ba /* *bà/bà: za: jà … ba*
3f	*za: tà*	*bà/bà: za: tà … ba*
1p	*za: mù*	*bà/bà: za: mù … ba*
2p	*za: kù*	*bà/bà: za: kù … ba*
3p	*za: sù*	*bà/bà: za: sù … ba*
4	*za: à*	*bà/bà: za: à … ba*

The simple Future is made of a TAM *za:* (etymologically derived from a verb 'to go') followed by a dependant PNG paradigm, in a reverse order from what obtains in the other subject pronouns.

TABLE **6**. INDEFINITE FUTURE[15]		
	Indefinite Future FUT.INDF	Neg. Indef. Future NEG1a FUT.INDF… NEG1b
1	*nâ:*	*bà nâ:... ba*
2m	*kâ:*	*bà kâ: ... ba*
2f	*kjâ:*	*bà kjâ: ... ba*
3m	*jâ:*	*bà jâ:...ba*
3f	*tâ:*	*bà tâ: ... ba*
1p	*mâ:/mwâ:*	*bà mâ:/mwâ: ... ba*
2p	*kwâ:*	*bà kwâ: ... ba*
3p	*sâ:/swâ:*	*bà sâ:/swâ: ... ba*
4	*â:*	*bà â: ... ba*

TABLE **7**. HABITUAL		
	Habitual HAB	Neg. Habitual NEG1a HAB... NEG1b
1	*nakàn*	*bà nakàn ... ba*
2m	*kakàn*	*bà kakàn ... ba*
2f	*kikàn*	*bà kikàn ... ba*
3m	*jakàn*	*bà jakàn ... ba*
3f	*takàn*	*bà takàn ... ba*
1p	*mukàn*	*bà mukàn ... ba*
2p	*kukàn*	*bà kukàn ... ba*
3p	*sukàn*	*bà sukàn ... ba*
4	*akàn*	*bà akàn ... ba*

TABLE **8**. RHETORICAL (RH)	
1	*nikà:*
2m	*kakà:*
2f	*kikà:*
3m	*jakà:*
3f	*takà:*
1p	*mukà:*
2p	*kukà:*
3p	*sukà:*
4	*akà:*

For the Habitual, as is the case for the Continuous, when the nominal subject is explicit, the PNG can be omitted :

> *mài kitsò: (ta)kàn zo: nân ɼan Lahàdì.*
> *The hairdresser usually comes here on Sundays.*

This TAM is restricted to subordination and is not used in the negative. When the Nominal Subject is explicit, the 3rd person PNG is omitted.

5.2.1.2 TAM - Semantics

The Perfect (PFV.NFOC) has the general meaning of a completive aspect. It is used only in non-relative, affirmative sentences and expresses actions that were completed or had achieved a resultative state prior to the time locus. Generic events, such as expressed in proverbs, make use of the completive. Stative verbs (love, understand) and impersonal complement-taking verbs also use the Perfect. (Newman 2000:571)

Ja:	*kàma:tà*	*kà*	*bija:*	*hàra:ʤì:.*
3S.PFV.NFOC	be_proper	2SG.M.SBJV	pay	taxes
TAM.PNG	V3	TAM.PNG	V*	N

You should pay taxes.

The Relative Perfect (PFV.FOC) has two main uses:

(i) **syntactic uses:** it replaces the Perfect in subordinative context's (Wh-Questions, Relatives and Focus);

<div align="center">*Relative clauses*</div>

ʃi:	*nè:*	*ɓà:ɼ:a:wò: -n*	*dà*	*mukà*	*hànga:.*
3.SG.M.IDP	COP1.NFOC	thief -DEF	REL	1PL.PFV.FOC	see
PNG	PTCL.SYNT	N -DET	CONJ	PNG.TAM	V2

He is the thief that we saw.

<div align="center">*Wh-Questions*</div>

jàuʃe:	*kukà*	*gamà:?*
When did you finish?		

<div align="center">*Focus*</div>

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[15] The Negative Indefinite Future has many dialect variants. Cf. Newman (2000:586).

> *bà: bà ̧e:wa: ʧè: ka kashè: ba, gàda: ʧè:.*
> *It wasn't a gazelle you killed, it was a duiker.*[16]

(ii) **aspectual uses:** in narrations, it denotes a succession of discrete events.

> *sukà ji ʃi ̧ì:, sukà ʃiga masalla:ʧi:, sukà du:ƙà:.*
> *They got ready, they entered the mosque, they stooped.*

The Continous subject pronouns have two separate types of uses :

(i) **aspectual uses**, expressing ongoing action or durativity, without specific reference to time. Their meaning is compatible with past, present or future interpretations.

> *Sunà: gja: ̧à: mo:tà:ta:.*
> *They are repairing my car.*

They can also express normal, customary or habitual actions.

> *Ra:na: tanà: fitô:wa: dàgà gabàs ne:.*
> *The sun rises in the east.*

(ii) **non-aspectual uses**, with locative, stative or possessive meanings.

Location, when followed by a Prepositional Phrase, an adverb or a noun of place:

> *ʤijà munà: Kanò:.*
> *Hier nous étions à Kano.*

Stative constructions, e.g. with the stative[17] *sànje*, 'dressed', derived from the verb *sanjà:*, 'put on clothes' *:*

> *kinà: sànje dà sa:bon zanè:?*
> *Are you wearing a new wrapper ?*

Possession ('have constructs). The form is that of a locative construction with the preposition *dà*, 'with':

> *Tàla:tù (ta)nà: dà zo:bè.*
> *Talatou a une bague.*

The same 'have construct' can express a quality:

> *àbinʧi (ja)nà: dà da:ɗi:.*
> *La nourriture est bonne.*

The Future expresses future and/or intentional actions or events. It occurs both in general as well as subordinate environments.

> *za: kà ʤi màganà:ta:, ko: kùwa?*
> *Will you listen to me yes or no ? (lit. or else)*

NB : The Future can refer to futurity in the past:

> *ʤijà zân tàfi o:fìs sai zàzzàɓi: ta: ka:mà: ni.*
> *Yesterday I was going to leave for the office when I had a bout of fever.*

The Indefinite Future, or Potential is defined by P. Newman as "*indicating an action that will possibly take place in the future (God willing). [...] It differs from the normal future in having a lesser degree of certainty and a lesser element of intentionality or commitment.*" (2000:587)

> *wàtàƙi:là makàɗa: sâ: da:wo:.*
> *May be the drum players will come back.*

It is found in proverbs:

> *ko:wa: ja haɗìjè taɓa ̧ja:, jâ: kwa:na tsàje.*
> *Whoever swallows a pestle will spend the night standing.*

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[16] Examples adapted from Newman (2000 :572)
[17]   Cf. § 10.2.2, Deverbal statives

It is used for hidden threats:

> *mâ: gàmu!*
> *We'll meet again ! (and you'll see !!)*

Most commonly, it is found in answer to greetings:

> *Kà gaidà gida:!*
> *Greet you people!*
>
> *Sâ: ji!*
> *I will! (lit. They will hear!)*

It cannot appear in subordination. It is then replaced by the normal Future.

> *wà: zâi tàimàke: mù?*
> *Who will help us ?*

The habitual denotes a habit, without any explicit reference to time.

> *takàn ʤe: ʧo:ʧi: lo:kàʧi: lo:kàʧi:.*
> *She goes to church from time to time.*
>
> *dâ: ʧan, nakàn ji aikì: na awà: go:mà fà: biju ko:wàʧè ɽa:na:.*
> *At that time, I used to work twelve hours a day.*

The Rhetorical. This little-studied set of subject pronouns cannot be used outside subordination, and has no negative form. The third person PNG can be omitted when a nominal subject is present. The Rhetorical has been described by Paul Newman as follows :

> *"It is used primarily in set expressions, idioms, epithets, proverbs, compounds, and such, but not exclusively so. [...] The rhetorical implies doubt or even a dare with respect to the possibility of achieving some action. It is often best translated with such English modals as 'should' or 'could'. As the name indicates, it is commonly used in rhetorical questions or statements"* (2000:589)

> *ìna: nakà: sakà?*
> *Where on earth could I put (it)?*
>
> *nii: kaɗai kà: iyà hakà.*
> *Only I could do this.*

The subjunctive has modal functions. It expresses orders (jussive), wishes (optative), either directly or following a verb inducing this type of function. It appears after the conjunctions *kà:fin* (before), *har* (until), etc.

> *Allàh jà sâ: kà da:wo: la:fijà:.*
> *May God help you to come back in good health!*

It has also habitual meanings, e.g. in proverbs or recipe-type discourses:

> *In an gàʤi, ko: à ɽa:na sai à hu:tà:.*
> *When you are tired, even in the sun, you rest.*

More interestingly, in narrations, the Subjunctive appears as a relay subject pronoun following a Future, a Habitual, a Continuous or an Imperative.

Jakàn zaunà: gìndin wata ita:ʧija: à ko:fàr gidansà, jâ:ɽa: kàmar àrbà'in sù ke:wàje: fi.

> *He used to sit a the foot of a tree in front of his house, and children, like forty of them, would surround him.*

6. Nouns and Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (NP) consist of a head noun with optional pre-nominal and/or post-nominal elements. The head of the NP consists of a noun, conjoined nouns, nouns in a genitive (X of Y) relationship, compound nouns, etc. The head is optionally accompanied by specifying or modifying elements. Some of these, e.g. the demonstratives (excluding the deictics indicating 'this, that', etc.) and the personal

pronouns functioning as determiners, occur only before the head; a large number of elements, like the definite article and relative clauses, occur only after the head. A few items, namely the deictic demonstratives and simple adjectives, occur both in pronominal and post-nominal position.

6.1 The Head

6.1.1 The noun

Hausa nouns are marked for gender and number. There are two genders in Hausa: masculine and feminine. This opposition is neutralised in the plural. For referents with a sex distinction, the three way distinction (m/f/pl) is represented in the lexicon e.g. in nouns and adjectives. Otherwise, lexical items have arbitrary gender, with a two-way distinction: m/pl or f/pl.

M	F	PL	
ʤà:ki:	*ʤà:ka:*	*ʤà:kai*	donkey (n.)
faɽi:	*faɽa:*	*faɽà:ɽe:*	white (adj.)
ʤiɽgi:		*ʤiɽà:ge:*	vehicle (n.)
	go:na:	*gò:nàki:*	farm (n.)

<ZR> In the Zaria dialect of Hausa transcribed in the corpus, grammatical gender, and its exponents such as agreement in the noun system, has been lost and only survives in the pronominal system when referring to a woman.

6.1.1.1 Gender

There is a strong statistical tendency for feminine nouns to end in /*a*/ and maculine in the other vowels or in consonants.
Ex. (a): /*a*/= feminine

go:ɽà:	bamboo	*gwi:wà:*	knee
ɽa:na:	sun, day	*fa:dà*	emir's palace
ku:kà:	baobab	*là?adà:*	commission
sàuɽa:	fallow	*wùya:*	difficulty
sa:?à:	hour	*da:wà:*	guinea-corn

Ex. (b): other than /**a**/ = masculine

tsuntsu:	bird	*kàɽe:*	dog
go:rò	cola nut	*bò:ɽi:*	cult of possession
kâi	head		

However, a certain number of feminine nouns end in another vowel than /*a*/, e.g. *màcè*, 'wife' ; *tè:ku*, 'sea'; *gwamnatì*, 'government', etc. Masculine nouns ending in /*a*/ are more numerous :

bàka:	bow	*ba:ya:*	back
dawà	bush	*duma:*	calabash fruit
gàba:	chest	*gida:*	compound
giɽma:	pride, large size	*gò:ɽa:*	gourd
gùda:	lump in tuwo	*gù:ga:*	well pail
hàuka:	craziness	*kaɽa:*	guinea-corn stalk
ka:ya:	load	*ku:ka:*	cry; complaint
ƙuda:	fly (n.)	*kwa:na:*	day (24h)
la:da:	salary, reward	*mà:ma:*	breast
na:mà:	meat	*ɽuwa:*	water
su:na:	name	*sauɽa:*	remains
watà:	moon	*wà:sa:*	game
yawà:	quantity	*wuyà:*	neck

Acording to Newman (2000 :210), Hausa has a toneless suffix *-a:* marking the feminine, taking its tone from the immediately preceding one. Following certain phonological rules, this same suffix has the following variants : *-ja: -wa: -ija:* et *-uwa:*[18].

(be:be:)[HH]	*(a:)*[H]	*be:bija:*	*dumb and mute*
(shu:ɗì:)[HB]	*(a:)*[H]	*shu:ɗija:*	*blue*
(ƙa:tò:)[HB]	*(a:)*[H]	*ƙa:tùwa:*	*enormous*
(bà:ƙo:)[BH]	*(a:)*[H]	*bà:ƙuwa:*	*foreign*

6.1.1.2 Plurals

Hausa plurals are very complex and formed by a combination of suffixes, infixes and sometimes reduplication[19] :

(1) The final vowel of the singular is dropped when the plural affix is added.

(2) The tone pattern of the plural replaces the tones of the singular and is distributed over the plural in a right to left manner with the leftmost tone continuing to spread over all available syllables.

(3) When occurring before suffixal front vowels (*i:* and *e:*) the alveolar consonants *t, s, z,* and, less regularly, *d* palatalize to *ʧ, ʃ,* and *ʤ* respectively (both *z* and *d* becoming *ʤ*), e.g. *bisa:* 'pack animal' has the reduplicated plural form *bisà:ʃe:* (PL4 <*-a:Ce:*>) where the final syllable *ʃe:* derives from *se:*). In the same vein, *w* palatalizes to *j*; e.g. the plural of *ɓaɽa:wò:* 'thief' is *ɓàɽà:ji:* (PL14 <*-i:*>).

(4) The palatal consonants *ʧ, ʃ,* and *ʤ* occurring in the singular before word-final i: and e: generally depalatalize to t, s and z respectively, when followed by a plural suffix beginning with a non-front vowel, e.g. *hanʧì:* 'nose', plural *hantunà:* (PL19 <*-unà:*>), *maʧì:ʤi:* 'snake', plural *màʧì:zai* (PL5 <*-ai*>).

(5) *C3* stands for the third consonant of the stem. Otherwise, capital *C* represents a copy or doubling of teh preceding consonant. If it occurs before a front vowel (*i:* or *e:*) it appears in palatalized form as indicated above in (3).

See Table (10) the list of Plural glosses (\ge) used in the corpus and their comments. We have adapted Newman's transcription to follow the conventions of the CorpAfroAs project. Not all these plurals are represented in the corpus.

TABLE **9**. PLURAL CLASSES[20]	
PL1	-**à**:C₃**a**: [H-L-H] e.g. *sirdì:/sirà:da:* 'saddle'
PL2	-**à**:C₃**e**: [H-L-H], e.g. *gulbi:/gulà:be:* 'stream'
PL3	-**à**:C₃**u**: [H-L-H], e.g. *kuɽmì:/kuɽà:mu:* 'grove'
PL4	-**à**:Ce: [H-L-H], e.g. *wuɽi:/wuɽà:ɽe:* 'place' *ƙasà:/ƙasà:ʃe:* 'country'
PL5	-**ai** [L-H], e.g. *ma:là:/mà:làmai* 'teacher'
PL6	-**ànni**: [L-H], e.g. *watà:/wàtànni:* 'moon'
PL7	-**a**:**wa**: [all H, or L-L-H] (if the singular word contains the prefix **bà**-, it is dropped when the plural is added, e.g. *Bàkanò:/Kana:wa:* 'Kano person'.) The tone pattern is usually all high, e.g. *talàkà/talaka:wa:* 'commoner'; however trisyllabic plurals with a heavy first syllable typically are L-L-H, e.g. *ku:rì:/kù:rà:wa:* 'novice Koranic student', *Bàhauʃè:/Hàusà:wa:* 'Hausa person'.
PL8	-**à**:**je**: [H-L-H], e.g. *zo:mo:/zo:mà:je:* 'hare'
PL9	-**Ca** [F-H], e.g. *tabò:/tâbba:* 'scar'
PL10	-**Cai** [L-H], e.g. *tudù:/tûddai* 'high ground'
PL11	-**(à)ʧe** with full reduplication [L-H - L-H], e.g. *ʧi:wò:/ʧiwà:ʧe-cì:wà:ʧe* 'illness'. (If the stem

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	contains three consonants, the à vowel is omitted, e.g. *wàhalà:/wàhàltfe-wàhàltfe*, 'difficulty').
PL12	**-unà**: [H-L], e.g. *tʃìkì:/tʃìkkunà:* 'belly'
PL13	**-e** with full reduplication [L-H – L-H], e.g. *tʃamfì:/tʃàmfe-tʃàmfe* 'superstition'
PL14	**-i**: [L-H], e.g. *tàuɽa:ɽò:/tàuɽà:ɽi:* 'star'
PL15	**-o:Ci**: [all H], e.g. *ta:gà:/ta:go:gi:* 'window', *mo:tà:/mo:to:tʃi:* 'car'.
PL16	**-u**: [L-H], e.g. *kudʒè:ɽa:/kùdʒè:ɽu:* 'chair'
PL17	**-uC₃à**: [H-L], e.g. *tʃo:kàli:/tʃo:kulà:* 'spoon'. (The final consonant of the plural is often doubled, especially when the initial syllable of the stem contains a short vowel, , e.g. *daràsi:/darusà:* 'lesson'.)
PL18	**-ukà**: [H-L], e.g. *la:jì:/la:jukkà:* 'lane'
PL19	**-nà**: [H-L], e.g. *ɽì:ga:/ɽì:gunà:* 'gown'
PL20	Full reduplication, e.g. *àkà:wu/ àkà:wu- àkà:wu* 'clerk'

6.1.2 Compound nouns

The head of a NP can be a compound noun, i.e. two or more words joined in such a way as to make a single lexical unit, e.g. *faɽar-hù:la:* (lit. white-GL cap) 'civilian'. They behave like ordinary nouns insofar as they are sensitive to gender and number[21]. The internal structure of these compound nouns follow various patterns:

- *Noun-linked compounds:* N-GL N, e.g. *ɗan-sànda:* 'policeman' (son.GL-stick); *àbo:kin gà:ba:* 'enemy' (friend.GL-enmity);

- *Adjective-Noun compounds: baƙin-cikì:* (black-belly) 'sadness'; *dʒan-ƙarfè:* (red-iron) 'copper';

- *Verbal compounds: hànà-sallà* (prevent-prayer) 'baseball cap'; *dàfà:-dukà* (cook-all) 'Jollof rice'; *fà:ɗi-kà-mutù* (fall-you-die) 'chinaware';

- *Phrasal compounds: bàbba:-dà-dʒàka:* (Mr. Big-with-bag) 'marabou stork'; *ja:ƙì:-dà-dʒa:hiltʃì:* (war-with-ignorance) 'adult literacy program';

- *Agentive compounds: magà:-takàrda:* (one who sees-paper) 'scribe'; *mafà:-ɽuwa:* (one who drinks-water) 'rainbow';

- *Sentential compounds: bâ:-hajà:* (there is no-hiring) 'public toilet'; *ƙà:ƙà:-nikà:-ji* (how-1RHET-do) 'dilemna'.

6.1.3 Conjoined nouns

Nouns conjoined through coordination can function as NP head.

6.1.3.1 'And'

Simple coordination is done through the conjunction *dà*, 'and', e.g. *gida: dà mo:tà:* 'a house and a car'; *kàza: dà kàza:* 'So-and-So'. In principle, the number of SN that can be conjoined is limitless. The first term can be preceded by a *dà*, e.g. *dà Bellò dà Mu:sa:* 'Bello and Musa ; *dà za:ka: dà dà:misà:* 'a lion and a leopard'. When pronouns are conjoined with a noun, the pronoun comes first: in the case of pronouns; the order is 1st, then 2nd then 3rd persons, e.g. *ʃi: dà Mu:sa:* 'him and Musa'; *ita dà Bintà* 'she and Binta'; *dà ni: dà ʃi:/ita/su:* 'me and him/she/them'.

6.1.3.2 'Or'

Disjunction is marked by *ko:* and follows the same rules as *dà*, e.g. *Lìtìnîn ko: Tàla:tà: ko: Là:rà:ba:* 'Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday'; *ko: biju ko: ukù* 'two or three'; *ni: ko: kai*, 'me or you'.

NB : Not only simple nouns but whole NP's can be conjoined, e.g. *faɽin tsuntsu: dà do:guwar bifìjà:* 'a white bird and a big tree'; *ɽà:go: ɗaja dà tuma:ki: go:mà* 'a ram and ten sheep'.

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[21]   Cf. Newman (2000:109-124) for a complete study of gender and plurals of compound nouns.

6.1.4 The Genitive Construction

The Genintive link (GL) is an essential syntactic tool in Hausa. Its main use, among others, is to connect an NP with a following NP or adverb in an X of Y construction, where X is the possessed and Y is the possessor[22]. Like the identifying copula *ne:/ʧe:/ne:*, it agrees in gender and number with the 1st (posessessed) NP, following the same patten *na/ta/na* for m./f./pl.

The GL has two forms, a free form (*na/ta/na[23]*) and a bound form. If we take the words *gida:* (m.) 'house'; *go:na:* (f.) 'farm'; *gidà:ʤe:* (pl.) 'houses'; *saɽki:* (m.) 'chief', we can build the following genitive constructions:

gida: na saɽki:	*gida-n saɽki:*	the chief's house
go:na: ta saɽki:	*go:na-r saɽki:*	the chief's farm
gidà:ʤe: na saɽki:	*gidà:ʤe-n saɽki:*	the chief's houses

NB: (a) the suffixation of the GL to long final vowels, e.g. *go:na:-r* creates a close vowel (CVV>CV) entailing the shortening of the vowel, e.g. *go:nar*; (b) likewise, the diphthongs /*ai*/ and /*au*/ are simplified, e.g. *kjân* (<*kjâu-n*) *ja:ɽinjà:* 'the beautiful girl' (lit. the beauty of the girl) *mân* (<*mâi-n*) *ʃa:nu:* 'butter' (lit. oil of cow); (c) the use of the *–n* form has been extended to feminine words that do not end in /*a*/, e.g. *gwamnatì-n Ingilà* 'the English government', where *gwamnatì* (f.) ends in /*i*/.

The bound form of the GL (*-n/-r/-n*) is the default form. The free form (*na/ta/na*) is used when the possessed object is understood or separated from the possessor. This is the case when, the possessed object is topicalized, e.g. *mo:tàr nân, ta saɽki: ʧè:* 'that car is that of the chief'. It is also used to form ordinal numerals, with the structure N – GL – NUM, e.g. *litta:fì: na biju* 'the second book', or to express measurement or evaluation, e.g. *na:mà: na si:sì:* 'meat for a shilling', *ɽì:ga: ta nairà: du:bù: dà ɽabì:* 'a dress of one thousand and five hundred naira'.

6.2 Pre-nominal elements

Pre-nominal elements are divided into specifiers, *viz.* (1) demonstratives (2) pronouns used as specifiers; (3) universal quantifiers; (4) the isolator *ɗaya*; and modifiers, viz. (5) adjectives.

6.2.1 Demonstratives

The label « demonstrative » is used by P. Newman as an umbrella term to cover all the determinants beginning with a *wa-* morphemes. Some function only as pronouns, e.g. *wànne:?* 'which one?', some only as determiners, e.g *wànè dokì:?* 'which horse?' and others function both as pronouns and determiners, e.g. *wannàn ja: fi kjâu.* 'This one is best.'; *wannàn bi:rò: ja: fi kyâu* 'This ballpoint pen is best.'

TABLE 10. DEMONSTRATIVES

	M.	F.	PL.	\RX	\GE
this (by me)	*wannàn*	*wannàn*	*wadànnân*	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	PROX
this (by you)	*wànnan* *wânnan*	*wànnan* *wânnan*	*wàdànnan* *wadànnan*	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	ANAPH
that (there)	*wanʧàn*	*waʧʧàn*	*wadànʧàn*	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	DIST
that (distant)	*wànʧân* *wânʧan*	*wàʧʧan* *wâʧʧan*	*wàdànʧan* *wadànʧan*	PRO.DEICT DET.DEICT	DIST2
which?	*wànè*	*wàʧè*	*wàdànnè*	DET.Q	WHICH
which one?	*wànne:*	*wàʧʧe:*	*wàdànne:*	PRO.Q	WHICH?
who, which, that	*wânda* *wandà* *wàndà*	*wâddà* *waddà* *wàddà*	*wadàndà* *wâdàndâ*	PRO.REL	WHO, WHICH, THAT

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[22] The same GL is used for pre-nominal adjectives, e.g. *sa:bo-n gida:* 'new house' (lit. 'new-of house').

[23] The *na:/ta:* variant with a long /*a:*/ is combined to the suffixed genitive pronouns to form the the paradigm ot the Independant Genitive Pronouns (cf. Table 16, § 8).

some, other		*waʧ͡ɪ̀fè* *wàʧ͡ɪ̀fè*			
some, other	*wani*	*wata*	*wa(ɗan)su*	PRO.INDEF DET.INDEF	SOME

The morphemes we have glossed DEICT can appear pronominally in the heavy *wa-*prefixed forms above, but also post-nominally without the *wa-* prefix, e.g. *waʧ͡ɪ̀fàn kà:suwa:* = *kà:suwar ʧ͡ɪ̀àn* 'that market'[24]. They are related to the adverbs *nân*, *ʧ͡ɪ̀àn*, *nan*, *ʧ͡ɪ̀an*, with the same meaning. The 2ⁿᵈ term in the series, corresponding to the *nan* adverb, on top of its 'there by you' meaning, has a frequent anaphoric function, hence our gloss ANAPH in the corpus. See Newman (2000:147-151) for a full description of the uses, meanings and distribution of these demonstratives in Standard Hausa.

6.2.2 Pronouns as pronominal determiners
Indendant pronouns can be used as a determiner with "a particularizing function, i.e. [they serve] to pick out some particular person(s) or thing(s) as opposed to others." (Newman 2000:155)

> *an*   *jabà:*   *wà*   *ʃi:*   *àlƙa:lîn*
> 4.PFV.NFOC   praise   DAT   3SG.M(PRO.IDP)   judge.DEF
> *They praised him the judge. (idem)*

The 3pl pronoun *su* is used pronominally, with common and proper nouns, as a pseudo-pluralizer with the meaning 'etc., et al.', e.g. *su Tankò* 'Tanko *et al.*', *su bàɽe:wa:* 'gazelles, etc.'.

6.2.3 Universal quantifiers
The global quantifier *duk/dukà*, 'all' can occur as a determiner, a pronoun and an adverb. As a determiner, it can be pre-nominal, with the form *duk*, or post-nominal, with the form *dukà*, e.g. *duk mutà:ne:*[25] = *mutà:ne: dukà* 'all the people.'
The distributive quantifier *ko:wànè* (f. *ko:wàʧ͡ɪ̀fè*, pl. *ko:wàɗànnè*) 'every, whichever' is another pre-nominal specifier, e.g. *ko:wànè mùtûm* 'each man', *ko:wàʧ͡ɪ̀fè ƙasa:* 'each country'.

6.2.4 The isolator *ɗaya*
The numeral *ɗaya* 'one' which usually occurs post-nominally as a determiner, e.g. *mo:tà: ɗaya* 'one car', can occur pronominally as as specifier, with the noun in the definite form, e.g. *ɗaya mo:tàr* 'the other car'.

6.2.5 Adjectives as pre-nominal modifiers
The typical pre-nominal modifier is a simple attributive adjective. Its structure is <Adjective-GL N> . The adjective agrees in gender and number with the noun, and can be preceded by the diminutive *ɗan/yâr/yân*, e.g. *fûɗɗan ɽi:gunà:* 'blue gowns' (ADJ.PL-GL.PL N.PL), *ɗan kàɽamin ja:ɽò:* 'a little boy' (DIM.M ADJ.M-GL N). Adjectives can be stacked, e.g. *zungure:rìjar tso:juwar faɽar mo:tà:* 'a very long old white car' (ADJ.F-GL.F ADJ.F-GL.F ADJ.F-GL.F N)[26]

6.3 Post-nominal elements

6.3.1 Post-nominal specifiers
These include (1) the definite article ; (2) demonstrative determiners; (3) possessive; (4) numerals and quantifiers.

6.3.1.1 Definite article
What corresponds to the English definite article is the anaphoric suffix *-ǹ/-r/-n* (m./f/pl/) glossed ANAPH in the corpus. The choice of the *-ǹ* or *-r* form follows the same rules as for the GL, i.e. *-r* is suffixed to feminine nouns ending in /a/, and *-n* elsewhere, e.g. *bàkân* the bow (<*bàka:* (m.) *-n*), *go:ɗijâr*

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²⁴   Cf. below under post-nominal determiners.
²⁵   [*dummutà:ne:*] : the pronominal quantifier *duk* is often realised as *duG*, with its final consonant assimilating with the initial consonant of the noun.
²⁶   Newman (2000:371)

'the mare' (< *go:ɗija:* (f.) *-r*), *ùngùlûn* 'the vulture' (<*ùngùlu* (f.) *-n*), *go:ɗijo:jîn* 'the mares' (< *go:ɗijo:ji:* (pl.) *-n*).

6.3.1.2 Demonstrative determiners

The heavy forms of the pre-nominal deictics seen above[27] occur post-nominally in the invariable light form *nân* 'this' (PROX), *nan* 'that near you, that previously mentioned' (ANAPH), *ʧân* 'that there' (DIST), *ʧan* 'that over there' (DIST2). They follow directly the noun suffixed with a GL, or a noun plus the connective *ɗi-* plus a GL, e.g. *do:kìn nân* 'this horse', *ɽì:gâr nan* 'that gown' (near you, or previously mentioned), *gidà:ʤen ʧân* 'those houses there', *ʧêk ɗin nàn* 'this check'. The forms *nân* and *ʧân* are realised *nàn* and *ʧân* resp. when following a H tone.

6.3.1.3 Possessives

Possession, in the order < Possessed Possessor >, and where the possessed object is the head noun, is indicated by a post-head noun or clitic pronoun[28] preceded by the GL *–n/-r/-t*, e.g. *ɽì:gar Sulè* 'Sule's gown' (< *ɽi:ga: -r*), *do:kìnsà* 'his horse' (< *do:kì: -n –sà*), *ʧêk ɗintà* (< *ʧêk ɗi-n –tà*)'her check'. If the possessive is not attached to the head noun, the GL appears as *na:-/ta:-* prefixed to the genitive pronouns, or *na/ta* before the noun, e.g. *do:kìn nân na:sà* 'this horse of his'; *ɽì:gâr ta Sulè* 'the gown of Sule's'.

6.3.1.4 Numerals and other quantifiers

Cardinal numbers and other quantitative specifiers such as the determiners *dukà* 'all'[29], *dà jawà:* 'plenty', the interrogative *nawà:* 'how many', as well as ideophones, directly follow the head noun, e.g. *nairà: dubu:* 'one thousand naira'; *so:ʤo:ʤi: dà jawà:* 'many soldiers' (lit. 'soldiers with plenty'), *mangwàrò nawà:?* 'how many mangoes?'; *yâmma:ta: dukà* 'all the girls'; *mutà:ne: tìnʤim* 'tons of people' ('people IDEOPH').

Ordinal numbers are introduced by the free GL *na/ta/na*, e.g. *ba:bì: na ukù* 'the third chapter'; *bàbban ja:kîn du:nijà: na biju* 'the Second World War' (lit. big-of war-of world of two'). When combined with other determiners, they come last: *mà:ta:ta: ta ukù* 'my third wife' (lit. 'wife-my of three').

6.3.2 Post-nominal modifiers

6.3.2.1 Adjectives

Post-nominal adjectives directly follow the noun they qualify. All adjectives occurring pre-nominally can occur post-nominally and be preceded by the diminutive *ɗan/yâr/yân*, e.g. *kwa:li: bàbba* 'la large carton'; *tuma:ki: yân kana:nà:*, 'wee small lambs'. Post-nominal adjectives follow the specifiers, e.g. *kwa:lin nàn bàbba* 'this large carton'.

6.3.2.2 Genitival nouns

The possessive construction (N-GL N = 'N of N') where, instead of the animate possessor, the second noun is an inanimate, will be interpreted as a qualitative construction. This is used for a limited number of nouns, e.g. *sanji:* 'cold', *za:fi:* 'heat', *kaɽja:* 'lie', *gàskija:* 'truth', *kirkì:*, 'morally and socially good', *banza:* 'stupid', etc. as in *ɽuwan sanji:* 'cold water' (lit. 'water-of cold') *là:ba:ɽìn kaɽja:* 'false news' (lit. 'news-of lie') *mùtumìn kirkì:* 'a good man' (lit. 'man-of good'), *mân ʤa:* 'palm oil' (lit. 'oil-of red').

6.3.2.3 The mai construction

The particle *mài* (pl. *mà:su*) 'owner of', and its negative counterpart *maɽàs* (= *maɽàr* = *maɽàG* where G geminates with the following consonant; pl. *maɽàsa:*) followed by a series of nouns expressing a quality[30], will be used to attribute this quality to a noun, e.g. *ja:ɽinjà: mài kjâu* 'a beautiful girl', *ɽi:ʤija: mài zuɽfi:* ' a deep well', *jâ:ra: maɽàsa: hankàli:*, 'senseless children'.

27	See Table 10 Demonstratives, § 6.2, p. 20).
28	See § 8, p. 25 for the full paradigm of suffixed (Table 15) and independant (Table 16) possessive pronouns.
29	See § 6.2.3, p. 21 for the pre-nominal *duk* form.
30	These nouns belong to a phonologically and semantically distinct class named "Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality" by F. Parsons. Cf (Parsons 1955) and (Newman 2000:13-18).

6.3.2.4 The comparative modifier construction

Along the same model, as *mài*, a comparative qualtifative construction involves the short agentive[31] *mafì:* (pl. *mafija:*) 'lit. the one exceeding' plus an object, e.g. *mo:tà: mafì:tsà:da:* 'the most expensive car'.

6.3.2.5 Preposistional phrases

Nouns may be modified by a post-head prepositional phrase, e.g. *wani te:bùr à ɗa:kì:na:* 'a table in my room'; *ɗa:lìbi: à dʒa:mi:'à:* 'a university student' (lit. 'a student at university').

6.3.2.6 Sative phrases

Another type of post-nominal modifier is the phrase formed of a stative[32] + *dà* + NP, e.g. *bango: ʃà:fe dà fentì:* 'a wall covered with paint'.

6.3.2.7 Relative clauses

Relative clauses occur only post-nominally. Their structure is REL+ embedded clause (without any change in the word order). The TAM in the embedded clause is chosen from the paradigms that are compatible with Focus. The antecedent of the relative must have some degree of definiteness, most of the time it is suffixed with the definite article *ˋ-n/ˊ-r/ˋ-n*. The REL is *dà* or a relative pronoun containing *dà*, e.g. *wandà*, *jaddà*; *indà*, etc., e.g. *gà: [wàndôn [dà [na sàja:]]* 'here are [the trousers [that [I bought]]' (where *wàndôn < wando: ˋ-n*). Other degrees of determination are possible, e.g. *wani ja:ɽò: dà ja ƙi ta:ʃi* 'some boy who refused to get up'; *du:tsèn cân dà za: mù hau* 'that mountain that we're going to clim'; *ko:wa: dà kukà gani* 'whoever you may see', etc.

6.3.2.8 The wai construction

The particle *wai* introduces proper nouns as part of a post-nominal modifier meaning 'called X', e.g. *wata mace wai La:dì* 'a woman called Ladi'[33].

7. Nominal derivation

7.1 *ma-* Agents, Place and Instruments

The H-tone prefix *ma-* is used to derive nouns of agent, place and instrument from a verb, e.g. *manò:mi:* 'farmer'; *madʒe:mi:* 'tannery'; *massasbi:* 'harvesting tool'.

7.1.1 Agent nouns

All agent nouns use the same H-tone *ma-* prefix. In adition, masculine singulars add a suffix *–i:*)[LH], which results in H-(L)-(L)-L-H tone patterns. Feminine singulars use the suffix *–ija:*)[HLH]. The plural suffix is *–a:*)[LH] resulting in the same tone pattern as the masculine.

TABLE **11**. AGENT NOUNS				
Verb		Agent Noun		
		m.	f.	pl.
ginà:	build	*magìni:*	*maginìja:*	*magìna:*
ɗinkà:	sew	*maɗinki:*	*maɗinkìja:*	*maɗìnka:*
dʒe:mà:	tan	*madʒè:mi:*	*madʒe:mìja:*	*madʒè:ma:*
ƙe:ɽà:	forge	*makè:ɽi:*	*make:ɽija:*	*makè:ɽa:*
no:mà:	farm	*manò:mi:*	*mano:mìja:*	*manò:ma:*
ɽinà:	dye	*maɽini:*	*maɽinìja:*	*maɽìna:*
sa:ƙà:	weave	*masà:ƙi:*	*masa:ƙija:*	*masà:ƙa:*
sassàka:	sculpt wood	*masàssàƙi:*	*masassaƙija:*	*masàssàka:*

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[31]   Cf. § 7.1.1.

[32]   cf. 10.2.2.

[33]   Cf. its other uses as the particle glossed EVD (Evidential) in the corpus, found at the beginning of an utterance to cast a measure of doubt on what follows. It is translated in English by 'it is said that...'. The same particle becomes a complementizer introducing reported speech. Reduplicated, it becomes the full noun *waiwai* 'rumour, hearsay'.

Some verbs, belonging mostly to grade Ø, have a dissyllabic short form, with H-L tone pattern, that can be used only if followed by an object or a locative goal. Examples:

TABLE **12**. SHORT AGENT NOUNS	
matʃì: àma:nà:	a treacherous person (lit. eater trust)
mabì: saɽki:	a follower of the Emir
mazò: gaɽi:	a town-goer
madʒè: sìlìmân	a cinema-goer

7.1.2 Place nouns

Place nouns formed with the H tone **ma-** prefix have two forms *–a:* (f.) and *–i:* (m.). Both have all-H tones. They designate a place associated with the activity of the verb they are derived from.

TABLE **13**. PLACE NOUNS			
VERB		**PLACE NOUNS**	
aikàta:	perform	*ma'aikata:*	factory
ɓùɓɓugà	well up	*maɓuɓɓuga:*	spring
dʒe:mà:	tan	*madʒe:ma:*	tannery
fàka:	lie in wait for	*mafaka:*	shelter
fàɽautà:	hunt	*mafaɽauta:*	hunting ground
karànta	read	*makaranta:*	school
sàlla:tà:	perform the daily prayers	*masalla:tʃi:*	mosque
tʃì	eat	*matʃija:*	a small roadside eating place

The plural of *–i:* place nouns, when it exists, is formed with the *ai*)^BH suffix, e.g. *màsàllà:tai* (sg. *masalla:tʃi:*)'mosque'. The plurals of *a:* place nouns are more varied, e.g. : *mà'àikàtu: (<ma'aikata: u:)*^BH 'factory'; *màfàɽàutai (<mafaɽauta: ai)*^BH 'hunting ground'; *matʃijo:ji: (<matʃija: -o:tʃi:)*^H 'a small roadside eating place'. Some of these nouns use 2 or all of these plural forms[34].

7.1.3 Instrument nouns

With the same H tone **ma** prefix, Instrument nouns are masculine with a **-i:** suffix and a all-H tone pattern. The plural is regular with a *ai*)^BH suffix. They designate an object associated with the verb they are derive from.

TABLE **14**. INSTRUMENT NOUNS			
Verb		Instrument Nouns (sg./pl)	
du:bà:	examine	*madu:bi: / àdù:bai*	mirror
ka:mà:	catch	*maka:mi: / màkà:mai*	weapon
kullè:	lock	*makulli: / màkùllai*	key
hu:tà:	blow	*mahu:tʃi: / màhù:tai*	fan

7.2 Ethnonyms

The term ethnonym covers a series of nouns starting with **bà-** prefix denoting a person's place of origin, nationality, ethnicity, occupation or social group. Masculines have a *–e:)*^HL suffix spreading to the left up to the prefix, e.g. *Bàgumalè:* 'a man from Gumel' (*Gumàl*); *Bàzamfaɽè:* 'a man from Zamfaɽa' (*Zàmfàɽà*). Some ethnonyms have different final vowels, e.g. *Bàkanò:* 'a man from Kano'; *bàdu:kù:* 'a leather worker'.

The feminine is formed by adding *–a:* to the masculine, without replacing the existing suffix. The realisation follows the rules *–è:+-a: > -ija:* and *–ò:+a: > -ùwa:*, e.g. *Bàgumalè:* (m.) / *Bàgumalìja:* (f.) 'a man / woman from Gumel'; *Bàkanò:* (m.) / *Bàkanùwa:* (f.) 'a man / woman from Kano'. The plural is formed

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34   Newman (2000:58)

by adding *–awa:* to the lexical base, without the *ba-* prefix, e.g. *Bàgumalè:* (m.) / *Gumala:wa:* (pl.) 'man / people from Gumel'.

8. Personal Pronouns

Hausa personal pronouns show different forms according to their syntactic function. They are exponents of number and gender in the 2nd and 3rd singular. The fourth, indefinite person, which appears in the subject pronouns, is absent from the other paradigms.

		IDP	ACC	DAT	GEN
TABLE 15. PERSONAL PRONOUNS					
1s		*ni:*	*ni*	*minì/mîn/mûn*	*-na / -ta*
2s.m.		*kai*	*ka*	*makà/ma:*	*-kà*
2s.f.		*ke:*	*ki*	*mikì*	*-kì*
3s.		*ʃi:*	*ʃi*	*masà*	*-sà*
3f.		*ita*	*ta*	*matà*	*-tà*
1p.		*mu:*	*mu*	*manà*	*-mù*
2p.		*ku:*	*ku*	*mukù*	*-kù*
3p.		*su:*	*su*	*musù*	*-sù*

The independant pronoun (IDP) appears typically as topic, focus, predicate or subject of non-verbal sentences, complement of basic prepositions, etc. Examples:

> *dà: ni: kai nè:.*
> *If I were you*

> *janà: ɗàuke dà su:*
> *He is carrying them.*

The Accusative (ACC) is the Direct Object pronoun directly following a verb. Its tone is variable. [35] Examples:

> *kadà kà kaʃè: mu!*
> *Don't kill us!*

> *bà mù kiɽa: kù ba.*
> *We did not call you.*

The Dative (DAT), or Indirect Object appears before the Direct Object (ACC). It is marked by the particle *wà* (W *mà*) suffixed[36] to the long-vowel finite form of the verb. In the Continuous, the nominalised form of a the verb is replaced by a corresponding finite form.

An	***ginà:***	***gida:***	***An***	***ginà:***	***wà*** ***saɽki:*** ***gida:***
4.PFV.NFOC	build	house	4.PFV.NFOC	build	DAT king house
They built a house			*They built a house*		

Anà:	***ginì-n***	***gida:***	***Anà:***	***ginà:***	***wà*** ***saɽki:*** ***gida:***
4.IPFV.NFOC	building-GEN	house	4.IPFV.NFOC	build	DAT king house
They are building a house			*They are building a house for the chief*		

When a verb ends in a short vowel (grades 2, 3 and 7) this vocalic suffix is replaced by the pre-dative suffix *–aC*.

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[35] P. Newman distinguishes two sets of Accusatives, both with CV form: (a) a set of weak clitic pronouns whose tone varies according to the class of verb it is cliticizes to; (b) a set of strong non-clitic pronouns with inherent H tone. (Newman 2000:478 ff.)

[36] This particle is written as a separate word in standard Hausa orthography, so as to distinguish it from the *-̀wa:* nominalizer forming verbal nouns.

Ja:	*fa:ɗi*	*Ja:*	*fa:ɗam*	*minì.*
3S.M.PFV.NFOC	fall (GR3B)	3S.M.PFV.NFC	fall (GR3B)	3S.M.DAT
He fell		*He fell on me*		

The genitive pronoun indicates possession. It is suffixed to the possessed object through the Genitive Link –n/- (GL)r. For the 1ˢᵗ person, the GL is integrated to the pronoun, and the pronoun has a H tone, contrary to the other persons. The final *–a* is long, except in sentence-final position where it is short, e.g. *mo:tà:ta:* 'my car', *An sa:ʧè mo:tà:ta.* 'They stole my car.' vs. *Mo:tà:ta: ta: ɓa:ʧì.* 'My car has broken down.' The word *kâi* 'head' suffixed with a genitive pronoun, is used to forme the reflexive: *mun ʧù:ʧi kânmù* 'we've wronged ourselves" (*kânmù* 'ourselves' < *kâi –n –mù*, head –GL–1PL.PNG.GEN))

Suffixed to the free linker, these genitive PNG form the Independant Genitive Pronouns. The free GL agrees with the gender of the possessed object:

TABLE **16**. INDEPENDANT GENITIVE PRONOUNS		
	M.& Pl.	F.
1s.	*nà:wa*	*tà:wa*
2ms.	*na:kà*	*ta:kà*
2fs.	*na:kì*	*ta:kì*
3ms.	*na:sà*	*ta:sà*
3fs.	*na:tà*	*ta:tà*
1p.	*na:mù*	*ta:mù*
2p.	*na:kù*	*ta:kù*
3p.	*na:sù*	*ta:sù*

9. Verbs and Verb Phrases

9.1 Verb grades

Verb classes, called verb grades in Hausaist tradition since (Parsons 60), are morpho-syntaxic classes determined by they morphology, tone pattern, and distribution.

The nature of the object following the verb influences its form and determines the various classes: (i) zero object ; (ii) pronominal object (PNG.ACC); (iii) nominal object (/___N); dative object. Depending on their tone pattern and their suffix (mostly vocalic, with the exception of one consonantal suffix, *-ar*), 7 verbal grades have been established by F. Parsons (*op.cit*) to which P. Newman has added a grade Ø and introduced 3 subclasses: grades 3a and b, and grade 5d. The following table is a summary of the system following Newman (2000:628).

TABLE 17. VERB CLASSES

	/__Ø	/__PNG.ACC	/__N	/__PNG.DAT
Grade Ø	*-i:* H *-a:/-o:* H	*-i:* H *-a:/-o:* H	*-i:* H *-a:/-o:* H	*-i:* H *-a:/-o:* H
Grade 1	*-a:* H-L-(H)	*-a:* H-L-(H)	*–a* H-L-(L)	*-a:* H-L-(H)
Grade 2	*-a:* L-H-(L)	*-e:* L-H-	*-i* L-H	(pds)
Grade 3	*–a* L-H-(L)			(pds)
Grade 3a	*–a* H			(pds)
Grade 3b	*-i/-u/-a* H-L			(pds)
Grade 4	*-e:* H-L(H) *-nje:* H-L-(H)	*-e:* H-L(H) *-nje:* H-L-(H)	*-e* H-L(L) *-e:* H-L-(H) *-nje* H-L-(L) *-nje:* H-L-(H)	*-e:* H-L(H) *-nje:* H-L-(H)
Grade 5	*-ar* H	*-ar* H [*dà*] H *-ʃe:* H	*-ar* [*dà*] H	*-ar* [*dà*] H

		-Ø [dà] H	-Ø [dà] H	
Grade 5d	*-da:* H-L	*-da:* H-L	*-dà* H-L	*-da:* H-L
Grade 6	*-o:* H	*-o:* H	*-o:* H	*-o:* H
Grade 7	*-u* L-H			(pds)

These grades are subdivided into primary grades (Ø to 3, including 3a and 3b) and secondary grades which are derived from the others.

9.1.1   Primary Grades

Grade Ø consists of basic H-tone monosyllabic verbs ending in /*i*/, e.g. *ʧi* 'eat' or /*a:*/, e.g. *ʤa:* 'pull', plus a small group of H-tone *CiCa:* verbs, e.g. *kiɾa* 'call'.

Grade 1 contains basic *-a/a:* verbs, e.g. *dafà:* 'cook', both transitive and intransitive.

Grade 2 comprises only transitive basic verbs, e.g. *sàja:* 'buy' (*sàji* /___N and *sàje:* /___PNG.ACC).

> *Before* [dative]*, grade 2 verbs, like those of grades 3 and 7, add the H-tone inflectional pds –***a***C)*[H], e.g. **sun ne:mam masà aikì**: *'They sought work for him'* (gr2+pds), cf. **sun nè:mi aikì**: *(gr2/___N). (Newman 2000:629)*

Grade 3 is exclusively intransitive and contains *–a* final basic verbs, e.g. *fita* 'go out'. *Grade 3a* is made of 2-syllable intransitive verbs with *–a* final vowel too, but with H-H tone and a heavy initial syllable, e.g. *ƙauɾa* 'migrate'. *Grade 3b* consists of a few H-L 2-syllable intransitive verbs with final *–i*, *-u*, and *–a*, e.g. *gudù* 'run'.

9.1.2   Secondary grades

Grade 4, with a 'totality/finality' meaning, contains both transitive and intransitive verbs. It indicates and action totally done or affecting all the objects, e.g. *sajè:*, 'buy up'. Used with a dative object, it can have a malefactive/deprivative sense, e.g. *ƙwa:ʧè:* 'take from'. The variant with /*nje:*/ is limited to a few verbs derived from monosyllabic grade Ø verbs, e.g. *ʃânje:* 'drink up'.

Grade 5 is called 'efferential' by P. Newman, who characterises it as transitive grade indicating action directed away from the speaker, e.g. *zubar* 'pour out'. However as it serves mainly to transitivize inherently intransitive verbs, e.g. *fitar* 'take out' (cf. *fita* (gra3) 'go out'), we will continue to call it 'causative', glossed CAUS in the corpus. Transitivity is expressed via the use of the oblique marker *dà* followed by the independant form of the pronoun, e.g. ja: *zubar dà gijà:* 'He poured out the beer', *ja sayar dà ita* 'He sold it'. The pre-nominal form with *-ʃe:* is an alternative to the *dà* form, e.g. *na: gaiʃe: sù* = *na: gajar dà su:* 'I greeted them'. Some grade 5 verbs have a short suffixless form when followed by a direct object, e.g. *ja: zub dà ita* = *ja: zubar dà ita* 'he poured it out'. *Grade 5b* is a dialectal form with the marker *dà* fused to the verb, and followed buy an accusative pronoun, e.g. *ja: zubdà: ta*.

Grade 6, ('allative', glossed ALL), called 'ventive' by P. Newman, indicates action in the direction of, or for the benefit of the speaker, e.g. *sajo* 'buy and bring back'.

Grade 7 ('passive', glossed PASS), is called 'sustentative' by P. Newman. It indicates an agentless passive, middle voice action well done, or the potentiality of sustaining the action, e.g. *dàfu* 'well cooked', *tà:ɾu* 'meet'.

All secondary grades have nominalised forms with the suffix *–wa:*.

9.2 Imperatives

Commands are expressed in Hausa both by the Subjunctive and the Imperative. The Imperative is insensitive to gender and number and is restricted to the 2nd person singular. The other persons and the negative commands use the Subjunctive.

The Imperative is the only TAM which is directly expressed on the verb, through a specific tone pattern (usually L-H) which overrides the contextual tone pattern of the verb, and it varies according

to the verb class. One example of such variation is that of the grade 2 imperative. See below the difference between a grade 1 and grade 2 one[37]:

	/ ___ Ø	/ ___ PNG.ACC	/ ___ N	/ ___ PNG.DAT
	TABLE **18**. GRADE 1 & 2 IMPERATIVES			
Gr1	*-a:* L-H	*-a:* L-H	*-a* L-L	*-a:* L-H
	kà:ma:!	*kà:ma: su!*	*kà:mà ɓàɽa:wò:!*	*kà:ma: minì ɓàɽa:wò:!*
	Catch!	Catch them!	Catch the thief!	Catch the thief for me!
Gr2	*-i* L-H	*-e:* L	*-i* L-H	*-aC* L-H
	tàimàki!	*tàimàkè: mu!*	*tàimàki jâ:ɽa!*	*tàjam minì dà fi:!*
	Help (X)!	Help us!	Help the children!	Give it back to me!

9.3 Auxiliaries

We call auxiliary verbs[38] in Hausa those verbs that are followed by an embedded nonfinite VP with the same subject interpretion. The embedded VP is an infinitive phrase (IP) [39], a VN, VN phrase or a dynamic noun.

> *ba: jà: so:(n) zìjartàr sùɽùkansà*
> *He doesn't like to visit his in-laws.*

When the embedded VP fills the function of direct object of the auxiliary verb, the result is a completive subordinate clause as in the ex. above. Auxiliary verbs fall under two semantic categories:

1) **modal auxiliaries** specifying the subjective or objective modality of the process without reference to its temporal quality;
2) **aspectual auxiliaries** specifying the temporal references of the process, e.g. inceptive, durative, repetitive, etc.

9.3.1.1 Modal auxiliaries

Intersubjective : (will, causation, permission, acceptation, etc.), e.g. *so:* 'want' *sâ:* 'cause' *ɓaɽi:* 'allow' *jàrda* 'agree' *ƙi* 'forbid' *hanà:* 'prevent'

Epistemic : ijà: 'can'; *ɽasà:, ka:sà:, gazà:* 'cannot'; *fàskaɽà* 'be difficult to...'

Deontic : ʧànʧantà, *da:ʧè:*, *kàma:tà* 'be proper'; *ƙjàutu* 'be better';

Appreciative : fi 'exceed'; *fajè:, ʧìkà:* 'be too much'.

9.3.1.2 Aspectual auxiliaries

ƙa:ɽà, daɗà: 'increase'; *ƙa:ɽà:, sa:kè:* 'repeat'; *ɽikà:, ɗo:ɽà:, dingà:, ji ta* (CONT) 'continue to'; *dainà:* 'stop'; *ƙa:rè:, gamà:* 'finish'; *baɽì:, fasà:* 'abandon'; *taɓà:* 'have experienced'; *ɽiga / ɽìga:, ɽìga:jà:* 'have done before'; *fa:ɽà:, so:mà:, tà:sa: / ta:fi / ta:sam mà, ji ta* 'begin to'; *kusa* ; 'have almost...'.

10. Adverbs and Prepositional phrases

The functions of adverbs and adverbial phrases (of time, place, manner, etc.) are multiple in Hausa:

(i) predicates of nonverbal sentences, e.g. *da:kì:na: janà: <u>dab dà na:tà</u>* 'my room is <u>right next to her</u>'; *fà:dà:wa: sunà zàune <u>kusa dà saɽki:</u>* 'the councillors are seated <u>close to the chief</u>'.

(ii) locative goals of motion verbs, e.g. *mù tàfi ʧân* 'let's go there!'

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[37] For more variations, sp. on grade Ø Imperatives, see Newman (2000:262-9).
[38] P. Newman (2000:64-70) calls these verbs "Aspectual verbs".
[39] Claude Gouffé calls this form « Forme Verbale Libre », 'free verbal form'. (Gouffé 1978)

(iii)   modifiers in the structure N-GL Adv, e.g. *ʃù:gàban ɗà:ʐu* 'the leaders of the movement' (lit. leaders of <u>just now</u>); *ki:ʃin-ʐu:ʧi* 'ambition' (lit. jealousy of <u>in the heart</u>)

(iv)   modifiers of predicates, appearing at the end of the VP, e.g. *inà: sôntà <u>ainùn</u>.* 'I love her <u>very much</u>.'; *tanà: aikì: <u>sànnu sànnu</u>.* 'She is working <u>very slowly</u>.'

NB: Adverbs and adverbial phrases are prone to fronting due to topicalization or focus. Examples:

[*ʃè:karàr àlif dà ɗaɽi: tarà dà sìttin*]*TOPIC Nà:ʤe:rijà: [ta:]PFV.NFOC sà:mi mulkìn kâi.*
In 1960, Nijeria gained independence

[*ʤijà dà jâ:mma*]*FOCUS [sukà]PFV.FOC da:wo:.*
YESTERDAY AFTERNOON *they came back.*

10.1   Basic adverbs

Basic space adverbs. *da:ma* 'righ-hand side'; *hagu* = hagun 'left'; *aɽè:wa:* 'north'; *kudu* 'south'; *gabàs* 'east'; *yâmma* 'west'; *kusa* 'nearby'. The interrogative spatial adverb is *ìna:* 'where?'; the universal quantifier is *ko:ìna:* 'everywhere'.

Basic time adverbs. The inventory of basic adverbs (see Table (19) below) is quite rich, with many degrees referring to days and years but not to weeks or months.

NB: The adverb *dâ:* 'formerly', combined with *ma:* 'even' forms the phrase *dâ: ma:* which denotes a known, confirmed fact, and translates as 'of course', 'in fact', 'precisely'.

There exist other adverbs relative to the time locus of the utterance, e.g. *kà:ʃè:gàɽi:, wàʃè:gàɽi:* 'the following day'[40], *kullum, dàdai, tùtur* 'always'.

The interrogative temporal adverb (ADV.Q) is *jàuʃè, jàuʃe:* 'when?'; the universal quantifier is *ko:jàuʃè, ko:jàuʃe:* 'whenever'.

Deictics have both a spatial and temporal meaning: *nân* 'here, now'; *nan* 'there near you, then'; *ʧân* 'there (not near you)'; *ʧan* 'there (remote), then (later)'.

TABLE 19. BASIC TIME ADVERBS			
PAST	*dâ:* 'formerly'	*ʃe:kaɽàn -ʤijà wàʧʧan* 'three days ago'	
	tùni 'long ago'	*ʃe:kaɽàn-ʤijà* 'two days ago'	*bà:ɽa wàʧʧan* 'two years ago"
	dâ:ʐu 'not long ago, just now'	*ʤijà* 'yesterday'	*bà:ɽa* 'last year'
PRESENT	*jànzu* 'now'	*yâu* 'today'	*bana* 'this year'
FUTURE	*ʧân* 'then, then later'	*gò:be* 'tomorrow'	*bàɗî* 'next year'
	ʧan 'then later'	*ʤi:bi* 'two days from now'	*bàɗî wàʧʧan* 'two years from now'
		ga:tà 'three days from now'	
		ʧittà 'four days from now'	
		ʃe:kaɽàn-ʧittà 'five days from now'	

Manner adverbs. We will name but a few manner adverbs, e.g. *ainùn* 'very much'; *daidai* 'exactly'; *duk*[41] 'entirely'; *hakà* = *hakàn* 'thus'; *kawài* 'only, merely', etc.

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[40]   There is no adverb corresponding to 'the previous day'. Instead, the expression *anà: gò:be* + FUT (lit. they were tomorrow...), e.g *anà: gò:be ʐa: sù tà:ʃì...* 'the day before their departure…' (lit. they were tomorrrow they will leave)

[41]   Cf. § 6.2.3, p. 21 for the prenominal (*duk*) and post-nominal (*dukà*) related specifiers.

Other adverbs. The adverb *ko:* modifies NP, VP and adverbials (both PP and AP[42]). Here is an example modifying a PP: <u>*ko: dà wuƙa: bà zâi kaʃè: ʃi ba*</u> '<u>Even with a knife</u>, he would not be able to kill it.' *ɗan/yâr/yân* 'little' is an adjective modifier, and its invariable form *ɗan* works as an adverbial predicate modifier, e.g. *kà ɗan dà:katà:* 'Wait a little!'.

10.2 Adverb derivation

10.2.1 Denominal adverbs
Many adverbs are derived from body part nouns, nouns of places and time through one or several of the following processes: (i) shortening of the final vowel ; (ii) dropping of the feminative suffix; (iii) change of tone to HH; (iv) addition of a tone-integrating suffix *–a*)[HL]. More examples :

> *ma:ʃì: ja: sò:ke: ʃi <u>à ʐu:ʧi</u>*
> *the spear pierced him <u>in the heart</u>. (<* ʐu:ʧija: *'heart)*

> *ja: zo: <u>à ƙafà</u>*
> *he came <u>on foot</u> (<* ƙafà: *'foot, leg')*

> *sunà: aikì: <u>bakà</u> dà <u>hanʧi</u>*
> *they are working tooth and nail' (lit. <u>at mouth</u> and <u>at nose</u>)*
> *(<* bà:ki: *'mouth' ;* hanʧi: *'nose')*

10.2.2 Deverbal statives
Statives are a subclass of adverbs derived from verbs by means of a tone-integrating suffix *–e*)[LH], e.g. *mutù* 'die' > *màʧe* 'dead'; *zaunà:* 'sit' > *zàune* 'seated'. More examples:

> *ja: bar ƙo:fà: <u>à bù:ɗe</u>*
> *He left the door <u>open</u>.*

> *kù ka:wo: ʃi nân ko: <u>à rà:je</u> ko: <u>à màʧe</u>.*
> *Bring him here <u>dead</u> or <u>alive</u>.*

10.3 Reduplication
Reduplication of adverbs is very common with three different meanings: (1) intensive; (2) attenuative; (3) distributive.

Intensive reduplication: *ʧan* 'there' / *ʧan ʧan* 'far, far away'; *kusa* 'close' / *kusa kusa = kurkusa* 'very close'; *maza* 'quickly' / *maza maza = marmaza* 'very quickly'.

Attenuative reduplication[43]: mainly concerned are denominative locative adverbs, e.g. *ba:ja* 'behind' / *ba:ja ba:ja* 'a bit behind'; *samà* 'above' / *samà samà* 'a bit above'.

Distributive reduplication: The repetition of nouns creates adverbs with a distributive meaning, e.g. *ma:kò:* (= *sa:ti:*) 'week' / *ma:kò: ma:kò:* (= *sa:ti: sa: ti:*) 'weekly'; *gida:* 'house'/ *gida: gida:* 'from house to house'.

10.4 Prepositional Phrases
Prepositional phrases (PP) consist of a preposition plus an NP or an adverb, e.g. *dà wuƙa:* 'with a knife', *dàgà nân* 'from here'. PP have the same functions as adverbs as modifiers of predicates. Like adverbs, they have (1) temporal (2) locative (3) manner and (4) instrumental meanings.

Time PPs[44], e.g. *ma:làmîn ja: gamà: [kà:fin zuwàn dà:lìbân]* 'The teacher arrived <u>before</u> the coming of the pupils.'; *bà z:a à ruʃè: ba [sai <u>ba:jan</u> ƙarʃè: bìjar.]* 'They won't close until (lit. <u>after</u>) five o'clock.'

Place PPs, e.g. *ja: wuʧè: <u>gàba dà</u> mu:* 'he passed <u>in front of</u> us', *na: sà: me: sù [<u>à</u> makaranta:]* 'I found them [<u>at</u> school].'

Manner PPs use the preposition *dà* with a noun of quality, e.g. *dà hankàli:* 'gently'; *dà ƙarfi:* 'strongly'.

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42   We have seen how this has been lexicalised for the formation of universal quantifiers through the structure ko: + Question word.
43   See the same phenomenon with adjectives, § 11.3.4 Reduplicated adjectives, p. 33.
44   Cf. §12, p. 33 for an inventory of prepositions

Instrument PPs use the preposition *dà* with concrete nouns, e.g. *sun ɗauɾè: fì dà igìja:* 'they tied him with a rope'.

11. Adjectives

Adjectives share their morphology with nouns, and some can even function as nouns, e.g. *tso:ho:* 'old' (adj.) and 'an old man' (n.). However, they have some specific properties that distinguish them from nouns. These are: (i) morphology : there exist some adjectives derived from nouns of quality, that have a specific morphology, and cannot function as nouns, e.g. *zàzza:fa:* 'very hot' (< *za:fì:* 'heat'); (ii) syntax: they function mainly as nominal modifiers or predicators; (iii) their gender and number features are assigned by the noun they qualify and are not lexical properties,

11.1 Syntax

Adjectives appear in three different constructions : (i) predicative ; (ii) pre-nominal attributive ; (iii) post-nominal attributive. Let's see these three constructions with a simple adj.: *faɾi:* (m.) ; *faɾa:* (f.) ; *faɾà:ɾe:* (pl.) 'white'.

11.1.1 The attributive function

The pre-nominal attributive structure is <Adj-GL N>. The post-nominal attributive function uses the structure <N Adj> without GL:

TABLE 20. ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES			
	Pre-nominal	*Post-nominal*	
do:kì: (m.) horse	*faɾin do:kì:* (lit. white-GL horse)	*do:kì: faɾi:* (lit. horse white)	white horse
mo:tà: (f.) car	*faɾar mo:tà:* (lit. white-GL car)	*motà: faɾa:* (lit. car white)	white car
hu:lunà: (pl.) caps	*faɾà:ɾen hu:lunà:* (lit. white-GL caps)	*hu:lunà: faɾà:ɾe:* (lit. caps white)	white caps

See § XXX for more about these structures.

11.1.2 The predicative function

The predicative function uses the copula *ne:/ʧe:/ne:* (COP2) with the structure < (X) Y COP2 >where Y is the adjective. Examples:

do:kìnsà horse-GL.M-him	*faɾi:* white.M	*nè:* COP.M	his horse is white
ɾì:garsà caftan-GL.F-him	*faɾa:* white.F	*ʧe:* COP.F	his caftan (f.) is white
mo:to:ʧinsù cars-GL.PL-them	*faɾà:ɾe:* white.PL	*nè:* COP.PL	their cars are white

11.1.3 Comparison

Comparison is expressed through the verb *fì* 'exceed' and the structure < X *fì* Y adj >, e.g. *Sulè ja: fì Mu:sa: tsawo:* 'Sule is taller than Musa' (lit. Sule exceeds Musa (in) height).

Superlatives are expressed trough the post-nominal modifier *mafì:*[45] + adj, e.g. *ja:ɾò: mafi: kaɾfi:* 'the strongest boy' (lit. boy exceeding strength).

11.2 Basic adjectives

Table 21 below presents the inventory of basic, underived "true" adjectives.

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[45]   *mafì:* is a short agent noun derived from *fì* 'exceed'. See § 7.1.1, p. 23.

TABLE 21. BASIC ADJECTIVES

baƙi:, baƙa:, bakà:ƙe:	black
bàbba, bàbba, mânja:	big
do:go:, do:guwa:, do:gwà:je:	long
ɗanje:, ɗanja:, ɗânju:	raw, fresh, green
fari:, fara:, farà:re:	white
gàje:re:, gàje:ra: (=gàje:rìja: =gàje:rùwa:), gàjè:ru:	short
huntu:, huntuwa:, huntà:je:	naked
ja:, ja:, ja:jà:je:	red
ko:rè:, ko:rìja:, ko:rà:je:	green, unripe
kùma:ma:, kùma:ma:, kùmà:mai	weak
ƙa:tò:, ƙa:tùwa:, ƙâtta:	huge
ƙànƙanè:, ƙànƙanùwa:, ƙana:nà:	small
ƙàrami:, ƙàrama:, ƙana:nà:	small
ƙàza:mi:, ƙàza:ma:, ƙàzà:mai	dirty
ku:lumi:, ku:luma:, ku:lumà:je:	stingy
mu:gù:, mu:gùwa: (=mu:gunjà:), mijà:gu: (=mu:gà:je:)	evil
rà:wajà:, rà:wajà:, rà:wà:ju:	yellow
sa:bo:, sa:buwa:, sà:bàbbi:	new
shu:ɗi:, shu:ɗija:, shûɗɗa:	indigo blue

Noun/adjectives. A certain number of words work both as adjectives and nouns. They can have a nominal function, e.g. in the example below where *tso:ho:* is the nound 'old man', head of a direct object NP :

> *mun ta:rà wani tso:ho:.*
> *We met an old man.*

whereas in the following example it is a predicative adjective 'old' modifying the noun *do:kì:* 'horse':

> *mun ka:mà wani tso:hon do:kì:*
> *we caught an old horse*

Table 22 below lists some of these noun/adjectives:

TABLE 22. NOUN/ADJECTIVES

bà:ƙo:, bà:ƙuwa:, bà:ƙi:	stranger, host
be:be:, be:bija:, be:bà:je:	dumb
ɓàra:wò:, ɓàraunìja:, ɓàrà:ji:	robber
kurma:, kurma:, kurà:me:	deaf
màka:hò:, màkaunìja:, màkà:fi:	blind
tso:ho:, tso:huwa:, tsò:fàffi:	old
ja:rò:, ja:rinjà:, jâ:ra:	young

11.3 Derived adjectives

11.3.1 Agentive adjectives

We saw in § 7.1.1, p. 23 how agent nouns are derived from verbs with a *ma- ... –i:* affix and a H-(L)-L-H tone pattern, e.g. *manò:mi:* (m.) 'farmer' (< //no:m-// 'to farm'). Many of those derived from intransitive verbs can also function as adjectives, e.g. *matsìjà:ʧi:* (adj.) 'poor, destitute', *mahàukàʧi:* (adj.) 'mad'. Example: *wani mahàukàʧin dire:bà* 'a mad driver'; *mahàukàtan karnukà:* 'mad dogs'.

11.3.2 Past Participles

Adjective past participles are produced from verbs by means of the tone-integrating suffix *–aCCe:*)^{LHH} where CC represents a geminated copy of the preceding consonant. The feminine counterpart has an *-iya:* suffix, and the plural is *–u:*)^{LH}, e.g. *dàfaffe: / dàfaffiya: / dàfàffu:* 'cooked' (< *dafà:* 'cook'); *rùbùtaʧʧe: / rùbùtaʧʧija: / rùbùtàttu:* 'written' (< *rubù:ta:* 'write').

11.3.3 Adjectives of Sensory Quality

Intensive trisyllabic adjectives are derived from a set of nouns named Abstract Nouns of Sensory Quality by F. Parsons[46]. For example, from the noun *za:fi:* 'heat' is derived the adjective *zàzza:fa:* 'very hot'. The singular is formed with a reduplicative prefix (CVC-)^L plus a suffix –a:)^L. The plural has a –a:Ca:)^{HLH} suffix added to the base without reduplication, e.g. *fàrfa:ɗa: = fàffa:ɗa: / faɗà:ɗa:* 'very broad, wide' (< *fa:ɗi:* 'width') ; *kàkkaifa: / kaifà:fa:* 'very sharp' (< *kaifi:* 'sharpness') ; *mùmmu:na: / mu:nà:na:* 'evil, ugly' (< *mu:nì:* 'ugliness').

11.3.4 Reduplicated adjectives

A very productive derivation produces adjectives by full reduplication of common nouns with shortening of the final vowel of the original noun. The semantic result is an adjective meaning X-like where X stands for the original noun, e.g. *gifiɽi:* 'salt' > *gifiɽi-gifiɽi* 'salty'. Other examples are: *gà:ɽi-gà:ɽi* 'powdery' (< *gà:ɽi:* 'flour'); *ɽuwa-ɽuwa* 'watery' (< *ɽuwa:* 'water').

A comparable morphological process derives from an adjective, another adjective with an attenuative meaning, e.g. *baki:* 'black', *(ɗan) baki:-baki:* 'faded black'; *faɽi:* 'white', *(ɗan) faɽi-faɽi* 'off-white'; *ʃu:ɗi* 'dark blue', *ʃu:ɗi-ʃu:ɗi* 'light blue'; *do:go:* 'tall', *(ɗan) do:go-do:go* 'medium height'; *jalò:* 'jellow', *jalò-jalò* 'yellowish'; *ʤa:* 'red', *ʤa:ʤa-ʤa:ʤa* 'reddish'

12. Prepositions

Prepositions are the head of Prepositional phrases (cf. §10 above). They fall under two categories (1) basic prepositions ; (2) genitive prepositions.

12.1 Basic prepositions

The inventory of basic Hausa prepositions is as follows: *à* 'at, in, on'; *dà* 'with'; *dàgà* 'from'; *bisà* 'on, about', *fà:ʧe:* 'except'; *gà/gàɽe:* 'by, in, near, in connection with, in relation to'; *har* 'up to, until'; *hàtta:* 'including'; *ija:* 'as far as'; *illa:* 'except'; *kà:fin* (=*kà:fin*) 'before'; *sabò:dà* 'because of, on account of'; *sai* 'except, until'; *ta* 'via, by means of, by way of'; *tun* 'since'; *wàr* 'like'; *jà:* (= *ì*) 'like, among'; *zuwà:* 'to'[47]

Many of these basic prepositions function also as conjunctions. Except for *gà* wich takes the form *gàɽe:* when followed by a direct object pronoun (PNG.ACC), e.g. *gàɽe: tà* 'by her', all basic prepositions take independants pronouns as complements, e.g. *sabò: dà ita* 'because of her'.

12.2 Compound prepositions

These are made of an adverb followed by the preposition *dà*, e.g. *ban dà* 'apart from'; *duk dà* 'despite'; *fije dà* 'more than'; *gàme dà, tà:ɽe dà* 'together with', etc.

12.3 Genitive prepositions

These prepositions are composed of an adverb or a noun suffixed with the short GL *–n/-r/-t.* They are generally preceded by a basic preposition such as *à/dàgà/ta*, e.g. <u>a kân te:bùr</u> '<u>on</u> the table'. Here are a few examples: *bà:kin* 'at the edge of, in exchange for' (< *bà:ki:* 'mouth'); *ʧikin* 'inside' (< *ʧiki* (adv.) 'inside'); *kân* 'on top of' (< *kâi* 'head'); *ba:jan* 'behind' (< *ba:ja* 'at the back'): *màimakon* 'in exchange for' (< *màimako:* 'replacement').

Genitive preposition take possessive pronouns as complements, e.g. *kânsù* 'on them'; *ʧikintà* 'on it'.

13. Universal Quantifiers

There exists two types of universals : (i) the global universal *duk/dukà* ; (b) the distributive universals built with the morpheme *ko:*.

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46   (Parsons 1955).
47   Newman (2000:46)

13.1 **The global universal *duk/dukà***

The global quantifier *duk/dukà*, 'all' can occur as a determiner, a pronoun and an adverb. Example as an adverb:

> *duk ka: ɓa:tà: minì lo:kàʧi: à banza:!*
> *You've entirely wasted my time. (Abraham 1959:229b)*

13.2 **The distributive universal *ko:***

The morpheme *ko:* combined with question words builds a class of polyfunctional morphemes with a common meaning of universal quantifiers. They can be Pro-Nouns (every-one, every-thing), Pro-Determiners (each, every) or Pro-Adverbs (how-ever, what-ever way). See Table XXX below for their complete list, and their corresponding Question Words.

TABLE 23. DISTRIBUTIVE UNIVERSALS		
GLOSS	**UNIVERSALS**	**QUESTION WORDS**
everyone, whoever	*ko:wa:*	*wà:* 'who?'
everything, whatever	*ko:me:*	*mè:* 'what ?'
everywhere, wherevever	*ko:'ìna:*	*ìna:* 'where'
always, whenever	*ko:jàuʃe: = ko:jàuʃè*	*jàuʃe: = jàuʃè* 'when ?'
each, whichever one(s)	*ko:wànne:* (m.), *ko:wàʧʧe:* (f.), *ko:wàɗànne:* (pl.)	*wànne:*, *wàʧʧe:*, *wàɗànne:* 'whichever?'
every, whichever	*ko:wànè* (m.), *ko:wàʧè* (f.), *ko:wàɗànnè* (pl.)	*wane* (m.), *wàʧè* (f.), *wàɗànnè* (pl.) 'which?'
however much/many	*ko: nawà*	*nawà:* 'how much/many?'
in every, whatever way	*ko:(ta)jà:jà:*	*jà:jà:* 'how ?'

> *Ko:wa: ja ɽe:nà gàʤe:ɽe:, bài ta:kà kùna:mà: ba.*
> *Whoever despises the small has never stepped on a scorpion.*

> *Allà: ja: san ko:me:.*
> *God knows all.*

> *Anà: ganinsù (à) ko:'ìna:.*
> *They were seen everywhere.*

> *À ɽi:ʤìjan nân anà: sa:mùn ɽuwa: à ko:jàuʃè.*
> *In this well you get water all the time.*

> *Mùtumìn nan janà: sa:mùn kuɗi: ko:jà:jà:.*
> *This man will get money anyhow.*

> *Ko: ʃa:nunsà nawà ne:, na saɽki: sun fi: sù.*
> *However many his cows may be, the king's will be more.*

13.3 **Universal subordination**

Subordinate clauses can be introduced by both global and distributive universals :

> *Ko:me: sukà fàɗa:, kaɽja: ʧè:.*
> *= Duk àbîn dà sukà fàɗa:, kaɽja: ʧè:.*
> *= Àbîn dà sukà fà:ɗa: dukà, kaɽja: ʧè:*
> *Whatever they may have said, it's a lie.*

> *Ko:jàuʃè ka zo: nân, za: kà sà:mi go:rò.*
> *= Duk lo:kàʧîn dà ka zo: nân, ...*
> *= Lo:kàʧîn dà ka zo: dukà, ...*
> *Whenever you come here, you'll get cola nuts.*

Ko:'ìna: mukà du:bà:, ba: mà: ganin ko:me: sai ɽuwa:
= *Duk indà akè: gani:, ...*
= *Indà akè: gani: dukà, ...*
Wherever we looked, we only saw water.

Ko:jà:jà: ka tabà makunnin fitilàr nân sai tà ka:mà:.
= *Duk jaddà ka...*
= *Jaddà ka tabà makunnin fitilàr nân dukà, sai...*
Whatever way you turned the switch of the lamp, it would light up.

Ko: kuɗi: nawà akà ba: nì, zâi ìʃe: nì.
= *Duk jawàn kuɗi: dà akà ba: nì, ...*
= *Jawàn kuɗi: dà akà ba: nì dukà, ...*
However much money they give me, it will be enough.

14. Ideophones

Ideophones constitute a word class defined by its semantic and phonological properties, rather than by its syntactic properties. In other words, they do not make a part of speech that could be compared with nouns, verbs, or prepositions. They *are "descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity... [that is, they are words that are] vivid vocal images or representations or visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences"*[48] They are characterized by their high specificity of meaning and collocation. They function primarily as adjectives and adverbs, and are associated with expressive pronunciation, i.e: extra forcefulness or loudness, and often intonational break, indicated in the examples below by a comma and an arrow:

àbîn dà ja ba: nì ɗanje: nè:,↑ʃataf.
The thing that he gave me was fresh, really so.

ja: fa:dà: ɽuwa, ↑fùnʤum.
He fell in the water, splash. (Newman 2000:256)

For a complete phonological, semantic, syntactic and intonational characterization of ideophones, see (Newman 2000:242-259)

15. Complex sentences

15.1 Coordination

15.1.1 'And
The conjunction *dà* is used only to coordinate two NP or two AP, but cannot coordinate two clauses. A link between two clauses is rather expressed through simple juxtaposition, sometimes reinforced by adverbial connectors, e.g. *kuma* 'too' when the connexion is pragmatic or *ka:nà* 'then' for temporal succession.

mun ʧi mun ʃa:
We ate (and) we drank.

Mu:sa: ja: ʤe: ja: da:wo:
Musa went (and) he came back

ɽùfè ta:gà: tùkùn, ka:nà mù tàfi
Close the window first, then we can go.

tàfi maza kuma kadà kà da:wo: hannu: sàke !
Go quick and don't return empty-handed!

The connector *kuma* can appear either between the two conjoined clauses or between the subject pronouns and the verb of the second clause, e.g.

Bintà tanà: kàrà:tu: [tanà: kuma sàuɽà:ɽen re:dijò:]

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[48]   Cole (1955 :370) quoted by Newman (2000:242)

> *Binta was studying [<u>and</u> listening to the radio]*

In the simple juxtaposition of clauses (paratax) TAMs plays a part in the interpretation of the connexion between the clauses:

- The use of the Subjunctive as a relay TAM will create a stronger connexion between juxtaposed clauses. See the following example where the Negative Future *bà za: tà* [NEG2 FUT 3F.] of the first clause is relayed by the Subjunctive *tà* [3S.F.SUBJ] in the second clause:

    [bà za: tà]ₙₑ𝒈₂ ꜰᵤₜ ₃ꜰ hàɗu dà ƙawà:jên [tà]₃ₛ.ꜰ.ₛᵤᵦⱼ kuma tàfi sìni:mà: ba
    She is not going to meet her friends and go to the movies

- A succession of [-FOC] Perfectives will be interpreted as a mere enumeration. A succession of [+FOC] Perfectives will denote consecutive events, typical of a narration. A [+FOC] following a [-FOC] Perfective will indicate a consecutive action. Example:

    [na:]₁ₛ.ₚꜰᵥ.ₙꜰₒᴄ hau ku:kà: sai [na] ₁ₛ.ₚꜰᵥ.ꜰₒᴄ ga ƙaujè:
    I climbed the baobab tree and then I saw the village

- A [+FOC] Perfective following a [-FOC] Continuous will indicate an event intruding into a background situation. Example:

    [inà:]₁ₛ.ₚꜰᵥ.ₙꜰₒᴄ kàrà:tu: mutà:ne: [sukà]₃ₚₗ.ₚꜰᵥ.ꜰₒᴄ ʃigo:
    I was reading when people came in.

- A [-FOC] Continuous in the second sentence will indicate concomitance. Example:
    [janà:]₃ₛ.ₘ.ₚꜰᵥ.ₙꜰₒᴄ wà:sa: Birnin Rûm [janà:]₃ₛ.ₘ.ₚꜰᵥ.ₙꜰₒᴄ ƙo:nè:wa:
    He was fiddling while Rome was burning. (Newman 2000:139)

- The relationships expressed by aspectual system can be specified by adverbial coordinators, e.g. *sai* 'then'. Example:
    Janà: ʃiga:, <u>sai</u> ja gan tà.
    He was going in when he saw her.

15.1.2 'Or'
Disjunctive coordination is expressed with *ko:* 'or', *ko: ... ko:* 'either ... or', combined optionally with the particles *kuma* 'or' or *ma:* 'also, even' can be combined with these.

> *zâi da:wo: nân dà awà: biju ko: zâi bugà: manà wajà:*
> *He will come back at 2 or he will call us.*

> *ko: ka: zo: ko: bà kà zo: ba, bài dà:me: ni ba.*
> *Que tu viennes ou non, ça m'est égal.*

There exist alternative forms that are less frequent or more formal, e.g. *au ... au ; ìmma:... ko: ou ìmma:... ìmma: :*

> *au ka: zo: au bà kà zo: ba, bài dà:me: ni ba.*
> *Whether you come or not, I don't care.*

> *ìmma: dai sù bija: nì jànzu ko: kuma mù ji ɽìgimà:.*
> *Either they pay me now, or we'll fight.*

> *ìmma: kà ji hakà ìmma: kadà kà ji, ò:ho.*
> *Whether you do it or no, I don't care.*

15.1.3 'But' and 'however'
àmma: and *àmma: duk dà hakà* conjoin two clauses while contrasting them.

> *mun ɽò:ƙe: ʃi àmma: ja: ƙi*
> *We asked him but he refused.*

> *ʃi: bà: Mùsùlmi: ba nè: àmma: (duk dà hakà) janà: azùmi:.*
> *He is not a Muslim, however he fasts.*

15.2 Subordination

15.2.1 Conjunctions[49]

15.2.1.1 *har* **and** *sai* **'until'**[50]
The conjunction *har* means 'as far as; up to, until, even, etc.' and denotes the continuation of an action until a qualitative degree is reached, entailing a change of state.

> *zân ijà tsajà:wa: har ka: gamà:.*
> *I will wait until you have finished.*

> *ʧi:wò: ja: ʧi kaɽfintà har ja: kafè: ta.*
> *The illness weakened her up to the point that she died.*

> *sun ji aikìi: har sun gàʤi.*
> *They worked so much that they got tired.*

The conjunction *sai*, often implying or combined with negation, means 'except, only, unless, etc. ' and denotes a progression towards a goal.

> *bà zân ijà hawan wannàn ginà: ba sai an sakà tsa:na:*
> *I won't be able to climb this wall unless a ladder is put up.*

> *ja: ʧê: sai ka: gamà aikìn za: kà tàfi gida:*
> *He said « It's only after you have finished your work that you can go home. »*

> *bà za: kà ɗagà: dàgà nân ba sai ka: bija:*
> *You're not going to leave until you have paid.*

15.2.1.2 *dà* **'when, rather than'**
> *dà mukà gàbà:ʧe: sù sai sukà gudù.*
> *When we approached them, they ran away.*

> *ja: ʃi àràha: à sàje: ʃi nân dà à tàfi Kanò:.*
> *It's cheaper to buy here rather than go to Kano.*

15.2.1.3 *ba:yan (dà)* **'after'**
> *ja: zo: ba:jan ka: bar gida:.*
> *He came after you had left the house.*

> *ba:jan sun fita mun bu:ɗè kwalîn.*
> *After they had left, we opened the parcel.*

15.2.1.4 *dò:min (=don)*
This conjunction has two meanings :

(i)   'because' when followed by a Perfective:

> *an ɗauɽè: ʃi don [ja:]*PFV.NFOC *gudù.*
> *They tied him up because he had escaped.*

(ii)   'so that' when followed by a Subjunctive:

> *an ɗauɽè: ʃi don [kadà jà]*NEG5 SBJV *gudù.*
> *They tied him up so that he wouldn't escape.*

15.2.1.5 *ìdan (=in)* **'if'**
> *ìdan ka: ʧù:ʧe: mù za: mù ɽa:mà:.*
> *If you cheat us, we'll get back at you.*

15.2.1.6 *kà:fin = kà:fin (=kà:mìn = kà:min)* **'before'**
> *kà:fin mù hu:tà: sai mù kammàlà aikìn.*
> *Before we rest we must finish the work.*

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49   Newman 2000:134
50   As for most conjuctions, these two words can function as prepositions as well, e.g. *sai gò:be :* 'bye bye' (lit. until tomorrow); *an ji hanjà: dàgà Kanò: har Dàuɽa:* 'they built a road from Kano to Daura'.

15.2.1.7 *kàmar (= tàmkar)* 'as if'

> *na: ʤi kàmar zân ji amai.*
> *I feel as if I'm going to vomit.*

15.2.1.8 *ko:* 'event if'

> *ko: Audù ja: gàʤi, jâ: ʄa:ɽàsà aikìnsà.*
> *Even if Audu is tired, he will finish his work.*

15.2.1.9 *ko: dà* 'as soon as'

> *ko: dà ja ɗagà hannu:, jâ:ɽa: sukà dainà màganà:.*
> *As soon as he raised his hand, the children stopped talking.*

15.2.1.10 *ko: dà (yakè)* 'although'

> *ko: dà jakè kinà: fiɽìn ta:fi: inà: dà màganà: dà ke:.*
> *Although you are getting ready to go, I have something to tell you.*

15.2.1.11 *màimakon* 'instead of'

> *màimakon sù ɽàgu, ʄà:ɽuwa: sukà ji.*
> *Instead of decreasing, they have increased.*

15.2.1.12 *muddìn* 'as long as'

> *muddìn janà: zuwà: gidan nàn bà za: à ɽàbu dà ta:fin hankàli: ba.*
> *As long as he comes to this house, there will always be problems.*

15.2.1.13 *sabò:dà* 'because'

> *na: ji fufi: sabò:dà ka: màkaɽà.*
> *I am angry because you are late.*

15.2.1.14 *tàmkar (=kàmar)* : as if

> *tanà: ta:kà:wa: ɗai-ɗai tàmkar an naɗà: ta sàɽaunìja:.*
> *She is walking around as if she had been made a queen.*

15.2.1.15 tun

This conjunction has two meanings :

> (i) 'while', e.g.
>> *kà faɗà: musù tun sunà: nân*
>> *Tell them while they are here.*

> (ii) 'even before' when followed by *kà:fin* 'before' or a negative clause, e.g.
>> *na: gamà aikì: tun kà:fin kà zo: = tun bà kà zo: ba*
>> *I finished the work (even) before you arrived.*

15.2.1.16 *tun dà* 'since (temporal)'

> *tun dà mukà iso:, bà mù gan fi ba.*
> *Since we arrived, whe haven't seen him.*

15.2.1.17 *tun (dà yakè)* 'since (factive)'

> *tun dà jakè bà kà ɽiga: ka: gajà: masà ba, sai kà fa:sà:.*
> *Since you haven't told him yet, you might as well do nothing.*

15.3 Completives

Completives are clauses functioning as the direct object of (i) a full verb (ii) a nominal predicate (iii) an impersonal verb.

(i)   *munà: so:n sù tàfi Kanò:.*
>   *We want them to go to Kano*

(ii)   *na: sâ: ɽâi wai zâi zo:.*
>   *I hope he will come. (lit. I have set heart that...)*

(iii)   *ja: kjàutu ìn gamà aikì:na:.*
>   *It is better I finished my work.*

Non-verbal, copular constructions can introduce completives. Example :

wâuta: nè: gà Mu:sa: dà jà ʧi ba:ʃi:.
It was stupid for Musa to take a credit.

15.3.1 Completives following full verbs or predicates

In this section, we will see completives introduced by full verbs, e.g. *ʧẽ:* 'say', *sô:* 'want'; or nominal predicates, e.g. *tsàmma:ni:* 'think', *sâ: râi* 'hope'.

15.3.1.1 Verbs of thought or speech

Complement clauses of verbs of speech other than *ʧẽ:* are often introduced by the complementizers *ʧẽ:wa:* or *wai*[51]. Example :

ha:kìmi: jâ: gàrgàɗe: sù ʧẽ:wa: sù bija: hàra:ʤìn.
The district chief will recommend them to pay taxes.

ja: musà: ʧẽ:wa: ʃi: 6àɽa:wò: ne:.
He denied being a thief.

The verb *ʧẽ:* 'say' does not use a complementizer.

saɽki: ja: ʧẽ: kù bija: hàra:ʤìn.
The chief said you should pay taxes.

ja: ƙa:ɽà: dà ʧẽ:wa: ʤanàr zâi hàlàrʧi tà:ɽo:n dà kânsà.
He added that the general will attend the ceremony himself.

The other complementizer is *wai*. Examples:

sun ji tsàmma:nì: wai za: sù sà:mi hanjàr ʃiga:.
They thought they would find a way to get in.

na: ʤi wai bà à naɗà: ʃi saɽki: ba.
I heard they did not appoint him chief.

bàn ji zàton (wai) za: tà zo: wuɽin nàn ba.
I did not think she would come here.

15.3.1.2 *dà* predicates

Some predicates use the complementizer *dà*. Examples:

mun ji faɽin ʧìkì: dà kukà zo:.
We hare happy that you came.

an amìnʧe: wà Audù (dà / ʧẽ:wa:) jà zama saɽki:.
Audu has been allowed to become chief.

15.3.2 Complements of impersonal verbs

These constructions are used to express an opinion, a qualitative judgement on a action or an event. The 3rd person (m., rarely f.) syntactic subject is semantically void. The optional complementizer is *wai* or *ʧẽ:wa:*.

ja: kàma:tà (wai) sàmà:ɽin nàn sù ji auɽe:.
These young people should get married.

janà: dà muhimmanʧa: mù gamà aikìn bana.
It is important to finish the work this year.

ja: kàma:tà Bàɽau jà dainà kur6à:wa:.
It is proper that Barau should stop drinking.

Most of these impersonal predicates are intransitive verbs belonging to grades 3, 4 or 7. Except for the grade 7 verb *jìwu* (N.V *jìwuwa:*) which can appear in the Perfective (*ja: jìwu*), in the Continuous (*janà: jìwuwa:*) or the Indefinite Future (*jâ: jìwu*), all these verbs of opinion appear in the Perfective.

ja: ʧànʧantà...   gr3   it is proper that...

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[51]   Cf. § 6.3.2.3 & note 33, p. 22.

ja: fàskaɽà...	gr3	it is difficult to...
ja: kàma:tà...	gr3	it is proper that...
ja: hàlattà (gà X)...	gr3	it is legal (for X) to...
ja: hàramtà (gà X)...	gr3	it is forbidden (for X) to...
ja: da:ʧè: (dà X)...	gr4	it is good (for X) to...
ja: kjàutu...	gr7	it is good/better that...

15.4 Adverbial clauses

15.4.1 Time

Three types of temporal relationship will be examined :

- (1) concomitance
- (2) posteriority
- (3) anteriority

Since Hausa is basically aspectual, these relationships can be situated in the past, the present or the future. Finally, duration can be specified in reference to a point in time. This temporal system can use conjunctions, but it often uses simple juxtaposition, or paratax [52].

15.4.1.1 Concomitance

When two clauses are conjoined or subordinated, if one of the two clauses is a nominal predicate, or specified with the Continous, the process specified with the Continous is construed as a background to the advent of the second process. If both clauses are specified with the Continuous, both durations are construed as simultaneous. This can be expressed by a simple juxtaposition, or specified by adverbial coordinators or conjuctions.

<div align="center">Juxtaposition</div>

Rem: Simple juxtaposition paratax, with a Continous TAM in the first clause, can express concomitance. Example:

> *[janà:]₃ₛ.ₘ.ᵢₚғᵥ.ₙғₒϲ wà:sa: Birnin Rûm [janà:]₃ₛ.ₘ.ₙғₒϲ ko:nè:wa:*
> *He was fiddling while Rome was burning. (Newman 2000:139)*

<div align="center">*Σ1 ∥sai Σ1*[53].</div>

In this structure, the adverbial coordinator *sai* 'then' set at the beginning of the second clause, stresses the punctuality of the irruption of a process against the background of a Continous TAM.
Example:

> *Àsùbâ: nà: jî: <u>sai</u> na ʤi anà: bu:sà wani àbù kàmar ƙàho:.*
> *Dawn was pointing when I heard they were blowing something like a horn. (S.U. 33 § 3)*

The verb of the first clause can be topicalized, resulting in nominalization. Example:

> *ʤîn ʃa:warà: ta:sà, <u>sai</u> akà baɽì:.*
> *When hearing his advice, they stopped.*

<div align="center">*dà Σ2 º (sai) Σ1.*</div>

dà stands for *dà* itself and all the compound conjunctions containing *da*, e.g. *lo:kàcîn dà* ; *sa:'àd dà* ; *yà:yîn dà* ; *za:mànîn dà* ; '*sai dà* when'; *tun* 'while'. The compound conjunctions are built on the pattern < time Noun-Gl *dà*>. Then can all be translated by 'when'.

If the *dà* introduces a [-FOC] Perfective or Continuous, the meaning will be habitual or potential. Examples:

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[52] See § 15.1 on paratax and coordination.
[53] In Σ1 º Σ2, Σ1 stands for the subordinate, Σ2 for the main clause while º represents the limit between the two clauses.

Dà kun gàmu ja sâ: karnukànsà sukà bijo: kà <u>sai</u> kà ji gàba kàmar ka: wutʃè:, ...
If you meet, and he sets his dogs on you, go straight on as if you have overtaken him, ...
(MJC, I, 16, last §)

Dà sunà: tʃì: tà:ɽe dà wani makwàbtʃìnsà <u>sai</u> makwàbtʃìn jà zama wani iɽì: ne: mài mi:tà:.
When they were eating with a neighbour, the neighbour would become all grumpy. (MJC II, 16, l.1)

If *dà* introduces a [+FOC] Perfective or Continuous, the events will be inserted in a narration.

<u>Sa:'àd dà</u> mukà zo: janà: kàrà:tu:.
When we arrived, he was reading.

<u>Jà:jîn dà</u> jakè: saukô:wa:, <u>sai</u> ja ga..
As he arrived, he saw... (SU 14, § 3)

<u>Jà:jîn dà</u> ko:wa: janà: tʃikin hidimarsà, an sakè: sarai, <u>sai</u> mukà ʤi kuwwà:...
As everybody was minding his own business, we were all relaxed, then we heard a clamour... (SU 47, § 3)

The order of the subordinate and main clauses can be inverted, e.g. < Σ1 ° *dà* Σ2 >. Example:

Ja gajà: masà àbîn dà ja fà:ɽu dukà gà ʤiɽginsù <u>sa:'àd dà</u> sunà: tsakijàr Kwa:ɽà.
He told him all that had happened to their boat when they were in the middle of the Niger river. (MJC I 128, 1)

The same narrative meaning obtains with a nominal predicate or an infinitive in Σ2

<u>Dà</u> ganin wannàn <u>sai</u> na fiɽgità na ta:ʃi.
When I saw this, I was afraid and stood up. (SU, p. 42, § 2)

<u>Dà</u> ʤîn wadànnân màgàngànun fa <u>sai</u> na fa:ɽà sa:kà:wa: à ɽâina:, tʃê:wa:...
When I heard these words indeed, I began to say to myself that... (S.U. p. 31)

<u>Dà</u> gamà tʃîn àbintʃimmù, <u>sai</u> akà bugà kùge:, mukà ta:ʃi.
As we finished eating our meal, then they struck a gong and we set off. (SU, 47, § 2)

<u>Sai dà</u> mukà ʤe: Kanò:, (sai) mukà gan sù
(It's only) when we went to Kano that we saw them.

Kà kafè wuta: <u>tun</u> tanà: k̀àɽama:.
Put out the fire while it is still small.

The order of the main and subordinate clauses can be reversed:

<u>(Tun)</u> tanà: k̀àɽama: ijà:jentà sukà mutù.
While she was still young her parents died.

<u>Tun</u> ja:ɽò: janà: k̀àɽami: jakè: la:là:tʃê:wa:.
It's when he is still young that a child turns bad.

<p align="center">*muddìn Σ2_[PFV.FOC] ° Σ1 'when'*</p>

In a narration, *muddìn (≈ muddàr)* introduces a [+FOC] Perfective and means « when ».
<u>Muddìn</u> mukà zo: mukà gan ʃi.
When we arrived we saw him.

<p align="center">*Σ1 ° muddìn Σ2_[CONT.NFOC] 'as long as'*</p>

In non-narrative contexts, *muddìn (≈ muddàr)* introduces a [–FOC] Continuous and means « as long as ».
Jà:jà: za: mù mânta: dà ʃi: <u>muddìn</u> munà: tunà:wa: dà ɽân dà ja: ji fa:ma: dà ʤa:mùs ?
How could we ever forget him as long as we remember the day that he resisted the Germans ? (Abraham)

Kadà kù jàrda <u>muddìn</u> kunà: dà sauɽan numfafî:.
Don't accept as long as you have some breath left.

15.4.1.2 Succession

In narration, the consecutiveness of events expressed in two independant clauses can be underlined by adverbial connectors like *sai*, *dàgà nan sai*, *sa:'àn nan = sa'àn nan = sân nan*, *ka:nà = ka:nà:*, etc. meaning 'then'. Followed by a [+FOC] Perfective, they characterize a narration; followed by a Subjunctive, they characterize an ethnographic, gnomic description.

<p style="text-align:center;">*sai, sa:'àn nan*</p>

mazansù sun sàke: sù, dàgà nan sai sukà ji ta ja:wò:.
After their husbands had died, they started to travel.

ja: ji ʃè:ƙa: ukù, <u>sa'àn nan</u> ta:bà ta ƙa:ɽè:.
He took three snuffs and then the tobacco was finished.

<p style="text-align:center;">*ka:nà/ka:nà:*</p>

Saɽki: ja ɗagà kânsà za:màni: gùda:, ka:nà ja amsà: wà Mà:kau ʧê:wa: ja: jàrda.
The king raised his head for some time, then he answered Makau that he agreed.

Variant : *... tùkùna*   *ka:nà/ka:nà:* = first... then

Jànzu, àbîn dà na fi sô: <u>tùkùna</u> kà ba: nì ɽuwa:, <u>ka:nà:</u>, in hankàli:na: ja: ko:mo:, nâ: ba: kà là:ba:rìn zuwà:na: à wannàn bìgirè.
Now, what I would prefer first, is for you to give me some water, then, when I have recovered, I will tell you how I came to this place.

15.4.1.3 Posteriority

The posteriority relationship is specified in relation to a temporal point t which is used as a departure point. In relation to this t, temporal posteriority is expressed as <after t, Y>, < since t, Y> When a process is used as reference point of anteriority, various conjunctions are used, e.g. *ba:jan dà* 'after', *tun dà*, *dàgà* 'since', *ko: dà, dà ʧê:(wa:), dà za:rar* 'as soon as', etc. In these constructions, the first clause (the temporal clause) is introduced by a conjunction, the main clause being optionally introduced by *sai*.

<p style="text-align:center;">*ba:jan Σ2_{PFV.NFOC} || (sai) Σ1 = 'after... then...'*</p>

$$ba{:}jan\ \Sigma2_{PFV.NFOC} \mid\mid (sai)\ \Sigma1 = \text{'after... then...'}$$
$$ba{:}jan\ d\grave{a}\ \Sigma2_{PFV.FOC} \mid\mid (sai)\ \Sigma1 = \text{'after... then...'}$$

Ba:jan sun gamà gaisuwa: sai ja kiɽà: ni ja ʧè: ...
After they had finished greeting, he called me and told me… (SU p. 29)

Ba:jan dà akà ɗʒimà: sai ja amsà: matà ...
After some time, he answered her…

$$tun\ d\grave{a}\ \Sigma1_{+FOC}\mid\mid\Sigma2 = \text{'since ...'}$$

tun dà + Relative Perfective or Imperfective means 'since'. Examples :

Tun dà sukà fa:ɽà aikì: , bà mù gan sù ba.
Since they have started working, we haven't seen them.

Àmma: tun dà su kè Kàtar ko: ʧi:wòn kâi bài taɓà jî: ba.
But, since they had been born, Katar had never had even a headache.

$$ko{:}\ d\grave{a} : \Sigma1_{PFV.FOC} \mid\mid (sai)\ \Sigma2. = \text{'as soon as... then...'}$$

Ko: dà sukà da:wo: sai mukà ta:ʃi.
As soon as they came back, we left.

dàgà/dà ʧê:(wa:) Σ1_{PFV.NFOC} || (sai) Σ2. = 'as soon as... then...'

Dà ʧê: sun da:wo: za: mù ta:ʃi.
As soon as they have come back, we will leave.

Gà: ʃi dàgà Kàrɓi ja: taɓà: ʃi duk hannuwànsù sun mi:ƙè:.
It happened that, as soon as Karɓi had touched him, he streched his arms out. (MJC II, p. 38, l.1)

dà za:ɽar Σ1_{PFV.NFOC/SBJV} || (sai) Σ2 = 'as soon as...'

Dà za:ɽar mun ji màganà:, sai sukà zà:ge: mù.
As soon as we had opened our mouth, they insulted us.

Dà za:ɽar mun ji màganà:, sai sù zà:ge: mù.
As soon as we open our mouth, they insult us.

Σ1 kè: nan ‖ (sai) Σ2 = 'hardly...'

The whole of the temporal clause can be focused with the indenifiier *ke: nan* 'it is', resulting on a strong emphasis on the close succession of the two events. *sai* is optional as coordinator at the beginning of the second clause. The focused process can be a nominal, e.g.

Ja: ʃiga kò:gôn kè:nan, sai ja:ɽòn ja ko:mo:.
Hardly had he entered the cave when the boy came back.

Ja: ta:ʃi, ja: fa:ɽà hawa: kè:nan , sai gà: Gàmo: janà: saukô:wa:.
Hardly had he got up and started to climb when Gamo came down.

15.4.1.4 Anteriority

The anteriority relationship is specified in relation to a temporal point t which is used as an arrival point (goal). In relation to this t, temporal anteriority is expressed as <before t, Y> or <t until X>. t can be the moment of speech, as is the case in the adverbs *dâ:* 'formerly', *dà:zu* 'a while ago', *tùni* 'a long time ago', *tùkùn(a)* 'first', and the adverbial locutions *har jà zuwà: jànzu, har jànzu, har jâu, har ìla: jâu* 'up till now'. But on top of the moment of speech, a process can be introduced as the reference point of anteriority through various conjunctions, e.g. *har*, *sai* 'until'; *tun gàban*, *kà:fin* 'before'. Examples:

Σ1 || har Σ2_{SBJV}. = 'until'

Àʤìje: ʃi har kà bùkà:ʧe: ʃi !
Keep it until you need it!

Sun aʤije: ʃi har sun / sukà bùkà:ʧe: ʃi.
They kept it until they needed it.

Σ1 || sai dà Σ2_{PFV}. = 'until'

Bà za: mù ta:ʃi ba sai sun da:wo:.
We won't leave until they come back.

Sukà aʤìje: ʃi sai dà sukà bùkà:ʧe: ʃi.
They kept it until they needed it.

Σ1 || tun gàban Σ2_{NEG.PFV}. = 'until'

Mun gamà aikìn tun bài zo: ba.
We finished the work before he arrived (lit. as he had not arrived yet).

Tanà: tà:ɽe dà ni: tun bà à ji ja:ƙì: ba.
She was (still) with me before the war (lit. as they had not done war yet).

À kai kaɽa: makauɽaʧî: tun gàban ƙauɽa: bà tà zo: ba.

$$\Sigma1 \parallel kà:fin \, \Sigma2_{SBJV.} = \text{'before}$$

Kà:fin mù ʤe: Kanò: sai akà ʄiga ɗakà.
Before we went to Kano, people had gone home.

Kà:fin kuma jà iso: sai dà là'asàr ta ji sànsanja:.
Before he arrived, the evening had already become cool.. (MJC I, 124, § 1)

Mù ta:ʃì kà:min watà: jà fito:.
Let's leave before the moon rises.

$$tun \, \Sigma1_{CONT.NFOC} \parallel har \, \Sigma2_{PFV.FOC/SBJV.}$$

Tun anà: ganinsù har sukà ɓaʧè:.
We kept looking at them until they disappeared. (MJC II, p.197)

Kullum inà: nan kikiɽ kikiɽ à go:na:, tun inà: zufà: har ìn gàʤi ìn dainà:.
I'm always here, toiling away in the farm, I'm sweating so much that one day I'll get tired and will give up. (MJC III; p. 257, § 6)

15.4.1.5   Measuring time

The measuring of time is done through complex syntactic constructions involving verbs like *ʤimà:* (gr1) 'and *daɗè:* (gr4) 'spend some time' and some derived adverbial expressions like *ʤim kàɗan*, *bà à daɗè: ba sai ...* 'a little later... ', etc. Examples :

Dà akà ʤimà: kàɗan, Saɽki: ja ʧè:...
A little later, the king said...

ʤim kàɗan sai ja ko:mo:.
A little later, he came back.

Wannàn ja: fà:ɽu dà daɗè:wa:.
This happened a long time ago.

Precise quantitative evaluation is done through lexical items like *jâu* (adv.), 'now' *ɽàbu* (gr7) 'be separated' and its derived noun *ɽàbo:*, etc. Examples:

ɽàbo:na: dà Kanò: ʃè:kaɽa: ukù.
I left Kano three years ago.

Jâu ma:kò: ukù dà da:wô:wa:ta: dàgà Kanò:.
It's been three weeks since I came back from Kano.

Na: gan ʃi watà: ukù dà sukà wuʧè:.
I saw him three months ago.

Ni: na ɽiga: tà haihùwa: dà watà: biju.
I'm the one who gave birth two weeks before her.

Kwa:na: ukù bàn gan ʃi ba.
I haven't seen him for three days.

15.4.2   Reason, Consequence and Purpose

Two types or adverbial clauses express reason: (1) "because" clauses ; (2) "since" clauses, the latter introducing the idea that the "reason" is a well-known, obvious, previously established fact.

15.4.2.1   Reason = 'because'

"Because" adverbial clauses are introduced by *sabò:dà* (=*sà:bi:lì: dà*) or *dò:min/don*. They are full clauses with general non-focus TAM. They can appear before or after the main clause.

Na: ʤe: wuɽinsà dò:min/sabò:dà na: san ʃi.
I went to his place because I know him.

Don mun sà:mi hanjà: mukà zo:.
It's because we found a path that we went.

Bàn tàfi ba sabò:dà an ji ɽuwa:.
I did not go because it had rained.

15.4.2.2 Reason = 'since'

"Since" adverbial clauses are introduced by *(tun) dà (jakè)*, with the reduced forms *tun dà, dà,* and *dà jakè,* followed by [-FOC] Perfective and Continous.

Dà jakè kanà: nân, sai kà tàimàke: nì.
Since you are here, give me a hand.

Tun dà jakè mun màkaɽà, sai mù fa:ɽà: jànzu-jànzu.
Since we are late, let's start at once.

The conjunction *tun* having both temporal and causal meanings (like its English counterpart 'since'), the reduced forms *tun dà* and *dà* followed by [+FOC] Perfective and Continuous produce strictly temporal meanings.

tun dà [an]PFV.NFOC kiɽa: sù, sun bar aikìnsù
Since (given that) they were called, they stopped their work.

tun dà [akà] PFV.FOC kiɽa: sù, sun bar aikìnsù
Since (the time that) they were called, they stopped their work. (Newman 2000:504)

15.4.2.3 Consequence : har / har dà

Har 'until' denotes a terminal point in a spatial, temporal or logical perspective. The consecutive meaning is an extention of this basic semantic property. *har* does not require any particular TAM.

Ja: gàʤi ainùn har bài ijà ʧì: gàba ba.
He was so tired that he could not continue.

Fìtilàr bâ: ta dà haske:, har ma: ba: nà: ijà kàrà:tu: dà ita.
The light was so weak that I could not read.

15.4.2.4 Purpose

Purpose adverbial clauses can be formed by juxtaposition of a clause with a Subjuctive TAM, without any conjunction. Examples:

Na: zo: ìn gajà: makà là:ba:rìn.
I came to tell you the news.

Na: ba: fì ɽuwa: jà ʃa:.
I gave him some water for him to drink;.

More commonly, purpose clauses are introduced by *sabò: dà* or *dò:min / don* followed by the Subjunctive.

Ja: zo: don jà gan nì.
He came to see me.

Sukà zo: sabò:dà sù ji minì ban kwa:na:.
They came to say good-bye to me.

15.4.3 Concession and Condition

In all theose constructions, the order between main and subordinate clauses is free.

15.4.3.1 Concessives

Concessive clauses ('although, even though') are introduced by *ko: dà jakè (=duk dà jakè = duk dà cê:wa:)* plus a full clause and use a general (non-focus) TAM.

Bài zo: ba ko: dà jakè dâ: ma: ja: ʧè: zâi zo:.
He did not come, although he had said he would.

> *ko: dà jakè sun tabà zuwà: gida:na: sun ɓatà hanjà:*
> *Even though they had been to my house before, they got lost.*

15.4.3.2 Regular conditionals

Regular conditional clauses (if X, then Y) in a sentence where a hypothesis in the protasis is followed by a consequence in the apodosis, are introduced by *in / ìdan* followed by a full clause. All TAM are allowed in the protasis, except for the Subjunctive and the Potential.

> ***In ja: zo:, sai kà tàmbàje: ʃi.***
> *If he comes, ask him.*

> ***In kanà: sô:, zân tàimàke: kà.***
> *If you want, I'll help you.*

> ***In ka fàɗa: ka: fita.***
> *Speak and you're free (lit. If you speak, you have gone out).*

The logical relationship between the protasis and the apodosis is better translated in English by 'when' or 'whenever'. Examples:

> ***in na kò:ji Hausa zâ: ni Nà:ʤe:rijà:.***
> *When I learn Hausa, I'll go to Nigeria.*

> ***ìdan kiɗà: ja: sa:kè:, rawa: sai tà sa:kè:***
> *Whenever the rhythm changes, the dance changes.*

15.4.3.3 Restrictive conditionals

Restrictive conditionals ('only if') are introduced by *sai (in)* followed by a non-focus Perfective. Examples:

> ***Namiʤì bàɽkò:no: nè:, sai an taunà: za: à san ja:ʤìnsà.***
> *Man is like pepper, it's only if you chew it that you feel its strength.*

> ***Sai an daɗè: akà san hali:.***
> *It's only with time that you know (people's) character.*

15.4.3.4 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals indicate hypothetical propositions that are not true or are not likely to become true. They are characterized by *dà:* repeated at the initial of both the protasis and the apodosis. Examples:

> ***<u>Dà:</u> an tàmbàje: nì, <u>dà:</u> na: jàrda.***
> *If I'd beeň asked, I would have agreed.*

> ***Wàlla:hì <u>dà:</u> kanà: ʃân gijà: <u>dà:</u> sai ìn tʃê: ka: ʃa: ka: bùgu nè:.***
> *If you drank alcohol, I would have said that you have drunk and you are drunk.*

The relative tenses can be present in a counterfactual condition only if one element is focused:

> ***<u>dà:</u> gubà: sukà bâ: tà, <u>dà:</u> ta: haɗìje:***
> *If it was poison they had given her, she would have swallowed (with focus on **gubà:**)*

NB: the variant *dà: ma:* in the protasis 'if only' is used to express regret, e.g. *dà: ma: bàn ji ba ....* 'if only I hadn't done it...'

15.4.3.5 Concessive conditionals

Contrary to regular conditionals where the consequence depends on the truth of the protasis, in concessive conditionals ('even if...'), the apodosis is presented as true, regardless of the truth value of the protasis. Concessive conditionals are formed with *ko:* 'even' followed by a full clause in the general Perfective (PFV.NFOC). Examples:

> ***Ko: na: sa:mù: bà zân ba: kà ba.***
> *Even if I find some, I won't give you any*

Ko: an ji ɽuwa:, zân tàfi gò:be.
Even if it rains, I won't go tomorrow.

15.4.3.6 Hypothetical concessive conditionals

Conditionals introduced by *ko: dà:* 'even if' combine the meaning of concessive conditionals with a counterfactual value attached to the protasis. Example:

Ko: dà: mun sani: kanà: nân, bà mâ: ʤe: ba.
Even if we had known you were here, we would not have come.

ko: dà: Ha:midù zâi bijo: ta nân, kì gajà: masà na: wuʧè:
If by chance Hamidu came this way, tell him I've gone.

15.4.3.7 Universal conditionals

Universal conditionals specify a class of possible person, things, etc. with a function in the protasis and the related consequence in the apodosis. They are introduced by a universal relative (*ko:*-forms, e.g. *ko:wa:* 'whoever', *ko:me:* 'whatever', etc.[54]) followed by a [+FOC] TAM.

ko:wa: ja ʧi wa:ke:, ʧikìnsà zâi kùmbuɽà
Whoever eats beans, his stomach will swell.

ko:me: sukà ji makà, kadà kà dà:mu
Whatever they do to you, don't worry.

ko:wàʧè iɽìn ɽì:ga: za: kà sàja:, munà: dà ita.
Whatever the type of gown you are going to buy, we have it.

16. Negation

P. Newman (2000:357-365) identifies 5 types of negation :

TABLE **24**. NEGATIVE MARKERS		
NEG1a…NEG1b	*bà:/bà … ba*	TAMS other than the continuous and subjunctive
NEG2	*ba:*	negative continous TAM
NEG3	*ba:bù / bâ:*	existential ; HAVE sentences, etc.
NEG4a... NEG4b	*bà: ... ba*	equational (non-verbal) sentences, NPs, etc.
NEG5	*kadà / kâr*	subjunctive

16.1 NEG1. TAMS other than the continuous and subjunctive[55]

The discontinuous negation *bà:/bà ... ba* occurs with TAMS other than the continuous and the subjunctive. The first part of the morpheme (*bà:/bà*) occurs just before the TAM. The second part (*ba*) occurs at the end of VP, after core arguments of the verb, but before circumstancials. Short basic adverbs tend to be included inside the syntactic scope of the negation.

ja:ɽinjà: <u>bà</u> tà da:wo: <u>ba</u>
The girl did not return.

<u>bà</u> za: mù biya: sù <u>ba</u>
We will not pay them.

dà ni: dà kai <u>bà</u> mâ: zaunà: tà:ɽe ʧikin àma:nà: <u>ba</u>
Me and you, we won't live together peacefully.

In the perfective, the 1st and 3rd person markers of the subject pronouns contract with the *bà* of the negative marker, e.g. *bà nì > bàn*; *bà jà > bài*.

The length of the 1st part of the morpheme varies with dialects and idiolects. In SH, it is (1) always short in the perfective and the future; (2) usually short in the allative and the potential; (3) normally short but also long in the future; (4) normally long but also short in the habitual.

16.2 NEG2. Negative continous TAM

Like the subject pronouns of the continuous, the negative marker has a L tone and a long –*a:*. It negates locatives and statives, as well as continuous verbal sentences. Examples:

> *Bellò ba: jà: [da:wô:wa:]* _{VP}
> *Bello is not coming back.*

> *bankì: ba: jà: [nân à wannàn ti:tì:]* _{ADVP}
> *The bank is not on this road.*

> *so:ʤo:ʤi: ba: sà: [[rìƙe]* _{STAT} *dà bindigo:ginsù]* _{ADVP}
> *The soldiers don't have their guns.*

16.3 NEG3. Existential and HAVE sentences

bâ: / ba:bù is the negative counterpart of *àkwai*. It negates (a) existential sentences (b) "have" sentences:

(a)   *bâ: mâi = ba:bù mâi*
           There is no petrol.

(b)   *La:dì bâ: ta dà la:fijà:*
           Ladi is not well.

16.4 NEG4. (non-verbal) sentences and NP

The disjuctive *bà: … ba* negative marker negates the copula *ne:/ʧe:/ne:* in all its uses (a) as stentence copula (a) as focus marker. In both cases the second marker is inserted between the copula and the constituent it is attached to. Examples:

(a)   *<u>bà:</u> ka:sa: <u>ba ʧè:</u>*
           It is not a puff-adder

       ita <u>bà:</u> yâ:ta: <u>ba ʧe:</u>
           She is not my daughter.

(b)   *<u>bà:</u> ɓàɽa:wò: <u>ba nè:</u> sukà ka:mà:*
           It is not a thief that they caught.

       <u>bà:</u> kè:kè <u>ba nè:</u> Bàla: ja sajà: wà yâ:yânsà
           It is not a bicycle Bala bought his children.

The same negative focus can be used to negate the whole referential value of a sentence.

> *<u>bà:</u> wai mutà:nen nàn sun ba: tà dà:ɽija: <u>ba nè:</u>; a:'à:, tunzùɽa: ta sukà ji.*
> *It is not the case that these men made her laugh; no, irritating her they did. (Newman 2000:363)*

16.5 NEG5. Subjunctive

The prohibitive marker *kadà (=kâr)* serves to negate sentences with a subjunctive TAM. The meaning will vary beyond that of prohibitive itself, according to the numerous contexts in which the positive counterpart of the subjunctive occurs. Examples:

> *kadà kì ba: ʃi ko:me:!*
> *Don't give him anything!*

> *kadà / kâr mù tàimàke: sù!*
> *Let's not help them!*

> *tàfi dà laimà: don kâr ɽuwa: jà ba: kà ka:ʃì:!*
> *Take an umbrella lest you get soaked!*

17. Question

17.1 Wh-Questions
Apart from echo-questions where the question-word can remain *in situ* with TAM unchanged, Wh-Questions are a typical case of sytactic focus whith the questioned constitent replaced by a pro-question word and moved to the front of sentence. The TAM of the sentence is replaced with a [+FOC] TAM.

17.1.1 Question words

'who ?' *wà:* (=*wà:ne: nè:*) m., *wà:ʧe: ʧè:* f., *su wà:* (=*su wà:ne: nè:*) pl., *wà:jê:* m., *su wà:jê:* pl.

> *wà:ne: nè: ?*
> Who is it?

> *su wà:(ne: nè:) sukà ʤe: harbì: ?*
> Who went hunting ?

> *wà:ne: nè: ma:làmîn ?*
> Who is the teacher ?

'what ?' *mè:* (= *mè:ne: nè:*) m., *mè:ʧe: ʧè:* f. (rare), *su mè:ne: nè:* pl. , *mè:jê:* m.

> *mè:(ne: nè:) ka zà:ɓa: ?*
> What did you choose ?

> *mè:ne: nè: wannàn?*
> What is this?

> *dà mè: dà mè: sukà ƙwa:ʧè:?*
> What (things) did they confiscate?

'which ?' (adj): *wànè* m., *wàʧfè* f., *wàɗànnè* pl.

> *wàʧfè mo:tà: ʧfe: ta fi tsà:da:?*
> Which car is the cheapest?

> *wàɗànnè hu:lunà: kakè: sajârwa:?*
> Which caps are you selling

'which one(s) (pro): *wànne:* m., *wàʧfe:* f., *wàɗànne:* pl.

> *wàʧfe: (ʧe:) za: kà zà:ɓa:?*
> Which one are you going to choose?

> *wànnê: / wàʧfê: / wàɗànnê: ?*
> Which one(s)?

'where?' *ìna:*

> *ìna: ja:ɽòn?*
> Where is the boy?

> *ìna: ta tàfi?*
> Where did she go ?

'when ?' *jàuʃè / jàuʃe:*

> *jàuʃe: (nè:) sukà da:wo:?*
> When did they come back?

> *jàuʃè (ne:) za: à sa:kè bu:ɗè makaranta:?*
> When will the school be opened again?

'how ?' *(ta) jà:jà:*

> *jà:jà: kikè: ʤî:?*
> How do you feel?

> *ta jà:jà: kukà sà:mi wurin ʃiga:?*
> How did you manage to enter?

'how many/much ?' **nawà**

> **mutàne nawà akà kamà?**
> *How many (people) were caught?*

> **kuɗi: nawà za: kà sa:mù?**
> *How much money will you get?*

'*why?*' **don mè:, sabò: dà me:**

> **don mè: kakè: ƙauɽàtfe: manà?**
> *Why are you avoiding us*

> **bà kà zo: ba; sabò: dà me:?**
> *You didn't' come; why?*

17.1.2   The q-morpheme

P. Newman (2000:493) describes a tonemic morpheme added at the end of sentences containing a question-word. He insists that this is not an intonation phenomena, since no specific intonation pattern is associated with Wh-Questions, which share the same pattern with declarative sentences.

> *The morpheme, which consists of length and L tone, attaches itself to the immediately preceding syllable. The morpheme serves (a) to lengthen short final vowels, and (b) to add a low tone to words ending in a high tone (thereby producing a fall). If the last word in the sentence is consonant-final or if it ends in a vowel that is already long, then adding the length component has no surface consequences. Similarly, if the preceding syllable already ends in an L tone or in a fall (= HL on a single syllable), then the L-tone component of the morpheme attaches vacuously and has no effect on the surface tone. (op.cit)*

Examples:

> **wà: zâi fita + ˋː → wà: zâi fitâ:?**
> *Who will come? (tone and length added)*

> **jàuʃè ta haihù + ˋː → jàuʃè ta haihù: ?**
> *When did she give birth ? (length added)*

> **mè: sukà sajar + ˋː → mè: sukà sajâr?**
> *What did they sell? (tone added)*

> **ìna: ka ga ja:ɽòn?**
> *Where did you see the boy? (vacuous addition) (*op.cit*.)*

17.2   Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions preserve the word order of the declarative sentence but are marked in one or more of the 4 following ways : (1) by addition of the q-morpheme; (2) by question intonation; (3) by a sentence-final interrogative tag; and (4) by a sentence-initial interrogative word. (Newman 22000:497ff.)

17.2.1   The q-morpheme

According to P. Newman (2000:497) in SH, the q-morpheme does not consistently add L tone to Yes-No questions, only length, resulting in the opposition between **zâi fita** vs **zâi fita:?** 'He will go out.' vs. 'Will he go out?'.

17.2.2   Question intonation

Despite a dialectal as well as individual variation in the intonation of Yes/No questions in Hausa, one can characterize the intonation of such questions as follows:

> *The main feature of the "classic" pattern (described in standard grammars) is key raising (=register shift) before the last H tone of the sentence. The key raising raises the pitch of the H tone and also of succeeding L tones. (A final H-L sequence, for example, surfaces as something that sounds like an extra-high pitch followed by a high or mid.) (Newman 2000 : 497)*

17.2.3 Sentence-final question tags

The particles *ko:, ba, ne:, kùwa, fà:* function as sentence-final question tags. When key raising applies, they will surface with a long vowel and a falling tone, e.g. *ka: ʤi bâ: ?* (< *ba+`:*) 'Did you hear?'; *ja: àuɽi Aifà nê:?* (< *ne:+`:*)

17.2.4 Sentence-initial interrogative words

The three interrogative words found at the initial of Yes/No questions are : *ko:* (cf. the disjunctive *ko: ... ko: ...* 'either ... or'), *anjà:* (for questions introducing a serious doubt) and *ʃin* (for questions seeking confirmation).

> *ko: Mu:sà nà: nân?*
> *Is Musa here?*
>
> *anjà hakà ne?*
> *Is that really so?*
>
> *ʃin ko: ka: san an ka:ɽà: manà àlbâ:ʃi: watàn nân?*
> *Did you know our salary was raised this month? (Newman 2000:501)*

17.3 Indirect questions

Indirect questions are introduced by ko: followed by a wh-question word. Examples :

> *bàn san ko: wà: ja ji hakà ba*
> *I don't know who acted this way.*
>
> *bài gajà: minì ko: nawà zân bija: ba*
> *He did not tell me how much I will pay.*

The indirect question can bear on the whole clause, in which case no question-word is used, only *ko:* 'either', or alternatively, *in* 'if'

> *Inà: sô: ìn sanì: ko: zâi tàfi.*
> *I want to know if he will go.*
>
> *Sai saɽki: ja tàmbàje: ʃi in janà: sôn jà zaunà: waʤensà.*
> *Then the king asked him if he wanted to sit by him*

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19. List of Tables

20. Table of contents